UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

A biographical study of the early beneficiaries: The Jewish Education Aid Society.

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2016

Abstract

In Britain, during the latter years of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, there was a plethora of philanthropic organisations introduced and managed by members of the established Anglo-Jewish community. The purpose of these organisations was, in part, to demonstrate that the influx of Eastern European Jewish immigrants was not a burden on Britain as a whole. In other words the aim was to show that Jews were prepared to care for their own people, financially and morally. Much has been written about the larger organisations but little, if anything, is recorded about some of the smaller societies which usually pursued a narrow and defined purpose. One such was the Jewish Education Aid Society. This thesis charts the affairs of this particular organisation beginning with its inception in 1896 as the Jewish Education Aid Committee and its re-structuring, in 1907, as the Jewish Education Aid Society.

The thrust of the work is addressed in a general chapter covering the organisation and work of both the Committee and the Society, and touching on the lives of some of the early recipients. This is followed by three detailed case studies the purpose of which is to explore in depth the lives of these particular individuals and their immediate family members. These beneficiaries fulfilled the requirement for assistance, namely that each was a member of an impecunious Jewish family and was extremely talented, either academically or artistically. Support, financial and social, was given in order to develop their talents and future careers. The three recipients selected were all members of larger family units, thus the impact of such assistance within this structure has also been considered. It is this aspect of the Jewish immigrant's experience, as the recipient of philanthropy, that is seldom addressed. This work aims to address the balance and is the first to explore the impact of British Jewish philanthropy from the 'bottom up'.

List of Contents

List of Illustrations

Academic Thesis: Declaration Of Authorship

I, Micheline Ann Stevens

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

The Jewish Education Aid Society: A biographical study of the early recipients.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date:

Acknowledgements

I greatly appreciate the guidance, expertise and patience exercised by my supervisor, Professor Tony Kushner, who encouraged me to conduct the research for this thesis.

My thanks are extended to all those who responded to my enquiries, in particular the replies I received from numerous staff members of libraries, archives, museums, galleries, education establishments and local history groups. Without these it would not have been possible to re-construct the lives of the individuals to whom the case studies relate.

Similarly, to those few who were related to, or acquainted with, the families involved. I am therefore indebted to the late Mrs Lilian Alberts, Philip Blackman's daughter, and his grandchildren Vivienne Press, Barry Press and Anthony Pollen, for the documents and other information they were willing to provide. Also to Mrs Anita Gold who was kind enough to send me copies of press cuttings relating to Maude Gold's career during the 1920s and 1930s and to Richard Stephenson Harper for his reminiscence of Amy Robinson.

My gratitude goes to my friends who have encouraged me during this undertaking, especially Bryony Ash and Lorrie Lewis who have given me their full support throughout.

Abbreviations

COS	Charity Organisation Society
CS	Chemical Society
EHH	Emily Harris Home
GRO	General Register Office
JAPGW	Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women
JBG	Jewish Board of Guardians
JC	*Jewish Chronicle*
JEAC	Jewish Education Aid Committee
JEAS	Jewish Education Aid Society
JEAS (GC)	Jewish Education Aid Society (General Committee)
JEAS (MC)	Jewish Education Aid Society (Music Committee)
JP	Justice of the Peace
JREB	Jewish Religion Education Board
LCC	London County Council
LCM	London College of Music
LCV	London College of Violinists
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MGS	Manchester Grammar School
MHSG	Manchester High School for Girls
MOH	Medical Officer of Health
NPG	National Portrait Gallery

QC	Queen’s Counsel
RCA	Royal College of Art
RCAI	Royal Commission on Alien Immigration
RCM	Royal College of Music
RE	Royal Engineers
RMCM	Royal Manchester College of Music
RNCM	Royal Northern College of Music
RNLI	Royal National Lifeboat Institution
RSC	Royal Society of Chemistry
TB	Tuberculosis
UJW	Union of Jewish Women
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

Introduction

The development and progression of Jewish Philanthropy in 19th Century England

Increasing immigration

The earliest of the Jewish returnees to post-expulsion Britain, the Sephardim, had by the eighteenth century developed their own support structures. Being much in the minority of the Jewish population as a whole they were, in the main, well established and comparatively well off.[1] Before arrival in Britain from their countries of origin, namely Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy and south-western France, it is likely many had already adopted the dress, manners and speech common in European culture. This in all probability would have aided their assimilation into English society. Thus:

> For the Sephardim who settled in England, and for their children, the acquisition of English manners and attitudes did not represent as dramatic a break with the past, as it did for their Ashkenazi coreligionists'.[2]

The roots of Jewish philanthropy lie in the past, based largely upon religious doctrine, wherein the fortunate were expected to help those less so. Perhaps this was simple expedience, a straightforward precept, which could have remained so in England had not the ever increasing tide of poor immigrants begun to cause the problems associated with the influx of Ashkenazi Jews. Initially from Holland and Germany the numbers began to multiply in the second half of the nineteenth century with the arrival of Russian and Polish Jews. By 1851 the Jewish population in England and Wales numbered around 35,000, with the majority of about 20,000 centred in London, of whom it was estimated about half could be categorised as 'lower class'.[3] Thirty years on a more detailed analysis demonstrated that the 'really poor', being those with an annual income of less than £100, made up only 24 per

[1] Vivian Lipman, *A Century of Social Service 1859-1959. The history of the Jewish Board of Guardians*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), pp.3:8 &34.
[2] Todd M. Endelman,*The Jews of Georgian England 1714-1830. Tradition and change in a Liberal Society*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), pp.120-121.
[3] David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews. Social relations and political culture 1840-1914*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p.21 – quoting J.Mills, *British Jews*, (London, 1853) p.257.

cent of the whole.[4] In fact 42 per cent, the majority of London's Jews, were held to be a 'solidly middle-class group living off an income of between £200 and £1,000 each year'.[5] Of the remainder, 15 per cent received an annual income of over £1,000, whilst 20 per cent received between £100 and £200 per annum, placing them 'precariously above the Jewish working classes'.[6] These figures present a picture of a substantially middle-class Jewish population. However between 1881 and 1905 the balance changed when the number of Jewish residents was swelled by the addition of over one hundred thousand Ashkenazi refugees who, having fled Czarist persecution, arrived in the United Kingdom (UK). Although there were Jewish communities elsewhere in Britain, notably Manchester and Leeds, it was in London's East End that the majority settled and where the problems of overcrowding and poverty were magnified.[7]

Anglo-Jewish philanthropy

The development of Jewish philanthropy in Britain owes much to the principles of well established Victorian praxis, particularly in the area of practical work involving the investigation of an applicant's qualification and needs.[8] Coupled with this was the time-honoured Jewish religious doctrine *tzedakah*, which valued consideration for the needy and other deeds of kindness or charity, holding the belief that the Jewish community should support its own poor. Combined with this were the historical restrictions placed upon Jewish life in Europe. Living mostly in separate quarters had, additionally, necessitated the development of the *chevra*, a self-sufficient system of welfare services. Thus, provision for many of the long-standing charitable institutions was funded by the collection of a prescribed amount from the private income of members of the community. The tradition of autonomy and the duty to support those in need continued, with some adaptation, within the Anglo-Jewish community. This was to ensure that London Jews and those in the provinces provided for their own poor, hence preventing them from becoming a burden on the English taxpayer.[9]

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[4] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.22.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid. N.B. These figures total 101% indicating that some percentages have been rounded.
[7] Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion. The origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1972), Preface.
[8] Lipman, *A Century of Social Service*, pp.30-31.
[9] Lipman, *A Century of Social Service*, pp.8-10.

Prior to the establishment of the Jewish Board of Guardians (JBG) in 1859, the origins of which will be covered shortly, assistance could be obtained from three sources. Firstly was the Poor Law, available to Jew or Gentile. It had long been established that there was no legal obstacle to Jews resorting to the Poor Law and there are eighteenth or early nineteenth century records of Jewish paupers in the workhouse. Nevertheless it was generally regarded as a source to be avoided, except in the most extreme circumstances. Life in the workhouse was in the main looked upon as acutely grim. Family units were broken up owing to segregation of the sexes and children were housed separately from their parents. Accepting that Jewish family life 'has perhaps received an exaggerated measure of adulation', this separation alone may well have acted as a strong deterrent.[10] Added to that the 'virtual impossibility of complying with the Jewish ritual requirements' meant that 'the Jewish community would no more rely on the Poor Law… [than] in fact, did the general community'.[11]

Secondly were the synagogues, but here there were restrictions governing entitlement to assistance. The poor were divided into three classes, the 'stipendiary' entitled to a monthly allowance, the 'casual' who had some claim on the synagogue for occasional relief and the 'strange' poor who had no claim on a particular synagogue and, in the main, were recent immigrants. Payment to the first two categories was subject to specified criteria, such as being a member of, or having some other family connection with, a particular synagogue. On the other hand, since the latter part of the eighteenth century (with some modifications made in 1815, 1835 and 1836), responsibility for the 'strange' poor in the capital was shared between the three main London Synagogues. Accountability for the distribution of resources rested with the synagogues' 'overseers of the poor', who acted in turn throughout the year. This led to a lack in continuity regarding entitlement to assistance and the haphazard allocation of funds, which, in the view of some, did more harm than good as:

> The evils of these arrangements can be summed up by saying that they assisted in creating pauperism, they did not sufficiently relieve poverty, they

[10] Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914*, 3rd edition (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), p.167.
[11] Lipman, *A Century of Social Service*, pp.10-13.

> did not properly investigate the merits of applicants, and failed to attend to their wants with the necessary promptitude.[12]

In addition to the allocation of cash payments, inadequate though they might have been regarded, the synagogues also assumed responsibility for the medical care of the poor attached to them. They had employed, at times, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries.[13] This practice was continued for a time by the JBG but was eventually dispensed with since, in the Board's view, 'medicine…knew neither race nor religion…Medical care, moreover, should be a matter of personal responsibility and self-help'.[14] Furthermore, doubt was raised about the quality of the medical care provided since:

> Both the doctors the Board of Guardians employed during its brief foray into providing medical care and the physicians whom the Jewish benefit societies engaged displayed a partiality for the dram of whisky, gin or brandy as universal cures.[15]

The third source of assistance rested with the many independent Anglo-Jewish charities. Founded during the first half of the nineteenth century they were unattached to any particular synagogue. The prime movers here were the Jews of German origin, who, by 1859 had established a varied network of organisations catering 'for the wants of the Jewish poor at every stage from the cradle to the grave'.[16] Although these autonomous societies proliferated, quantity did not necessarily equate to efficiency. There was, at times, duplication of purpose and lack of any overall plan of intent. The resulting haphazard administration of funds meant that 'organized philanthropy cried out for rationalization and reform'.[17] A general demand for the reorganisation of Anglo-Jewish philanthropy ensued. This, coupled with the campaign 'for the amalgamation, consolidation and rationalization of philanthropic institutions', mounted in the pages of the *Jewish Chronicle* (*JC*), by Abraham Benisch the owner-editor, led in 1859 to the creation of the JBG.[18]

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[12] Lipman, *A Century of Social Service*, p.16, footnote 2, quoting the words of Laurie Magnus, Honorary Secretary of the JBG, in *The Jewish Board of Guardians, 1859-1909 and the Men who Made It*, written in 1909.
[13] Lipman, *A Century of Social Service*, p.16.
[14] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry 1880-1920*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p.158.
[15] Ibid. See also Black, p.158 footnote 2, which refers to the *JC*, 12 May 1911.
[16] Lipman, *A Century of Social Service*, pp.17-18.
[17] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.74.
[18] David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841-1991*, (Cambridge: Cambridge

Nevertheless, this did not resolve the problems. With the increase in demand for assistance, swelled by the influx of immigrants and periods of considerable unemployment, came an increase in the philanthropic network. By 1905 there were more than forty institutions.[19] Many of these continued to overlap in their aims, compete for funds and vie for power because, as Black explains:

> The vested interests of dozens of organizations and hundreds of subscribers were at stake. Every donor, in meeting his or her moral obligation as a Jew, also earned social prestige. Each enjoyed that small access to power…Each had self importance not easily or readily surrendered…[20]

The foundation of the social problems in London's East End, created by large concentrations of poor people, lay partly in the major change that had occurred to the Anglo-Jewish population during the 1860s. At that time most of the well-off Jews moved to the newly developed suburbs of Bayswater and Maida Vale. The East End became, in Cesarani's words, 'almost uniformly poverty stricken'.[21] There is, nevertheless, at least until the 1870s, a counter argument to such a sweeping statement. As Alderman points out, many middle-class Jews continued to trade and live in London's East End:

> In these neighbourhoods Jews of all economic conditions lived practically side-by-side; hawkers and old-clothes dealers dwelt in the same streets as families wealthy enough to employ more than one servant.[22]

What cannot be denied however is that between 1881 and 1905 the permanent settlement of over one hundred thousand predominately poor Ashkenazi refugees created immense problems, financial, social and political.

Whilst, by this time, the established Jewish communities in England were prepared to assist the existing 'deserving poor', the major charitable bodies 'resolutely left immigrants to their own devices', partly as a disincentive to their coming to England.[23] In this regard, Gartner points out:

> Although immigration is a pervasive feature in every generation of Anglo-Jewish history, there was no comparable communal effort to deal with

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University Press, 1994), pp.34-35.
[19] Ibid, p.191.
[20] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.75.
[21] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p.34.
[22] Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.13-14.
[23] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.50.

> immigrants. Before the first crisis year of 1881-1882, the native community paid no consistent attention to immigrants and did not attempt to aid or advise them.[24]

Efforts to Deter Immigration

As it became evident that the problems caused by mass immigration presented far more than a 'temporary emergency', steps were taken to reduce the number of Russian Jews attracted to London. Leaders in Eastern Europe were urged to limit the number of emigrants and warnings of the hardships facing the newcomers were published in the Jewish press in Poland, Russia and Roumania.[25] Schemes to relocate or repatriate migrants were implemented by a number of Anglo-Jewish agencies. In the first case the migrants were encouraged and assisted to emigrate to Australia, the Cape, Canada and, primarily, the United States of America. Between 1881 and 1906 the JBG emigration committee and the Russo-Jewish Committee (administered as a separate committee of the JBG) removed around 25,000 individuals in this way.[26] Additionally, these two agencies, in conjunction with another Jewish philanthropic institution, the Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter, repatriated thousands of others to Eastern Europe. The Board returned in excess of 24,000 Jewish immigrants, the Russo-Jewish Committee repatriated over 7,000 and the Shelter's vice-president claimed credit for 'preventing a great number of people remaining here...and of assisting them to return to their home country'.[27] The representatives of all the agencies were adamant that repatriation was undertaken voluntarily despite the indication of coercion evident in the words of L.L.Cohen to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration (RCAI), viz:

> He [the applicant] tells us he cannot succeed without charity. He has been here, say, nine months. We say: "If you cannot succeed here, and as you had nothing to bring you here, you had better go back". He rather demurs the first time, but the second time he agrees and goes.[28]

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[24] Ibid.
[25] Chaim Bermant, *Point of Arrival. A study of London's East End,* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1975), p.139.
[26] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews,* p.304.
[27] *Select Committee on Emigration and Immigration*, p.108, q.2183. 22 June 1888. At that time Hermann Landau was the Shelter's vice-president.
[28] *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration*. Vol.II, p.543, q.15691, 12 March 1903. At that time L.L.Cohen was the President of the Jewish Board of Guardians. He claimed the Board's actions regarding repatriation and mmigration restriction were a great success. *RCAI*, p.532, q.15390 &

One commentator at the time remarked that those chosen for repatriation were 'starved' out of the country.[29] This view is, perhaps unintentionally, partially supported by the statement made in 1888 by the JBG's honorary secretary to a House of Commons Select Committee when, referring to repatriation, he claimed:

> …it is one of our largest operations sending people back who, having wandered here, prove themselves to be useless or helpless, and to those whom we did not think fit to send forward we refused any other relief than that of sending them back to their home.[30]

Such a seemingly harsh attitude is not surprising given the drain on the JBG's resources, which by 1893 were so depleted it 'was forced to borrow £1,000 from its own bankers'.[31] The evident lack of sympathy, which was distinctly at odds with Jewish tradition and obligation, was later demonstrated by the JBG's response to the large influx of Roumanian Jews, which occurred between 1899 and 1901. In order to discourage fundraising:

> …from the very outset the Board made it known both here and abroad…the only relief it could offer to applicants arriving here in a helpless condition would be to assist them to return to the countries they had left with such deplorable absence of foresight.[32]

This stance by the JBG drew a ferocious attack in an editorial in *Der Yidisher Ekspres* which described the whole system of the Board of Guardians as 'rotten' and the English Jews as putting their own interests before the needs of those 'Roumanian Jews...[who should] only die quietly'.[33] Nonetheless, it should be remembered that the burden presented by the Jewish poor rested with the Jewish community and thus, primarily the JBG. In turn the JBG relied for most of its income from about forty families who comprised the elite of metropolitan Jewry.[34] Aside from political pressure these facts may well, in part, have contributed to the severe measures taken

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q.15391 refer.

[29] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp.303, 306 & FN 73 &.74, refer to N.S.Joseph a 'longstanding communal worker', and an advocate of reforming the JBG's methods and classification of 'the poor', requiring greater investigation as a means of classify refugees under fairly defined categories, in order to deal with each case on its merits.

[30] *Select Committee on Emigration and Immigration*, p.173, q.3553. 20 July 1888. At that time Lionel Alexander was the Honorary Secretary of the JBG.

[31] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.306.

[32] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.321. Quoting JBG, *42nd Annual Report*, (London: 1901), p.16.

[33] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.321.

[34] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p 97.

to reduce the number of immigrants who would undoubtedly have called upon the JBG's funds.

Then again, as demonstrated by the following correspondence, efforts to deter immigration were also undertaken by relatives already resident in Britain:

> Dear Nephew Fischal Meschenberg,
>
> Your letter of the 15th October 1901 I received. The plan about coming over is not very good. What can your mother do here? She doesn't know the language or the country and she has no money – so what is the point? You will only ruin yourselves and sell out what little you have and have nothing in return. Don't make a mistake – there is plenty of hardship in London! Take an example from Chonyn – he is a violin maker and has been here more than a year and cannot make a living. If I would not have taken him into my own home he would have died of starvation. Now he has learned a trade as a machiner and he makes a nice living. It takes a long time until you can afford a piece of bread and on top of everything the climate here is very wet and very bad for rheumatism. It would be much better if mummy stays in Prague and Estha Rivka [family relationship unexplained, possibly Moses' niece – daughter of his sister Fradel] could perhaps come over. She will be able to make a living much better. About you, I don't know – what can you do? The work you are doing I am sure you won't get and to start learning something new will take time and money. If I was rich it wouldn't matter. The thing is I am not rich. Mother [Moses' mother who lives with him], bless her, becomes weaker and she needs more but my business is not the way I would like it to be. I know your situation is bad yet I know that mummy [Fradel, Fischal's mother] can make a living in Prague better than here. The cost of living here is very expensive. With 5 roubles you can live in Prague. A week here you would, could make a living from *Sofmuth* [religious scribal art] but I am afraid he wouldn't be any good at it. That's all I can tell you now – I will try from time to time to send a few roubles but of coming here forget it.
> With best of health to all of you.
> I remain your loving uncle. M.Shire.[35]

This personal letter between family members serves to highlight some of the difficult issues faced by many Jewish immigrants which, in turn, led to resentment not only amongst their English neighbours but to those Jews already resident here.[36]

[35] University of Southampton Special Collections, Papers of Moses Mendel Shire MS 116/108. This is the English translation of a letter dated 22 October 1901 written by Moses Mendel Shire of M.Shire & Co., Fur Skin Dyers, 26 Cundy Road, Custom House, East London. It was provided by his great niece, Mrs Freda Morris, 173 Anson Road, London NW2 on 1 September 1980. An earlier letter, dated 13 September 1901 from Moses to his 'Dear Sister Fradel and brother-in-law Reuben' refers to Moses sending them 25 roubles, which they evidently had requested. In this he apologises for the delay explaining he had 'had a very bad summer'.

[36] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 234-236.

The reasons underpinning Moses Shire's attempt to deter his relatives from coming to Britain are no doubt complex and may well be conflicting. On the one hand it is clear he was well aware of the difficulties faced by the immigrant who arrived without a saleable skill, such as the violin maker or the relative adept at *Sofmuth*. It may be he wished to protect his relatives from the indignity and hardships they could suffer. On the other, it is evident from his record that he was ambitious, successful and rose from working class to (seemingly) middle class. This of itself may have contributed to his response to his nephew's 'plan about coming over'. Conjecture though it is, impoverished and unemployed, or unemployable, relatives could have proved to be an immense handicap to an aspiring entrepreneur, particularly at a time when resentment and anti-Semitism were growing. Therefore, whilst within the nature of this work as a whole detailed research into his life is not possible, a résumé of his antecedence may provide an explanation of his motives, and of those others already settled here who found themselves in a similar position.[37]

The Moses Mendel Shire, author of the letter, was in fact Marks Shire who later became known as Max Mendel Shire (hereinafter referred to as such). According to his obituary in the *JC* (9 April 1937) he came to England from Warsaw in 1889 aged nineteen. The 1901 Census shows him living with his widowed mother at 21 Fremont Street, Hackney, where they occupied three rooms in a house shared with another family. Max declared himself as then aged thirty three and an 'employer' and 'Dyer of Fur Skins'. According to Gartner this type of work was a low skilled and an 'especially unhealthy occupation'.[38] Nonetheless, from the 'M. Shire & Co.' letter head and the fact that he had commercial premises, apart from his domestic dwelling, where he evidently employed others suggests he may have been better established than his claim of hardship indicates. Indeed from a letter of his published in *Der Veker*, in which he 'described the predicament of the small master' it is apparent that as early as 1893 he was already an employer of others.[39]

Subsequent records show that he prospered, both financially and socially. By 1905 the business was listed in the telephone directory at Macintosh Lane,

[37] The source of the information has been the Census Returns for England & Wales,1901 & 1911; the General Register Office (GRO) of Births, Deaths and Marriages; various articles appearing in the *JC* between 18 October 1901 and 12 December 1958; the London telephone directory 1905 to 1977; New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957; National Probate Calendar England & Wales 1937; www.londontown.com. 1 November 2010. www.companieshouse.gov.uk. 11 November 2010.
[38] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, pp. 94-95.
[39] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 240-241.

Homerton. Max married in 1903, fathered two sons (1904 and 1905) and by the 1911 Census was living with his family, a servant and a boarder, in an eight room Georgian Terrace house, at 13 Sutton Place, Hackney, not far from the business premises. In 1920 he had three addresses, the business in Homerton, the house in Sutton Place and another at 18 Clapton Common, Hackney. By 1923 the family had moved to 8 Cleve Road, Camden where Max and his wife remained until 1935. It appears this was a large property as it is now divided into flats, one of which sold in March 2010 for £410,000. In 1935 Max and his wife Sophia moved to 5 Marlborough Mansions, West Hampstead, which 'from the start has had a high class of resident... [amongst whom were] Sir Adrian Boult, Nigel Balchin, Lady Thornycroft and many professional people'.[40] Max died at Marlborough Mansions on 5 April 1937, leaving a personal estate of £9244.0.11d.[41] At some time prior to this the business of M.Shire & Co., Fur Skin Dyers had become a limited liability company, M.M.Shire Ltd., Fur Dyers. Following Max's death it transferred to Seymour Road, E 10, where it continued to trade until about 1977.

Max Mendel Shire's obituary in the *JC* on 9 April 1937 credits him with being a 'Pioneer of English Zionism' and 'sometime Treasurer of the English Zionist Federation'. He was also the Treasurer of the Palestine Restoration Fund and a member of South Hackney Synagogue (*JC* 24 September 1920, p.3). Clearly, he had climbed the social ladder since entering England as a nineteen year old Russian Polish immigrant. He became a member of a social group 'rarely taken into account by historians of Anglo-Jewry: [one of the] *nouveaux riches* of entrepreneurs in commerce and the workshop trades within the Eastern immigrant community itself'.[42]

In fact his attempt at deterring his relatives from coming to Britain failed. By 1911 his brother-in-law Reuben, sister Fradel and nephew Fischal, with his younger sister and two younger brothers, were living in Stepney.[43] It appears that Fischal (Philip) Meshenberg was as determined as his uncle to make a success of his new

[40] Marlborough Mansions History, www.greene.co.uk/home/mansion-blocks/marlborough/history, 1 November 2010.
[41] National Probate Calendar England & Wales.
[42] Bill Williams, '"East and West": Class and Community in Manchester Jewry, 1850-1914', in David Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1990), p.16.
[43] Census Returns for England and Wales, 1911. Fradel and Fischal had adopted Anglicised names , respectively Fanny (also Freda) and Philip. Reuben worked at home, on his own account, as a teacher of Hebrew and the three other children were all working in the clothing trade.

life. By 1939 he and his family were living in Richmond Road, E8. The engagement of their daughter Freda (Freda Morris) was announced in the *JC*, as was the marriage of their younger daughter Queenie, which included the request 'American & Palestinian papers please copy'.[44]

The problem of the 'Other'

This brief history of the Shire family alone demonstrates that not all immigrants were deterred by the difficulties they might encounter in Britain. Neither were they prepared to rely on philanthropy for their families' futures or become a drain on the British taxpayer. Indeed their very success could have engendered resentment amongst their neighbours, be they immigrants or British nationals. Nevertheless what cannot be disputed is that despite the success of some and the various efforts to limit the numbers settling in the East End, at the time there was vast overcrowding leading to conditions that only added fuel to the fire of anti-Semitic protest. Gainer draws attention to the fact that seventy per cent of all Russian and Polish immigrants disembarked in London, the final destination for the majority. Here were based the immigrant trades where the poor and often unskilled newcomers could find work, follow their religious and dietary laws, and mix with those of similar habits and language. Thus, it was in the East End of London that most of them lived and worked causing the words 'immigrant' and 'Jew' to become synonymous and leading to the area growing in focus for those interested in social problems. This, in turn, generated anxiety within the established Anglo-Jewish community who feared the detrimental effect of such a centre of population on British public opinion.[45]

Norbert Elias identified in his study of the arrival of large numbers of strangers into an area that such an influx brings with it the problems of stigmatisation applied to the incomers by the old-established group. There is the fear the newcomers may form a community of their own and anxiety about the effect this will have on the existing neighbourhood. This apprehension is often based upon

[44] *JC*, 20 October 1939 and 22 December 1939 refer to Freda's engagement and marriage. *JC*, 29 December 1939, p.2 and 29 November 1940, p.3 refer to Queenie's engagement. Freda's husband died in 1970 at 173 Anson Road, NW2 where she was still living in 1980. Many of the properties in this road have been converted into flats but those remaining as houses now command a price of between £750,000.00 and about £1,200,000.00 depending upon size, www.zoopla.co.uk/house-prices/london/anson-road-nw2, 23 November 2010.

[45] Gainer, *The Alien Invasion*, pp.4-5.

stereotyped images, a practice which may be applied equally to differences of gender, sexuality, class and disability.[46] What Stuart Hall describes as the spectacle of the 'Other' is enhanced when racial differences (not essentially an issue of 'colour') are added to the equation.[47] Thus when the newcomers speak a different language, bring with them different cultural habits and, in the main, are poor the problems are exacerbated. Whether based upon fact or not, allegations of competition for housing, jobs and social amenities abound. Xenophobic attitudes come to the fore and all, in this case the Jews, are tarred with the same brush. To a large extent, throughout the nineteenth century, this was the ever-increasing problem facing established Anglo-Jewish society, varying in intensity according to the tensions of the time.

The Jews were condemned as being dirty, immoral and lazy. By accepting lower wages and paying higher rents it was alleged they deprived the English of jobs and homes. In reality they were frequently exploited by both employer and landlord but were, in effect, accused of being the root cause of many social ills. The major battle grounds covered issues relating to health, employment and housing. There is, however, a valid counter argument to the accusations made in respect of these areas of concern.

Health, work and housing

It was frequently claimed in support of the anti-alien campaign that the Jews constituted a health hazard as they were 'uniquely susceptible to certain diseases' and content to live and work 'under the most insanitary conditions'.[48] If this were the case it should have been reflected in a high, or higher than average, death rate. Reasonably full and reliable data concerning death rates and infant mortality amongst the Jewish immigrants exists only in Manchester.[49] However, it is not unreasonable to suppose these figures were mirrored in other cities, an assumption supported by the findings of two London County Council (LCC) investigations, one

[46] Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson, *The Established and the Outsider: A sociological enquiry into community problems*, (2nd ed.), (London: Sage Publications, 1994), pp. xv, 75 & 94.
[47] Stuart Hall, 'The spectacle of the 'Other', in Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*, (London: Sage: in association with the Open University, 1997), p.225.
[48] Bernard Harris, 'Anti-Alienism, Health and Social Reform in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol.31, No.4, 1997, p.10.
[49] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, pp.158-159.

in 1889 and another in 1901.[50] Here the children were said to be generally clean, well dressed and well fed and, despite the overcrowded, unsanitary and dilapidated housing conditions the rate of infant mortality was far lower amongst the Jewish working classes than in London as a whole.[51] In contradiction of the allegations that they were inherently unclean, it was said that they maintained a better lifestyle 'than was usual in the area'.[52] Furthermore, the Medical Officer of Health (MOH) for the Port of London opined that, bearing in mind the hardships many had suffered before arriving in Britain, their general state of health indicated 'a sort of survival of the fittest, and it is some of the best who come over'. [53]

The Manchester data shows the death rate among Jewish immigrants to be 'substantially lower than the general death rate in every age stratum except over sixty-five'.[54] This difference becomes more marked when comparing the residents of the poorer areas of the city with Jews of the same economic status. Here the death rate was 33.9 per 1000 but fell dramatically to 16.99 per 1000 amongst the Jewish immigrants. This difference is also reflected in the infant mortality rate. In Manchester this is recorded as 72.50 per 1000 infants aged under five but falls to 55.88 per 1000 among the Jewish immigrant community. A similar pattern in relation to Jewish infant mortality rates occurs outside Britain. Here statistics demonstrate that, in part, the lower rates of infant mortality can be accounted for by an increased survival rate of infants in the post-neonatal period (28 days of life to age one year). The inference drawn from this is that if an infant survived the first twenty eight days of life (the neonatal period) it was less likely to succumb to post-natal mortality. It therefore had a better expectation of a longer life thereafter. Despite the absence of detailed statistics it is reasonable to believe that this premise also applied to Jewish immigrants in East London.[55]

Even so, by reference to evidence contained in annual reports complied by the medical officers of health and the school medical officers of Leeds (covering the years 1890 to 1921), Bernard Harris has more recently introduced a counter

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[50] Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, pp.128-129.
[51] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp.166 & 171.
[52] Bermant, *The Point of Arrival*, pp. 145-153.
[53] Harris, 'Anti-Alienism' p.11, quoting Dr Herbert Williams' report to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, 1903.
[54] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.159.
[55] Lara V. Marks, *Model Mothers. Jewish mothers and maternity provision in East London, 1870-1939*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp.52-55.

hypothesis. Not only does he hold that 'there is little evidence to show that the presence of a substantial Jewish population had any noticeable effect on local infant mortality rates' statistical evidence appears to show that 'far from being healthier than the surrounding population, there were a number of respects in which Jewish children were consistently less healthy'. In this regard he suggests that the reputation enjoyed by Jewish mothers, who 'were believed to exemplify the new virtues which public health officials were seeking to promote', was either exaggerated or had lesser impact on infant mortality than commentators, such as Lara Marks, may suppose.[56] Indeed, Marks does observe that the quality of maternal care was likely to have played a minor rôle in 'neonatal mortality with prematurity, congenital deformity and environmental conditions being other contributory factors'.[57] Furthermore what cannot be accounted for are the number of maternal deaths in childbirth, or miscarriages and still births. These of themselves could be indicative of the effect the health of women of child bearing age had on the survival rate of their children.[58] Nevertheless it can be argued that the lower infant death rate amongst Jewish immigrant families demonstrates that the latter were better fed and healthier than English children of the same economic class.[59] In any event, the fact that the Manchester figures relate to two groups living in similar conditions of squalor and disorder raises the question as to why one should be healthier than the other. It is possible, as Gartner says, that years of living in cramped conditions in towns and cities helped to build up a natural immunity to 'the perils of urban life'.[60]

Gartner's 'natural immunity' may well have its foundation in the fact that human breast milk contains protection against a number of diseases and that a mother may pass her own immunity to her child.[61] In any event it has long been accepted that breast-fed infants have a far better chance of survival than those given prepared food and drink, particularly in children who are breast fed to the age of six months or more, a common practice amongst Jewish mothers. Indicative of the value

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[56] Harris, 'Anti-Alienism' pp.31-34.

[57] Marks, *Model Mothers*, p.55.The term 'neonatal', used by Marks, defines the period from birth to one month. *Neonatal Development*, https://embryology.med.unsw.edu.au. 7 October 2015.

[58] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.160, briefly mentions a physician's report in which it was alleged that the working conditions in Jewish workshops caused , amongst other problems, 'malformation of the pelvis, disorder in the menses..[and] miscarriages' in young women.

[59] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.159.

[60] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.160.

[61] Kelly M .Jackson, & Andrea M Nazar, 'Breastfeeding, the Immune Response, and Long-term Health', *The Journal of the American Osteopathic Association*, Vol.106, No.4, April 2006, pp.203-207.

placed upon breast-feeding is an entry in the minutes of Charcroft House relating to the case of an unmarried mother who, following her confinement 'be engaged as a wet nurse, she being a strong and healthy girl'.[62] This latter comment relating to the girl's physical condition brings into focus the caveat to be considered, namely that of the health of the mother (or as in this case the lactating woman) and the effect this has on the quantity and quality of the breast-milk. The milk of undernourished women who are in poor health is likely to be lacking in the essential nutrients needed to sustain a healthy infant.[63] In such cases supplementary feeding and premature weaning were common amongst the poor of London. This practice of itself brought an added danger in the form of diarrhoea.[64] A major cause of infant death in the nineteenth century was diarrhoea, to which hand or bottle-fed infants were particularly susceptible because the unsanitary conditions prevalent in overcrowded and dilapidated accommodation made it impossible to store and prepare infants' food hygienically. In Jewish households these problems may have been ameliorated by the rituals associated with *Kosher* food such as the separation of milk and meat utensils, cleanliness of equipment and standards of personal hygiene. Additionally it was also habitual for milk or water to be boiled before giving it to young babies.[65]

Setting aside the question of infant mortality, the 'natural immunity' resulting in a 'substantially lower than general death rate' may in part be attributable to these various practices relating to diet, bathing and house-cleaning, which produced 'an hygienic effect'.[66] This difference in life style may well have protected many Jewish immigrants from the ravages of cholera and typhus, to which their neighbours succumbed due to bad water and sewage, but they still fell prey to the effects caused

[62] University of Southampton Special Collections, Papers of Jewish Care 1757-1989 MS173. Charcroft House Minutes, 17 December 1885. Charcroft House, established in 1885, was initially a shelter for immigrant girls rescued by agents acting on behalf of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls & Women (JAPGW). The qualification for admission was that the girls be in moral danger and the purpose being to train them in domestic tasks with a view to future employment. Little help was available to unmarried mothers but, in the view of the JAPGW, some were 'redeemable'. The administrators of Charcroft House accepted 'those who have sinned and been sinned against' and 'those who are anxious to hide their shame'. Thus this 'strong and healthy girl' could be found work providing sustenance for another, more materially fortunate, woman's child. Sadly, her own bastard infant is likely to have been fostered out, artificially fed and, consequently, joined the infant death statistics.

[63] Valerie Fildes, 'Breast-feeding in London, 1905-19', *Journal of Biosocial Science*, (1992) 24, pp.66 & 68. See also 'Raising awareness of milk banking',.abm.me.uk, and *Precious Drops Milk Bank*, www.nbt.nhs.uk. 7 October 2015.

[64] Marks, *Model Mothers*, pp.69-71.

[65] Marks, *Model Mothers*, pp.67-68.

[66] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, pp.159-160.

by a combination of unhealthy housing coupled with their working environment.[67] Far from depriving the English of their jobs and homes they were forced by necessity, to accept both work and accommodation that others would not. Many forms of employment were closed to Jews, through a combination of prejudice and discrimination. Coupled with this were the restrictions caused by language and religious requirements and the need to find employment 'in skills they already knew or that could be easily acquired'.[68] These factors contributed to the preponderance of Jews working in what was commonly referred to as the 'sweated trades' of tailoring and boot, shoe and slipper manufacturing. Sweated labour became synonymous with the influx of Jewish immigrants despite the fact that:

> Sweating in the London clothing trades pre-dated the great Jewish immigrations; indeed sweating was to be found in trades where no Jews had ever dared - or would ever dare - to set foot. In Leeds and Manchester sweaters were keen to replace immigrant Jewish males with native-born English females, because girls would work for lower wages and generally give less trouble.[69]

The unhealthy working conditions attached to these industries took the greatest toll on the health of the immigrant workers. The workshops were crowded, ill lit and ill ventilated creating a prime incubation environment for lung disease, especially pulmonary tuberculosis (TB), otherwise referred to as consumption. A major cause of the spread of this particular branch of the disease being the 'inhalation of dust laden with the bacilli or inhalation of droplets coughed into the air by a tuberculous patient' meant that one sufferer would eventually infect many others.[70] The spread of pulmonary TB amongst family members was then exacerbated by their cramped living conditions, sharing as poverty and other circumstances demanded both household utensils and bed.[71]

It was observed in the 1890s and 1900s that up to ninety per cent of the general adult population had, at some time during their lives, been infected by the TB bacillus. However only about ten per cent had developed the active disease a situation attributed partly due to an 'acquired immunity from possibly numerous

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[67] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.160.
[68] Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, p.121.
[69] Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, p.122.
[70] William A.R. Thomson, *Black's Medical Dictionary*, 29th Ed., (London: Book Club Associates, 1971). p.914.
[71] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.161.

small infections'.[72] Those adults who developed TB were thought to have 'compromised any immunity they had through poor general health, "irregular living", poverty or bad housing'.[73] Thus TB became regarded as a characteristic immigrant disease, which by the mid-1890s had become recognised as a major health problem within the Jewish community particularly in the densely populated areas of the East End of London.[74] By 1909, 'after a decade of effort at finding, diagnosing, and preventing consumption' it was found that the greater number of TB sufferers were aged between twenty-five and forty-five with a male to female ratio of almost 3:2, and 'were largely...tailors, boot and shoe makers, furriers, and cap makers, and cigarette makers'.[75] It seems likely, however, that the full extent of the problem was masked by under-diagnosis, particularly amongst women and children. By 1914 the number of registered cases relating to these two groups had increased by 317 percent and 1,010 per cent respectively. Overall the increase between 1909 and 1914, recorded by the Health Committee of the JBG, was almost three-fold to 3,145.[76]

The Anglo-Jewish community had long been awake to the fact that, in the public's perception, Jewish immigrants were associated with disease and contagion, implying that 'the medically "unfit" immigrant menaced the British Isles'.[77] Awareness of this 'readily animated philanthropic sensitivity' and led to the establishment of a number of organisations aimed at assisting the sick, disabled and elderly Jewish poor.[78] The JBG was paramount in the long campaign against TB. It liaised with local authorities in developing TB dispensaries in Whitechapel and Stepney.[79] It administered to the sick and dying providing aftercare facilities and a community nursing programme, and the Anglo-Jewish community funded a number of sanatoria and convalescent homes.[80]

The third major area of concern was the effect the increase in immigration had on housing. Despite the fact that 1890 saw a general increase in the rents for

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[72] Mark Harrison & Michael Worboys, 'A Disease of Civilization. Tuberculosis in Britain, Africa and India, 1900-39', in Lara Marks & Michael Worboys (eds.), *Migrants, Minorities, and Health: Historical and Contemporary Studies*, (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 95-97.
[73] Harrison & Worboys, 'A Disease of Civilization', p.97.
[74] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.165.
[75] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.161.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.166.
[78] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, pp 158-167.
[79] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.101.
[80] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.166.

working class houses the blame was laid squarely upon the Jewish immigrants, as was the increase in dilapidation caused by overcrowding.[81] The social consequences resulting from a concentration of immigrants, particularly in the East End, engendered a degree of anxiety amongst members of the Anglo-Jewish community, as the following extract from an editorial appearing in the *JC* demonstrates:

> ...it is not the immigration itself which is a regrettable phenomenon, but the huddling of newcomers in a few areas...In a word the problem is one of diffusion, not restriction...The concentration of the Jewish elements within certain areas has aggravated the grave over-crowding that existed.[82]

A suggested remedy to this problem was the dispersal of the 'Jewish current' to places 'as yet *terra incognita* to Jewry'. It was, however, recognised this would not be easy in the face of the resentment caused amongst the immigrants by the 'intrusion of strangers into their private plans'.[83]

To hold the Jewish immigrants wholly responsible for the dilapidation of properties and the increase in rents is clearly unjustifiable. An amalgam of factors meant that an ever increasing number of people were being squeezed into an ever decreasing area. The concentration of Jewish settlement in the East End resulted from its convenience to the docks, the earlier settlement of family members and those originating from the same town or district and the proximity of Jewish institutions in the area. Added to this was the existence of low-skilled employment in the workshop trades which, of necessity, required employee and employer to live within the same locality. Furthermore, the expansion of industrial and commercial development led to the demolition of what had been domestic dwellings. The resultant value of the land for business purposes meant that is was unprofitable to use it for housing.[84] In large part the immigrant was the victim, not the perpetrator of the problem. The workshop trades resulted in more properties being used for production as well as residence. The effect of this was twofold; it reduced living space and led to an increase in rent. In turn overcrowded properties, severely neglected by landlords whose prime concern was to maximum their return on their

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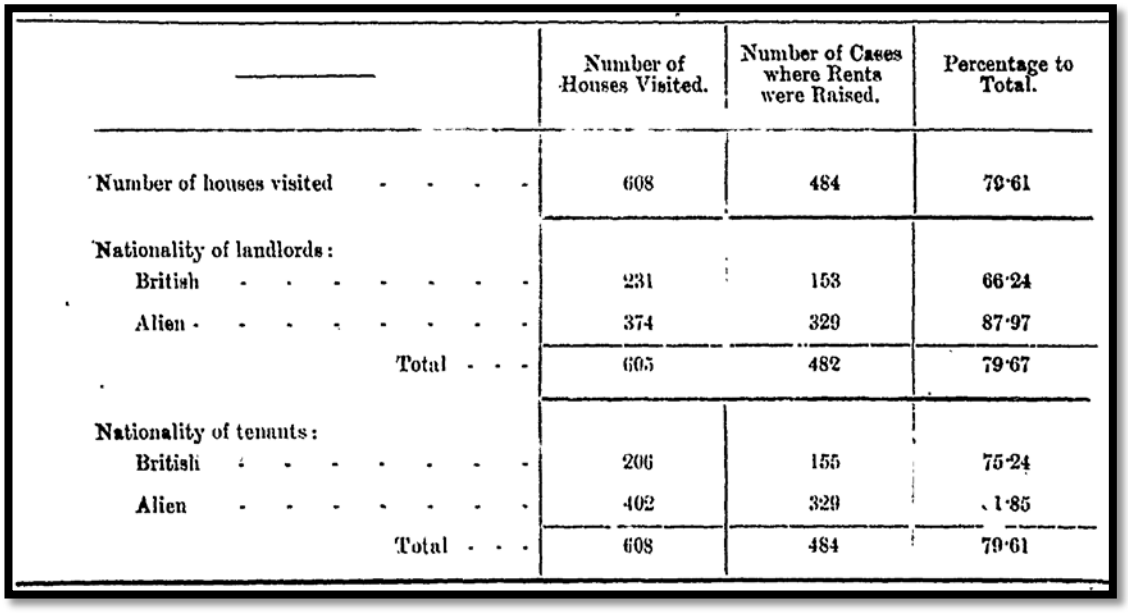
[81] David Feldman, 'The importance of being English. Jewish immigration and the decay of liberal England', in David Feldman & Gareth Stedman Jones, (eds). *Metropolis London. Histories and Representations since 1800*, (London: Routledge, 1989), p.60.
[82] *JC,* 19 July 1901, p.15.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp.173-174.

investments, led to further dilapidation and squalor. A leading example of this was the owner of Booth St Buildings, described in 1907 by the Stepney MOH as 'the most insanitary property in the Borough of Stepney'.[85] According to the MOH the responsibility for the disgusting conditions lay with the tenants who 'obstructed the drains by putting refuse down them and were not used to sophisticated sanitary equipment like water closets'.[86] A comment such as this, from an official source, could only have served to re-enforce existing prejudice. In reality the responsibility 'lay firmly at the door of the owner, Mr Gershon Harris...[who] provided his fellow Jews with incomparably inferior accommodation'.[87] Indeed over a seven year period he was served with 1,566 notices to repair and clean the building and was prosecuted eighty-four times.[88] Hence, despite the MOH's condemnation of the tenants, the local authority was manifestly aware of Harris's liability, and neglect, as a landlord.

Increasingly, Jewish immigrants were exploited by Jewish landlords, particularly in the Jewish East End which allowed rich pickings. Research carried out by Edgar Harper, Statistical Officer of the LCC, was presented to the RCAI covering the years 1890 to 1902. This indicated that immigrant landlords were more likely to raise rents than native ones, and immigrant tenants were more likely to suffer from this (Fig: 1).[89]

[85] Jerry White, *Rothschild Buildings. Life in an East End Tenement Block 1887-1920*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p.63.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] *RCAI Minutes of Evidence*, Vol.II, p.384, q.11525.*RCAI Index and analysis*, Vol.IV, p.97 and Table XLVI, Appendix, p.50



	Number of Houses Visited.	Number of Cases where Rents were Raised.	Percentage to Total.
Number of houses visited	608	484	79·61
Nationality of landlords:			
British	231	153	66·24
Alien	374	329	87·97
Total	605	482	79·67
Nationality of tenants:			
British	206	155	75·24
Alien	402	329	81·85
Total	608	484	79·61

Figure 1: Table XLVI: 'Showing the Nationality of Landlords and of Tenants of a certain number of Houses in the Borough of Stepney, with the number of cases where the rents were raised by British and Alien Landlords respectively'.[90]

Although Feldman draws attention to the possibility that some of the rent increases may have been linked to the addition of new space in the form of a workshop Harper, as far as was possible, 'endeavoured to confine these figures to properties where no structural additions have been made'.[91] One Jewish landlord, taxed with the question of how 'he came to oppress one of his tenants, a very poor man and a Jew like himself' is purported to have replied 'When I go to synagogue I am a Jew, when I come for my rent, I am a *goy*', thus demonstrating that despite the long held tradition that the Jewish community should support its own poor this could be overcome all too easily by the tough economics of the housing market. [92]

Contrary to this example, it was maintained by many of those who supported restricted immigration that 'Jewish charity was a magnet drawing East European paupers to London'.[93] Notwithstanding this allegation it became increasingly expedient, in the face of escalating anti-alienism, to overtly demonstrate that the

[90] Ibid.
[91] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.175, footnote 37 and *RCAI Minutes of Evidence*, Vol.II, p.384, q. 11521.
[92] Cyril Russell and Harry Samuel Lewis, *The Jews in London. A study of Racial Character & Present Day Conditions*, (New York: Thomas Y Crowell & Co., 1901), p.174. This work comprises two essays, Part I by Russell and Part II by Lewis, prepared for the Toynbee Trustees.
[93] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo Jewry*, p.167.

Jews were not a burden on the British public. As it happened the responsibility for the social costs of the nation as a whole were gradually being accepted by the state. First to be effectively transferred were the costliest, being those of housing, education and public welfare. It has been argued that this increasing scale of state intervention 'allowed Anglo-Jewry the luxury of appearing to care for its own on a communal voluntaristic basis', thus leaving them free to concentrate on 'the cheaper, often more visible areas of social welfare'.[94] Help was given in a variety of forms to a multiplicity of beneficiaries. Some smaller organisations, such as the Indigent Blind Society, catered to those with a specific disability or need. Others gave aid specifically for children or the old and a wide range of others qualified for relief grants in cash or kind. Admittedly this largesse 'could be paraded before the community and the country' but, accepting that criticism, it cannot be denied Jews 'met their social responsibilities more completely than any other group in British society'.[95]

Social control and self determination

In any event, since the early 1880s it had been recognised that the influx of East European Jews was causing considerable concern. It must therefore be conceded that the growth in Anglo-Jewish philanthropy was based upon necessity and continued to thrive. This escalation may have been from a combination of a sense of obligation, social control or political expediency but, whatever the motivation, steps had to be taken to ameliorate the underlying problem. The presence of this large poor immigrant population was held to impede integration and contribute to a state of social distress, adversely reflecting upon the established Jewish community. In the view of the *JC* 'our fair fame is bound up with theirs'. In turn this presented the Anglo-Jewish institutions with the task of aiding 'the brethren of ours towards the higher stage of culture offered by English life'.[96] It was in this context that the various philanthropic bodies, and in particular the JBG, came to the fore. However the increasing plethora of institutions, ostensibly aimed at resolving the problems of the poor, was not wholly altruistic. To quote Susan Tucker:

[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.292 and footnote 5, quoting from the *JC*, 12 August 1881, p.9.

> Giving and receiving in all cultures are symbolic acts that carry many levels of meaning. Giving is traditionally considered an act of concern, care, and even love for another person. However, it is also an assertion of one's own superiority, as well as compensation for another act. Receiving means acceptance of the giver – whether as a friend or as a superior – and an acceptance of the obligation to reciprocate.[97]

Setting aside the possible desire for 'social prestige' and self-aggrandizement, there also existed a strong element of what is often referred to as 'social control'. It has long been accepted that this latter was governed by two major constituents. Firstly, a growing awareness amongst the existing Anglo-Jewish community of the mounting anti-Semitic reaction to the constantly increasing numbers of poor immigrants. Secondly, the escalating political pressure being brought to bear on what was coming to be seen as 'a long term problem and no longer a temporary emergency'.[98] Williams has introduced a third, namely 'the way in which cultural interchange is mediated through class structures and influenced by social change'.[99] Into this equation he brings the relationship between three elements, established Anglo-Jewry, the immigrant working class and the *nouveaux riches* entrepreneurs, the latter, whom he refers to as the 'alrightniks' being 'less than selfless mediators between East and West'.[100]

At first sight it would appear that Anglicisation of the immigrants required positive and direct action. Whilst this may have proved difficult with the adults:

> ...their children were taken firmly in hand...Schools were the front lines in the campaign to shape Jewish subculture... schools and ancillary socializing institutions were also designed to shape and cultivate youth in a mode and image that both Jews and Britons would applaud.[101]

On the other hand, in Gartner's opinion time would have seen acculturation develop, although not solely, by a form of natural osmosis:

> Anglicization…would have happened with or without the diligent efforts of native Jewry to hasten it and to mould it in the cast which seemed most becoming. It reached deeper, involving the transformation of the economic

[97] Susan Tucker, *Telling Memories Among Southern Women. Domestic Workers & Their Employers in the Segregated South*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), p.145.
[98] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 306-311.
[99] Williams, '"East and West": Class and Community', p.16.
[100] Ibid
[101] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.105.

> life of the immigrants, the change of their language, the modification of their social habits and the metamorphosis of their communal life.[102]

There also exists the view that the extent of Anglo-Jewish intervention, from the 1880s, in the lives of the Eastern European immigrants was an exercise in 'social control, in which class goals were uppermost'.[103] Although preferring to use the term 'socialisation' Black upholds this premise when he refers to:

> …the ways in which a small, highly acculturated, London based Jewish elite developed a variety of institutions to socialize the Jewish community. Anglo-Jewry's objectives were simple: to create patriotic Britons and to preserve Jewish culture.[104]

The level and success of social control exerted by dependence upon aid from various organizations remains a subject for debate. In reality the answer probably lies in a combination of the two strands of thought as, other than in the most extreme circumstances, there exists the element of choice to be exercised by the individual. As demonstrated by the *JC* editorial of 19 July 1901 it was recognized that coercion may be met by the resistance of self-will.[105] It is not beyond the bounds of reason that many immigrants would have chosen to adopt, at least some, changes to their lifestyle without denying their cultural traditions. Then again, in the face of alleviating poverty, one has often to pay a price. In the case of many immigrants that price would have been to accord with the requirements of the philanthropic institution involved which, in a variety of ways, required 'Anglicisation'. By conceding to the conditions of an assortment of Anglo-Jewish institutions the poor received not only financial relief but, *inter alia*, secondary education, religious education, youth clubs, apprenticeship schemes, model dwellings, soup kitchens, clothing, maternity care, care in old age, care for the disabled and a shelter for newly arrived immigrants.[106]

Coupled with the issue of social control is that of class restrictions aimed at keeping the proletariat in its proper place. In Feldman's words:

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[102] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.268.
[103] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.329.
[104] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.ix.
[105] Footnotes 82 & 83 refer.to this article in the *JC.*
[106] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p 347.

> The successful containment of immigrants within the established communal organization was of great significance for the long-term development of Anglo-Jewry.[107]

In effect keeping the working classes in 'their place' could be exercised in two particular economic areas, those of employment and housing. Overpopulation coupled with periods of general unemployment contributed to the exploitation of the workforce, both in terms of working conditions and financial reward. In conjunction with this, the shortage of housing encouraged rackrenting landlords to charge the already poor excessive rent.[108] Although philanthropic efforts attempted to counter this by providing purpose built tenement housing, charging less draconian rents, this did little to lift the social status of the residents. Indeed the resulting buildings were so large and 'hemmed in by rules and wrought-iron railings' that they were considered by some contemporary commentators of being in danger of destroying a person's freedom of thought and ambition, thus hindering any hope of advancement.[109] However, human personality is resilient and with drive and determination there were many with the strength to escape from the prison of the 'ghetto economy'.[110] In the area of unemployment upward mobility improved when a worker learned new skills. The availability of small loans led to experienced employees becoming independent, masters instead of servants. In this way, some were able to lift themselves out of poverty and slowly climb the ladder of social mobility.[111] Doubtless further research would reveal a number who, like Max Shire and his nephew Philip Meshenberg became the *nouveaux riches* entrepreneurs of the type referred to by Williams.[112]

People's history

Falling broadly into the category of history written by and concerning the elites, much has been published about those who often gave generously of their time and money to a variety of philanthropic causes. Similarly since the rise in popularity of 'people's history', a term which embraces a number of populist reactions against

[107] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.320.
[108] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.174.
[109] White, *Rothschild Buildings,* pp.31-32.
[110] White, *Rothschild Buildings,* pp260-261. (See also Joseph Buckman, *Immigrants and the class struggle. The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds 1880-1914*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983). p.159).
[111] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp.245-251.
[112] Williams, '"East and West": Class and Community', p.16.

the monopolisation of history written by elites, the quantity of writings dedicated to 'rescuing the experience of ordinary people in the past' has increased.[113] Wide ranging though it is, the subject matter of 'people's history' has the common aim of 'bringing the boundaries of history closer to those of people's lives'.[114] However, many of the writings relating to the lives of the Jewish immigrant families in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries deal with the generalities of exploitation and social deprivation. At times these are illuminated by quotes from such as a 'Resident of the East End' or others whose anonymity has been preserved, as demonstrated in White's *Rothschild Buildings.*[115] Then again there exists the occasional autobiography such as that of Simon Joseph**,** the son of a Polish immigrant family who settled in South Wales, and the first of their children to be born in Britain, He wrote of a happy, uncomplicated childhood and a school career during which he succeeded in all his endeavours.[116] Valuable though individual testimonies of this type may be there is a caveat to be born in mind, namely that memory may be a misleading companion when the effect of nostalgia, which could be described as memory minus the negative aspects, is taken into account. As Peneff explains:

> The mythical element in life stories is the pre-established framework within which individuals explain their personal history: the mental construct which, starting from the memory of individual facts which would otherwise appear incoherent and arbitrary, goes on to arrange and interpret them and so turn them into biographical events. Such mythical frameworks are common in all societies. They are especially widespread in societies undergoing rapid development and change, where individuals tell their histories as a kind of progress or journey… the myth of a poor childhood can be found in almost all the better-off sections of society…You will find everywhere the same theme with only a few small variations…The myth of success through one's own efforts tends to minimize the work of the whole group for the advantage of one individual.[117]

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[113] John Tosh, 'People's History', in John Tosh, (ed), *Historians on History*, (Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2000), p.109.
[114] Raphael Samuel, 'People's History' in John Tosh, (ed), *Historians on History*, (Harlow, Essex Pearson Education Ltd., 2000), p.110.
[115] Jonathan A. Romain, *The Jews of England. A portrait of Anglo-Jewry through original sources and illustrations*, 2nd ed., (London: Jewish Chronicle Publications Ltd., 1988), pp.126-128 and White, *Rothschild Buildings*, Appendix 1, p.291, respectively.
[116] Simon Joseph, *My Formative Years. A Jewish boy's childhood in South Wales in the early 1900s*, (London: Multifarious Publications, 1993).
[117] Jean Peneff, 'Myths in life stories', in Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (eds.), *The Myths We Live By*, (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.36-38.

What is frequently missing from the studies of Jewish philanthropy prevalent at this time is the effect on the beneficiaries and their families. The thrust of this study is a forensic exploration of the lives of three individuals who received help with the purpose of developing their talents and thus ensuring that they became self-supporting and respected members of society. The intention is to deviate from reliance on personal memoir and social commentary meaning that the research depends primarily upon the detailed analysis of contemporaneous documentation which relates specifically to each chosen character. Some of the official records used, such as birth, marriage and death certificates have the advantage of being relatively neutral, but not definitive, reports.[118] Others such as archival and academic records and press reports, whilst possibly not totally unproblematic, have the benefit of being recorded at the time by an impersonal third-party, thus reducing the 'mythical element' of memory. These sources alone, however, only provided the framework upon which to build the lives of these ordinary individuals and their family members. Thus the field of research expanded, using a wide variety of sources, which may at first have seemed unconnected but which all eventually served the purpose of giving 'voice' to those who have seldom been heard. The aim, however, was not to describe things the way they really were but to 'offer an account of how an explanation and narrative of reality' could be established.[119]

The records of the Jewish Education Aid Committee (JEAC), the Jewish Education Aid Society (JEAS) and the Union of Jewish Women (UJW) demonstrate control from above of the lives of those below. In many ways these records say more about the philanthropists than they do about those they helped. As with some of the press reports they largely exclude the migrant voice. This then is the first study to address the subject from the bottom up, its aim being to present an account of the lives of the three individuals to whom Chapters 2, 3 and 4 relate whose connection was simply that they were Jewish, poor and possessed of an exceptional talent, thus qualifying for assistance from the JEAC and/or the JEAS. In tandem with this biographical detail the intention is to explore the effect, beneficial or otherwise, the help they received from this philanthropic institution had on their lives and those of

[118] Although such records are official documents they are not always without error. For example, mistakes have occurred as the result of the Anglicisation of names, misunderstanding in translation by enumerators and confusion relating to dates of birth of those born abroad.

[119] Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in G. Nelson, (ed.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988),p.281.

their families. Within this there arises the combined effect of social and class control, individual choice, determination and talent.

Research of this nature can be both rewarding and challenging. Unlike many of the wealthy and highly educated who maintained a record of their families' lives, often retained in extensive archives, the lives of the poor, as identified individuals, usually went unrecorded. Where and when a record has been maintained it has often been in the words of social commentators referring to the general conditions experienced by a group or in an area. To quote Gartner, 'Intimate details of the home and domestic life reach us less distinctly than the evanescent society of the club and the street'.[120]

Letters such as that written by Moses Mendel Shire are seldom available.[121] Thus, rather than being directly connected to the individuals whose life style and attitudes are being recorded the writer produces a second or third hand representation of actuality. Accounts of this nature rely on the teller of the tale who, in this way, creates and perpetuates his/her own mythologies. Tonkin refers to this as the 'representation of pastness', as opposed to 'history', something that should not be construed as 'myth' in the context of being purely fictitious.[122] She also points out that the teller of a story is influenced by the 'social worlds in which they live, and which, by their telling, they model and sometimes seek to alter' and that 'social expectation, genre, and a hidden agenda...need to be understood in order to evaluate the recollection'.[123] This latter caveat needs to be born in mind when considering the validity of the material used in this research which relates to the writings of others, not the individual who is the subject of the study.

A particular organisation with a specific purpose

As may be seen from the preceding paragraphs much has been written by others about Jewish philanthropy, the work of the larger Anglo-Jewish organisations and the lives of many of those who were members of their various committees.

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[120] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.166.

[121] Footnote 35 refers to the source and translation of this letter. See also Gur Alroey, *Bread to Eat & Clothes to Wear. Letters from Jewish Migrants in the Early Twentieth Century*, (Detroit Wayne State University Press, 2011). He addresses the mistakes and misunderstandings which occur as the result of translation from *Yiddish* to English.

[122] Elizabeth Tonkin, 'History and the myth of realism', in Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (eds.), *The Myths We Live By*, (London: Routledge, 1990), p.27.

[123] Tonkin, 'History and the myth of realism' p.29.

However little is recorded about the lives of the individuals who were the recipients of such help, in particular those who were assisted by some of the lesser known concerns. One such organisation is the JEAC, founded in 1898, which, in 1907 was renamed the JEAS.[124] Gartner makes no mention of the work of the JEAS despite addressing, at some length, the issue of the education of Jewish children.[125] Eugene Black at least refers, albeit briefly and in somewhat unflattering terms, to the 'Education Aid Committee, founded in 1898, [which] functioned as a somewhat capricious *dues ex machina'.*[126] This apparent lack of interest in the work of the JEAS is further reflected in the paucity of information contained in some of the biographical works of those who, having been assisted by the JEAS, later achieved a degree of fame. Amongst those whose early steps to success were assisted by the JEAS are a number of artists notable amongst whom is Sir Jacob Epstein. Epstein first came to the committee's notice in 1905. He is referred to as a 'Young Jewish Sculptor' who showed 'unusual promise' but needed assistance to 'follow up his career'.[127] In the company of those who supported Epstein's application was George Bernard Shaw, resulting in the sculptor being awarded financial assistance during the following two years.[128] Epstein's association with members of the JEAS and the established Anglo-Jewish community continued, to his advantage, after this direct monetary support ceased. Evidence of this patronage is contained in a letter he wrote, dated 9 December 1923, to a member of the Adler family. In this Epstein confirms receipt of a cheque for £150 from a client for payment of a 'bronze head...in accordance with your [Adler's] arrangement with him'.[129] Although Epstein refers in his autobiography to various influential friends and patrons he makes no mention of his quite long-standing relationship with the JEAS and the help he received from this source.[130] This may be due to the fact that, although prospering, he had failed to maintain repayment to the JEAS. Following a

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[124] University of Southampton Special Collections, Papers of the Jewish Education Aid Committee and Society MS 135: AJ35.Hereafter the Education Aid Committee and the Education Aid Society will be referred to as the Jewish Education Aid Society (JEAS) unless it is essential in the interest of clarity to refer to each by its title.
Further footnote references to these papers will appear in an abbreviated form as all are contained in the above collection.

[125] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, pp. 220-240.

[126] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, pp.119-120.

[127] JEAC minutes 8 October 1905, 29 March 1906 and 26 March 1907. (See also Sarah MacDougall, *Mark Gertler*, (London: John Murray, 2002), p.26).

[128] Ibid.

[129] University of Southampton Special Collections, Papers of the Adler Family MS116/11.

[130] Sir Jacob Epstein, *Epstein. An Autobiography*, (2nd Edition), (London: Vista Books, 1963).

Committee meeting, at which the subject of previous students who were not making regular repayments was discussed, it was remarked 'The worst delinquent is a sculptor, Epstein, who is probably the most distinguished of them all'.[131]

Male artists appear to have been favoured during the early years of the JEAS perhaps because as John Russell Taylor points out in his biography of Bernard Meninsky:

> Very curiously, and completely without any apparent link or common cause, at least five artists destined to be notable were born in very similar circumstances in the years 1890 -1892: David Bomberg and Isaac Rosenberg in 1890, Bernard Meninsky and Mark Gertler in 1891, and Jacob Kramer in 1892. They were all Jewish, all of East European origin...they all found their way to the Slade School around 1912...[132]

Three of these men are known to have received direct help from the JEAS although that assistance has, in the main, only been acknowledged *en passant* by their various biographers. Taylor refers to the JEAS paying Kramer's expenses for three terms at the Slade.[133] William Lipke mentions in his study of David Bomberg that 'Aided by a grant from the Jewish Educational Aid Society... [he] enrolled in the Slade School of Fine Art in January 1911'.[134] Additionally, Richard Cork refers to 'The legal agreement between Bomberg and the Jewish Education Aid Society' which provided him with the financial means to attend the Slade.[135] MacDougall's biography of Mark Gertler contains slightly more detail about his relationship with the JEAS to whom he was referred by Sir Isidore Speilman, a member of both the JBG and the JEAS. [136] Gertler's initial application, made in 1907 was not progressed, evidently due to the fact that '...most of the Society's members were away for the

[131] JEAS minutes 9 February 1920 and University of Southampton Special Collections, Papers of Robert Waley Cohen MS363: letter dated 10 February 1920 from Robert Waley Cohen to Leonard Montefiore.
[132] John Russell Taylor, *Bernard Meninsky*, (Bristol: Redcliffe Press Ltd., 1990), p.11.
[133] Taylor, *Bernard Meninsky*, p.14.
[134] William Lipke, *David Bomberg: a critical study of his life and work*, (London: Evelyn, Adams & Mackay Ltd, 1967), p.34.
[135] Richard Cork, *David Bomberg*, (London: Yale University Press, 1987), p.22. (See also Tony Kushner, 'Jewish Archives,' in Ian Coulson and Anne Crawford, (eds.), *Archives in Education*, (London: PRO Publications, 1995), pp.47-49).
[136] MacDougall, *Mark Gertler*, p.23.

summer'.[137] It was not until his second application in the autumn of 1908 that he was awarded the fees to enable him to enter the Slade.[138]

Thus the work of the JEAS and the achievements of many of the applicants they helped have, in the main, gone unrecognised. The purpose of this work is aimed at redressing the balance by exploring in detail the lives of three of those individuals who sought, and gained, help from the JEAS. As will be demonstrated the assistance offered fell into two categories. Firstly it was financial with sums of money being awarded for a variety of reasons ranging from clothing and food to tuition fees, but all aimed at the applicant being able to continue studying the subject at which s/he excelled. Secondly there was the benefit derived from gaining access to members of the established Anglo-Jewish society, a milieu unlikely to have been available to impoverished Jewish children or young people. Although not relevant in every case this contact, via the JEAS, often led to patronage which continued over a number of years. As will be seen, in one case it could be argued that this was a negative feature of the philanthropic system in as much as the recipient appears to have developed a degree of welfare dependency. Yet this is counter-balanced by the independent spirit demonstrated by one of the others. In any event all were given the opportunity to develop their talents and with it a certain amount of independence. With this, although in some respects open to question, came the prospect of attaining a standard of living higher than that to which they were born.

In order to address these and various related issues this work is divided into four chapters. Firstly, before the effect on and the lives of the recipients is discussed, it is essential to focus on the founding of the JEAC, its demise and reformation as the JEAS and the intentions of the members in funding educational opportunities for talented youngsters. Of pertinence to the development of the JEAS are the instances of disharmony between the founders and later members of the JEAC. The resulting changes which occurred in 1907 also led to a formalised relationship between the JEAS and the UJW, which was specifically relevant in the case of female applicants. These issues are dealt with in Chapter 1 as they have a direct bearing on how and why the beneficiaries were selected, their funding and other forms of support provided within the Anglo-Jewish community.

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[137] Ibid. (See also John Woodeson, *Mark Gertler. Biography of a painter, 1891 – 1939*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1972), p.43).
[138] MacDougall, *Mark Gertler* pp. 25-27 and Woodeson, *Mark Gertler* pp.48-49.

Although the aim of this work is to give an insight into the effect this type of philanthropy may have had on the lives of the recipients it was not, within its confines, practical to conduct a detailed study of the family background, life and career of every applicant. The fact that of the three candidates selected one was a child, one a teenager and one a young adult, each of whom came from a different UK geographical area was deliberate. Although this approach meant that, to some extent, the range of candidates was restricted the choice of gender and particular 'talent' was made at random in order to minimise the possibility of the researcher approaching the investigation with a preformed agenda. The outcome of the investigations into the lives of these three, viewed in conjunction with the class and social expectations of the day coupled with cultural and racial issues related to their Jewish background, identify interesting differences and similarities in their treatment.

The purpose of the three chapters has been to examine the consequence the intervention of philanthropic help had on the lives of markedly dissimilar personalities. Each case reflects the effect of individual choice and the response to the demands and expectations of others, be they family members, the philanthropic providers or society in general. Chapter 2 takes as its subjects Philip Blackman a talented teenaged male academic, living in the East End of London, who grasped his fate largely in his own hands. He took it upon himself to assimilate and become an 'Englishman' but also retained his Jewish identity and became a respected pillar of his community. He appears first in this work because, of the three, he alone came to Britain as an immigrant a circumstance which sets him apart from the others. Furthermore, as a male and an academic, it seems he was able to maintain a greater degree of independence from the JEAS. Having put their help to good use he repaid all the funding he had received and ceased to be under their control. Chapter 3 presents the life of Maude Gold, a female child prodigy, who was born after her family had settled in Wales. Removed from them at the age of nine it is evident that she suffered a number of (possibly psychosomatic) health problems in addition to, seemingly, developing a degree of welfare dependency. It is evident that some of Maude's problems arose because of the relationship between her father and the JEAS. In some ways her experience is similar to that of Amy Rolda [Robinson], the subject of Chapter 4. At the time she contacted the JEAS Amy was a young adult, performing under the professional name of Amy Rolda, who hoped for an operatic career as a soprano. In her case the question of establishing identity has been a major

issue and leaves many unanswered questions which highlight the problems associated with analysis of this type.

The first step in selecting the individuals to be studied lay in an examination of the minute books of the JEAC and JEAS. During the early years of the JEAC their records exhibit a well meaning but somewhat amateurish approach to minute taking and the maintenance of the books in general. Regularly the full name and age of the applicant is omitted with little mention of his or her antecedence. Frequently then the researcher was faced with no more than a tantalising fragment of information requiring recourse to a variety of other sources. Press reports and a range of public records and archives held by other institutions supplied what Natalie Zemon Davis refers to as an 'historical laboratory' which generates 'not proofs, but historical possibilities'.[139] Clearly without access to the personal papers of those under investigation these various case studies present an indication, not a certainty, of the individual's personality and lifestyle. Even then the interpretation may rest with the writer's agenda. Nevertheless these case studies offer an insight into the effect this particular source of philanthropy had on the lives of three very different people and various members of their families.

[139] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, (Cambridge, Massachusettes: London, England: Harvard University Press, 1983), p.viii.

Chapter 1

From the Jewish Education Aid Committee to the Jewish Education Aid Society: 1896–1907.

Introduction

As has been discussed in the Introduction, British society had long held the persistence of the Jewish poor in contempt, or so the established Jewish elite feared. From the late 1840s onwards, the need for the more affluent members of the established Jewish population to help their impoverished co-religionists became an ever-increasing message voiced in the pages of the *JC*.[140] Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century there existed 'a plethora of Jewish charitable bodies in London [which] attempted to cope with the embarrassment and the burden of indigent Jews'.[141] This sometimes led to duplication of intent, without any overall plan, and 'organized philanthropy cried out for rationalization and reform'.[142] It was the owner-editor of the *JC*, Abraham Benisch, who 'pressed for the amalgamation, consolidation and rationalization of philanthropic institutions', a campaign which led eventually, in 1859, to the creation of the JBG.[143] However, the problem of consolidation was not resolved as:

> The vested interests of dozens of organizations and hundreds of subscribers were at stake. Every donor, in meeting his or her moral obligation as a Jew, also earned social prestige. Each enjoyed that small access to power…Each had self importance not easily or readily surrendered…[144]

With the escalation in demand for assistance, swelled by the influx of immigrants and periods of considerable unemployment, came an increase in the philanthropic network, which numbered more than forty institutions by 1905.[145] Many of these overlapped in their aims, competed for funds and vied for power. This will be demonstrated later in this study when the relationship between the UJW and

[140] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p.23.
[141] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p.34.
[142] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.74.
[143] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, pp.34-35.
[144] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.75.
[145] Ibid,p.191.

the re-constituted JEAS is discussed. Meanwhile, into this milieu in 1896, entered the JEAC, an organization:

> ...instituted in order to afford poor Jewish children possessed of exceptional talent an opportunity of developing them by providing the means of pursuing those studies for which they might be peculiarly fitted.[146]

The instigators of this new philanthropic concern were members of the Maccabaeans, an organization founded by a group of young Jewish intellectuals who called themselves 'The Wanderers', largely because they had no fixed meeting place.[147] The result of a meeting amongst a number of Wanderers in September 1891 was the formation of 'an organization which would intensify Jewish social life'. With a permanent meeting place in Piccadilly and finally named the Maccabaeans this new Society came into being.[148]

The aim of the Maccabaeans was to encourage 'social intercourse and co-operation among its members, with a view to the promotion of the interests of the Jewish Race'.[149] Although not stated in the regulations this was clearly an all male society. Initially, non-professionals were allowed membership although this concession was quickly curtailed. Fearful that 'Jews in the business world' would outnumber those of the 'liberal professions', for whom the Society was intended, future membership was restricted.[150] The qualification for membership became that participants should, primarily, be Jews engaged in professional pursuits although admission of up to ten others would be considered. The proviso here was that any non-professional should have 'some distinct claim to election' by their record of public service or interest in literature, art or science.[151] Thus members 'represented the acknowledged secular professional and intellectual elite of Anglo-Jewry'.[152]

The social activities of the Maccabaeans afforded many young Jewish professionals to meet others of like mind, including their 'peers in British life and

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[146] JEAC, *Report to Subscribers* 22 July 1898.
[147] Ronald A. Goodman, *The Maccabaeans: The Founding Fathers and Early Years,* (London: The Maccabaeans, 1979), p.2.
[148] Goodman, *The Maccabaeans,* pp.4 -5.
[149] University of Southampton, Special Collections, Papers of the Maccabaeans MS126. *Rules and Regulations* August 1893.
Further footnote references to these papers will appear in an abbreviated form as all are contained in the above collection.
[150] Goodman, *The Maccabaeans,* pp.4-5.
[151] The Maccabaeans. *Rules and Regulations* August 1893.
[152] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry,* p.155.

culture'.[153] It is clear from documentation held in this archive, including numerous bills and receipts, that much effort was put into arranging dinners, concerts and other assemblies. There was, however, a more serious side to their activities. Firstly, they are attributed as being 'instrumental in fostering a modest revival of interest in the Jewish cultural heritage', leading in 1893 to the idea of forming the Jewish Historical Society of England.[154] Secondly, they involved themselves in various philanthropic activities, some indirectly such as the support of Toynbee Hall in the East End,[155] and some directly as exemplified by the founding in 1895 of the Jewish Lads' Brigade and, in 1896, the JEAC.[156] With regard to the latter, a somewhat scathing piece appeared in the *JC*. This welcomed the Maccabaeans' involvement with the JEAC 'if only as evidence that the fervent Maccabaean enthusiasm does sometimes take unto itself a practical shape and produce practical concrete results'.[157]

Such an acerbic comment may seem surprising as both Asher Myers, the then editor of the *JC*, and his friend Herbert Bentwich who became chairman of the JEAC were both Maccabaeans. However, it demonstrates the value of the *JC* as a community newspaper which also performed a 'newspaper's function to probe and evaluate, as well as to explain and support'.[158] This had been Abraham Benisch's aim during the second period of his editorship (1875-1878) when he had promoted and consolidated the *JC* as the 'dominant arena for communal discussion'.[159] Following Benisch's death, at his behest, Myers was appointed editor of the *JC.* Although it has been argued that Myers' editorial control was limited, Benisch evidently regarded him a worthy successor.[160] It is possible that having worked closely with Myers for some time he felt that editorship would be in safe hands and that the rôle he had been instrumental in, of playing Devil's Advocate with the aim of stimulating discussion, would continue. Thus by the latter part of the nineteenth century, although the *Jewish World* was a major rival, the *JC* was the one thing shared by the majority of British Jews regardless of their social status. It provided a

[153] Eugene Black, T*he Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.156.
[154] Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, p.223.
[155] Toynbee Hall was founded in 1884 by Samuel Augustus Barnett, canon of St. Jude's Church. It was Britain's first university settlement aimed at encouraging young professionals to help improve the lives of the poorer residents of the East End of London. *The History of Toynbee Hall*, www.toynbeehall.org.uk and *Toynbee Hall*, www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk. 9 January 2011.
[156] Eugene Black, T*he Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.155.
[157] 'The Maccabaeans and Jewish Talent', *JC*, 8 April 1898, p.20.
[158] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p.252.
[159] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p.65.
[160] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p.67-68.

vehicle for the expression of Jewish public opinion which was fundamental to the creation of many communal bodies, including the Maccabaeans. As a result of maintaining an independent position the *JC* acted as a watchdog over such organisations, providing a public forum in which unfettered debate could take place concerning their operation.[161]

The Maccabaeans' Committee for Education met in April 1896 and agreed to proceed with plans to establish an organization to help 'Jewish children of promise in Elementary Schools to obtain higher education in Secondary Schools'.[162] As this could not be achieved without funds, in addition to making an initial grant of £25, it was decided to ask 'individuals likely to aid in the movement' for contributions.[163] Later it was realised that there were a number of other issues to be addressed before these plans could be effected. In addition to maintaining continuation of funding, there arose the question of identifying suitable children and arranging for their 'special training to prepare them to compete for scholarships in secondary, intermediate and technical schools'.[164]

This generosity of intent but lack of planning, at a time when organizations such as the JEAC were burgeoning, endorses the views of Alice Model. An experienced nineteenth century social worker and one of the first female executive members of the JBG she refers to 'inexperienced enthusiasts' who wasted money and misdirected philanthropic energy.[165] Harsh though this description may seem in the face of well-meaning intentions and, in some cases (as will be demonstrated), highly beneficial results for the recipients, it is borne out by the record keeping and some of the activities of the JEAC. Thus, before progressing to the achievements of those students who were selected for assistance it is necessary to address the issues of organization and fund raising embarked upon by the Committee members.

[161] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p.249.
[162] The Maccabaeans. *Resolutions of the Maccabaeans* passed 19 April1896.
[163] Ibid.
[164] The Maccabaeans. *Meeting of the Committee for Education* 20 May 1896.
[165] Eugene Black, T*he Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.189.

Herbert Bentwich

Figure 2: Herbert Bentwich [166]

Indicative of the paucity of the information contained within the minutes of this new committee is the fact that while initially Louis Davidson was elected to the post of chairman he took little part in any proceedings. His involvement appears to have centred on the fact that he offered to fund '2 complete scholarships'.[167] Eventually, although asked to continue as Chairman, he was 'relieved of all active duty'.[168] No reason was given for his lack of participation in the rôle to which he had been elected, or for his eventual resignation.[169] In fact, from the outset, Herbert Bentwich adopted the position of Chairman, a post he held until the final meeting on 22 July 1907.[170]

Whatever the shortcomings of the record keeping, and fundraising problems encountered by the JEAC, it is clear from the minutes of the meetings that Bentwich was assiduous in his attendance and committed to the task the Committee had set themselves. His elder son Norman describes him as:

> …one of the pillars and fighters of the Anglo-Jewish community, orthodox in observance, and convinced to the depths of his soul that Israel had a continuing religious mission. He was engaged throughout his early manhood

[166] *Herbert Bentwich,* www.hampsteadschul.org.uk. 1 March 2011
[167] JEAC Minutes 8 July 1896.
[168] JEAC Minutes 12 November 1896.
[169] JEAC Minutes 26 January 1898.
[170] JEAC Minutes 22 July 1907.

> in communal work, building synagogues and religion-schools, organizing lectures for the Jewish masses in East London, and engrossed in the hundred and one charities and philanthropies.[171]

Bentwich's family background clearly influenced him in this sphere. Born in 1856 to a Russian Polish Jewish immigrant father and the British born daughter of other Jewish immigrants, he was not only proud of his mother's English birth and education but also surrounded by those in the established Anglo-Jewish community who involved themselves in a variety of charitable activities.[172] In 1875, at the age of 19, he received what he described as 'my first public Jewish appointment'. For three years, as a member of the Visiting Committee of the JBG, he served as a visitor and investigator dealing with 'distressed cases' in London's East End.[173] From 1880 onwards he began to play an ever-increasing active rôle in the public life of the community. This was a time when concern was being voiced about the need for schools in which Jewish education should be combined with secular, coupled with the provision of secondary and higher education. This latter proposal was wholeheartedly supported by Herbert Bentwich who believed that 'the loyalty of the young generation could best be secured by a ladder of Jewish education at institutions leading to the university'.[174]

In furtherance of this belief, at the age of 22, he assumed a secretarial office with the Education Committee of Jews' College, an institution to which he remained attached, as a member of its Council, for fifty years.[175] In his biography Norman Bentwich lays some emphasis on the value his father placed on education and says:

> It was the time when ardent young men believed in the saving virtue of educating the mass that was largely illiterate. From the outset my father's interest lay in fostering both English and Jewish education among the Jewish masses.[176]

It is surprising that Norman made no mention of his father's connection with the JEAC. This omission is all the more perplexing because Norman Bentwich is

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[171] Norman Bentwich, *Wanderer Between Two Worlds*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1941), p.1.
[172] Margery and Norman Bentwich, *Herbert Bentwich: The Pilgrim Father*, (Jerusalem: Hozaah Ivrith Ltd., 1940), pp.9-25.
[173] Margery and Norman Bentwich, *Herbert Bentwich*, p.27.
[174] Ibid, pp.22-23.
[175] Ibid, p29.
[176] Ibid, p29.

recorded as contributing to their funds so clearly he knew of his father's involvement.[177] The reason for the silence on this front can only be surmised but may lie with the manner in which the JEAS supplanted the JEAC in 1907, a matter which is discussed later in this work.

Class discrimination and pupil teachers

From the outset there appears to have been some confusion not only in relation to the raising of funds but also as to how the JEAC would operate in order to put their aims into effect. Initially it was proposed that any scholarships awarded should be undertaken at Whitechapel School. This proposal was passed in July 1896, but with the proviso that:

> …the **BOYS [**my emphasis] who are awarded the Elementary Scholarships given by the Committee be except under special circumstances (sic), sent to that school [Whitechapel].[178]

The general object of the Committee was to 'train their scholars for further distinctions and … [unable to decipher]; to consult the special bent of the individual scholars (e.g. linguistics)'.[179]

In November 1897 it was suggested that a special fund be set up with the sole purpose of helping and generally befriending pupil-teachers, the initial contribution being made by the Maccabaeans.[180] There is no evidence in the minutes that this proposal was pursued but the fact that the general deficiencies of the Elementary Schools' pupil-teacher system and, in particular, the 'tendency towards the overworking and exploitation of pupil-teachers' had been under consideration for some years may have contributed to its suggestion.[181]

From the late 1880s this topic had attracted attention in the educational press and had been the subject of successive reports by various royal commissions, the

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[177] The JEAC annual reports show subscriptions by Norman Bentwich as follows: *Fourth Report* 1901-1902, £5.5s.0d: *Sixth Report* 1903-1904, £10.5s.0d: *Seventh Report* 1904-1904, (with H. Bentwich) £5.5s.0d. Born on the 28 February 1883 Norman Bentwich was aged 18 in 1901. It is reasonable therefore to assume he knew the purpose to which his donation would be put.
[178] JEAC Minutes 8 July 1896.
[179] Ibid.
[180] JEAC Minutes 18 November 1897.
[181] Wendy Robinson, 'Expert and Novice in the Pupil-Teacher System of the later Nineteenth Century,' *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 28:2 (1996). pp.130.

members of which were 'notorious for their disunity'.[182] This divergence of opinion was reflected in the lack of agreement when the 1898 report of the Departmental Committee was debated in the House of Lords.[183] Broadly the pupil-teacher system was regarded as an apprentice-practitioner relationship which became the focal point for two conflicting strands of opinion:

> On the one hand, the relationship was esteemed as somehow representing the essence of an apprenticeship model of training whilst on the other, its perceived inherent weaknesses were used to support the need for fundamental reform.[184]

The problems associated with the pupil-teacher system, coupled with the lack of Jewish teachers in Jewish schools, were frequently the subject of comment in the pages of the *JC.* There was, reportedly, a 'dearth of Jewish teachers' necessitating the introduction of a pupil-teacher scheme at Westminster Jews' Free School.[185] This shortage of Jewish teachers had previously been considered at a conference of Women Workers when it was stated that the problem largely centred on the lack of Teacher Training Colleges and the fact that 'the admission of Jewish students is attended with exceptional difficulties'.[186] Furthermore, using the pupil-teacher system was not the answer to the dilemma as:

> The present system of developing pupil teachers, trained in their own schools into fully-fledged certificated teachers is justly and generally condemned. The educational aspects of the future instructors of our children must be widened.[187]

It was this need for reform the *JC* chose to champion by advocating shorter hours, reduction in personal responsibility, better training and a general improvement in the conditions of service for pupil-teachers. In turn it was hoped that such changes would 'induce pupils in Secondary Schools, who have an aptitude for teaching, to offer themselves for work in Elementary Schools', thus leading to an increase in quality and numbers.[188]

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[182] Robinson, 'Expert and Novice in the Pupil-Teacher System', p.131.
[183] *Hansard*, vol. 55 cc 1627-33, 1 April 1898. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords.1898/apr/01/pupil- teacher-system.
[184] Robinson, 'Expert and Novice in the Pupil-Teacher System', p.129.
[185] *JC*, 14 July 1899, p21.
[186] *JC*, 14 January 1898, p.27.
[187] Ibid.
[188] *JC*, 8 April 1898, p.20.

Whilst accepting that the system needed reform most of the articles in the JC were supportive of the pupil-teachers themselves. Similar to the proposal by the JEAC, that pupil-teachers should be generally befriended, was that made by the Rev. S Singer. A guest speaker at the Conference of Jewish Women in 1902, he had prepared a list of 'various forms of philanthropic work in which people could engage', one of which was 'Befriending Pupil-Teachers'.[189] Contrary to this supportive suggestion was the opinion of a Mrs. B. A. Elkin who presented a paper 'How Young Girls Can Help the Poor' in which she vilified female pupil-teachers who came from poor homes:

> ...the pupil-teachers as a class want all the help they can receive from their better educated sisters. It is sometimes a most uncomfortable thought that these half trained, often ill bred, conceited girls are to be the future teachers of the race. Their culture is of the thinnest veneer; underneath, and mostly but skin deep, is the vulgar mind that is often but too apparent. They have had no home influence to soften them, and their time has been taken up cramming facts for exams, the passing of which will save them from the drudgery of domestic service or the workroom.[190]

Mrs. Elkin's attitude was a reflection of what Elias refers to as 'a distinct form of social stratification'.[191] Her presence as a speaker at the conference indicates that she was a member of the established Anglo-Jewish community. Her comments demonstrated she considered herself to be of a higher social class than the poorer newcomers. They also show her desire, as an established member of the community, to preserve her superior position in the face of their endeavours in trying to 'rise from the inferior status attributed to them'.[192] In contrast, her overtly class prejudiced statement was roundly condemned by some correspondents to the *JC*. A 'Teacher in an East End Board School' described Mrs. Elkin's accusations as 'not merely inaccurate but also insulting' and posed the question 'Is the pupil teacher worse bred or more conceited that the high school girl of her own age?'.[193] Another wrote:

> I am most indignant that she should have taught young ladies of the well-to-do classes to class all pupil-teachers on a level with domestic servants...If

[189] *JC*, 16 May 1902, p13.
[190] *JC*, 20 June 1902, pp.22-23.
[191] Elias & Scotson, *The Established and the Outsider*, p.16.
[192] Elias & Scotson, *The Established and the Outsider*, p.158.
[193] *JC*, 27 June 1902, p.6.

> Mrs. Elkin had given a lesson to young ladies at the Conference on the vulgarity of patronage, her paper would have been far more useful. ...Refinement is not a monopoly of the rich, nor are only the poor vulgar. I have...known teachers who have lived in courts and alleys who have always been perfect ladies. I have also been told of instances of ill-breeding and scant courtesy shown by patronizing school managers that have disgusted some of 'the class' that Mrs. Elkin condemns. Of the two, I consider the vulgar rich far more despicable than the vulgar poor. If any domestic servant reads my letter, I hope she will not be offended at my remark at the beginning of my letter...domestic servants and work girls are in some instances also perfect ladies...who could give some of their mistresses many a lesson in culture and refinement.[194]

There may have been some correspondence echoing Mrs. Elkin's opinions but not one article was published in her support. This stance is a reflection of the tone adopted for many years by the *JC*, which frequently published material in support of immigrants. Not only did the paper argue that they were 'intelligent, thrifty, hard-working, sober and pious. It seized on every scrap of evidence from non-Jewish observers testifying to these virtues'.[195] An illustration of this was the letter written by a non-Jew who had worked 'for some years amongst Jewish Teachers and Pupil Teachers'. This correspondent roundly rebuked Mrs. Elkin accusing her of voicing 'unladylike sentiments' and undertaking philanthropic work in order to satisfy her personal vanity.[196] The excoriating letter concluded:

> Teachers and pupil-teachers have their faults...[but] their virtues, and even their breeding, are superior to the pretensions of many who have greater advantages...With a race of people like the Jews who have suffered so much persecution, it is surely a doubtful matter for any section to lay special claim to better breeding and to higher virtues; for there must be many a poor Jewish boy or girl who could lay claim to traditional family greatness, equal if not superior to that which is claimed by those who affect to be patrons of education.[197]

It seems likely that this individual identified an aspect of Mrs. Elkin's personality that, as would have been the case with many of her peers, had its roots in her family antecedence.

Mrs. Elkin, wife of Benjamin Alexander Elkin, was formerly Amy Matilda Symons, born in London in 1861 of a Dutch father and German mother. Amy's

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[194] Ibid.
[195] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p.76.
[196] *JC*, 1 August 1902, p.6.
[197] Ibid.

father arrived in Britain from Amsterdam prior to 1851, and was in partnership with his brother-in-law as 'Importers of Foreign Produce'.[198] Her husband's father and grandfather had entered Britain from Barbados prior to 1841. Both were described as 'merchants' but by the time Benjamin was born his father described himself as an accountant.[199] Benjamin was educated at University College School and the University of London where, in 1880, he obtained a First Class LLB. Until his death in 1904 he worked as a partner in a legal firm.[200]

During their marriage both Benjamin and Amy were involved in various philanthropic activities but the reports which appeared in the *JC* contrasted greatly. Whereas Amy's presentation at the 1902 Conference brought condemnation, her husband's activities received praise. Described as a 'lawyer of ardent philanthropic sympathies' his obituary refers to him as being a member of the Gentlemen's Committee of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women (JAPGW) and its honorary legal advisor who took a 'quietly active interest in a few Jewish institutions to whose interests he devoted himself with rare zeal'.[201]

This background, coupled with various reports in the *JC*, demonstrates that by the time Amy gave her talk at the Conference the Symons and the Elkin families were well established, socially and financially, within the Anglo-Jewish community.[202] Be that as it may, it is evident that Amy was only a middle ranking member of the Jewish upper-class. She was not on a par with the Rothchilds, Mocattas, Montefiores and other notable families who had come to be regarded as the aristocracy of Anglo-Jewish society. Nonetheless her upbringing far removed her from that of the life and behaviour of the immigrants who exercised so much public interest and concern in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even so, her attitude towards those she clearly regarded as an underclass is perhaps surprising in view of her husband's long term involvement with the JAPGW. This organization founded in 1885 as the Jewish Ladies' Association for Prevention and Rescue Work,

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[198] Trading as Heilbut & Symons. Reuben Heilbut entered Britain 12 May 1845. England, Alien arrivals, 1810-1811, 1826-1869, www.ancestry.co.uk, 11 March 2011. Also Census Return for England & Wales 1851.

[199] Census Returns for England & Wales, 1841, 1851, 1861,1871,1881

[200] Obituary, *JC* 5 February 1904, p.23.

[201] *JC*, 9 September 1904, p.12, and 5 February 1904, p.23, respectively.

[202] See for example various *JC* entries between 1865 and 1874 referring to Moses Symons' [Amy's father] charitable donations and membership of the JBG, e.g. 19 April 1872, p.34 and 5 April 1874, p.14. Also *JC*, 12 February 1904, p.8, which refers to three generations of the Elkin family 'who had been intimately associated with the West London Synagogue since its establishment more than sixty years ago...'

subsequently renamed the JAPGW, set out with two main aims; to prevent girls becoming prostitutes and to rescue those already involved in that lifestyle.[203] It is therefore reasonable to expect that her stance in relation to the advancement of poor women would have been more encouraging and supportive. In this regard it is necessary to consider why and to what extent women in Amy's position were expected to become involved with the needs of the poor.

Many of those at the forefront of women's organisations were members of the Jewish 'aristocracy', such as Mrs Nathaniel Cohen, Lily Montague and Lady Battersea. Consequently, in order to maintain and, possibly, enhance her social standing Amy would have been required to follow their lead. Therefore, perhaps the salient word is 'expected' when examining her attitude towards certain philanthropic pursuits. Additionally, as Burman reasons, philanthropic activity afforded middle-class women an escape route from the confines of the purely domestic rôle to which they were commonly assigned. This, in turn, inculcated a sense of self-worth and significance.[204] However, for many of these women it would have been the 'only point of intersection between two contrasting social and cultural worlds', a category into which Amy may well have fallen.[205]

Clearly there was often the genuine desire to improve the lives of working-class women but, as Amy's opinions imply, only to a certain extent. Much of the help given to poor immigrant girls was geared to confining them to a life of domestic responsibility. The increasing number of institutions providing formal tuition in domestic skills served a dual purpose. On the one hand, they improved standards of housewifery in the immigrant community. On the other, they trained future domestic servants, the 'respectable' occupation for poor Jewish girls. This latter became increasingly important as the demand for Jewish servants in the homes of the philanthropists and their peers increased.[206] Those girls, from poor working-class homes, who were given the opportunity to develop their academic talents were in the minority. For many of the academically gifted ones the only avenue would indeed

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[203] Linda Gordon Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause. The Jewish Woman's Movement in England and the United States, 1881-1933*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), pp.55 & 58.
[204] Rickie Burman, 'Middle-Class Anglo-Jewish Lady Philanthopists and Eastern Jewish Women: the first national conference of Jewish Women, 1902', in Joan Grant, (ed), *Women, Migration and Empire*, (Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books, 1996), p.134.
[205] Burman, 'Middle-Class Anglo-Jewish Lady Philanthopists', p.124.
[206] Burman, 'Middle-Class Anglo-Jewish Lady Philanthopists', p.140.

have been 'cramming facts for exams, the passing of which will save them from the drudgery of domestic service or the workroom'.[207]

Gender issues

Mrs. Elkin's comments, and the subsequent responses, related only to female pupil-teachers. This brings into question the JEAC's original intentions as far as the gender of their beneficiaries is concerned. The Committee initially referred only to 'boys' when discussing the type of scholar to be considered for aid. In January 1897 this changed, without comment, to 'children'. 'Girls' were specifically referred to during a meeting in May 1899, 'boys and girls' at another in July 1899 and by 1906 the reference was to 'any student'. Furthermore, from 1897 the Union of Jewish Women (UJW) was seeking inclusion when the Committee was 'dealing with female cases'.[208] It is quite likely that the original intention was to include both male and female students, the original wording simply being an oversight. As will be seen the Committee did assist female students. The fact they were in the minority may well be a reflection of the general attitude towards female education, particularly as far as the 'working classes' were concerned and/or the fault of the teachers whom the JEAC often relied upon to act as the referees of suitable exceptionally talented students.

In fact the first girl to be assisted by the JEAC would probably have been categorized by Mrs. Elkin as one who crammed facts for exams, the passing of which did indeed save her from a life of domestic service or sweated labour in the workroom. This child, Betsy [thereafter known as Bessie] Buhay, was aged twelve when her headmaster referred her to the JEAC.[209] A pupil at Old Castle Street Board School she had gained a London County Council (LCC) Junior Scholarship, valued at £20 with free education and books provided for two years.[210] Both Bessie and her mother had been born in Russia but it is clear that by early 1890 the family had arrived in Britain.[211]

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[207] *JC*, 20 June 1902, p.23.
[208] JEAC Minutes 28 January 1897; 8 May 1899; 17 July 1899 and 10 December 1906 refer.
[209] JEAC Minutes 17 July 1899.
[210] *JC*, 21 July 1899, p.25.
[211] GRO records show that an infant Joseph Buhay died in Whitechapel in March quarter 1890 and Michael Buhay was born in Whitechapel in December quarter 1890.

In 1899 Mrs. Buhay told the Committee she had been deserted by her husband, a statement they evidently accepted, although the indication is that Mr. Buhay's desertion may have been financial rather than familial.[212] In any event the family was poor and the Committee remarked that although Bessie had won a scholarship she could not be expected to attend a secondary school unless she was better clothed and fed. Furthermore, they gave an immediate award of £10 to cover the cost of a year's maintenance and one term's school fees 'as the scholarship would not begin until January [1900] and it was desirable to send the girl to a secondary school without delay'.[213] Bessie's academic progress justified their action as, in early 1900, she gained another scholarship worth £110 tenable for five years. However, as 'she would only receive £15 the first year' the Committee agreed to 'the remainder of the £10 previously voted' to be drawn as 'the initial expenses [are] the heaviest'.[214] In view of Bessie's obvious academic ability it is possible that, once she reached the age of thirteen, she was appointed as a pupil-teacher (the 'class' much despised by Amy Elkin). Whether this was the case is unknown, but she did eventually become a teacher with the LCC.

The combination of the assistance received from the JEAC and Bessie's own endeavours demonstrate how help such as this could improve the lot of an entire family. In this case by 1911 they had moved to better premises, Mrs. Buhay was not working, Bessie was teaching, her brother worked as a clerk to a stockbroker and her sixteen year old sister was still a student.[215] The £10 awarded by the JEAC was a relatively modest sum by today's standards. Nevertheless the overall consequences for Bessie would doubtless have surprised Mrs. Elkin who regarded girls from her background as 'half trained, often ill bred, conceited girls [not fit] to be the future teachers of the race.' Later records show that Bessie eventually achieved a social

[212] The 1901 Census shows Mrs. Buhay working as a shirt maker, at home. She and three children occupied two rooms in a seven room house shared by thirteen people. Manheim Buhay, aged 49, emigrated to Canada in 1907 but records show he maintained close contact with his family. In 1909/10 he was living at 5 Cecil Street, Stepney, the same address as his wife and children at the time of the 1911 Census. By 1915/16 he had returned to Montreal, where he was joined by his son Michael, a Union Organizer/Clothing cutter. www.ancestry.co.uk and http://data2.archives.ca. 23 January 2011. Bessie's younger sister Rebecca emigrated to Canada in 1912. She became a political activist and, in 1929, head of the Women's Department of the Canadian Labor Defence League. She died in Toronto on 16 December 1953. www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com, 23 January 2011. By 1926 Mrs Buhay (recorded as Winnie, Minnie and Mina) was also living in Canada where she died, aged 88 years on 18 January 1957, www.jewishgen.org. 23 January 2011

[213] JEAC Minutes 17 July 1899.

[214] JEAC Minutes 7 February 1900.

[215] Census Return of England and Wales 1911.

standing at least on a par with, and likely exceeding, that of Mrs. Elkin and her family.[216]

Selecting applicants

From the outset in 1896 the Committee had agreed, albeit in very general terms, the educational standard expected of a scholar before aid was considered. They were then faced with a number of problems, namely how to attract, select and guide suitable applicants and how to raise the funds to assist them to continue their education. It seems that none of these issues were dealt with immediately. There is no formal record of further discussion relating to any matter until the end of 1897 when the possibility of advertising the work of the JEAC was mentioned. It may be that conversations took place on an *ad hoc* basis amongst the members of the Committee, their acquaintances and associates, but any record of this has not been retained. However, at a meeting held in December 1897 it was agreed that letters be sent to the *JC* and the *Jewish World* informing them of the work of the Committee.[217] Although there is no trace of such letters it seems likely that some contact was made with the *JC* as, in April 1898, the article 'The Maccabaeans and Jewish Talent' appeared. Somewhat scathing about the Maccabaeans in its introduction and, to a certain extent, damning with faint praise, it was generally supportive of the efforts of the JEAC in aiming to:

> ... give a little help to any budding genius to be found in the elementary schools...we do not see why every vein in the rich mine of Jewish talent and ability should not be worked for all it is worth... [although] we hope that nothing will be done to encourage that rush to the 'genteel' occupations which has been largely characteristic of the Jew, and which has had, indeed, such pernicious result.[218]

[216] On 13 January 1913 Bessie (Bathsheba) Buhay married Victor Russell John Nightingale (later known as Victor Russell John Nightingale of Cromarty) a stock exchange clerk. He achieved the rank of Captain in the Indian Army during the First World War and later became a member of the London Stock Exchange. Their daughter and son both received University educations. It appears that Bessie may have married out of her faith as her son, Michael, served as a member of the General Synod of the Church of England. In 1960 he was awarded the OBE. www.thepeerage.com/p32721 & www.thepeerage.com/p32726, 24 January 2011: Edmund Gatton, 'Obituary: Michael Nightingale of Cromarty', *The Independent* , 8 September 1998 & Bill Mowat, 'Michael Nightingale', *Herald Scotland*, 19 September 1998.

[217] JEAC Minutes 19 December 1897.

[218] 'The Maccabaeans and Jewish Talent', *JC*, 8 April 1898, p.20.

These comments are open to interpretation. At first sight the inference is that, coming from poor families, any 'budding genius' would not be considered suitable material for one of the 'genteel' occupations, namely a profession such as banking or the law. Such an outsider would 'inevitably find tribulation and struggle', no matter how talented, by entering such a milieu.[219] However, this observation is ameliorated by the reflection that 'the world of intellect and the world of labour' are not distinct and isolated spheres.[220] There follows appreciation of the latter with the suggestion that:

> ...the most promising of our young scholars…apply their brains to the national industries, so that we might have skilled artisans, or great organizers, real captains of industry…[allowing] the country…to keep pace with competition abroad.[221]

This article indicates that the rapport between the *JC* and the JEAC had a rather unpromising start although in time their relationship gradually thawed. Not only did the *JC* publish the Committee's annual reports and details of pupils' achievements they commended the JEAC as:

> ...a delightful little charity...formed to assist the impecunious genius – to help young talent over the stile...these clever pupils often need further help either to cover the cost of maintenance during the period of attendance at secondary school, or to enable them to prosecute further advanced studies on leaving.[222]

In addition to making contact with the *JC* the Committee decided to write to 'Headmasters and others to whom circulars were sent with the view of securing further applications for Scholarships'.[223] This is the first mention of such action having been taken and, within the Archives, there are no copies of these or earlier letters or circulars. Neither is there any record of the information they contained or response they elicited. However, the indication is that they did not bring forth the required result as, in March 1898, the meeting agreed to send a letter to the 'Headmasters of Jewish Voluntary Schools and Board Schools in the metropolis inviting further application for awards of Scholarships'.[224] A year later, in order to

[219] Ibid.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid.
[222] 'For Struggling Talents', *JC*, 18 April 1904, pp.8-9.
[223] JEAC Minutes 26 January 1898.
[224] JEAC Minutes 16 March 1898.

further the work of the Committee, a letter was sent to the headmasters of all East End Board and Voluntary Schools frequented by Jewish children, the heads of the Great Gordon Street and Brick Lane Talmud Torah Classes and to the Chairman of the Board School Correspondents asking him to acquaint the members of his Committee with the objects of the JEAC.[225] This letter met with favourable replies from a number of headmasters including Mr Fletcher of the Deal Street Board School who promised support and said he had heard from the Committee of Correspondents of the Jewish Religious Education Board regarding their willingness to co-operate.[226]

One early referral from a headmaster was a fourteen year old boy, Solomon Horonzick, a pupil at Settles Street School. Solomon had won an LCC Evening Art Exhibition of £10, entitling him to two years tuition at an evening art school, although it was expected he would shortly leave school in the hope of entering 'a trade where his design talent might be put to some use'.[227] However, the Committee members were so impressed with his work it was decided to grant him £10 in order that he could continue in full time education for a year. Furthermore it was recommended he go to 'South Kensington Royal College of Art (RCA) or some other good art school for a year instead of at once apprenticing him to a practical designer'.[228] Initially he did well, as the following report in the *JC* confirms:

> Solomon Horonjick (sic), of Fieldgate Street, Whitechapel, aged 16, holder of a 'Maccabaean Scholarship' awarded by the Education Aid Committee, has again distinguished himself by winning first prize in the recent Local Examination for Freehand Drawing, Design and Principles of Ornament. His success is all the more creditable, as Horonjick (sic) was the youngest competitor examined, and had only been studying for one year at South Kensington.[229]

Despite this success he was later dismissed from the College, an event which greatly concerned the members of the Committee, particularly when they heard his explanation:

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[225] JEAC Minutes 27 March 1899.
[226] JEAC Minutes 8 May 1899.
[227] JEAC Minutes 17 July 1899.
[228] JEAC Minutes 31 October 1899.
[229] *JC*, 3 August 1900, p.19. (Note: There is some confusion concerning the spelling of this boy's name which is recorded in the 1901 Census as Harouzich)

> The lad was questioned and stated that at the commencement of the current term he was informed that under certain new regulations all paying students would be required to pass an examination in six subjects in order to secure readmission. No information was given before the examination as to what the subjects would be, and he found when the day arrived that he was only acquainted with one of the subjects set; he had consequently failed to pass. He believed 21 in all had been rejected through inability to pass; in his opinion they could not previously ascertain what the subjects would be; he believed some had only been required to enter as a formality and had been readmitted without having qualified but he had no direct evidence on this and other points.[230]

It would only be conjecture to assume that Solomon's treatment at College was influenced by an anti-Semitic attitude on the part of the authorities. Neither is there any explanation of the difference between 'paying students' and those not required to pay. What is clear is that the members of the Committee found substance in Solomon's explanation. In consequence a letter was sent to Sir John Gorst, Member of Parliament and Vice-President of the Committee on Education, 'informing him of the facts so far only as they concerned Horonzick and asking for an enquiry into the matter'.[231] The outcome of this act is not recorded although it appears Solomon was readmitted to the College for a further two years.[232] The JEAC maintained an interest in his education and well-being until early 1902 when it is recorded that he had obtained work with 'Messrs. A Morton & Co., curtain and tapestry makers' at their premises in Scotland. The Committee regarded this as an 'excellent opening and opportunity to develop his talents' and awarded him '£6 6s 6d to cover the cost of fitting him out and sending him to Scotland'.[233]

The JEAC's action on behalf of this boy clearly showed that the members were prepared to provide assistance in a variety of ways, other than purely financial, to those they regarded worthy of their support. Solomon's subsequent progress demonstrated that their efforts were not wasted. Between 7 November and 16 December 1906 four of his designs were included in the Exhibition of Jewish Art

[230] JEAC Minutes 19 December 1900.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Solomon's attendance at the RCA pre-dates their records of past students therefore this cannot be confirmed. Neil.parkinson@rca.ac.uk. 18 January 2011.
[233] JEAC Minutes 19 February 1902. Alexander Morton & Co., Darvel, Strathclyde, produced textiles designed by most of the leading designers of the Arts & Crafts movement. They supplied all the major British shops, including Liberty & Co. www.victorianweb.org/art/design/textiles/morton.html, 11 January 2011.

and Antiquities held at the Whitechapel Gallery.[234] By 1911 Solomon had returned to live with his parents and siblings in London and was then working as an art teacher for the LCC.[235] It appeared therefore, that the whole family benefited from the help the JEAC had given him to advance his education and career. By 1911 his father and four younger siblings were all working in the clothing manufacturing trades and the family had moved to a seven room property in Dalston.[236] His parents later moved to Hackney where, in 1924, his mother died. Mrs. Horonzick left effects to the value of £51 10s 0d which, although not a vast sum, indicated that their lives had improved materially since Solomon first came to the notice of the JEAC.[237]

Following on from the encouraging response the Committee received from various headmasters they resolved to contact four other schools, including the Headmistress of the Central School for Girls, Spital Square, the first time female students had been referred to specifically.[238] Subsequent to this decision Herbert Bentwich visited The Free School, Old Castle Street and Deal Street schools and Stepney Jewish School 'with a view to personally calling the attention of the authorities to the work of the Committee'.[239]

Recognition of the value the Committee attached to the support of the teaching profession is reflected in the comments included in the *Fourth Report*, viz:

> …the Committee has been always desirous of enlisting the active sympathy and co-operation of the headmasters, teachers and managers of schools frequented by Jewish children, whether boys or girls. On them with their kindly interest in the welfare of their charges it is in great measure dependent for timely notice of suitable cases and for advice as to the form of assistance likely to prove most beneficial. Their cordial assistance is absolutely essential if all really promising cases are to be brought to light and helped in a way which may be both useful to themselves, and creditable to the community. The Committee's warmest thanks are due to those ladies and gentlemen who by their past support in either of the directions previously indicated have enabled them to carry on their good work with so large a measure of success, and it is hoped that the help and encouragement of those friends of the movement will not be lacking in the future.[240]

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[234] *JC* 9 November 1906, p.v, and garyhaines@whitechapelgallery.org. 18 December 2010.
[235] Census Return of England and Wales, 1911.
[236] Ibid.
[237] National Probate Calendar England and Wales.
[238] JEAC Minutes 9 May 1899.
[239] JEAC Minutes 17 July 1899.
[240] JEAC *Fourth Report*, 1901-1902.

The number of cases considered by the Committee varied from year to year, as did the size and purpose of the grants awarded. Not all were successful in their applications and others withdrew because funding was offered from elsewhere. The scantiness of detail contained in the minutes, which at times appeared to conflict with that given in the Annual Reports, means it is difficult to provide a comprehensive analysis of the type and exact number of cases dealt with whilst the JEAC was functioning. Nevertheless, from the information available, at least thirty two applicants were successful in obtaining some financial assistance from the JEAC. Of these, twenty eight were male, at least five of whom were talented musicians and four were artists. The remainder followed various academic routes, including some at University. Of the four females one was an artist, one a violinist and one a singer, only Bessie Bukay hoped to have an academic career. The grants varied considerably, both in amount and duration. In some instances, such as in Bessie's case, a one off award of a few pounds was sufficient to advance the applicant's interest. In others, as demonstrated in the case studies of Maude Gold and Amy Rolda [Robinson], some awards were considerable and extended over a period of years. Financial help was given to cover a variety of needs including academic fees and essentials such as books and equipment; food; clothing; accommodation and travel. In addition to financial help it was evident that members of the Committee effected the advancement of many of these young people by recommending and/ or introducing them to others of influence, thus affording them a social advantage not open to many of their less talented peers. This latter benefit is reflected in a letter which refers to a young girl who required '...help with personal influence in the rather difficult process of removing her from the class in which she is and leading her up to the class to which she aspires'.[241]

Fund raising

Fund raising was essential in order to furnish the financial assistance and was a constant problem throughout the life of the JEAC. Amongst the initial individual contributors some agreed to fund a complete scholarship of two years at £5 per

[241] University of Southampton , Special Collections: University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006.: .MS363: A3006.
This is a fragment of a letter dated 21 May 1915, it contains no further details.

annum and others contributed a one off or annual sum, varying between one guinea and five guineas, to the general fund.[242] Despite this, at one point the Committee was 'entirely without resources, although the strictest economy has been practiced'.[243] The coffers never contained enough to provide all the financial assistance some candidates needed but there appeared a general reluctance to undertake fund raising efforts in a wider arena. It could be argued that the constant lack of funds stemmed from the Committee's somewhat reticent attitude at the outset. It is recorded that:

> It was thought advisable to commence in a tentative way. No appeal was made to the community. The funds required for the purpose (exclusive of the grant of the Maccabaeans) being small, were supplied by the individual members of the Committee, with the aid of those who had attained to distinction as past or present holders of scholarships and bursaries at public colleges or Universities.[244]

This report included a list of the first contributions and their donors, information about 'several instances [where] grants have been made after due investigation' and a somewhat cautious appeal for further funds. It was pointed out that 'several further applications by parents are under consideration' but in order to extend its operations the work of the JEAC needed wider recognition. Additionally they required a 'renewal of support from those who have already contributed to their funds' and new contributors.[245]

It is perhaps pertinent that this, the first report detailing the affairs of the JEAC since its inception two years previously in 1896, was issued shortly after Messrs Davidson, Montefiore and Lucas had written to the Committee 'declining to continue their subscriptions owing to want of information'.[246] Moreover, a two-year delay in deciding to formally issue a 'special report…to contributors & to all present & former members of the Committee' notifying them of the aims and achievements of the JEAC to date was indicative of a somewhat amateurish organization.[247]

By 1903 the fund had fallen to 9s.2d, resulting in the Maccabaeans being asked for a further grant.[248] They had initially donated £25 so it appears the members of the Committee were hopeful, if not actually expecting, contributions from this

[242] JEAC Minutes 16 June 1896 and 8 July 1896.
[243] JEAC *Fifth Report*, 1902-1903.
[244] JEAC *Report to Subscribers*, 22 July 1898
[245] Ibid.
[246] JEAC Minutes 3 July 1898.
[247] Ibid.
[248] JEAC Minutes 9 February 1903.

source to continue on a regular basis. This was not the case and had led to some dissention. The Committee claimed that in 1900 the Maccabaeans had voted the JEAC a further £25. The Maccabaeans repudiated this but were later persuaded (it is not recorded why, how or by whom) to make a contribution of £10.10s.0d to the JEAC funds.[249] The accompanying comment that their own income 'had practically remained stationary' reinforced the problem competing institutions encountered when trying to raise funds for their own purposes.[250] Despite this they did donate another ten guineas for 1903-1904.[251] However, in 1906 when asked for £20, as nothing had been received from them 'for several years', they refused. Nevertheless they 'intimated' they might give assistance 'for an individual case of exceptional merit' although, in fact, this did not happen.[252]

In addition to the approach to the Maccabaeans, it was 'resolved that a special appeal for funds to carry on the work be issued with the Annual Report'.[253] This 'special appeal' was made as follows:

> Funds are immediately needed to meet existing obligations and anticipated claims…From the nature of the work it is obvious that the Committee must be in a position to entertain applications as they arise…it is necessary that the Committee should have the funds in hand to meet them. It is therefore hoped that both original subscribers and all those interested in the cause of education will now come forward and replenish the Committee's empty coffers. A sum of £150 is required to satisfy existing and imminent claims and provide an adequate fund for the current work. Having regard to its previous record, the Committee confidently hopes that the necessary supplies will be promptly forthcoming to provide the indispensable aid required for the full development of some of the most promising material in the community.[254]

There is no record of to whom this appeal was sent but evidently it met with some success as the balance sheet for the following year showed a considerably increased list of subscribers who, between them, donated £140.6s.0d.[255] Additionally, Mr Franklin who had been Treasurer since the JEAC was first formed resigned from the committee and, as a parting gesture, offered to donate £20 to the

[249] JEAC Minutes 4 February 1901 and *Fourth Report*, 1901-1902.
[250] JEAC Minutes 20 May 1901.
[251] JEAC *Sixth Report*, 1903-1904.
[252] JEAC Minutes 29 March 1906; 2 October 1906 and 2 December 1906.
[253] JEAC Minutes 9 February 1903.
[254] JEAC *Fifth Report*, 1902-1903.
[255] JEAC *Sixth Report*, 1903-04.

JEAC.[256] Although there is no record of this in the accounts the omission may well be just another example of inadequate record keeping as he is shown as a subscriber the following year.[257] It seems likely, however, that this influx of funds was not solely attributable to the appeal. There was also a change of treasurer.

The wind of change

Since the outset, Franklin, Bentwich and the Secretary Ernest Lesser had been the stalwarts of the JEAC. However, with the introduction of a new treasurer in the personage of Robert Sebag-Montefiore, the wind of change began to blow.

Robert Sebag-Montefiore was born in 1882 and, at the time of his appointment as Treasurer of the JEAC, was aged 21 and at Balliol College, Oxford.[258] As the great, great nephew of Sir Moses Montefiore his pedigree, both as a member of the long established Anglo- Jewish hierarchy and his family's devotion to social work and philanthropy, was impeccable.[259] Additionally he was acquainted with the Bentwich family, being a contemporary of Norman Bentwich.[260] These factors, coupled with Herbert Bentwich's declared admiration of Sir Moses Montefiore, may well have contributed to his appointment.[261] Young and dynamic he began to introduce changes to the structure and, more immediately, to the fortunes of the JEAC. This latter point is reflected in the following reference to the Committee's finances:

> During the past year the funds available for carrying on the work were at one time completely exhausted, and the Committee were compelled to incur fresh liabilities with empty coffers. Thanks in great measure to the efforts of the new Honorary Treasurer, these coffers have since been partially replenished, but a considerably larger sum is required if the Committee are to be relieved of anxiety as to the future… [required are] funds to the amount of £200 at the least if they are to be in a position to carry on their work for the ensuing year unhampered by financial embarrassments.[262]

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[256] JEAC Minutes 18 November 1903.
[257] JEAC *Seventh Report*, 1904-1905.
[258] JEAC *Sixth Report*, 1903-1904.
[259] Ruth Sebag-Montefiore, *A Family Patchwork: Five generations of an Anglo-Jewish family*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987). This family history only includes direct reference to Robert M Sebag- Montefiore in *The Montefiore Family Tree*, pp.xiv-xv. Chapter 2, pp.22-37 concerns the life and works of Sir Moses Montefiore and gives credence to this statement.
[260] Bentwich, *Wanderer Between Two Worlds*, p.20.
[261] Bentwich, *Wanderer Between Two Worlds*, p.8.
[262] JEAC *Sixth Report*, 1903-1904.

Under Sebag-Montefiore's stewardship the total fund held during the 'ensuing year' amounted to £205.15s.10d. Of this £163.18s.3d was already accounted for, having been expended during the year or been voted as grants to be given in the future. The remaining £41.17s.7d, carried forward to 1905-1906, was greater than the balance held at the end of any of the preceding four years 1900-1901 to 1903-1904.[263]

In the past the grants awarded by the JEAC had often been supplemented by outside benefactors. Indeed, on occasion as will be seen from some of the case studies cited within this work, this supplementation was often a condition of a grant being awarded. In this respect it could be argued that the JEAC was more successful in its fund raising efforts than the accounts indicated. Evidently Segag-Montefiore recognized this because he suggested that all funds collected, including 'special funds' be administered by the Committee as it was 'the most suitable authority for dealing with all such cases & administering all such funds'.[264] Consequently it was agreed that the Secretary 'would at first seek the adhesion to the proposals' from the Rothschilds and, if successful 'in this quarter could then approach other larger donors in the community with a view to enlisting their co-operation'.[265] Evidently Leopold de Rothschild was not impressed with these proposals, as he '...had, however, not seen his way to assent to them although he had contributed £10 to the Committee funds and the Hon. Sec. Mr. Lesser had hope for the future'.[266]

As is common within the minutes of the JEAC the information explaining why a certain line was taken, or person approached, is lacking. It can only be assumed that members of the de Rothschild family had previously been generous with donations to a 'special fund' and/or contributed separately to specific individuals of their own choosing, but that this had gone unrecorded. Indeed, the first mention of there being two different accounts appears with the *Seventh Report*, after Robert's appointment as Treasurer. With this report is included a breakdown of 'Schedule A' subscriptions, being donations to the General Account, and 'Schedule B' donations to Special Cases. In the former is shown Leopold de Rothschild's contribution of £10, mentioned at the meeting in February 1905, but no mention of

[263] JEAC *Seventh Report*, 1904-1905.
[264] JEAC Minutes 19 October 1904.
[265] Ibid.
[266] JEAC Minutes 15 February 1905.

him appears in 'Schedule B' indicating he may have ceased supporting the JEAC by this route.[267]

Within about two years of Robert Sebag-Montefiore's appointment as treasurer dissention arose between him and other members of the Committee, in particular the Chairman Herbert Bentwich. At the meeting held in December 1906 Robert disagreed in the case of three proposed awards, on the grounds that whilst one award alone was for £20 the Committee had only £10.2s.1d. in the bank. He also proposed the reconstruction and re-organization of the Committee. As regards the former, Bentwich over-ruled the Treasurer on the grounds that any further delay would 'discredit the Committee'.[268] The meeting was adjourned to a 'special meeting' to be held at a later date in order to discuss the subject of reconstruction.[269] Eight members attended this meeting, namely Bentwich (Chairman), Sebag-Montefiore (Treasurer), Lesser (Secretary) and five others. They eventually agreed to enlarge the Committee in order to increase the 'circle of experience' amongst its members (eventually decided as being Literature and Academic Studies, Art, Literature and Science) and to raise the confidence placed in it by 'the community as a whole, and particularly by those members of the community who at present give largely to the type of cases of which the Committee desires to make a speciality'. It was their intention to continue helping 'any student who, gifted with unusual intellectual powers, has shown evidence of ability to proceed to the highest stages of professional education'.[270]

In view of this decision the members present agreed to hold a special conference 'at an early date' to be attended by the Committee and 'sympathizers'. However, they rejected written proposals made by the President and Secretary of the UJW that a sub-committee be established to liaise with them 'when dealing with female cases'. As will be seen the involvement of the UJW was eventually accepted but at this stage the members of the JEAC were only prepared:

> (1) to refer to the Union in all female cases for their opinion and advice.
> (2) to ask them to administer any grant that the Committee might decide to make in dealing with such cases.[271]

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[267] JEAC *Seventh Report*, 1904-1905.
[268] JEAC Minutes 2 December 1906.
[269] Ibid.
[270] JEAC *Minutes of Special Meeting*, 10 December 1906.
[271] Ibid.

The Union of Jewish Women

In the absence of any explanation it can only be surmised that the reluctance shown by the Committee members to work with the UJW was steeped in traditional Judaism's attitudes towards the sex-rôle differences. Women were primarily expected to perform the duties of wife and mother, restricting activity outside the home to performing acts of charity such as feeding the poor and attending the sick.[272] By the middle of the nineteenth century these pursuits had been expanded to include limited philanthropic activities in the form of female run benevolent societies and charitable schools.[273] Even so these ventures, run by upper and middle-class Anglo-Jewish women, were supported by their husbands' finances and earned their 'warm approval'.[274]

By 1884 the JBG had accepted the value of the work performed by these women, recognition of which was demonstrated by creating a Ladies' Conjoint Visiting Committee, whose members provided advice and financial assistance throughout the East End. This concession was the first breach in the Anglo-Jewish community's exclusively male leadership, but the Board remained obdurate in its refusal to admit women as members, the convention being that women could not match men's intellectual abilities.[275] It was not until the first Conference of Jewish Women in 1902 that they were able to demonstrate their leadership abilities and even then the president, Julia Cohen, 'stressed the line of demarcation between men's public spheres and women's domestic rôle'.[276] Despite this somewhat self effacing caveat the *JC* was largely supportive, hailing the Conference as a 'landmark of progress achieved'.[277] One article went so far as to state:

> The New Century will be remembered as one in which women quietly and unostentatiously, but very surely, have proved their right to be regarded as the equal of men in many matters where formerly they had no voice, or at any rate, no official voice.[278]

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[272] Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause*, p.4.
[273] Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause*, p.27.
[274] Kuzmack *Woman's Cause*, p.13.
[275] Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause*, pp.46 & 82-83.
[276] Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause*, p.49.
[277] Burman, 'Middle-Class Anglo-Jewish Lady Philanthopists', p.128.
[278] *JC*, 21 February 1902, p.10.

The outcome of the conference was the founding of the UJW which, in turn, led to upper and middle-class Anglo-Jewish women being trained as 'volunteers for a range of educational and philanthropic organizations'.[279] This brought further praise in the columns of the *JC* which promoted it as a shining example to corresponding male-run organizations:

> While male writers and thinkers of the community have been scribbling 'co-operation', and chattering 'co-operation', their sisters have quietly girdled the Kingdom with an effective organization of mutual help and practical workers...The work of the Union amply justifies the more responsible position which English Jewesses now occupy in the communal work and counsels; and we strongly recommend it to the practical sympathies of the community.[280]

Despite this accolade the Union was faced with persistent rejection by male communal leaders, including the Committee members of the JEAC.[281] As will be seen later in this study, it was not until the end of 1907 that agreement was reached between the (then) JEAS and the UJW regarding the extent of the latter's involvement.

Reconstruction

The difficulties now faced by the JEAC were not resolved at the 'Special Meeting' held in December, 1906. Evidently irritated by the procrastination, Sebag-Montefiore declined to do any further work as Treasurer. He had not collected any money and refused to make further appeals until the promised conference had been held and a 'scheme of reconstruction adopted'.[282] The result of his stance was another meeting at which a sub-committee was appointed.[283] This sub-committee met again in May 1907 at which point they passed a resolution to be presented for consideration by the JEAC which was done in June 1907.[284]

For the first time it was formally stated that expenditure should be from a general fund and a supplementary fund in order to assist all promising students, male and female. In the case of the latter, investigation should initially be carried out by

[279] Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause*, p.50.
[280] *JC*, 15 January 1904, p.17.
[281] Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause*, p.83.
[282] JEAC Minutes 5 March 1907.
[283] JEAC Conference held on 27 March 1907.
[284] JEAC Meeting of sub-committee 28 May 1907.

the UJW as to the applicant's suitability. The final decision would rest with a board of experts, comprising four sub-committees covering literature and academic studies, art, music and science. Each specialist committee should have at least four members, comprising both men and women. In view of the far-reaching consequences initiated by these proposals the report is reproduced in full at Appendix 1.

After some further discussion it was also unanimously agreed that, following the adoption of the 1906-1907 Annual Report and accounts, the existing JEAC would be wound up.[285] At the final meeting of the JEAC on 22 July 1907 the balance sheet for March 1906 to July 1907 showed £2.15s.0d in hand. It was agreed this should be paid over to the Secretary in order to 'defray expenses incurred in connection with the conference and the printing and circulation of the Annual Reports & Balance Sheet'.[286]

Responding to a vote of thanks Herbert Bentwich stated that without the co-operation of the Secretary and Treasurer 'the work of the Committee would long ago have come to an end'.[287] With this the JEAC, formed on the 20 May 1896, ceased to be and was supplanted by the JEAS. Nevertheless the transition from the JEAC to the JEAS was not without its problems. Requiring immediate attention was the stance adopted by Herbert Bentwich who demonstrated extreme reluctance to hand over the minute books of the JEAC. In the minutes of the inaugural meeting of the JEAS it is recorded that:

> Mr. Bentwich was not willing to surrender the Minute Book [of the JEAC], but consented, should the Committee so desire, to allow extracts to be made. It was decided to leave the matter in the hands of the Chairman [Mr. R. Waley Cohen] to obtain a personal interview with Mr. Bentwich, and to endeavour to persuade him to surrender the book with discretion to have a solicitor's letter written to him, couched in a tone of friendly negotiation.[288]

Evidently this approach did not succeed. Consequently, in the face of Bentwich's continued reluctance to release the books, but his agreement to allow extracts to be made 'whenever [it] was desired to do so', it was decided to allow the matter to drop.[289]

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[285] JEAC Minutes 27 June 1907, to which was attached a copy of the *Resolutions Passed at Sub-Committee Meeting of 28th May, 1907.*
[286] JEAC Minutes 22 July 1907.
[287] Ibid.
[288] JEAS Minutes 21 October 1907.
[289] JEAS Minutes 12 November 1907.

The reasons underlying Bentwich's intransigence are not recorded in any of the minutes but the inference was that there was some ill-feeling surrounding the issue. Having served the JEAC diligently for almost eleven years he seemed either to have withdrawn, or to have been excluded, from any involvement with the re-formed JEAS. Whether the appointment of Robert Sebag-Montefiore to the post of JEAS Secretary was a contributory factor is, without evidence, mere speculation. Still, what should be born in mind is that Sebag-Montefiore was critical of the lack of organization within the JEAC. An early example of this was the letter he and two others sent 'declining to continue their subscriptions owing to want of information regarding the present object of the Committee'.[290] Although he and the others eventually agreed to continue their subscriptions 'their previous refusals having arisen from a misunderstanding' it is indicative of some disharmony already existing amongst the members.[291] Additionally, he and Bentwich clearly disagreed over the issue of grants being awarded in excess of funds held in the bank.[292]

It also seems likely that a clash of personalities caused problems between Bentwich and Sebag-Montefiore, who was almost thirty years his junior. A description of Bentwich in the records of the Hampstead Synagogue paints a picture of a determined man who could prove difficult when crossed.[293] It is likely that having given dedicated service to the JEAC he resented the criticism levied by the young and forceful Sebag-Montefiore.

Ignominious though the winding up of the JEAC appears to have been, its accomplishments and those of Herbert Bentwich should not be underestimated. This fact was recognized and applauded in the *JC* in what could be described as the JEAC's obituary:

> The work has outgrown the modest conditions under which it has hitherto been carried on, and it is felt that the time has come to reconstruct it on more ambitious lines. It will be taken over by a large and influential Committee, who will co-operate, on the one hand, with the Union of Jewish Women, and on the other with those members of the community who have hitherto been accustomed to assist such cases privately....It is hoped that even better results

[290] JEAC Minutes 3 July 1898.
[291] JEAC Minutes 27 March 1899.
[292] JEAC Minutes 2 December 1906.
[293] Herbert Bentwich was instrumental in founding The Hampstead Synagogue. He was elected the first Vice-President, but was not re-elected after two years having disagreed with many of the other founding members. Although he continued attending service for some time he sat separately from the congregation. www.hampsteadshul.org.uk. 1 March 2011.

> may be obtained in the future by a more organized effort on the part of the community and the substitution of public assistance for private patronage. The operation of the new Committee will be watched with considerable interest, and also not without some anxiety.[294]

The value of the work carried out by the JEAC is reflected in the achievements of a number of students whose progress was charted in the *Minutes* and *Annual Reports*. Although limited by funds and, seemingly, lack of organizational ability, the members set in motion the means by which a number of students were given the opportunity to pursue their academic and/or artistic studies. As will be seen, some of these continued to receive help from the JEAS, a sure indication of the worth of the initial idea and the dedication of those such as Herbert Bentwich.

The Jewish Education Aid Society

Robert Sebag-Montefiore was described as the founder and 'first and only Hon. Secretary' of the JEAS 'whose work had been of incalculable value to the society and to the community'.[295] His obituary confirms that he was instrumental in changing the *status quo*:

> ...when Robert Sebag-Montefiore joined the old Education Aid Committee it was soon obvious that he was going to have a very marked impression on the development of the work of that body, and it was largely owing to his stimulating and energetic activity that the Committee blossomed forth into the body now known as the Education Aid Society. It was impossible to overrate the benefit he thus conferred on the community, for by the pioneer work he did in enlarging and remodelling the scope of the work of the Education Aid Committee he was instrumental in preventing a large annual wastage of money, due to the haphazard system that had until then existed whereby individual members of the community helped cases which, in many instances, would have been much better off if they had not received the help to which they were not entitled.[296]

It is clear from the *Minutes* of the inaugural meeting held in October 1907 that the JEAS was to be run on far more professional and, to a certain extent, gender inclusive lines than those adopted during the life of the JEAC. The initial attendance

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[294] *JC*, 9 August 1907, p.6.
[295] *JC*, 3 December 1915, p.15.
[296] *JC*, 3 December 1915, p.15. Captain Robert Sebag-Montefiore of the Royal East Kent Yeomanry, aged 33, died on 19 November 1915 at the General Hospital, Alexandria, of wounds received in Gallipoli on 23 October 1915. *JC*, 26 November 1915, p.2.

of fourteen persons included four women. Thirteen others, including five women, were co-opted as members of the Committee. Those present agreed these numbers should be increased and invited 'suitable suggestions' to be submitted before the next meeting. Particularly sought after were specialists to sit as advisors on the 'Expert Boards' established to consider applicants from the fields of 'Art, Music, Literature and Academic Sciences and Science'.[297] With the exception of 'Science' all these boards required male and female members. This exclusion raises the question of the prevailing attitudes surrounding female education. It implies, incorrectly, that there were no women capable of acting as specialists on the Science board despite the achievements of such as Hertha Marks Ayrton (Fig.3).[298]

Figure 3: Hertha Marks Ayrton [299]

Ayrton's achievements were by no means common, albeit that by the end of the nineteenth century the benefits related to improving women's education were recognized by a number of Jewish women's organizations. Middle-class women gained a foothold in the caring professions, of teaching, nursing and social work but the aspiring academic was still dogged by the male led insistence 'that women's

[297] JEAS Minutes 21 October 1907.
[298] Hertha Marks Ayrton was the daughter of a Jewish immigrant family. Although she became an agnostic she retained close links with the Jewish community. She was a mathematician, and engineer, becoming , in 1899, the first female member of the Institution of Electrical Engineers. Marjorie Malley, *Hertha Marks Ayrton (1854-1923),* www.physics.ucla.edu , 4 May 2009.
[299] Larry Riddle, *Hertha Marks Ayrton. Biographies of Women Mathematicians.* www.agnesscott.ede. 4 May 2009.

supposed delicacy, modesty, and inability to match men's intellectual abilities prohibited them from the usual program of study'.[300] Furthermore educational opportunities for the lower classes of either gender frequently ceased after elementary schooling, when they were expected to enter the 'workaday world'.[301] For girls this commonly meant working in the garment trades or as domestic servants. For those from more affluent families it often meant being 'at home, absorbing domesticity and awaiting marriage'.[302] Therefore, in the early days of the JEAS, only those female applicants displaying musical talent, an attribute regarded as falling within women's sphere, were regarded as suitable candidates for support. Thus, despite the existence of girls and young women with the ability to become academics and scientists, it was not until the First World War any received assistance from the JEAS.

In addition to establishing the 'Expert Boards', steps were taken to tighten up the conditions pertaining to the types of cases considered suitable for consideration. With this in mind it was agreed that at the very least an applicant should be able to demonstrate, with reasonable certainty, that s/he 'will be able to earn an adequate living, suitable to the profession into which he or she is to enter'.[303] The initial assessment of an applicant was based upon a lengthy questionnaire requiring, amongst other things, full details of the assistance required; full family details (personal and financial); academic record; employment and health record and achievements in his/her particular field, i.e. literature, music, art or science. If this information indicated that the candidate would be suitable, s/he was interviewed by the Board of Experts and 'an expert opinion on the merits of the case' obtained. In likely cases the Board would then formulate a scheme of training, an estimate of the total cost involved, and a recommendation as to the initial grant required for the first year.[304] The matter was then referred back to the General Education Society Committee (GC).[305] If successful, the applicant was allocated a 'Case Guardian' through whom all monies would be paid. Moreover, each successful applicant was

[300] Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause*, pp.79 & 16.
[301] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, pp.230 & 237
[302] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p. 176.
[303] JEAS Minutes 21 October 1907.
[304] Ibid.
[305] Herein after referred to as the General Committee (GC).

subject to regular reports on his/her progress 'as often as may be desirable, but not less than once a year'.[306]

It could be argued that increasing the degree of control and including females amongst the Committee members would bring additional benefits to the association and its beneficiaries. Firstly it may encourage benefactors and secondly it could lead to an increase in the number of applicants, particularly those referred by schools. There is also the possibility that the members of the new Committee wished to remove the impression, which may have attached itself to the JEAC, that the organization was run by a group of 'inexperienced enthusiasts'.[307] Furthermore, having agreed that all cases concerning female applicants should be directed to the UJW, it was at this stage that the degree of co-operation between the two factions had to be resolved.[308] In relation to female applicants the UJW were required to 'obtain as far as possible a verification of the replies' to the questionnaire and then return it, 'with a general report' to the JEAS Secretary.[309] It is clear from the report of the conference held in November 1907 between members of the JEAS Committee and representatives of the UJW that the view of some of the members of the former was that the UJW feared their rôle would be usurped because the JEAS:

> …contemplated the absorption of all educational cases now dealt with by the Union [thus appropriating] most of the work done and all of the glory obtained by the Union of Jewish Women…and that [the Society's] chances of collecting sufficient money for its work would have been gravely prejudiced by the competition of the Union.[310]

Understandable though it may be, the loss of 'glory' may not have been the only reason for the UJW's initial reluctance to co-operate in the vetting of females thought suitable for higher education. As Black points out, it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that Anglo-Jewry finally began permitting Jewish women 'to take a major rôle in communal social activity'.[311] Even in May 1902, when the UJW met for the first time, the 'mobilized ladies' accepted traditional male philanthropic philosophy.[312] Thus, despite the fact that from the outset the UJW had

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[306] Ibid.
[307] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.189.
[308] JEAC Minutes of Special Meeting 10 December 1906.).
[309] JEAS Minutes 21 October 1907.
[310] A copy of this report is attached to the JEAS Minutes 10 December 1907.
[311] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.289.
[312] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.224.

advocated the advancement of Jewish women 'seeking positions beyond the working classes' much of the training offered related to the long defined, traditional, women's rôles of domesticity, parenting and child-care.[313] Here, it could be argued, there also lies an element of self-interest on the part of some 'philanthropic women' as, by the beginning of the twentieth century, 'domestic servants were becoming annoyingly expensive and in short supply'.[314] Some could therefore have interpreted the opportunities offered by the JEAS as, indirectly at least, diluting this supply further. Consequently a considerable degree of diplomacy was required in order to secure agreement of the following resolution:

> That it be made clear to the Jewish Community that all cases of training girls and women will be referred in the first instance to the Union of Jewish Women and that all such cases and only such cases as may be recommended by them for University or Higher Art Education will be referred to the Education Aid Society. The Union of Jewish Women will arrive at a decision, whether the applicant be referred to the Society, in the following manner: They will send to the applicant the printed questions issued jointly by the two Societies and on the answers to those questions they will decide whether to send up the applicants to the Education Aid Society.[315]

In reality this amended resolution meant that all female applicants were subjected to more rigorous testing than their male counterparts. First, they had to be adjudged suitable by the UJW. Second, they were assessed by the Board of Experts for 'an expert opinion on the merits of the case'. Those proving successful thus far were subject to the final decision, which rested with the GC.

In effect, if the number of girls referred during the lifetime of the JEAC was an indication of what may happen in the future, the UJW had little cause to worry about loss of their female charges. During that period only seven female applicants were considered for help by the JEAC, of whom only four received assistance. Of these seven, two had been referred by members of the UJW. This, of itself, was a clear indication that some women belonging to that organization recognized the worth of higher education for females albeit was, in these cases, limited to those with a musical talent. The case of one, a seventeen- year-old singer who needed help to 'be properly trained as a vocalist', was adjourned until 'expert evidence as to her ability' was obtained. In the event she made no further contact with the

[313] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.228.
[314] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.189.
[315] This amendment was passed, with two dissenters, at the JEAS meeting held on 10 December 1907.

Committee.[316] The other is the subject of one of the detailed case studies included in this work, namely Amy Rolda [Robinson], who was referred by Mrs. H L Cohen, President of the UJW.

Sadly the reorganization of the JEAC to the JEAS did not immediately widen the range of opportunities for women. Despite having female experts as members of all the subject committees, apart from science, the only girls and women helped financially were those with exceptional musical ability. To be fair, regardless of gender, the majority of successful applicants were those studying music. In 1910 there totalled thirty-one in this category, eighteen female and thirteen male. Of the remainder, all male, ten were studying 'science', seven 'literature' and three 'art'.[317]

The predominance of music students evidently caused concern to some members of the GC. Consequently it was decided to maintain a record of the full cost of 'Music Cases' detailing 'the sums voted [and] the exact sums paid out to any particular Music Student…[providing] a record of the state of each student's account'.[318] Furthermore, it was incumbent upon the members of the Music Committee (MC) to bear in mind the future prospects of anyone hoping to earn their living as a professional musician. It was stressed, therefore, that they be very selective when considering applicants in view of the 'keen competition there is in the music profession'.[319] This problem was highlighted in a letter concerning a boy who 'was not up to the standard required to achieve success'.[320] It was said that the JEAS had been 'over persuaded' to help 'doubtful' applicants to their detriment, meaning that by the age of about eighteen s/he was struggling unable to earn a living in the 'exotic profession to which they have been educated'. In such cases it was felt that to 'cut the knot in the earlier stages' would have been far 'wiser and kinder', thus allowing the child to be 'brought up to a normal career' and remain in 'the original class from which they came'.[321]

The questions surrounding funding were not solely applied to musical applicants. During the life of the JEAC it had been the practice to award monies in the form of grants. However, during the inaugural meeting of the JEAS it was

[316] JEAC Minutes 9 February 1903 & 5 March 1903.
[317] JEAS Minutes 11 & 17 October 1910 show 51 applicants, 33 male and 18 female.
[318] Ibid.
[319] JEAS Minutes 22 February 1911.
[320] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006. Dated 17 January 1916, this letter related to a discussion between members of the MC and the GC.
[321] Ibid.

suggested that this practice be suspended to be replaced by loans awarded subject to a signed agreement to repay.[322] After some discussion it was decided 'to lay down no general rule at present'.[323] However, during a later meeting of the Finance Committee held to discuss the wide circulation of a letter appealing for funds, this matter was discussed at greater length. Although it was considered 'undesirable and inexpedient to demand a contract for repayment from 'every case assisted' it was generally agreed that:

> It is desirable that there should be sent to and assented to by each accepted applicant a letter recording an obligation of honour to repay by instalments of say 10% out of earnings the loan advanced by the Society, and an undertaking to abide by the advice of the society.[324]

This issue continued to be discussed, on and off, for a number of years. In 1909 it was unanimously agreed that application forms should contain the following question:

> Do you understand that all monies paid on your behalf by the Education Aid Society are to be considered as loans and are to be paid to the Society out of future earnings?[325]

A year later when the matter was still unresolved it was decided to write to all the current beneficiaries asking them to 'attend at the office…before 15 July [1910]' in order to sign an agreement acknowledging the money paid out on their behalf.[326] In October 1910 it was further agreed that each quarter every student would be sent a detailed statement of the Society's expenditure on his/her behalf. Attached to this statement would be a form:

> …containing a detailed acknowledgement of the amount of the student's indebtedness to the Society, and the student would be instructed to sign this form and send it to the office. The statement sent 15 January [each year] would also contain an instruction to attend at the office within a specified time for the purpose of signing the Schedule to the agreement, which would show in a lump sum the expenditure incurred during the previous years.[327]

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[322] JEAS Minutes 21 October 1907.
[323] Ibid.
[324] JEAS *Report of the Finance Committee*, 12 November 1907.
[325] JEAS Minutes 12 May 1909.
[326] JEAS Minutes 29 June 1910.
[327] JEAS Minutes 11 & 17 October 1910.

This requirement to repay was applied to those who had previously been beneficiaries of the JEAC but who had continued to be assisted by the JEAS. As will be seen from the case study of Maude Gold (Chapter 3) despite the introduction of the new rules repayment was sometimes difficult to obtain. Also, it is clear not all beneficiaries of either the JEAC or its successor the JEAS managed 'to earn an adequate living, suitable to the profession into which he or she is to enter'.[328] On the other hand, as demonstrated in the case study of Philip Blackman (Chapter 2), there were those who succeeded professionally and regarded it as a matter of honour to repay what, from the outset, had been classed as a grant.

The JEAC, one of the many philanthropic societies introduced to counter the growing anti-Semitic attitudes existing in Britain, was not without its problems. Initially the founder members, enthusiastic and well meaning though they were, presented an amateurish face hampered by poor organisation and lack of funds. Setting out with the intention of helping exceptionally talented young people enter a suitable profession in the early years selection leant towards those possessing musical and artistic flair. Bearing in mind the social interests of the Maccabaeans, many of whom were members of the JEAC this is perhaps not surprising. Although not without its difficulties the transition from the JEAC to the JEAS, and the latter's eventual co-operation with the UJW, succeeded in placing the organisation on a more professional footing. Additionally, greater consideration was given to applicants displaying academic talent. In the words of the *JC* this modest organisation proved that it had taken 'unto itself a practical shape and produced practical concrete results'.[329] Evidence of this is demonstrated by their support of Philip Blackman, an academic, to whom Chapter 2 refers.

[328] JEAS Minutes 21 October 1907.
[329] *JC*, 8 April 1898, p.20.

Chapter 2

Philip Blackman 1881-1963 A Journey: From Immigrant to Englishman

Introduction

Sometime between the birth of their youngest child in 1886/1887 and the UK 1891 Census the family of Nathan Blackman left their home in Freidrichstadt, Courland, a *Gubernia* (Province) of the Russian Empire.[330] By the time of the 1891 Census, Nathan, his wife and three youngest children were living in Whitechapel. It is believed, as was the case with many East European Jewish immigrants, that Blackman was an Anglicized version of their name and was adopted by all those members of the family who had immigrated to the West.[331] According to the 1911 Census there had been ten Blackman children, eight of whom survived to adulthood.[332] The information provided by Barry Press (Philip's grandson), shows that Philip had five older brothers. The whereabouts of two are unknown but by reference to some UK, Canadian and USA records, it has been possible to trace the diasporic pattern and background of the remaining three, namely Abraham, Louis and Nathan who, in contrast to Philip and his two sisters, did not remain in the UK. For reasons of clarity further details are given in Appendix 2a and 2b.

Clearly, initially, Abraham was living in London at the same time as his parents and younger siblings, although not at the same address.[333] In 1894 he married and, between then and 1899, fathered three daughters. However, in 1898 he

[330] Courland is the historically distinct area of modern day Latvia. It was a separate Province of the Russian Empire from 1797-1918. www.jewishgen.org. 19 April 2013.

[331] Information provided by Barry Press, Philip's grandson, is that on 23 April 1898, a *Statutory Declaration (Birth)* relating to Philip Blackman was signed at Thames Police Court by his father Nachman Bluhmann. This document stated that Philip Blackman was born 16 January 1881 at Friedrichstadt, in the province of Courland which was also the birth place of the other members of the family. However, a Nachmann Blechmann, aged 30 in 1871, which accords with Nathan's birth year of around 1840, appears in the Courland Enlistment Registers and Family Lists 1845-1874. In view of this it is possible that Bluhmann should correctly have been spelled as Blechmann, which would account for the Anglicized 'Blackman'. www.jewishgen.org. 16 April 2013.

[332] No information is available in respect of the two children believed to have died before the family entered the UK.

[333] His marriage certificate, 6 May 1894 to Rachel Zelinski (Sashinski) gives their address as 4 Bell Lane, which was an extension of Goulston Street where Nathan and family were living by (probably before) 1897.

emigrated to the USA, to be followed in 1899 by his wife and children. The 1910 USA Census states they had five children, two of whom had died. As the three girls born in the UK were still alive it appears that the other two children had been born and died in the USA. Whether or not Louis spent time in the UK is unknown but according to the 1900 USA Census he entered America in 1895 where, in 1900, he married another Russian immigrant. Between 1901 and 1917 he fathered six children, two girls and four boys. However at some date between the 1920 and the 1930 USA Census returns he and his wife divorced. All the children remained with their mother and Louis' whereabouts, after 1920, are unknown. It seems likely that between 1893 and 1902 the third brother, Nathan, spent some time in the UK and the USA before finally emigrating to Canada.[334] The birth certificate of one of his children (Rafael born 2 February 1906) confirms that he married, worked as a cap-maker and lived in Toronto. The couple produced three more sons and a daughter. In 1927 their eldest son, Raphael, moved to the USA where he married, became an American citizen and remained until his death 29 October 1985.[335] At the time these members of the Blackman family entered the USA the Jews who chose to move to America were drawn heavily from the young, urban, artisan proletariat. Between 1880 and 1914 they constituted about a quarter of the skilled industrial workers, playing a key role in the manufacture of clothing.[336] It is not coincidental, therefore, that the brothers were all said to have worked as cap makers in New York, although Nathan eventually settled in Toronto.[337]

Whether or not Philip's father had initially intended to carry onwards to the USA with the younger children is unknown. What is known is that this family unit of parents, a son (Philip) and two daughters (Annie and Frances) settled in London and remained in the UK for the rest of their lives. The purpose of this case study is to

[334] The UK Outward Passenger shipping lists refer to a Nathan Blackman, born about 1872, leaving from Liverpool 19 July 1893 and 15 August 1894, occupation cap-maker, to Philadelphia, USA. The Canadian Passenger List, 16 May 1902efers to a Nathan Blackman, occupation tin worker, travelling to Quebec with ultimate destination New York. It is likely that one, if not all, refer to Philip's older brother. What is known, from Rafael's birth certificate, is that Philip's brother, Nathan, lived and worked in Canada as a cap maker.

[335] Michigan Deaths, 1971-1996. www.ancestry.co.uk.

[336] David Sorkin, 'Into the Modern World' in Nicholas de Lange, (ed.), *The Illustrated History of the Jewish People*, (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1997), pp.241-242.

[337] USA Census refer to Abraham & Louis. UK Outward Passenger Lists, 1890-1960 to Nathan.

explore those lives, with the emphasis being on Philip and his development from immigrant to Englishman.[338]

The early years

The 1891 Census shows that that the family occupied two rooms in Plough Street Buildings, which contained forty six tenements in two blocks. Although much smaller than the nearby 280 tenement Brunswick Buildings (Fig. 4) the structure and conditions would have been similar. Indeed all these tenements were comparable in design and effect to those described by White in *Rothschild Buildings*, 'cramped brick and concrete cells...the binding constraints, primarily space, imposed by the working-class housing problem..' with the living room 'designed to double as a bedroom at night', and constant infestation by bed bugs, no matter how clean the home.[339] Despite these drawbacks it was claimed by some that these dwellings led to a decrease in mortality rates, discouraged crime and immorality and enforced orderly living. Thus model dwellings such as Rothschild Buildings satisfied the wishes of those of the middle-classes, the philanthropists and architects, who built them.[340] However the opposition claimed that the effect of the social control exerted by being 'hemmed in by rules and wrought-iron railings' destroyed home life, ambition and the power of free thought thus hindering any hope of advancement and keeping the poor where they belonged.[341] Furthermore, these critics claimed that such buildings not only contributed to the spread of infectious diseases, but that 'disgusting sights were to be seen on the staircases and the blocks were terrorized by roughs'.[342]

[338] Much of the information relating to his activities and achievements has been gleaned from official records. This is enhanced by material which embraces the more personal aspects of his life, kindly provided by his daughter Mrs Alberts and his grandchildren Barry and Vivienne Press and Anthony Pollen.
[339] White, *Rothschild Buildings*, p.33 & pp.42-43.
[340] White, *Rothschild Buildings*, p.31.
[341] White, *Rothschild Buildings*, pp.31-32.
[342] White, *Rothschild Buildings*, p.31.

Figure 4: Brunswick Buildings 1891 [343]

In relation to Plough Street Buildings some of the contemporary press reports support this description. A male resident was accused of detaining a woman against her will for immoral purposes.[344] An illegitimate child, aged two months, who had been placed with a paid minder was admitted to the infirmary 'in a very emaciated condition, and having all the appearance of having been starved...very neglected, the body being very dirty' died.[345] There was also the danger of fire, a severe one being reported in October 1892 and another in May 1896.[346] This latter hazard was not surprising bearing in mind the cramped conditions and the fact that lighting, at that time, was by candle or paraffin lamp, supplemented by an open fireplace.[347]

This was a time when Jewish landlords and builders, such as the Davis brothers, were becoming increasingly prevalent in the area.[348] Like others they would no doubt have expected a good return on their investments regardless of the

[343] *A Walk with Mike Myers.* www.spitalfieldslife.com. 12 June 2010.
[344] *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 1 September 1888 & *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 19 August and 2 September 1888.
[345] *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 16 October 1892 & *Lloyd's weekly Newspaper*, 8 November 1891.
[346] *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 1 November 1891 & *Lloyd's weekly Newspaper*, 3 May 1896, p.15, respectively.
[347] White, *Rothschild Buildings*, p.33.
[348] 'Bethnal Green: Building and Social Conditions from 1876 to 1914', in A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 11, Stepney, Bethnal Green, ed. T F T Baker (London, 1998), pp.126-132. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol11, pp.126-132. 7 November 2015. Also Jill Waterson, *White Horse Street, Stepney, at the turn of the 20th Century*. www.history-pieces.co.uk. 12 November 2015.

origins of their tenants. It is evident that Davis Mansions, Goulston Street, was regarded as a property of some value to the owners as in 1897 it was offered for sale at £10,400, providing annual 'Freehold ground rents of £350... with reversion in 94 years to rack-rents valued at £3,707 per annum'.[349] The building was typical of the accommodation available during an era when 'crowding reached its greatest extremes in the centre of the Jewish area'.[350] It was a seven storey block containing 148 two and three room tenements housing over 1000 Jews.[351] From various press reports the living conditions and behaviour of some of the residents were no better than those at Plough Street Buildings. For example a three year old girl who set herself on fire 'sustained such serious burns that her life is despaired of', and a child aged three died of 'suppurative broncho-pneumona'.[352] A resident was prosecuted and fined for selling eggs 'unfit for food' and another was charged with obtaining 10s 0d by false pretences.[353] Despite these problems, by August 1897 the Blackman family of five was living here in a three room tenement.[354] The larger size of this unit may indicate that their living standards had improved but by 1901 they had moved to a smaller, therefore probably cheaper, two roomed unit in the same block.[355] Thus it seems likely that high rent coupled with low earnings led to this regressive move by the family.

In the absence of a photograph identified as Davis Mansions, that of Goulston Street (Fig. 5) shows the size and location of at least one of the tenement blocks which abounded in the area. In 1897 the blocks in Whitechapel and Spitalfields, including Davis Mansions, suffered what was described as a 'water famine'.[356] Mr Hand's detailed letter to *The Times* draws attention to the plight of those who, living in these tenements, had no access to running water for cooking or sanitary purposes. He castigated the East London Water Company for failing in its duty under the Public Health (London) Act, 1890 and could easily have been describing Mrs Blackman and her plight when he wrote:

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[349] 'The Property Market', *Morning Post*, 2 July 1897.
[350] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.147.
[351] 1901 Census and J.E.Hand 'Want of Water in East London', *The Times*, 2 August 1897, p.10.
[352] *London Daily News*, 13 July 1897; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 19 September 1897 & *London Standard*, 20 September 1897, p.2, respectively.
[353] *London Standard*, 3 January 1900, pp.4-5 & p.7 & *Reading Mercury*, 24 February 1900, p.2, respectively.
[354] 97 Davis Mansions per Philip's Naturalization Documents dated 31 January 1906.
[355] 142 Davis Mansions per 1901 Census.
[356] J.E.Hand, 'Want of Water in East London', *The Times*, 2 August 1897, p.10.

> In New Goulston-street we met a Jewess with a bucket of water which she bitterly complained had to be carried up a narrow and dark staircase to the top floor of Davis-mansions; these mansions are filled up with some 1,000 Jews.[357]

Figure 5: Goulston Street circa1900 [358]

Taking into account the locale in which they lived during their early years in the UK it could be assumed the Blackmans were simply an uneducated, poor immigrant family, living in overcrowded conditions with little hope of advancement. Such people and circumstances contributed towards the stereotypical representation of the day. These engendered the feelings of 'hostility and opposition' aroused amongst many an 'Englishman' who would have seen the family as contributing to the 'thousands of unprepossessing-looking Jewish immigrants making shabby homes in England'.[359] This however, based upon the research conducted in respect of this study coupled with the information provided by some of Philip's surviving relatives, is not the case. Although their life style and standard of living before they came to the UK is not known, according to Philip's grandchildren, the family was well-travelled, which may have influenced the older brothers' move to the USA. Furthermore, members of the family were said to have been well-educated and fluent in several languages.

[357] Ibid.
[358] www.londonfiction.com. 21 February 2013.
[359] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp.269 & 271 and Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.278.

Philip's father, although described in the initial JEAC minute (27 March 1899) as a man 'who did odd jobs as a tin worker', is believed to have been a craftsman working as a designer and engraver in copper, silver and gold.[360] Unfortunately, however skilled he may have been it is likely his ability would have been 'quite useless under English conditions, since English trades, which were controlled by guild-like trade union rules, were not open to Jewish immigrants'.[361] That being the case the family may well have fallen into the category described by Geoffrey Alderman of those Jews who, having come from 'somewhat less humble backgrounds in eastern Europe' were 'conferred the status of proletarian' once they arrived in London.[362] In many such cases this loss of status is thought to have acted as a spur 'for economic and social advancement, both for themselves and their children'.[363] As will be seen, in Philip's case this is demonstrated by his academic ability, both at school and throughout his adult life. It therefore seems unlikely that his early upbringing conformed to Gartner's description of those immigrants who came mostly from:

> …places where the traditional way of life was slowest to weaken …their spiritual and intellectual environment was pretty well circumscribed by traditional Jewish religious life and thought… there is little indication of any learned element among [them]…the arriving Jewish immigrant was generally not a student of Talmudic tractates...[364]

From references to him in various JEAC minutes, re-enforced by his academic achievements, it is evident that his ability was recognised by those members of the Anglo-Jewish community connected to the work of the Committee. It could be said that because of this he was identified as a suitable candidate for what Eugene Black refers to as acculturation, namely the creation of a Jewish 'sub-culture within British Society'.[365] This meant that with help from others he could become 'an accepted and respected part of British Society…while preserving the bonds of Jewish history, tradition and belief'.[366] However, relevant to Philip's case is consideration of Feldman's argument that:

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[360] Family history provided by Barry Press.
[361] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.57.
[362] Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, p.173.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, pp.241-242.
[365] Eugene Black, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.ix.
[366] Ibid

> What is missing from all this is any substantial rôle for the immigrants themselves. But once their own activity is acknowledged we shall have to consider these other explanations of cultural change.[367]

Thus, when Philip's background, ability and his 'own activity' is considered it is questionable that his transition from immigrant to Englishman was the 'inevitable consequence of immigration to a western country' coupled with the social control exercised by the established Anglo-Jewish community.[368] What is clear from the outset is that, far from conforming to some pre-ordained mould of what Eugene Black terms 'downward mobility', Philip Blackman's acculturation was largely due to his family's attitude and his 'own activity'.[369] Consequently the help extended to him throughout his early years, by the JEAC and sundry members of the Anglo-Jewish community, would not have been the only factors in bringing about his Anglicization. His drive and determination clearly played a major rôle in his success. As will be seen from the ensuing exploration of his life, his attitude and achievements show he contributed, albeit in what his surviving family members feel he would have considered a modest way, to British society as a whole. Furthermore, he became a Rabbinical scholar and his extensive work in relation to the *Mishna*, discussed later in this study, confirms he successfully retained his Jewish religious roots and beliefs in addition to becoming an 'Englishman'.

Education

On 4 May 1891 Philip, aged ten, entered Chicksand Street School.[370] At that time it is likely he spoke Yiddish and German, the latter being the predominant language in his native Courland.[371] Whilst his command of English is unknown he must have progressed rapidly as commencing school rated at 'Standard 0' he had achieved 'Standard V1' by the time he left on 27 April 1895.[372] It seems likely that he would then have moved on to Hanbury Street Board School, this being the nearest to Chicksand Street, but by March 1899 he was attending Deal Street Board School.[373] This school had opened on 10 February 1896 largely to relieve

[367] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.330.
[368] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p.242.
[369] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry*, p.246.
[370] London, England, School Admissions and Discharges, 1840-1911. www.ancestry.co.uk.
[371] Courland Research Group. www.jewishgen.org. 19 April 2013.
[372] London, England, School Admissions and Discharges, 1840-1911. www.ancestry.co.uk.
[373] JEAC Minutes 27 March 1899.

overcrowded Hanbury Street 'where it was reported the children were compelled to sit on each others' laps'.[374]

Deal Street School (Fig.6) was expected to cater for 1200 children. Although regarded as expensive, due in large measure to the introduction of several modern improvements for the comfort of both scholars and teachers, it was to provide 'a good sound education for the children'.[375] It is reasonable to presume that Philip became a pupil at Deal Street shortly after it opened as, when he applied to the JEAC, he was a pupil teacher there.[376] Clearly he had taken full advantage of the education offered at Deal Street, attaining four certificates from the Department of Science and Art of the Committee of Council on Education.[377]

Figure 6: Deal Street School 2008 [378]

Philip Blackman first came to the notice of the JEAC in March 1899.[379] It appears from the wording of the minutes that he was a self-referral. However, in

[374] *London Standard*, 11 February 1896, p.3.
[375] Ibid.
[376] JEAC Minutes 27 March 1899.
[377] The following details were taken from documents held by Mrs Lilian Alberts, Philip's daughter, on 15 September 2009.
17 June 1897 – Pass; Elementary Stage; Sound Light and Heat.
19 June 1897 – First Class; Elementary Stage; Inorganic Chemistry (theoretical).
21 June 1897 – First Class; Stage 2; Mathematics.
22 June 1897 – First Class; Elementary Stage; Phsiography.
[378] Photograph taken by Andy Aldridge 17 October 2008. www.flickr.com/photos. 23 April 2013.
[379] JEAC Minutes 27 March 1899.

view of the fact that in 1898 the JEAC had contacted the headmasters of schools in the area inviting 'applications for Scholarships' it seems likely Philip would have been encouraged by his teachers to apply for support.[380] The JEAC minute refers to him as a pupil teacher at Deal Street Board School who was 'going up for his matriculation in June and wanted to become a teacher' and would be glad of some financial assistance after passing this examination.[381] It was also recorded that, as a pupil teacher, he was in receipt of twelve shillings a week, all of which he gave to his father.[382] As it seems likely that, since coming to England, the family had found it necessary to adjust to a reduced level of income this would have been an essential contribution to the household budget. It may have contributed to their move from Plough Street Buildings to the, possibly better, three room tenement in Davis Mansions. The cessation of this income, when Philip became a student, could have been the reason the family then moved to the smaller, two roomed unit.

Although no grant was awarded at this stage the Committee agreed to give the application favourable consideration 'provided [Philip] matriculated well'.[383] However, in May 1899 one of the Committee members 'Offered to relieve the Committee from any future obligations' towards Philip as, if he matriculated well, there would be no difficulty in obtaining a grant from other sources, thus allowing him to enter King's College and 'complete his studies for a teachership'.[384] Indeed, as the record shows, in June 1899 he *did* matriculate well, being placed in the First Division.[385] This was a commendable feat considering he had commenced his studies in England at the age of ten, only eight years previously.

Philip's contact with the JEAC continued throughout the years 1899 to 1902, although his requests for financial assistance were modest. In 1900 he was granted £10 to enable him to receive extra tuition and purchase books.[386] In 1901, having passed the BSc Intermediate examination, he was given the residue of this award to help him prepare for the BSc final. In September 1902 he was granted an additional £5 to pay the examination entrance fee plus an extra £1, required by the University authorities, to re-schedule one of the papers which 'fell on a Jewish Holy day'. This

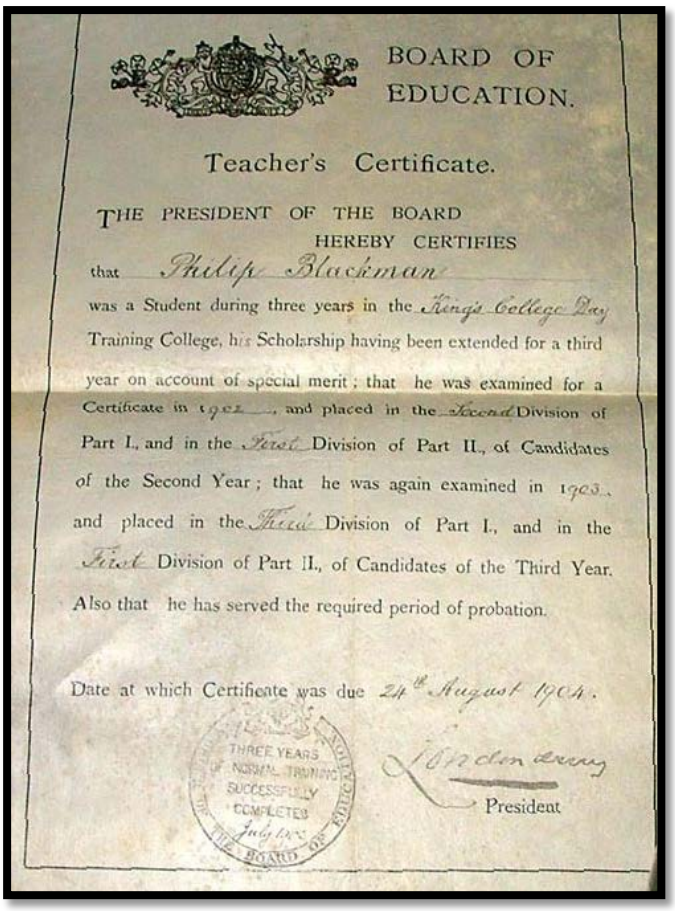
[380] JEAC Minutes 26 January 1898.
[381] JEAC minutes 27 March 1899.
[382] Ibid.
[383] Ibid.
[384] JEAC Minutes 8 May 1899.
[385] University of London Certificate. Provided by Mrs Lily Alberts.
[386] JEAC Minutes 19 December 1900.

latter sum was referred to the London Board of Deputies who, in similar cases, had covered this expense.[387]

From the documents held by Mrs Alberts it is clear he took full advantage of his time at King's College.[388] In addition to earlier successes he obtained a first class pass 'at the examination with chalk upon the blackboard' and passed, in the First Division, the 'Intermediate Examination of the Degree of Bachelor of Science'.[389] In October 1902 he took the BSc final which ultimately led to his being awarded his Teacher's Certificate. His examination successes and later academic writings confirm that, as required by the JEAC, he was 'possessed of exceptional talent' and it was worth their while, albeit in a modest way, to provide him with the means of 'pursuing those studies' for which he was 'peculiarly fitted'.[390]

Funded primarily not by the JEAC but as the result of gaining a three year scholarship, Philip completed his studies at King's College in 1903 and on 24 August 1903 was appointed, in order to serve the required period of probation, assistant teacher at Deal Street School, Boys' Department, Whitechapel.[391] This was the school at which he had been a pupil teacher being paid twelve shillings per week. As a probationer his salary increased to £100 per annum but he was, nonetheless, the lowest paid of the two junior teachers.[392] The following year, having served the required period of probation, he was awarded the Board of Education Teacher's Certificate (Fig: 7).

[387] JEAC Minutes 19 September 1901, 19 February 1902 & 25 September 1902.
[388] Kings College, London. Faculty of Science (Natural Science Division) Academic record: 1900-1901 – attended General Chemistry; 1900-1901 –First Year – attended Mechanics and Mathematics: 1900-1901 – Second Year – attended Physics. Highly distinguished himself by the progress made in all subjects.
[389] Board of Education, South Kensington, 1901 and University of London, 23 October 1901, respectively.
[390] JEAC *Report to Subscribers*, 22 July 1898.
[391] London Metropolitan Archive (LMA) Register of Teachers Provided Schools D., p50. LCC/EO/STA/4/38. Department Staffed by the Head Teacher and six assistant teachers.
[392] Ibid.



BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Teacher's Certificate.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD HEREBY CERTIFIES

that Philip Blackman

was a Student during three years in the King's College Day Training College, his Scholarship having been extended for a third year on account of special merit; that he was examined for a Certificate in 1902, and placed in the Second Division of Part I., and in the First Division of Part II., of Candidates of the Second Year; that he was again examined in 1903, and placed in the Third Division of Part I., and in the First Division of Part II., of Candidates of the Third Year. Also that he has served the required period of probation.

Date at which Certificate was due 24th August 1904.

THREE YEARS OF NORMAL TRAINING SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED July 1903 THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Londonderry

President

Figure 7: Board of Education Teacher's Certificate. Registered Number 02/901 [393]

Social mobility

By 1903, Philip had commenced teaching, his sister Annie was working as a tailoress and Frances, the youngest child then aged about sixteen or seventeen, was a pupil teacher.[394] In August 1905 the family moved to Laleham Buildings, Camlet Street, on the Boundary Street Estate, Shoreditch (Fig.8).[395] Their flat was in one of twenty, five storey, social housing blocks built between 1894 and 1900 and controlled by the LCC. Initially, being Jews, they may well have been the exception to the rule on this Estate. Although a number of families are known to have lived in Laleham Buildings and there was some Jewish settlement, especially in the nearby Calvert Avenue area, in general Jews did not settle here in appreciable numbers until

[393] Provided by Mrs Alberts

[394] In the 1901 Census Frances was described as a pupil teacher. In the 1911 Census, aged 24, she had become a teacher in an Elementary school.

[395] Philip's Naturalization Papers, Section 5, give this as his address with effect from August 1905.

after the First World War.[396] The move to this area appears to have heralded an improvement for the Blackman family. It is reasonable to assume that their financial circumstances and social status had improved which may have enabled them to secure better accommodation.

Figure 8: Laleham House 2012 (previously Laleham Buildings) [397]

Boundary Street was the first estate to be developed by the LCC. It replaced what, by the 1880s, had become known as the worst slum in London, the notorious area known as 'The Nichol' (Fig. 9).[398] In 1886 a Parliamentary report described the dwellings in the area as overcrowded, unsanitary and dilapidated with 'defective roofs, damp walls and ceilings, broken flooring, &c'.[399] The lack of complaints by the residents was, in part, attributed to the tenants' fear of offending their landlords.[400]

[396] David Englander, 'Jewish East London, 1850-1950', in W.T.R.Pryce (ed.), *From Family History to Community History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.201.
[397] *British Listed Buildings, Laleham House, TowerHamlets*. www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk. 20 February 2013.
[398] Boundary Estate Conversation Area, Tower Hamlets Council. pp.4-5. www.towerhamlets.gov.uk. 29 April 2013. See also *A brief History of the Boundary Estate: From Slum to Scheme – The birth of the Boundary Estate.* https://boundarylaunderette.wordpress.com. 8 April 2016 & Gary Haines, *Boundary of Old Nichol's Vice, Filth and Death*. www.eastlondonadvertiser.co.uk. 8 April 2016.
[399] D.Cubitt Nichols, Esq, *Parliamentary report on the Sanitary Condition of the Parish of Clerkenwell,* 27 February 1886.
[400] Ibid.

Figure 9: A Street in The Nichol 1890 [401]

As contemporary photographs show (Figs.10 & 11), not only was the lay-out and accommodation of the buildings an improvement upon tenement blocks such as Davis Mansions, the area was softened by the introduction of a landscaped open space. This venture alone presented problems as evidenced by the memo from Mr Sexby of the Parks and Open Spaces Sub-Committee, to the Housing of the Working Classes Committee:

> I propose to employ ivy rather largely on the upper slope, in conjunction with such small evergreens as may be expected to flourish in that trying locality. On the lower slope I should introduce somewhat larger evergreens and deciduous shrubs. Around the edges I propose to plant 25 plane trees. I think the effect of this planting in conjunction with the grass banks will be pleasant, although I must warn the committee against expecting too much. The situation of the ground in that locality and the draughts from the converging streets will be unfavourable to plant growth. I have authorised the delivery of 80 loads of good soil from the Mill Fields, Hackney.[402]

Bearing in mind that the base of the gardens had been created mainly out of household rubbish and the spoil of the Nichol demolitions, the addition of the good soil from Hackney clearly bore fruit as the later photograph shows (Fig.11).

[401] Gary Haines, *Boundary of Old Nichol's Vice, Filth and Death*. www.eastlondonadvertiser.co.uk. 8 April 2016.

[402] Internal memo, 14 October 1896, regarding the creation of the Arnold Circus raised garden on the Boundary Street Estate, built upon the site of the Old Nichol. www.sarahwise.co.uk 29 April 2013.

Figure 10: Boundary Street Estate and Central Garden circa 1896/97 [403]

Figure 11: Boundary Street Estate and Central Garden circa 1896/97 [404]

With its free-standing blocks, tree lined streets and open spaces admitting light and air this estate was recognized as an important step forward in the history of social housing.[405] It is now regarded with such historical importance that it is a Grade II listed conservation area (Fig.12).[406]

[403] www.sarahwise.co.uk. 29 April 2013.
[404] Ibid.
[405] Ibid.
[406] Ibid.

Figure 12: Boundary Estate Conservation Area 2013 [407]

Philip left Laleham Buildings in 1907 when he married, although he later returned to the Estate with his wife until they moved to the suburbs, addressed later. However, his parents and sisters remained, moving eventually to a flat in Abingdon Buildings, nearby in Boundary Street (Fig.13). Nathan Blackman died here in February 1911 and it appears Annie left following her marriage in April the same year, as by the time of the birth of her first child she was living in Dalston.[408] At that time Frances, by then a primary school teacher with the LCC, was still living with her mother. However, sometime between 1911 and her marriage in 1915 Frances had also moved to an address in Dalston. These moves from the East End to the suburbs, long regarded as one of the 'first steps upwards of the Whitechapel Jew', could have been for a number of reasons other than a rise in income and social status.[409] Esther,

[407] Boundary Estate Conversation Area, Tower Hamlets Council, pp.4-5. www.towerhamlets.gov.uk. 29 April 2013.

[408] Annie married Joe Stone. When their first child was born 22 May 1912 their address was 8 Ridley Road, Dalston but, perhaps unusually for the time, Annie gave birth at the Jewish Maternity Hospital, Underwood Road, Whitchapel. It seems likely there were complications with the pregnancy/birth, as the child died a few months later. See also *Lost Hospitals of London, Jewish Maternity Hospital*. www.ezitis.myzen.co.uk. 23 November 2015.

[409] By 1911 Frances was a school teacher, although the location of her school is unknown she may have moved to be nearer her place of employment. Secondly her address, 97 Graham Road, Dalston, a multi occupied property where she probably rented a room, was only a short distance from her prospective husband's home at 16 Downs Park Road. Lastly she was not far from her sister Annie at 8 Ridley Road, or Philip and his family, who were then living at 33 Princess May Road, Stoke Newington. At the time of the birth of their first child Francis and her husband, Harry Dubow, were living at 16 Grayling Road, Stoke Newington.
See also Michael Bernstein, *Stamford Hill and the Jews Before 1915*, (MSB Publications, 1976), p.34, quoted in *Hackney: Judaism*, British History Online, p.145. www.british-history.ac.uk 18 November 2015.

however, eventually moved back to Whitechapel where she died, aged 92, in 1932.[410] It may well have been that she felt more at ease in a district and amongst people with whom she had mixed for about forty years rather than moving, as her children did, to the suburbs where spoken English and habits predominated.[411]

Figure 13: Abingdon House 2012 (previously Abingdon Buildings) [412]

Marriage and family life

At this point there are a number of issues to be addressed concerning Philip's adult life. These include his relationship with family members, his continuing, if spasmodic, relationship with the JEAC and his academic career. The combination of these factors contributed to the development of the 'immigrant to Englishman'. Thus, Philip retained his Jewish identity, contributed to his adopted country and attained the respect of many, Jew or non-Jew.

It is understood, according to Vivienne Press, his grand-daughter, that Philip maintained a regular correspondence with his brother Nathan who, nine years his senior, had emigrated to Canada.[413] Quite probably this correspondence led to Philip

[410] Esther Blackman died 16 October 1932 at 40 Plumbers Row, Whitechapel. This appears to have been a flat above commercial premises but has long since been demolished. It was only a short distance from Buckle Street and the site of Plough Street Buildings, where the Blackman family lived in 1891.

[411] David Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Suburbs: Social Change in Anglo-Jewry Between the Wars, 1914-1945', *Jewish Culture and History*, Vol.1, No.1 (1998), p.6.

[412] *British Listed Buildings, Abingdon House, TowerHamlets.* www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk. 20 February 2013.

[413] In about 1995 the family were contacted by a Stuart Blackman, living in Chicago, (either Nathan's son or grandson), who said he had many letters from Philip to Nathan. Regrettably this man did

visiting Feldman's Post Office and meeting the woman who eventually became his wife, Cissy Danzig who was the half sister of Isaac Feldman's wife and lived with them.[414]

When Phillip and Cissy married on 24 February 1907 both gave their address as 1 Osborn Street, the location of Feldman's at the junction with Whitechapel High Street (Fig.14). It is not known if, or for how long, they lived with the Feldmans but by the birth of their son Vivian, on 6 January 1909, they had moved to 43 Wargrave Buildings (Fig.15) in another LCC block on the Boundary Street Estate. The size of their accommodation here is not known but, for a family of three, it is likely to have been more spacious than previous dwellings occupied by the Blackmans since their arrival in Britain.[415]

Figure 14: Whitechapel High Street junction with Osborn Street circa 1890 [416]

not maintain contact with the family in the UK and a letter to his last known address remains unanswered.

[414] Cissy's name has variously been recorded as Cisy Dantzeg, Cissy Danzic/Danzig and Cissy/Cissy Blackman. In the 1901 & 1911 Census Isaac Feldman's occupation was a Shipping Agent. He also ran the Post Office at the junction of Osborn Street and Whitechapel High Street. He is reputed to have assisted many new Jewish immigrants by providing a translation service and helping them to complete forms, find lodgings and locate relatives. The site of Feldman's Post Office is popularly included in guided walks of the area. For example: *London East End. Whitechapel Walk (From Whitechapel Station).* www.ibiblio.org/yiddish/Places/London. 26 February 2013. *A Walking Tour of London's Jewish Past.* www.timetravel-britain.com. 1 May 2013. David Rosenberg, *Jewish London walk for Hanukkah.* www.timeout.com. 1 May 2013. Feldman's Post Office is also the basis of a chapter in Jeremy Gavron, *An Acre of barren ground*, (London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd., 2005), pp.3-20. This fictionalized representation of a Jewish immigrant family is, in turn, based upon the autobiography of Samuel Chotzinoff, *A Lost Paradise. Early Reminiscences*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), pp.33-56.

[415] Wargrave House [Buildings] has clearly been renovated since the Blackmans lived there. However, as it is a Grade II listed building the size of the original apartments probably conformed to the current two bedroom and one reception lay-out, now for sale at £384,007.00. www.zoopla.co.uk. 20 February 2013.

[416] Tower Hamlets Local History Library. www.towerhamlets.gov.uk. 1 May 2013.

Figure 15: Wargrave House 2012 (previously Wargrave Buildings) [417]

As Philip progressed in his career so, it is likely, did his finances enabling him to leave the inner city and move to suburban Hackney. This was an area favoured by wealthier Jews since the first quarter of the nineteenth century and by the early 1900s was becoming popular with the upwardly mobile working class. Here accommodation could be found that was better and less cramped than the historic quarter of the East End although, as Gartner points out Jews 'constantly remained in groups and may have delayed moving until well after their means permitted them'.[418] Bearing in mind the proximity of both Philip's and Cissy's relatives this could have delayed their moving from the Boundary Street Estate to the suburbs, but only for a short while as by the birth of their second child in 1910 they were living at 33 Princess May Road, Stoke Newington. Number 33 was then, as now, divided into two dwellings (Fig.16). According to the 1911 census the Blackmans occupied four rooms and two widowed friends the other two. This sub-division was the case with their immediate neighbours and a number of other properties in the same road; nonetheless it would doubtless have been regarded as an improvement on the LCC tenement block. Representative of this is the entry in *The Times*:

[417] *British Listed Buildings, Wargrave House, TowerHamlets*. www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk. 20 February 2013.
[418] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, pp.144-145. It was not long before Philip's sisters and their families moved to the same area. Only their mother remained living in the East End.

> The Coronation [King George V & Queen Mary: 22 June 1911] will be commemorated at Stoke Newington by the planting with trees of Prince George-road and Princess May-road...[which were] laid out at the time of the marriage [6 July 1893] of the King and Queen.[419]

Figure 16: 33 Princess May Road 2013 [420]

The family remained at Princess May Road until after the birth of their fourth child in 1921. When they moved is not recorded but it is known from a letter published in the *JC* (30 April 1926, p.28) that by then they were living at 10 Purley Avenue, Cricklewood (Fig.17). Evidently this was a move to a more prosperous area as the property boasted a garage but as Philip did not have a car he is believed to have rented this out at 7s 6d per week.[421] Nevertheless this move to an area in north-west London denoted an increase in income and social status for those Jews who could afford it. As the *JC* put it, 'The preference the Jews once showed for the North side of town is as obsolete now as is the East End...'.[422] Even so Philip's move to

[419] London Celebrations. *The Times*, 22 March 1911, p.8.
[420] Now both leasehold flats, 33 Princess May Road sold for £230.000 in 2006 and 33a sold for £269,950 in 2008. www.rightmove.co.uk. 2 May 2013.
[421] Information from Barry Press, 6 September 2009.
[422] *JC*, 17 August 1928, p.5. Quoted in Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Suburbs', p.8.

Cricklewood was quite unusual at this time if the reaction of Joe Jacobs, a leading communist activist in the East End, is indicative of the norm. Writing of the 1920s he expressed some surprise when he said:

> It began to dawn on me that Jews and Gentiles did mix a great deal more than I had supposed...and many Jewish workers travelled some distance to work. People who lived in our 'ghetto' [Whitechapel] were moving away in the direction of Hackney and Stamford Hill and I heard of Jews who lived in places like Cricklewood, Brondesbury and Golders Green'.[423]

As Cesarani points an increasing number of Jewish families became distributed between the inner-city and the suburbs and this 'out-migration' played a major part in the dissolution of the Jewish immigrant class.[424] Coupled with this, education opportunities improved and employment patterns began to change. Although occupational change did not necessarily signify upward social mobility by the time Philip was living in Purley Avenue, many Jewish children 'were set fair for skilled white-collar work, the professions or the civil service and local government'.[425]

Figure 17: 10 Purley Avenue 2012 [426]

[423] Joe Jacobs, *Out of the Ghetto. My Youth in the East End. Communism and Fascism 1913-1939*, (London, Janet Simon, 1978), p.29.
[424] Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Suburbs', p.9.
[425] Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Suburbs', pp.10-11.
[426] Since Philip lived at this address the property has been extended and modernized as follows: 'Newly refurbished 6 Double Bedroom House, furnished, modern fully fitted kitchen with all appliances, 2 modern bathroom and showers with combined WC, double glazing, Gas central heating and Wooden flooring, Parking and Garden.' Clearly it is a desirable area as Purley Avenue, NW2 has 46 properties on it with a current average value of £678,276, compared to the average NW2 property value of £449,351. www.zoopla.co.uk. 3 May 2013.

Moving to this area may well have reflected an improvement in the family's fortunes but even here the behaviour of some of the neighbours was questionable. In July 1926 one was prosecuted for having a large number of 'objectionable' photographs and books in his shop premises and, between 1928 and 1931 there was a bankruptcy and several properties for sale by auction.[427] Alternatively, many of the residents saw fit to place engagement, marriage, birth and death notices in *The Times*, including Philip's immediate neighbour.[428] Something the average resident of his previous homes in tenement blocks could not have contemplated let alone afforded.

In 1941 the family had moved to 31 Park Road Egham.[429] According to Sheila Pollen (niece of Theresa Pollen, Philip's daughter) Philip and Cissy lived here during the Second World War having moved further from London to escape the bombing. It was a rented property and they either lived with, or near to, their daughter and son-in-law Joseph, who was a chemist employed by Johnsons which had moved premises to the area. Barry Press, Philip's grandson, thinks the family returned to Purley Avenue for a while until in 1951 they moved to 20 Hortus Road, Chingford (Fig. 18). The purchase of this property was helped by a payment of £500 which Philip received from the War Office for 'some invention'.[430]

Figure 18: 20 Hortus Road 2011 [431]

[427] *The Times*, 24 July 1926, p.4 & various other dates between 1828 and 1931.
[428] *The Times*, 3 June 1932, p.7. Engagement announced of daughter at 8 Purley Avenue.
[429] Letter from Philip to the *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 March 1941, p.9.
[430] Barry Press, barry.press@virgin.net. 6 September 2009.
[431] www.rightmove.co.uk , 20 February 2013.

Philip died here in 1963, aged 82. Cissy remained until her death in 1974, aged 92, but their eldest daughter Lilian Alberts, who lived with them, remained at 20 Hortus Road until about 2005 when she moved to residential accommodation in Whitely Village.[432] The house was then sold 9 September 2005 for £248,000 which Philip, being a modest man, would probably have thought an incredible sum.[433]

Cesarani's statement that 'The Jewish route to the suburbs was long, hard and devious' applies to some extent to Philip's life.[434] When they arrived in the UK the Blackman family would have been regarded as working-class. It was nineteen years from the time they arrived in the East End until Philip and his wife began their move to the suburbs, into a shared, rented property. By 1945 the majority of his contemporaries continued to work in the 'traditional' Jewish trades, the most popular being clothing and footwear trades, followed by retail and distribution indicating that:

> ...the communities that burgeoned in suburban districts after 1945 were no more middle-class that those of the inter-war inner-cities and inner-suburbs...Thus, a Jewish middle-class of immigrant descent did not crystallise until the late 1950s and 1960s, long after the myth of upward mobility would have it coming into existence.[435]

However, there are exceptions to most rules and Philip, having become a professional, was in the minority from the outset. Although Cesarani points out that 'crepuscular movement' to the inner suburb of Hackney and further gradual progresses in geographical mobility does not signify upward social mobility, it could well be argued that in Philip Blackman's case it does.[436]

The Research Chemist

Throughout his life Philip's academic studies and his contribution to the education of others went far beyond the realms of his work as an LCC schoolteacher. What could be described as his extra-curricula interests and activities fell, broadly, into two categories. Firstly, discussed here, there was his independent and original scientific research in the field of theoretical and practical chemistry. Secondly,

[432] Mrs Lilian 'Lily' Alberts died in 2010 shortly before her 100th birthday.
[433] www.rightmove.co.uk , 20 February 2013.
[434] Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Suburbs', p.22.
[435] Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Suburbs', p.21.
[436] Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Suburbs', p.22.

addressed later in this work, lay his interest in helping 'Yiddish speaking persons desirous of learning English' to achieve that goal.[437]

It is evident that the members of the JEAC were interested in his progress regarding the former when he sent them a copy of his paper published in the *Journal of the Chemical Society.*[438] In addition to sending Philip their congratulations he was asked if 'an introduction to Professor Meldola would be acceptable' and 'to arrange for such an introduction if so required'.[439] This offer is indicative of the help, other than financial, the members of the JEAS were able to offer to those they considered worthy, and is similar to that extended to the alumni of public schools and Oxbridge. Although no record survives confirming that Philip accepted this proposal in view of his progress it seems likely he did. Indeed it would have been foolish of him not to as Raphael Meldola was the first president of the Maccabaeans and therefore closely associated with the JEAC. He was also a Professor of Chemistry at Finsbury Technical College, President of the Chemical Society (CS) from 1905 to 1907, President of the Institute of Chemistry from 1912 until 1915 and a member of many other scientific societies.[440]

Whether or not assistance was forthcoming from Meldola is also unknown but Philip continued to inform the JEAC members of his progress by sending them copies of his articles published in the *Philosophical Magazine* and the *Chemical News.*[441] In 1907 he submitted a 'manuscript of a work on Chemistry, seeking advice on how to get it published'. The (then) JEAS forwarded this document to an 'expert scientist' but the outcome is not recorded.[442] However it was later reported to the Society that Philip had achieved:

> ...extraordinary success ... in chemical research and has had his papers published in the leading journals and has invented some chemical apparatus which is now being manufactured for sale.[443]

Despite this success Philip's application to the CS for a grant towards the cost of apparatus had been refused and he hoped that 'such an application would be more

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[437] *JC*, 18 July 1919, p.26.
[438] JEAS Minutes 28 November 1905. The article was: Philip Blackman, 'New Method of determining Molecular Weights', *Journal of the Chemical Society, Transactions*, 1905, 87, pp.1474-1480.
[439] Ibid.
[440] The National Portrait Gallery (NPG). www.npg.org.uk.
[441] JEAS Minutes 29 March 1906.
[442] JEAS Minutes 10 December 1907.
[443] JEAS Minutes, 30 June 1909.

successful if backed by the [JEAS]'. With this in mind he was informed that 'the Committee would offer their good offices to him with much pleasure if at any time he should need to apply again for the Royal Society or any other Government grant'.[444]

This is the final recorded occasion of Philip approaching the JEAS for assistance of any kind. It is clear however that he appreciated what they, as the JEAC, had done for him financially as a year after he qualified as a teacher he wrote to the JEAS offering to repay by instalments 'the total amount received by him in past years from the Committee'.[445] Philip had received funds only under the terms applied by the JEAC, namely that all monies were classed as a grant. It was not until the inaugural meeting of the JEAS that it was suggested that this practice be replaced by a system of repayable loans and this was not ratified until 1910.[446] It is therefore indicative of what some of his surviving relatives have described as his modest and honourable nature that he made this unsolicited approach and entered into an agreement to repay at '£1 per quarter the total sum received, enclosing the first £1 on account'.[447] His ability to adhere to this arrangement was interrupted for a time when he married but clearly repayments resumed as by 1919 it is recorded he had repaid 'his debt' in full and 'expressed his gratitude for the Society's assistance' which clearly had been invaluable in helping him to progress academically.[448]

Philip's grandson (Barry Press) has provided details of a number of his scientific papers, published between 1905 and 1908, and entries in the *JC* confirm that he continued publishing at least until 1927. The extent of these works is confirmed by Philip's declaration of his qualifications on his application for admission into the CS dated 13 December 1918, which reads as follows:

> I have carried out a good deal of independently original research and the results of my investigations have been published in the (London) Chemical Society's Journal (Transactions and Proceedings), Chemical News, Philosophical Magazine, Journal of Physical Chemistry, Berichte: Deutschen Chemische Gesellschaft, Zeitschrift für Physikalische Chemie, Chemiker Zeitung.

[444] Ibid.
[445] JEAS Minutes 28 November 1905.
[446] JEAS Minutes 21 October 1907 & 11 & 17 October 1910.
[447] JEAS Minutes 29 March 1906.
[448] JEAS Minutes 10 December 1907 & 29 May 1919.

> Two of my methods for determining vapour-densities and one for determining molecular-weights have been adopted with practice, and descriptions of them have begun to appear in chemical works (e.g. Findlay's "Practical Physical Chemistry" 3rd. Edition [Longman & Co] pp.60-67, Sudborough & James's "Practical Organic Chemistry" [Blackie & Son] pp.86-87.[449]

This declaration confirms not only his recognized expertise as a chemist but his ability to produce material in both English and German. *Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gellschaft*, founded in 1868, was a German Language scientific journal featuring chemistry of all disciplines. It is still available and cited today.[450] *Zeitschrift für Physikalische Chemie* has the English title *International Journal of Research in Physical Chemistry and Chemical Physics*. Founded in 1887 it remains in publication today.[451] *Chemiker Zeitung* was a German scientific journal with publications on general and industrial chemistry. It has since merged with other publications and is now regarded as the leading journal in organic, organometallic and applied chemistry.[452] This provenance confirms Philip's ability and supports his acceptance for admission as a Fellow of the Chemical Society on 20 February 1919.

Pioneer 179359 – Special Brigade Royal Engineers

Although of Russian origin, and therefore initially an alien, Philip had become a naturalised British citizen in 1906.[453] This meant that under the terms of The National Registration Act, 1915, he was required to register for military service, although he was not required to enlist. Subsequently, with the exception of those engaged in essential wartime occupations; the medically unfit; ministers of religion; conscientious objectors and married men, the Military Service Act 1916 imposed conscription on all men aged eighteen to forty-one. However, the exemption applied to married men was removed with effect from 25 May 1916 meaning that Philip, aged thirty-five was recruited into the army.[454]

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[449] The CS (now the Royal Society of Chemistry) Certificate of a Candidate for Election No. 7133, 13 December 1918.
[450] Wiley Online Library. onlinelibrary.wiley.com. 11 March 2013.
[451] De Gruyter Academic Publishing. www.degruyter.com. 11 March 2013.
[452] Wiley Online Library. onlinelibrary.wiley.com. 11 March 2013.
[453] Home Office ref: HO144/809/136162. Under the terms of the Defence of the Realm Act 1914 & the Alien Restriction Act 1914, aliens were prevented from enlistment. Neither Act applied to Naturalized British Citizens. Martin Watts, *The Jewish Legion and the First World War*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.55-57.
[454] *The Military Services Act 1916*, Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/PU/1/1916/5&6G5c104.

Conscripted men were not given a choice of which service, regiment or unit they joined but the fact that Philip was a qualified chemist doubtless resulted in his being assigned to the Special Brigade of the Royal Engineers (RE) (Fig.19). This branch of the RE was originally referred to as 'Special Companies', formed in 1915 to develop the use of gas as a weapon. Experimental research was carried out at Porton Down, Salisbury and at a laboratory at Helfaut, near St Omer in France. The personnel were recruited from men with qualifications as chemists and by the time Philip was conscripted in 1916 the Special Companies had been expanded to a more substantial force designated as the Special Brigade. Within this were four different areas of expertise viz:

- Four Special Battalions, each of four companies, to handle gas discharge from cylinders and smoke from candles;
- Four Special Companies to handle gas shells fired from 4-inch Stokes mortars. Each company to have 48 such weapons; Four Special Sections to handle flame projectors (throwers);
- Plus a Headquarters and Depot, making all in all an establishment of 208 officers and 5306 men.[455]

Figure 19: Pioneer 179359 – Special Brigade Royal Engineers [456]

[455] 'The Special Companies RE', *The Long, Long, Trail*'. www.1914-1918.net.
Colonel G. H. Addison, *The Work of the Royal Engineers in the European war, 1914-1918*, (Chatham: W & J Mackay & Co. Ltd., 1927), pp.16 & 46.
[456] Courtesy of Mrs Alberts.

Philip's war record has not survived but his family believed he was engaged in the production of gas shells. What is known is that between 1916 to1919 he served in France for two and a half years.[457] His presence there is further confirmed by the post-card sent to his daughter Theresa in January 1918, just before her sixth birthday (Fig.20A & 20B).

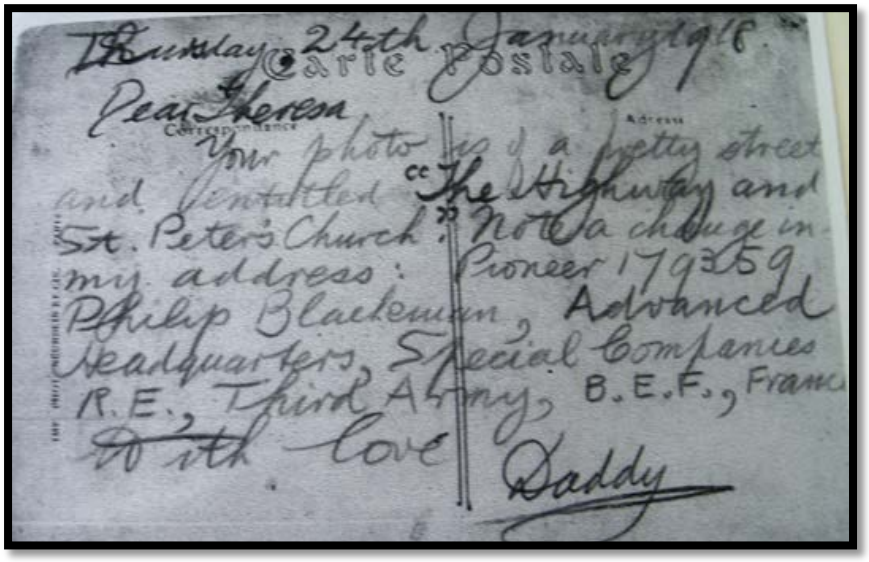

Figure 20A: Text of postcard to Theresa [458]

Figure 20B: Picture on postcard to Theresa [459]

[457] LCC Record of War Service, *UK, Memorial Books WW1 & WW11 – 1914-1945*. www.ancestry.co.uk.
[458] Courtesy of Mrs Alberts.

Evidently the family's reply was brief and to the point a demonstrated by Cissy's postcard in July 1918 (Fig.21).

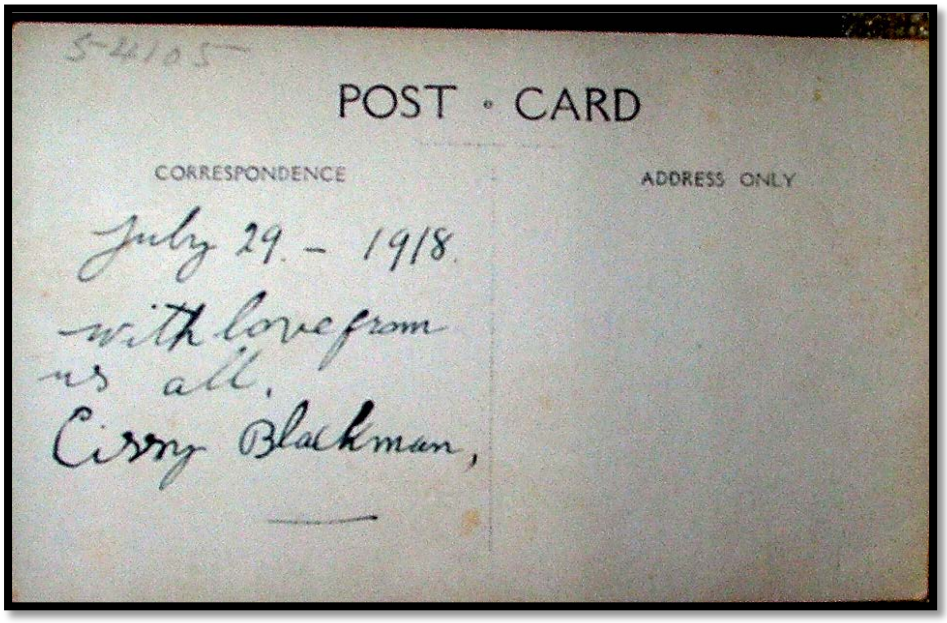

Figure: 21 Cissy's postcard 29 July 1918 [460]

Despite Philip's academic qualification and acknowledged expertise as a research chemist he remained a 'Pioneer' [equivalent rank to Private] throughout his war service. This was not unusual for a Jew of his immigrant background as those few who were commissioned were drawn almost entirely from the middle and upper classes of the Anglo-Jewish Community.[461] Although Jews served throughout the British Army, with the exception of those in The Jewish Legion, they would have been in the minority within their units.[462] There was also a certain level of overt and covert anti-Semitism in the army establishment that 'showed its time-honoured contempt for the foreigner was alive and well'.[463] That 'contempt' was compounded by the insensitivity demonstrated by the Army personnel in relation to the Orthodox dietary observances of some of the Jewish soldiers.[464] How Philip got on is

[459] Ibid.
[460] Ibid.
[461] H.Pollins, 'Jews in the British Army in the First World War', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, v 37 (1995), pp.100-111.
[462] Anne Patricia Lloyd, 'Jews under fire: the Jewish Community and Military Service in World War 1 Britain', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, School of Humanities, 2010), p.195. See also: Martin Watts, *The Jewish Legion and the First World War*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
[463] Watts, *The Jewish Legion*, p.96.
[464] Lloyd, 'Jews under fire', p.200.

unrecorded but as a specialist working with men of similar academic backgrounds he may have fared better than some. As can be seen from the photograph of his group (Fig. 22) there was one officer; a sergeant; a corporal and (possibly) a lance-corporal (third row back, right hand end facing), the remainder, whatever their professional qualifications, being Pioneers. It is relevant to note that Philip is the one holding the football, in view of the fact that one of his LCC Qualifications was the Teacher's Physical Education Certificate of Proficiency in the Practice and Theory of Physical Education.[465]

Figure 22: Philip and his Special Brigade comrades [466]

In recognition of his service Philip was awarded the British War Medal and the Victory Medal both of which were decorations conferred on those who had served in France between 5 August 1914 and 11November 1918 (Fig.23).

[465] Obtained in June 1905.
[466] Courtesy of Mrs Alberts.

Figure 23: British War Medal and the Victory Medal [467]

The return to teaching

On 10 February 1919, following demobilization, Philip resumed teaching at Deal Street School but left there on 24 January 1921 due to unspecified 'domestic circumstances'.[468] Admittedly it is purely conjecture but these 'domestic circumstances' may have been related to the long term affect of the death, on Cissy and Philip, of their first child, and only son, shortly after his father returned home.[469] Additionally it could have been that Philip needed time with his family following the separation caused by his service in France. Whatever the reasons for leaving Deal Street, by the middle of 1921 Philip was acting superintendent at Rutland Street schools and by October 1921 was employed at the LCC Day Continuation Schools.[470] LCC Day Continuation schools were opened in reaction to the 1918 Education Act raising the school leaving age to fourteen.[471] In theory, day-continuation classes became a national obligation under this Act for the purpose of allowing young people already in employment to continue their training and education. However many employers managed to evade this requirement by hiring young people from outside the LCC area in preference to Londoners whom they

[467] British Army WW1 Medal Rolls Index Cards 1914-1920 & A Guide to British campaign Medals of WW1, *The Great War*. www.greatwar.co.uk.
[468] Teachers' records, p.199, held at LMA, reference LCC/EO/STA/4/110 & Nominations, p.164, reference LCC/EO/STA/4/1 respectively.
[469] Vivian Blackman died aged 10 years in the June quarter 1919. According to Barry Press this boy 'was retarded and lived at a special home from school age onwards until his death (allegedly of scarlet fever)'. email 6 September 2009.
[470] *JC*, 1 July 1921, p36 & 28 October 1921, p.26.
[471] Institute of Education Archives Subject Guide No. 9, Education in London, 1870-1990. www.ioe.ac.uk.

would have been obliged to send on day release to continuation schools. This lack of use led to the LCC giving up the scheme in 1922.[472] In spite of this a partial replacement in the form of evening classes continued, as evidenced by those held at Stepney Commercial Institute which catered mainly for clerks and 'others engaged in business' in a variety of subjects, including Hebrew.[473] These classes were conducted under the auspices of the LCC at Myrdle Street School where, by 1929, Philip had become the Superintendent of the Hebrew and Religious Classes administered by the Jewish Religion Education Board (JREB).[474] In his obituary it is said that he was for a time 'headmaster' of the Myrdle Street Classes of the JREB which presumably refers to his service during the late 1920s to 1930s.[475] However, by 1940 he is recorded as being a master at Redman Road LCC School.[476] It seems likely he retired from here in about 1944.

Throughout his career as an LCC teacher Philip pursued a number of other activities. He continued his scientific work as a member of the Royal Society of Chemistry (RCS) [formerly the CS], both presenting and publishing a number of scientific papers.[477] He was evidently respected in this field and according to various family members was 'always inventing things'. It is said a scientific instrument was named after him and that he had received a £500 award during the Second World War for an invention possibly connected with the detection of, or defence against, the V1 or V2 rockets. It is regrettable that no documents can be traced relating to this but certainly the War Office made such awards and there is no reason to doubt the family's claims.[478]

The Mishna **and other publications**

Philip's other passion was language, both Hebrew and English, which resulted in his publishing a number of books aimed at encouraging the continued use

[472] Andrew Saint, 'Technical Education and the Early LCC', in A. Saint, (ed.), *Politics & People of London: London County Council 1889-1965*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1989), p.91.
[473] *JC*, 2 September 1927, p14.
[474] *JC*, 5 April 1929, p.37; 23 March 1934, p.68 & 12 March 1937, p.61.
[475] *JC*, 12 April1963, p.36.
[476] Information from Barry Press, grandson. Email 8 September 2009.
[477] *JC*, various entries between 1916 & 1937.
[478] *The Times*, 15 May 1946, p.5, refers to the Commission on Awards to inventors which would 'determine how much shall be paid to inventors for the use of their inventions'. *The Times*, 3 October 1946, p.8 refers applicants to The Secretary, Royal Commission on Awards to Inventors, Somerset House, Strand, WC2.

of both. Firstly, in 1913 he published *An English Grammar for Yiddish Students*.[479] Amongst others is a *Yiddish English Primer* which was said to contain

> ...extensive vocabularies and should prove extremely useful to Yiddish speaking persons desirous of learning English. The pronunciation of each word in the vocabularies is given as well as the English equivalent, and there is an abundance of colloquial phrases at the end of the book. The English coinage is illustrated.[480]

Later came *Hebrew Self-Taught*, in which the Hebrew and corresponding English words were printed in parallel columns on each page. It was referred to as a 'Manual of Hebrew Conversation', consisting of a 'careful selection of words, phrases and sentences' for use in everyday life These were arranged under various headings such as 'Out of Doors: At Work: In the Country and Town: At Home and in the Hotel: Shopping: Dress, Food and Drink: Travelling: At the Club and At the Theatre'.[481]

In 1929 came an *Up-to-date English-Hebrew Dictionary* which was said to contain:

> ... the most useful and most frequent words in the English language. With every important variation in meaning and corresponding equivalent, consistent with accuracy and brevity...a great deal of valuable and practical information is thus condensed. [Including] the alphabetical list of geographical names and their corresponding adjectival forms...[482]

This publication also contained explanation relating to various aspects of English grammar involving the use of verbs and nouns.[483] On the lighter side Philip also produced *Aesop's Fables, 312 Tales in Hebrew and English*.[484]

A number of these books are still available, which is testament of their value to *Yiddish*/English speakers. Of particular interest is the current availability of *English zelbst¿-lehrer*, a self instruction English language textbook for *Yiddish* speakers. Text is in *Yiddish* and English in parallel columns with phonetic pronunciation written in Hebrew characters in a third column.[485]

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[479] *JC*, 17 January 1913, p.29.
[480] *JC*, 18 July 1919, p.28.
[481] *JC*,18 September 1925, p.20.
[482] *JC*, 5 July 1929, p.30.
[483] Ibid.
[484] Philip Blackman, *Aesop's Fables, 312 Tales in Hebrew and English*, (London: B.W.Hecht, 1938).
[485] This publication is available from a number of online suppliers, both as a hard copy and an EBook.

Coupled with Philip's aim of encouraging both English and Hebrew speakers to improve their use of these languages was his evident desire to maintain his fellow religionists' knowledge and understanding of Hebrew text and Jewish religious practices. On a number of occasions between 1926 and 1962 his letters, which included argument in favour or against what he regarded as 'slipshod expressions'; the decline of *Yiddish*;, the 'Incorrect English Rendering' of the *Daily Prayer Book* and the interpretation of written and oral Rabbinical law were published in the *JC*.[486] At times his interpretation of various texts elicited contrary views to which he responded in great detail. This varied correspondence demonstrates his passion both for the correct usage of English and Hebrew grammar and the correct interpretation of the religious texts.[487] Regarded by many as his crowning achievement was his translation into English of *The Mishnayoth*, which he completed in 1955. This had been such a monumental task that it earned the following report in the *JC*:

Mishnayoth commentary completed
Author's 27 year task
By a Jewish chronicle reporter

> A Magnus opus which has taken 27 years to accomplish has just been completed with the publication of the sixth volume of Mr Philip Blackman's English-Hebrew Mishna
> Many obstacles had to be overcome by the author and publisher before the work could be completed. Mr Blackman is a retired science teacher and a Fellow of the Chemical Society; he was a teacher for 40 years under the LCC; and a Hebrew teacher; and at one time was headmaster of the Myrdle Street Classes under the former Jewish religious education board.
> To help him achieve his dearest wish of publishing this translation and commentary of the whole of the Mishna, friends of Mr Blackman, mostly members of the Golders green synagogue formed a limited company in 1946...Anglo-Jewish scholarship has been much enriched by this monumental work and appreciation of the scholarly achievements of Mr Blackman has come from Jews and non-Jews in many parts of the world. The Chief Rabbi in a forward in volume six writes: 'The whole work may now occupy an honoured position in the row of translations of Jewish classical texts which have been made by Anglo-Jewish scholars'.[488]

[486] For examples see *JC*, 30 April 1926, p.28; 14 March 1941, p.9; 18 May 1951, p.17; 21 May 1954, pp.13 & 18; 30 September 1955, p.21; 30 October 1959, p.21 & 18 May 1962, p.37.
[487] For example see *JC*, 23 April 1926, p.15 & 30 April 1926, p.28.
[488] *JC*, 27 May 1955, p.10.

In 1957 a supplementary volume was published, referred to by one reviewer as 'the master key to unlock the treasury of the mishnaic mansions'.[489] Philip was described as having carried through an 'unprecedented' task and being deserving of 'the highest credit.[490] This supplement, containing a general index to the six volumes of the *Mishhnayoth* was described as 'indispensable' and 'the measure of Mr Blackman's thoroughness and, indeed, of his success'.[491] Witness to its popularity is the 1965 advertisement making available three differently priced editions (Fig.24).

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Figure 24: Advertisement of the *Blackman Mishnah*, 1965 [492]

[489] *JC*, 27 September 1957, p.25.
[490] Ibid.
[491] Ibid.
[492] *JC*, 5 March 1965, p.29 & 4 June 1965, p.27

Amongst the various English translations of the *Mishna*, Philip's is still highly regarded and in publication both in the UK and the USA.[493] Following his eightieth birthday a tribute was paid to him in the *JC*. In this he was said to have brought distinction to Anglo-Jewish scholarship as a Hebraist and Talmudist, producing works on Hebrew and English grammar and linguistics saying, 'Best known of all is his annotated translation into English of the *Mishna*'.[494]

Throughout his life, since entering the UK at the age of ten, Philip demonstrated his enthusiasm for education, both of himself and others. His various publications show he thought it necessary for *Yiddish* speakers to become fluent in English, the language of their adopted homeland. In this regard he favoured assimilation but, from his work on the *Mishna*, it is evident he thought this should not be at the cost of renouncing all aspects of Jewish religion and culture. This desire to retain his, and others' Jewish identity and communal solidarity is further reflected in Philip's synagogue membership and his involvement with both *Agudas Yisrael* and the Zionist Federation Synagogue Council. In effect Philip became a prime example of a Jew who maintained the balance in reconciling the conflicting demands of acculturation whilst retaining his loyalty to his origins. As Endelman puts it more generally, an 'authentic and dynamic Jewish life is possible in the diaspora communities of the West'.[495] Philip provides an excellent example of this dynamic.

The Synagogue

Between 1921 and 1942 the *JC* contained a number of references to 'Blackman' and 'P Blackman', mostly relating to synagogue membership. Although not unquestionably identifying Philip it seems extremely likely, in view of his commitment to Judaism as demonstrated by his work translating the *Mishna* and his frequent letters to the *JC* concerning Rabbinical matters, that they are the same person. That being the case, he was a member of the East London Branch of the *Agudas Yisrael*, having been elected to the finance committee and the Palestine committee.[496] Membership of this organization would have reflected his interest in, and commitment to, his beliefs as a Jew.

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[493] Philip Blackman, M*ishnayoth*, (The Judaica Press Ltd., 2000). www.torahlab.org. 16 April 2013.
[494] *JC*, 26 April 1963, p.6.
[495] Todd M. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990). pp.2-3.
[496] *JC*, 4 March 1921, p.28.

The beginnings of *Agudas Yisrael* were established in the late nineteenth century when:

> Religious Jews, regardless of their differences in outlook and ideology, united to combat the new heretical ideas [of Zionism] and to guard the integrity of the *Torah* front with an organisation of their own.[497]

The organisation proper was founded in 1912 at a conference held in Kattowitz (now Katowice, Poland) at which the final resolution declared that:

> *Agudas Yisrael* would serve to resolve all difficulties facing Jews and Judaism on the basis of the *Torah*, without any political considerations.[498]

The goal in forming *Agudas Yisrael* was 'to create an overarching "ecumenical" Orthodox identity to be shared by all [Jewish] communities, represented by one organisation'.[499] This was regarded as the only hope of a world-wide battle against secularism.[500] Progress towards this goal was halted with the outbreak of the First World War, meaning that the first international assembly did not take place until 1923.[501] It is clear, from the *JC* article, that branches were established in London by the early 1920s.

Bearing in mind *Augdas Yisrael's* opposition to Zionism it is perhaps surprising that 'Mr P Blackman' was elected representative to the Zionist Federation Synagogue Council and that a 'Miss Blackman' is recorded, in 1931, as secretary to the North West London Young Zionist Society.[502] Although membership of the two organisations appears contradictory there was a certain amount of common ground which probably appealed to Philip's desire to be loyal to his cultural and religious origins. Setting aside the political nature of Zionism, Philip may well have welcomed the efforts to secure a legally recognised territory and thus a Jewish national identity reflecting their cultural and spiritual bonds for those who wished for

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[497] Chaim Schloss, *2000 Years of Jewish History: From the Destruction of the Second Bais Hamikdash Until the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Feldheim Publishers, 2002), p.290. See also Gershon Bacon, 'Agudat Israel: Interwar Poland' in *Jewish Women's Archive*: *Jewish women. A comprehensive historical encyclopedia'*. www.jwa.org/encyclopedia. 13 August 2013.

[498] Schloss, *2000 Years of Jewish History*, p.294.

[499] Gershon Bacon, *Agudas Yisroel.* (YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2010), www.yivoencycloprdia.org. 13 April 2016.

[500] Schloss, *2000 Years of Jewish History*, p.293.

[501] Bacon, *Agudas Yisroel*.

[502] *JC*, 28 February 1936, p.46. Also, a Miss Blackman of 10 Purley Avenue, the Blackmans' home address, appears in the 1931 list of London Synagogue Officials. This is most likely to have been Lilian, the elder of Philip's daughters.

such a settlement.[503] It also signalled a new Jewish cultural identity in places such as Cricklewood. As David Cesarani has shown, Zionism in inter-war Britain was largely a suburban phenomenon.[504] This, however, does not devalue Philip's lifelong commitment to *his* 'homeland', namely Britain.

A **'**P Blackman' was also one of the treasurers and a warden at the Great Alie Street Synagogue and, in 1936, was treasurer at Princelet Street Synagogue in addition to having been elected as one of the treasurers of the Society for Chanting Psalms and Visiting the Sick. This latter organization was associated with the Princelet Street Synagogue and the first Society of its kind in Great Britain.[505] Although some doubt exists concerning the identity of 'P Blackman', as these were both East End Synagogues and Philip was living in the suburbs, it is still probable, given his background and interests, that he is the person appointed to these various offices.[506] In any event, considering the variety of activities he undertook, it is clear his interests were deeply entrenched in and with the welfare of the Jewish community.

The welfare of children

Assuming all these references relate to Philip, his concerns about his co-religionists, the welfare of Jewish immigrants and the residents of the East End, where he started his life in the UK, are clear. Coupled with these interests, and his life as a teacher, was his involvement in the welfare of children with whom, according to Sheila Pollen, he had a very good rapport. Although not directly related to Philip, Sheila Pollen is a member of the extended family being a cousin of Anthony Pollen, son of Philip's daughter Theresa. Sheila recalled, when a small child, visiting the Blackman family at 10 Purley Avenue and described Philip as a 'very human man who did not talk down to children and had a lot of charm about him.[507]

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[503] Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p.343.
[504] David Cesarani, 'Zionism in England, 1917-1939', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1986).
[505] *JC*, 27 May 1921, p.38 & *JC*, 11 March 1938, p.46 respectively. See also Samuel C. Melnick, *A Giant Among Giants. A History of Rabbi Shmuel Kalman Melnick and the Princelet Street Synagogue.* (Durham: The Pentland Press Ltd., 1994).
[506] P Blackman of 10 Dock Street, Tower Hamlets, was a contributor to the Society for Chanting Psalms and Visiting the Sick, 1925-1926. www.jgsgb.org.uk. It is not known if Philip lived in Dock Street between Princess May Road (1921) and Purley Avenue (1926).
[507] Telephone conversation with Sheila Pollen, London. 28 February 2013.

Philip's approach towards children is reflected in his work with the Children's Country Holiday Fund, with which he was involved from at least 1925 onwards.[508] By 1934 the Jewish Branch of the Children's Country Holiday Fund, later referred to as 'Watchman's Mentor Kiddies', operated seventeen centres outside London.[509] One article in the *JC* referred in detail to a group of nearly 200 children aged between eight and fourteen, drawn from twenty- four schools, who spent a 'never to be forgotten' holiday at Weston-super-Mare.[510] It is clear that Philip was the leader of this group as the paper considered it appropriate to quote him as follows:

> Most, if not all, of the superintendents are schoolteachers who know the children intimately and who are well aware of the unpleasant conditions in which many of them live. Therefore, we superintendents are able to speak with feeling and conviction when we see weak, thin and, in some cases, undernourished children taken from the...dust-laden, smoky atmosphere of the East End to the clean, bracing, health giving air of the sea and countryside. It would not be exaggerating in the slightest to say that, in countless instances, the lives of children, endangered by the unhealthiest of their surroundings, are actually saved by the God-sent fortnight's holiday. The children are constantly told of the sources of that which has enabled them....to snatch a brief respite from what are admittedly very drab and colourless lives.[511]

In addition to this quote it was stated that the conduct of the children was excellent, 'their quiet and orderly demeanour making a very favourable impression on the townspeople and visitors'. Further, that these children 'did more by their good behaviour to counter anti-Semitism than the pages of printed propaganda'.

The photograph of one of the trips was probably taken in the early to mid-1920s as it shows, amongst the group of 'kiddies', Philip's daughters Lilian and Theresa who were born in 1910 and 1912 respectively. They are the two smiling girls, to the centre left of the picture, wearing matching coats and hats (Fig.25).

[508] *JC*, 27 November 1925, p.10.
[509] *JC*, 31 August 1934, p.12.
[510] Ibid.
[511] Ibid.

Figure 25: London Bridge to Portsmouth
'Kiddies' Holiday Group [512]

August 1939 brought a different complexion to the purpose of the holidays as the Jewish Branch of the fund was preparing to send about 2000 children away to their seventeen centres. With the threat of war looming the children were instructed to take their gas masks with them and advice was sought from the Home Office 'as to whether the children should remain in the country or not'.[513] By May 1940 Jewish children had been evacuated to Egham, Thorpe, Virginia Water and Englefield Green. These arrangements were praised by Philip who referred to the organiser's 'patience and energy (which) seemed to be limitless'.[514]

Conclusion

Unlike the two women subject of the other major case studies include in this work, Philip Blackman and his siblings had been born in Russia and were said to have been well-educated and well-travelled. At the age of ten when he and the family came to the UK, his brothers were all adults and living independent lives, either here or abroad. Considering the family background and with only his two younger sisters in the household, it could be said that, despite the family's immigrant

[512] Courtesy of Mrs Alberts.
[513] *JC*, 4 August 1939, p.12.
[514] *JC*, 3 May 1940, p.18.

status, Philip had an advantage. From this base he achieved academically and, coupled with the modest assistance of the JEAC and JEAS, this stood him in good stead for the rest of his life. He clearly demonstrated his appreciation of the help as, not only did he repay all the monies granted, he kept the members informed of his progress.

Evidently he devoted his life to helping others, both as the result of his academic abilities and his adherence to Judaism and the Jewish world more generally. By the end of the Second World War he had retired from teaching. This, coupled with his advancing age, probably curtailed some of his activities although he remained a prolific correspondent to the *JC* on questions of ' philology, *halacha* and *min-hag*'.[515] Similarly, according to family members, he continued 'inventing things' throughout his retirement. It is regrettable that so few personal details of his life have been retained. Nonetheless, restricted though it is by the lack of material available, this research serves to reflect the progress of a ten year old Jewish immigrant to the end of his life at the age of eighty three.

Philip, by all accounts, was a modest and 'ordinary man'. He had served his adopted country as a teacher, a member of the armed forces and a scientist of some note, without losing his identity as a Jew. It was said that, by his death, the Jewish community of Highams Park and Chingford 'has lost one of its most respected members'.[516] With the help of the JEAC and JEAS and his own endeavour he had made the journey from immigrant to Englishman and become a respected member of his community. In this regard it could be said he rose socially from being working class to middle class, although Philip, being a modest man, may have disputed this.

[515] *JC*, 12 April 1963, p.26.
[516] *JC*, 26 April 1963, p.37.

Chapter 3

The Care and Control of Poor Maude Gold

Figure 26: 'Miss Maud Gold' [517]

Introduction

The minutes of the JEAS and the UJW chronicling the life of Maude Gold (Fig.26) from when she was first 'adopted' by the Society in 1908 until the final recorded contact with her in 1936, demonstrate that throughout that period she fulfilled two meanings of the word 'poor'. Not only was she 'dependent on gifts or allowances for subsistence' she remained 'so circumstanced, as to excite one's compassion or pity;

[517] *JC*, 13 August 1909, p.19.

unfortunate, hapless'.[518] In the first instance this case study aims to show the effect the control exercised by both her father, the JEAS and the UJW, combined with the care she received from the two latter organisations, brought about this unhappy situation. It will also consider whether or not her circumstances improved once released from these separate spheres of influence. Secondly, in addition to considering the effect the intervention of the JEAS and its association with Osias Gold had on Maude's life, this research would not be complete without an examination of the relationship she had with other family members. As will be seen, Maude clearly maintained a bond with her siblings. Her brother Isidore's collection of press cuttings demonstrates his interest and certain pride in her career. Harry's will denotes a closeness as does the fact that, at least from 1939 until she died in 1965, Maude appears to have lived with, and latterly cared for, her two older sisters Sophie and Edith.

Regrettably none of Maude's personal papers exist and the history of her early years has been constructed from the records of the JEAS, the UJW, official documents and newspaper reports. In the absence of any JEAS or UJW records, evidence relating to the reconstruction of the period 1936 onwards has been by recourse to newspaper articles, various official documents and using the genealogical search facilities available via the internet. This latter source has proved to be an invaluable starting point when seeking information relating to people and places. Thus, using these somewhat limited means, it is possible to present an hypothesis of the events that constituted Maude's life. Nevertheless, a great deal of tangible evidence is missing and there are various silences but these form one of many components necessary in the construction of history.[519] However, the caveat to be born in mind when attempting to reconstruct history in this manner is always that too much assumption will lead to misinterpretation.[520] Consequently it is essential that all available evidence be forensically analysed and that personal 'confirmation bias' is recognised and set aside before a conclusion is offered.[521]

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[518] *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol.11, (London: Guild Publishing, 1988).
[519] Michael-Rolph Trouillot, 'Silencing the past: Layers of meaning in the Haitian Revolution', in Gerald Sider & Gavin Smith (eds.), *Between history and histories: the working of silences and commemorations*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 38 & 55 (note 4).
[520] Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', p. 307-308.
[521] 'Confirmation bias' refers to the tendency to selectively search for and consider information that confirms one's beliefs. www.psychologyandsociety.com. 2 June 2015.

The early years

The Gold family came to the United Kingdom from Romania sometime between the birth of a daughter there in 1894, and the birth of Maud, which took place on 25 June 1898 at 29 Library Road, Penygraig, Pontypridd, Glamorgan (Fig.27). Originally registered as Maud the spelling was later changed to Maude which, other than in the case of direct quotes, will be used throughout this study.[522]

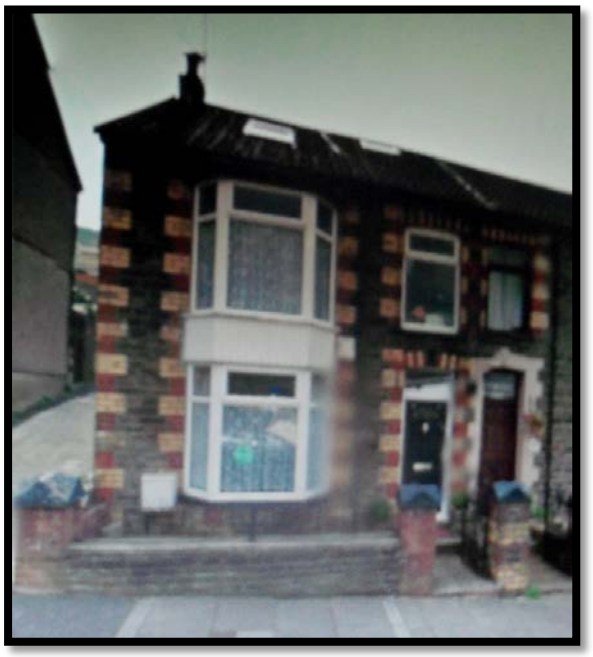

Figure 27: 29 Library Road 2012 [523]

Initially the family comprised Osias and Tony Gold (his wife), Rebecca Gold (his mother) and three children, Isidore, Sophie and Edith. Their point of entry to the United Kingdom (UK) is likely to have been either London or Hull. Why Osias chose to travel to the small Jewish community in Pontypridd is not recorded but, having probably arrived in an overcrowded immigrant area such as London's East End, they may have been amongst the minority tempted to move to the *frisher luft* [fresh air] of Wales.[524] Alternatively it may simply have been that Osias hoped to

[522] GRO Birth Certificate.
[523] www.google.co.uk/maps. Street view September 2012.
[524] Channah Hirsch, *My Llanelli. The Gateshead of Wales*, (Published by Mrs Hirsch, 2008), p.5.

take advantage of the opportunities for making a living in the fastest growing industrial area in Britain.[525] This decision would have required courage and determination as the number of Jews in Cardiff and South Wales was small compared with that of London, Manchester or Leeds.[526] In 1895, according to *The Jewish Year Book 1896*, the Community in Pontypridd numbered 150, twenty-three of whom were seatholders.[527] The caveat here, however, rests with the validity of those records based '...largely on guesswork... [which] seems likely [to have] counted only synagogue subscribers... [thus] producing a serious underestimate'.[528] Jews being in the minority they would have presented what Stuart Hall describes as the spectacle of the 'Other'.[529] Thus, newly arrived, initially speaking little, if any, English or Welsh (and that with a foreign accent), the family would have appeared conspicuous in their new surroundings.[530] As newcomers, even those of the same racial, religious or social background, are frequently treated with suspicion and subjected to unfavourable gossip it would have been essential that the Gold family established new relationships with their Welsh neighbours.[531]

Apart from there being a very small Jewish community in the area the choice of Penygraig may seem questionable for other reasons. Firstly, the village had acquired its name from the local mine around which it had developed. By 1898, when the Gold's had moved into Library Road, the houses surrounded an industrial area. As can be seen in the photograph, the *frisher luft* was being polluted (Fig.28). On the other hand it was probably preferable to a cramped tenement in an inner city, as nearby there was open countryside. Secondly, since 1811, this area had become a religious centre for Welsh Baptists who had raised considerable funds to purchase land and build their Chapel (Fig.29). Being in the minority in such a community meant that Jewish families, such as the Golds, were very dependent on their Christian neighbours. As will be seen this situation was confirmed by the support the 'child prodigy', Maude, received.

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[525] Anthony Glaser, & Ursula R.Q. Henriques, 'The Valleys Communities', in Ursula R. Q. Henriques (ed.), *The Jews of South Wales*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p.48.
[526] Ursula R.Q. Henriques, 'The Jewish Community of Cardiff, 1813-1914', in Ursula R.Q. Henriques (ed.), *The Jews of South Wales*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p.15.
[527] *Pontypridd Jewish Community & Synagogue (closed) South Wales.* JCR-UK. www.jewishgen.org. 13 October 2009.
[528] Henriques,'The Jewish Community of Cardiff', p.14.
[529] Hall, 'The spectacle of the 'Other', p.225.
[530] Glaser & Henriques, 'The Valleys Communities', p.49.
[531] Elias & Scotson, 'The Established and the Outsider', pp.94 & 157.

Figure 28: Penygraig circa 1900 [532]

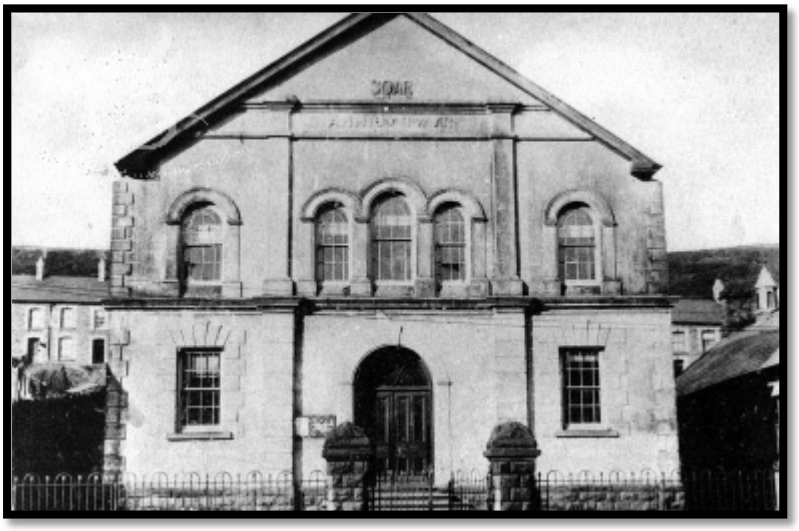

Figure 29: Soar Chapel 1910 [533]

When Maude was born in 1898, Osias gave his occupation as a travelling draper, in other words he was a 'Jewish pedlar' one of a breed who, according to Alderman, were 'naturally attracted to the Welsh mining centres'.[534] This occupation

[532] Rhondda Cynon Taf Library Service. www.rhondda-cynon-taff.gov.uk. 23 May 2015.
[533] Ibid.
[534] Geoffrey Alderman, 'Into the vortex: South Wales Jewry before 1914', in Aubrey Newman (ed.), *Provincial Jewry in Victorian England*, (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1975), pp.2-3.

was an arduous and unpredictable way of earning a living. These men travelled in all weathers, on foot, carrying their wares from house to house amongst a populace no financially better off, and in some cases worse, than themselves. However by the 1901 Census the family had moved to 89 Tylacelyn Road (Fig.30) where Osias gave his occupation as a draper and furniture dealer, working on his own account.

Figure 30: 89 Tylacelyn Road 2011 [535]

Although the property would, undoubtedly, have changed over time it is reasonable to assume that it was larger than 29 Library Road, that Osias traded directly from the premises and that his finances had improved. Furthermore, at that time the family employed a female domestic servant. However, this latter point is not necessarily indicative that the Gold household was reasonably affluent as a domestic's wage would have been meagre. In any event, as will be seen, Osias' financial situation fluctuated over the years which circumstance, when coupled with

[535] www.google.co.uk/maps. Street View April 2011.

Maude's talent as a 'brilliant violinist', made her eligible for consideration of help from the JEAS, leading to her formal 'adoption' by the Society in March 1908.[536]

The 'Child Prodigy'

Maude's ability as a violinist came to the notice of the local community as early as 1905, when she was aged seven. It is recorded in the *Rhondda Leader* that her 'latent talent' had been discovered by her brother Isidore who, himself aged only fifteen, was a teacher of the violin.[537] During the course of 1907 Maude was mentioned seven times in the *Rhondda Leader*. She came first in a violin solo competition for children under the age of fourteen, later achieved a third class pass in theoretical and instrumental music studies under the auspices of the Mid-Rhondda Technical Classes and was awarded second place at the Penygraig Eisteddfod.[538] It was, however, her public performances in her home area for which she received the accolades. She played 'a very pleasing solo' at an event relating to the Mid-Rhondda Orchestral Society and 'fairly captured the hearts of the old folk' at a concert held at the Cottage Homes, Llwynpia.[539] She also played at concerts organised on behalf of other faiths, including the Prayer Meeting of Ebenezer and the Salvation Army, clearly demonstrating that her performances, and support, were not restricted to members of the Jewish community.[540] However, commendable though these reports were, it is probably the following that sealed her fate:

> We learn that Miss Maude Gold, the young Tonypandy violinist, has been earning for herself fresh honours. On a recent visit to London, she played before Senor Guido Papini, the eminent violinist and composer. Senor Papini was so delighted with the child's playing that he picked the child up and kissed her, also giving her a signed copy of his "Three Morceaux Lyriques" (Op. 58). On Tuesday morning last, Miss Gold's father received the following from Senor Papini:
>
> August 26th, 1907.
> With pleasure I write these lines to say that I had some days ago the visit here at the above address of the child Maude Gold, of Tonypandy, which was, of course, a musical one, as the child played for me two or three pieces on her little violin, and also she read at sight a difficult one. What I have to remark about her effort is this: The child is without doubt musical, her playing,

[536] JEAS (GC) Minutes 10 March 1908 & 1 April 1908 respectively.
[537] *Rhondda Leader*, 10 July 1905, p.5.
[538] *Rhondda Leader*, 6 April 1907, p.3; 7 September 1907, p.5 & 5 October 1907, p.3 respectively.
[539] *Rhondda Leader*, 6 July 1907, p.9 & 3 August 1907, p.5 respectively.
[540] *Rhondda Leader*, 1 February 1908, p.6 & 8 February 1908, p.3.

> though naturally not perfect yet, is in any case interesting, considering her age; and, of course, in the progress of a thoroughly musical education, and a good tuition by an eminent soloist-violinist, I have all the hopes for her future successful career.
>
> (Signed) GUIDO PAPINI.[541]

Papini's praise was re-iterated following a concert held by the Pontypridd Ladies' Choir at Tonypandy. In this Maude was referred to as 'our local prodigy... a little lady not yet 8 years old [she was in fact aged nine]... the daughter of Mr and Mrs Tony Gold, outfitters, Dunraven Street, Tonypandy'.[542] This report demonstrates that, owing to Maude's success, the family was, at that time regarded as 'one of us' within the Welsh community. No mention was made of their being Jewish. It also seems likely that the report was drawn to the attention of the wider Jewish community as in January 1908 reference to Maude appears in the minutes of the UJW leading, subsequently, to her referral to the JEAS and their agreed financial assistance.[543] Following on from this, a report appeared in the *Rhondda Leader* in which reference was made to Maude's latest success in London where she played 'before a select company, including a number of leading critics' which resulted in the decision to give her 'the best possible tuition...and general education'.[544] Most likely this relates to her initial assessment by members of the JEAS. Thus it was that, at the age of nine years and nine months, Maude was removed from her family in Wales, to London, in order to continue her musical training.

Maude's early life in London

From the minutes of the UJW it appears they had responsibility for arranging Maude's accommodation whilst in London and appointing someone to act as her 'guardian'. Unfortunately these records were sparse and somewhat confused and, at times, conflicted with those of the JEAS, making it difficult to trace with whom Maude was placed. For a few weeks she lived at an address in Maida Vale, then in

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[541] *Rhondda Leader*, 31 August 1907, p.6. Guido Papini 1847-1912, composer and violinist, was head of the violin department of the Royal Academy of Music at Dublin. In 1896 he retired to London where he continued composing and giving a few private lessons. grandemusica.net. 7 March 2015.

[542] *Rhondda Leader*, 30 November 1907, p.7.

[543] University of Southampton of Southampton, Special Collections, Papers of the Union of Jewish Women MS 129 AJ26. UJW Minutes 8 January 1908; 5 February 1908 & 4 March 1908. Further footnote references to these papers will appear in an abbreviated form as all are contained in the above collection.

[544] *Rhondda Leader*, 23 May 1908, p.6.

May 1908 she was placed in lodgings with a family in Willesden. These strangers were, according to the Committee, a 'suitable family who are willing to look after her and arrange for her general education at a cost of 15/- per week'.[545] It seems she remained there for some time but around July 1908 she was placed for one week in a 'Domestic Training Home'.[546] This type of accommodation hardly seemed suitable for her as the aim was to 'provide training in domestic work or as nursery nurses' for girls aged from five to fifteen.[547] Consequently, from there she was moved to a Mrs Harris in Brondesbury, then an affluent suburb of north-west London favoured by London's Jewish community. However, in September 1908 it was recorded that 'Unfortunately Mrs Harris cannot keep her after Xmas, as she is troublesome and takes up too much time for the small amount paid for her'.[548] Despite this, it was said that Maude had been very happy with Mrs Harris until her father took her home for the Christmas holidays, at which time he said he intended to re-house her with a Mrs Jacobs. The UJW members were most annoyed at this interference resulting in a 'strong letter' being sent to him, by the JEAS, telling him to apologise to Mrs Harris, pay her for a week's notice and stop interfering.[549] Regardless of this Osias continued to cause problems by keeping Maude at home in Wales for extended periods. This annoyed Mrs Jacobs, with whom she was then lodged, who was only paid a retainer of ten shillings a week whilst Maude was absent. Again Osias was referred to as being 'very troublesome'.[550] Evidently the problems continued as by April 1911 it was recorded that Maude was to be removed from Mrs Jacob's 'as soon as possible' and re-housed with Mrs Nathan, with whom she remained for about eight months.[551] This meant that since arriving in London, aged nine, until she was thirteen, Maude had been housed with strangers at seven different addresses. Whilst no explicit reasons were given for these frequent changes the inference was, that in addition to Osias' meddling, Maude was a problem child and those who took her in, albeit for a fee, soon wanted rid of her.

Eventually, at the age of thirteen years and seven months, she was again 'removed' this time to the Emily Harris Home (EHH). Here her guardian was to be

[545] JEAS (GC) Minutes 1 April 1908.
[546] UJW Minutes 30 September 1908, p.120
[547] Lipman, *A Century of Social Service*, pp.251-252.
[548] Ibid.
[549] UJW Minutes 2 December 1908, p.155 & 6 January 1909, p.163.
[550] UJW Minutes 7 July 1909, p.277 & 6 October 1909, p304.
[551] JEAS (MC) Minutes 30 April 1911.

the matron Mrs Davison. Bearing in mind that Maude was regarded as a talented musician of great promise, well supervised and not expected at this stage to obtain work, it was perhaps surprising that she was housed in such an establishment which had initially been set up to provide a safe residence for young, and possibly vulnerable, Jewish women in the Soho area as:

> ...it is the only mode in which we can attempt, with any hope of success, to combat the terrible conditions that exist for girls living and working in the neighbourhood. There is no other Jewish Home where respectable girls out of situations, or living too far from their own homes can lodge for a small charge. Many girls come from undesirable homes, and are much benefited by the moral and physical advantage they receive.[552]

Additionally, as Black points out, 'Constant efforts were made to promote some sense of home life and home feeling among the residents'.[553] This latter aim, with Maude being on the verge of the onset of menses and having endured what could be described as a peripatetic lifestyle since the age of ten, is likely to have been exactly what she needed.[554] Moreover, although in conjunction with the report of her move it was stated that 'the cost of living would be considerably less than at her previous home', it may well have been arranged to counter the behavioural problems Maude had presented in private households.

Since the outset there had arisen, in addition to the matter of suitable accommodation, the question of Maude's education. The primary purpose of the removal from her family was to advance her musical training but the Society, acting in *locum-parentes*, was also responsible for her academic education. Here a problem existed as, evidently, Maude spoke little, if any, English. She would have spoken *Yiddish* at home and, having been raised in the valleys, probably some Welsh. Thus, upon her arrival in London, it had been arranged for her to have private English lessons with volunteers, a situation that continued for an unspecified time.[555] Additionally, from May 1908, the family with whom she was to lodge in Willesden were to arrange for her general education but no further mention was made about this until November 1908. In those minutes it was recorded that '2/6 per week be voted

[552] Emily Harris Home for Jewish Working Girls, *Third Annual Report* (London, 1905), quoted in Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo Jewry*, p.139.
[553] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo Jewry*, p.139.
[554] JEAS (GC) Minutes 24 January 1912.
[555] UJW Minutes 1 April 1908, p.55; 6 May 1908, p.69 & 3 June 1908, p.86.

to pay the expenses of engaging a lady to take the child to & from her lessons'.[556] It is not clear whether this meant to private English lessons, to a formal education establishment, to music lessons or a combination of the three. The only reference to her attending a school is that in *JC* which refers to 'St. Hilda School, London'.[557]

Nothing more is recorded about her education until, following her admission to the EHH, Maude entered The Burlington School.[558] She remained there until the end of the summer of 1914 when, on the recommendation of Mrs Davison, arrangements were made for her to have private lessons in arithmetic and languages 'initially for one term'.[559] How these progressed, and for how long they continued is not recorded but from earlier reports Maude was not academically inclined. Just after commencing at The Burlington School, it was reported that her school work was unsatisfactory. This may have been the result of a general lack of ability. On the other hand, it could have been the legacy of her initial lack of English coupled with her disturbed childhood. However, as she seemed to be having 'trouble with her eyes and ears' and because she was 'not sufficiently attentive to school work' it was decided she should see an 'aurist and oculist'.[560] The outcome of these examinations was not recorded but there are later indications that Maude's physical problems resulted from emotional strain as, in early 1916, she was said to be suffering 'from an affection (sic) of the hands'. This is likely to have been dermatitis as she was referred to Sir Malcolm Morris, a renowned dermatologist and consulting surgeon in the skin department at St. Mary's Hospital.[561] He attributed the cause as 'purely a nervous one', recommending that Maude 'should have a holiday away to improve her health'.[562]

Musical Training

Understandably there is far more detail in the records of Maude's progress as a musician. This after all was what had brought her to the attention of the JEAS and

[556] JEAS (GC) Minutes 17 November 1908.
[557] *JC*, 14 May 1909, p.31.
[558] JEAS (GC) Minutes 24 January 1912. Now the Burlington Danes Academy it began life as a charity institution comprising two schools, one for girls and the other for boys. Founded in 1699 the girls' school aimed to teach girls, whose parents could not afford to pay for their education, reading, writing, arithmetic and the Christian Religion. By 1900 it had become the Burlington School for girls and the fact that Maude was a Jew did not bar her admission.
[559] JEAS (GC) Minutes 29 March 1914 & 14 June 1914.
[560] JEAS (MC) Minutes 18 February 1912 & 24 March 1912 respectively.
[561] *Sir Malcolm Morris, K.C.V.O., F.R.C.S. Obituary*. www.bmj.com. 25 September 2012.
[562] JEAS (MC) Minutes 5 March 1916.

it is evident the Committee Members did all they could to encourage her talent which, under expert tuition, flourished. Viewed in retrospect this was quite a remarkable achievement as Maude had been removed from her family at not quite ten years of age and been deposited with a succession of strangers. Clearly this was with the permission of her father but it is unlikely Maude had much say in the matter regardless of whether she was happy or not.

Initially she played for Enrique Fernández Arbós, professor of violin at the Royal College of Music (RCM). He was 'exceedingly pleased with her' and agreed to give her one free lesson a week providing she took four other lessons from one of his pupils.[563] Almost two years later he was still giving her one free lesson each week. In addition the Society paid for her to be given normal music tuition, lessons in harmony and theory and lessons in harmony and violin with other teachers.[564] In late 1911, aged thirteen, she became eligible to compete for a scholarship at the RCM which provided both musical and general education. Having obtained a first place in the open scholarship competition, gaining 143 marks out of 147, she was granted a scholarship of £20 and free tuition.[565] This was a noteworthy feat for a girl not yet aged fourteen and was recorded in the *JC*.[566]

The Scholars register (2/363) held at the RCM confirms that Maude entered the college on 6 May 1912 and left on 21 July 1917. During this time she studied violin as her first instrument with piano as her second.[567] Her expenses, other than those covered by the scholarship, continued to be met by the Society. She progressed well. In 1914 the Society awarded her the Annual Prize of the Hetty Waley Cohen Bequest, and in 1915 she won the Morley Scholarship at the RCM. These successes led to the Society paying for her to receive twelve private lessons, to be spread over two terms, from Maurice (Moses) Sons, Professor of Violin at the RCM and leader of the Queen's Hall Orchestra, London.[568]

During her years at the RCM Maude still occasionally performed in public. One event, noted in *The Times*, was the last orchestral concert of the term at the

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[563] JEAS (GC) Minutes 13 May 1908.
[564] JEAS (GC) Minutes 28 September 1910 & 18January 1911.
[565] JEAS (GC) Minutes 20 December 1911, 28 February 1912 & 10 April 1912.
[566] *JC 'Educational Successes'*, 1 March 1912.
[567] Details provided by C. Bornet, Deputy Librarian (Archives), RCM. (cbornet@rcm.ac.uk). 21 August 2009.
[568] Sadie Stanley, (Ed), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, V.23, (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), p.726.

RCM in 1913. Maude was again described as 'an infant prodigy', despite the fact that she was by then fifteen and a half, whose 'very unusual gifts should develop into something of outstanding merit'.[569] In 1914 she performed at an RCM chamber concert for which she again earned praise for her 'remarkable' playing, done with 'wonderful finish and certainty'.[570] Later that year her growing fame was reported in her native Wales. This article relates to a report in the *Daily Telegraph* which refers to Maude as 'a little lady of some fourteen summers' who 'is already a baby Joachim'.[571] By now Maude was sixteen and a half but once again her age was understated, making her ability seem the more remarkable. It appears that her final public appearance, whilst still a pupil at the RCM, was on 10 May 1917 at the King's Hall, Herne Bay. Here she was one of a number of performers at a concert held in aid of the 'Herne War Depot for Comforts for Soldiers and Sailors in Hospitals at home and abroad'.[572]

Behavioural problems

Despite her musical success Maude was not without her problems, both emotional and physical. Some may well have been of her making, others were evidently caused by her father's attitude and, without doubt, she would have experienced the attendant problems connected to being categorised a 'child prodigy'. This latter issue will be addressed in the conclusion to this study.

She had only been at the EHH for nine months before Osias told the JEAS that he wanted her moved to live in a private household. What Maude's wishes were are not recorded but, in any event, the Committee refused. Two years later, when she was just seventeen, it was reported that Maude was 'giving great trouble' at the EHH and had expressed the wish to board in a private home. What the 'great trouble' was is not explained. However, having been refused permission to leave the EHH Maude is said to have promised that she would give 'no more trouble'. Furthermore it was stated 'That Maude not be not allowed to play at private houses, At-Homes etc., except under very exceptional circumstances (sic)'.[573] This statement was not

[569] *The Times*, 13 December 1913, p.10.
[570] *The Times*, 13 March 1914, p.9.
[571] *Amman Valley Chronicle*, 10 December 1914, p.4. Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) was a noted Hungarian violinist. He made his public debut at the age of seven. www.britannica.com. 10 March 2015.
[572] *Herne Bay Press*, 12 May 1917, p.2.
[573] JEAS (GC) Minutes and Record Card 3 June 1915.

clarified further but a clue to the underlying reason appeared later in a letter sent between two Committee members, Mrs Rueff and Mrs Lousada. In this it was stated that Maude was:

> ...not of a very easy temperament, and little difficulties are constantly turning up which have to be smoothed over in regard to various people, such as teachers and others , with whom she has relations in daily life...[574]

Furthermore, she displayed a 'religious enthusiasm and strong feeling for Jewish things' which may have caused problems in non *Kosher* households.[575] Such a display of religious fervour was perhaps unusual in a young girl but may have provided a substitute for the lack of family and stability she had experienced since the age of nine. Undoubtedly, having been separated from her family as a small child and placed with a succession of strangers, with whom she may have well have had difficulties communicating, would have led to problems. This, combined with the adulation she had frequently received as a 'child prodigy', it was not surprising that she appears to have developed a precocious and difficult personality. Added to this, her father's difficult demeanour may well have affected her, making it the root of some of her emotional and personality problems.

Despite the apparent difficulties Maude's behaviour had, at times, caused she said she had been happy at the EHH. Nevertheless, when she was aged eighteen it was agreed that a change of surroundings would be to her advantage. In the opinion of the Women's Committee of the JEAS, whilst she was a child she had really needed the matron's motherly care but now she was developing into an artist it was essential she receive guidance from somebody with a much fuller knowledge of the musical profession. Consequently she needed to be moved to more suitable surroundings and 'be rather more closely supervised by somebody who understands really how she should be developed'.[576] This proposal caused problems with both Osias and Mrs Davison. On the one hand Osias wanted Maude to live in a *Kosher* household and on the other it is clear Mrs Davison felt slighted by Maude's removal.

The Committee wrote to Osias pointing out that at this stage in her development Maude needed to:

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[574] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006. Letter dated 30 April 1917

[575] Ibid.

[576] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006. JEAS Women's Committee letter dated 12 July 1916.

> ...reside with cultured musical people, where she will have more social opportunities with other people interested in and possessing a greater knowledge than herself of all the various aspects of musical art.[577]

This letter stressed that Osias and Maude had decided 'long ago that she should aspire to a musical profession' thus, although they could arrange for her to live with a Jewish family, it would be impossible to find a home providing the necessary type of environment which also kept a strictly *Kosher* table. In the Committee's view acceding to this compromise was a 'sacrifice which is quite inseparable from the profession to which Maude aspires'. Furthermore:

> ...when she is actively engaged in her profession she will tour not only in this country but elsewhere to places where no Jewish family or *Kosher* table could possibly be obtained...also [it would be] impossible to avoid playing in concerts Friday and Saturday nights.[578]

Because the only alternative was for Maude to remain at the EHH, Osias agreed to her moving to a non *Kosher* lodging house.

This led to a difficult confrontation with Mrs Davison. It having been explained to her that Maude 'must be absolutely steeped in an atmosphere of music now... [which] in spite of all Mrs Davison's kindness she cannot provide' she responded with:

> the greatest possible offensiveness and rudeness...and such a torrent was maintained throughout the whole of the visit that [it] was quite impossible to get a word in about Maude Gold...Regardless of Mrs Davison's feelings which concern herself rather than Maude's future... [579]

Consequently it was decided 'there and then' that the right thing to do for Maude was to move her immediately.[580] Within a few days arrangements had been made for her to live with the sister of:

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[577] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006. Letter dated 6 October 1916.
[578] Ibid.
[579] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006 . Letters dated 12 and 16 October 1916.
[580] Ibid.

> ...the great pianist Harold Bauer, where she will hear a very great deal of music, and will also hear music spoken of almost all day and every day, and that is what she wants more than anything else at the present stage.[581]

There was some concern expressed about this arrangement as Miss Bauer was not a member of the Jewish community. However, in order for her 'spiritual welfare [to be] properly looked after' it was agreed that a Committee member would take Maude to Synagogue on Saturday mornings and also invite her to her house on Friday evenings.[582] For her part Miss Bauer, also a professional pianist, undertook to take Maude 'to concerts occasionally and generally look after her'.[583]

By November 1916 it was reported that Maude had settled with Miss Bauer. Furthermore, thanks to the care the JEAS ensured she had, she was now 'well set up with clothes and had been to the dentist'. Unfortunately all this attention did not prevent her from causing more problems. The root of these was her frequent visits to the EHH where, on one occasion she had stayed the night. Whilst it was recognised that she missed the company of the other girls, it was felt that when there she was receiving 'a great deal of adulation and admiration' which 'would tend to make her satisfied with a less high standard than we consider she is entitled to aspire to in view of her great talent'.[584] Accordingly she was told quite clearly that these visits must stop.[585] Nevertheless, the tone of the correspondence between Mrs Rueff and Mrs Lousada in April 1917 indicates that she failed to comply with this instruction.[586] In retrospect it seems likely that she was returning to the only real 'home' and 'family' she had experienced since being brought to London in 1908. It was then agreed that in order to help Maude 'break with the past' she should remain with Miss Bauer for another term, but if she failed to settle then the Committee would consider 'moving her again'.[587] By February 1917, whatever the underlying reason, Maude was expressing unhappiness being at Miss Bauer's 'as she had

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[581] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006 Letter dated 12 October 1916.
Harold Bauer (1873-1951) originally a concert violinist, became highly regarded as a pianist. www.britannica.com. 11 March 2015.
[582] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006. Letter from the JEAS, dated 11 December 1916, to Mr O Gold, 34 Primrose Street, Tonypandy.
[583] JEAS (MC) Minutes 26 September 1916 & 22 October 1916.
[584] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006 Letter from the JEAS, dated 11 December 1916, to Mr O Gold, 34 Primrose Street, Tonypandy.
[585] JEAS Record Card 15 November 1916.
[586] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006. Letter dated 30 April 1917.
[587] Ibid.

several Japanese guests'.[588] In view of this the Committee 'Felt that if it were possible it would be well for Maude to go to live where there were other young people', thus started another period of instability in her life.

In April 1917 she went to live with a Lily Kennard and her family. It was said she was to be 'treated just as a daughter of the house' but by December 1917 'The Kennards were refusing to have her any longer'.[589] Again, the reasons were not explained in the JEAS minutes but the letter between Committee members Mrs Rueff and Mrs Lousada, regarding Maude's guardianship, throws some light on the matter. They agreed that the care of Maude meant 'rather hard and continuous work' and that because of her difficult temperament:

> ...her talents are so-to-speak in a state of unstable equilibrium, so that she needs constant watching if we are to get her finally settled down as a well-educated and gifted artist, but if you [Mrs Lousada] would be willing to give her constant care for the next two or three years...then I feel there is every chance of her settling down into a really first rate artist.. There is one point I ought to mention...I regard it as absolutely essential that she should be kept away entirely from the Emily Harris Home and Club connection, where we left her much too long. They stimulate a side of her character which is already too much developed, and I think it is absolutely essential that she should only ever see those people at very rare intervals indeed...There is of course something very delightful in Maud's religious enthusiasm and strong feeling for Jewish things...you will be able to respond without allowing it to develop into a kind of hysterical emotionalism, which there seems some danger of arising in her case from the Club atmosphere.[590]

Thus, over the years there was a history of complaints about Maude's difficult behaviour. Although not overtly explained the picture is of a demanding, truculent and yet immature personality who found it difficult to accept responsibility, and possibly apologise, for her own mistakes. As will be seen, this analysis is reinforced by her later conduct whilst receiving training at the Conservatoire in Brussels.[591] In any event, Maude was removed from the Kennards, spent three weeks at a temporary address and then moved on to a lodging house (Fig.31), arranged by the Society, where she stayed for the next eight months.

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[588] JEAS (MC) Minutes 25 February 1917.
[589] JEAS Record Card 21 December 1917.
[590] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006. Letter dated 30 April 1917.
[591] JEAS Record Card 18 May 1924.

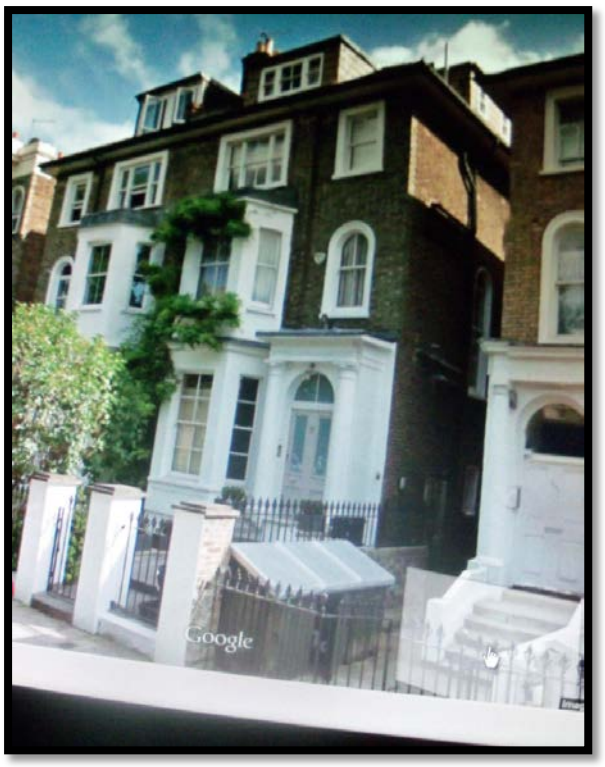

Figure 31: 9 Aldridge Road, Bayswater 2014 [592]

When Maude's musical education ceased at the RCM Maurice Sons, her tutor suggested that, because she 'worked very well and had moderate talent', she get a job with the Queen's Hall Orchestra, of which he was the leader. Here she could earn £3 to £4 a week without it doing her any harm as a soloist, although he did not consider that she would ever make a first class player. Nevertheless, 'she was quite advanced enough now to play at small concerts and should accept any engagements she could get while continuing her lessons'.[593] Evidently she followed this advice as she obtained a 'theatre engagement' which she left when accepted by the Queen's Hall Orchestra in July 1918, 'working every evening at the Promenade Concerts earning £4 4s 6d per week'.[594] Clearly Maude obtained other individual engagements as there is a newspaper report of a performance before members of the Golder's Green Jewish Circle and another at The Palladium.[595] She also had a 'trial week' at Tonypandy Empire which she hoped would lead to more Music Hall

[592] www.google.co.uk/maps. Street view September 2014.
[593] JEAS (MC) Minutes 25 June 1917.
[594] JEAS (MC) Minutes 3July 1918 & 26 September1918.
[595] *JC*, 25 October 1918, p.27, & 23 May 1919, p.26. *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 1 July 1919, p.372.

engagements.[596] In spite of being in paid employment she was still under the control of the JEAS as she was not financially independent. Much to the Committee's disapproval she moved, under her 'own initiative', from Aldridge Road to a lodging house recommended by a friend, which she said was 'more economical and closer to work'. Following a visit by a Society member this new address was declared unsatisfactory, which resulted in several more moves. Since leaving Miss Bauer's in early 1917, until going to Brussels in September 1920, Maude moved house eight times, all bar one of the addresses being selected by the JEAS.[597]

Osias Gold and the JEAS

From the outset, to add to Maude's difficulties, Osias' conduct had been a continual problem to the Society. His demanding personality first showed itself in December 1908 when he upset Mrs Harris, Maude's landlady, necessitating the Society's Secretary to write to him and 'protest about his behaviour'.[598] Later, shortly after Maude had settled at the EHH, another dispute arose when Osias wanted her moved.[599] Yet again, when Maude became eighteen and the JEAS suggested she leave the EHH, he caused difficulties by stipulating that she must live in a *Kosher* household. It took some effort to persuade him otherwise.[600] In addition to these particular disputes between Osias and the JEAS there were two major issues in contention. Firstly his attitude towards his liability for at least part of Maude's maintenance and secondly the pressure he tried to exert with regard to her musical training and performances.

Although not directly related to Osias' difficulties with the JEAS in relation to Maude's maintenance, there was evidence of his previous problems regarding financial dealings and accounting procedures. This arose in 1902 when he filed for bankruptcy. At the hearings Osias claimed his insolvency was due to lack of custom and the ill health, throughout the preceding two years, of both his wife and mother. Furthermore he had been naive enough to sell some goods at below cost price, obtained watches and gold chains on credit, then sold the watches to a pawnbroker

[596] JEAS (MC) Minutes 26 September1918 & JEAS Record Card entries 23 September 1918 & 30 September 1918.
[597] JEAS Record Card entries from 23 September 1918 to 3 June 1920.
[598] UJW Minutes 2 December 1908, p.155 & 6 January 1909, p.163
[599] JEAS Minutes 5 November 1913.
[600] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006. Letter dated 6 October 1916.

and failed to collect all his 'book debts'. Clearly the Official Receiver was sceptical about Osias' veracity and was of the opinion that 'the debtor had failed to disclose his affairs' as he could not remember who his customers were and kept no books.[601] Furthermore the Official Receiver doubted Osias' inability to collect the monies owing to him as his experience of 'gentlemen of the debtor's persuasion was that if a customer could pay he would be made to'.[602] This thinly veiled anti-Semitic remark, related to the fact that Osias was known to be a Jew, caused laughter amongst those present. Further laughter is reported when Osias' solicitor referred to him as 'a most honest bankrupt' who found it difficult to understand the meaning of words and had been frightened by the way in which the Official Receiver had spoken to him.[603] The Official Receiver responded by saying that he had 'been obliged to speak emphatically to him'.[604] The records of the JEAS demonstrate they encountered similar problems in their financial dealings with Osias no matter how 'emphatically' they spoke to him.

Unlike the rules of the JEAC which awarded grants, financial assistance given by the JEAS became a repayable loan. Consequently a system was implemented whereby the applicant was required to sign a detailed statement each quarter acknowledging his or her indebtedness to the Society.[605] In Maude's case, as a minor, this undertaking was expected to be made by her father who, in July 1908, entered into an agreement to pay 5/- per week towards her maintenance. By February 1909 he had defaulted. Furthermore, he failed to provide a formal balance sheet relating to a fund-raising concert held in Tonypandy in May 1909. This was later described as one of the most successful concerts of the season given for the purpose of 'securing pecuniary assistance to further the musical education of Miss Maud Gold, a child of nine, who has already shown much promise for a great future'.[606] The article also pointed out that although the JEAS had provided financial help additional 'local assistance' was essential 'as the best musical training required ample means'.[607] The Society's frustration at Osias' failure to provide details of the

[601] *Weekly Mail*, 3 May 1902, p.12 & *Rhondda Leader*, 31 May 1902, p.5.
[602] *Weekly Mail*, 3 May 1902, p.12.
[603] *Weekly Mail*, 3 May 1902, p.12 & *Rhondda Leader*, 3 May 1902, p.3 & 31 May 1902, p.5.
[604] *Weekly Mail*, 3 May 1902, p.12.
[605] JEAS Minutes 12 November 1907, 12 May 1909, 26 June 1910 & 17 October 1910.
[606] *JC*, 14 May 1909, p.31.
[607] Ibid.

monies raised resulted in their stating that 'the child should be sent home' unless both money and accounts were produced before 31 May 1909.[608]

During the early years of Maude's involvement with the JEAS this threat of her being 'expelled' was used repeatedly, clearly in an effort to get Osias to contribute towards her maintenance if not her tuition. In effect, Maude became a bargaining chip between the Society and her father. Although not spelled out in detail the inference in the minutes is that he expected to retain, for his own benefit, some of the money Maude earned from public performances. For example, his conduct over the fund raising concert held in Tonypandy caused concern. He paid the Society £10 but retained the rest, prompting them to telegram and then write to him stating that unless he repaid 'the balance of the Concert proceeds and at least £2.10.0d towards his debt of £6 for the 5/- maintenance Maude would be sent home on 12 October'.[609] This threat was not carried out thanks to the intercession of Osias' friends in Cardiff, one of whom wrote to the Committee to the effect that 'Mr Gold is a most respectable, hard working man, but unfortunately very poor and in great financial difficulties'. The writer explained that Osias was unable to furnish the balance sheets for the Concert as 'all monies for the tickets sold have not come in', but hoped this would be resolved by the beginning of November 1909. Furthermore, providing the JEAS would maintain Maude until her father's position improved, his friends would arrange another Concert during the season for which they anticipated 'a greater [financial] success than obtained at the previous one'. The Society agreed to hold the question of Maude's maintenance in abeyance providing they received the money from the earlier Concert by the 15 November, otherwise Maude would be sent home. Also, 'When the second Concert is held the Society demands that the accounts shall be furnished within a fortnight, and will appoint its own Auditor'.[610] This last statement clearly indicated that the Members doubted Osias' reliability.

This fund raising concert took place on 15 April 1909 and was advertised in the *Rhondda Leader*. The articles urged those 'who contemplate hearing the musical treat to secure their tickets immediately, in order to avoid disappointment' and stated the hope that 'the people of Mid-Rhondda will rally round this young artiste and give

[608] JEAS Minutes 12 May 1909.
[609] JEAS (GC) Minutes 5 October 1909.
[610] JEAS (GC) Minutes 4 November 1909.

her the support which her talent so richly deserves'.[611] On 1 May a glowing report of this 'Complimentary Concert at Tonypandy', written by 'Our Musical Critic' appeared in the *Rhondda Leader*. Apart from extolling Maude's talent it praised:

> The inhabitants of Mid-Rhondda for not failing in their duty of furnishing the means whereby real talent shall be cultivated...The Education Aid Society has come to her assistance, but nevertheless pecuniary assistance locally is absolutely essential, as the best musical training nowadays requires a well-filled purse... the [concert] chairman,.. [who] had already subscribed to the funds...was only too willing to be called on again if needs be. He congratulated the Mid-Rhondda people on coming to the assistance of one who was not of their faith.[612]

This article also expressed delight 'that one saw such a large audience' and that a number of 'eminent artistes gave their valuable services free of all charge'. Added to that, the statement that it was believed that a 'material benefit will undoubtedly be the result' quite likely increased the suspicions of the members of the JEAS regarding Osias' accounting ability and the validity of any financial returns.

The following year a letter to the Editor of the *Rhondda Leader* made another appeal to the Mid-Rhondda community for financial assistance. This is worth quoting in full:

> **To the Music –Lovers of Tonypandy**
>
> Sir, - Promising local talent has always received enthusiastic support from the music-lovers of the district, and the success of Mid-Rhondda artistes before critical London audiences testifies to wise discrimination of patronage. At present there is a young Jewess from our midst - Miss Maud Gold – undergoing training in London, and one of the most eminent music teachers of the day gives it as his opinion that she has a brilliant future. Naturally, the Jewish fraternity should be the first to take the initiative to see that there is no danger of her progress being handicapped by financial consideration, and hearsay has it that there are difficulties already. Will the Jews of Mid-Rhondda allow the possibility of a brilliant future to be marred, when a little organised effort can easily save the position? The inhabitants of the district in general can be relied on to bear their share of the burden, but the best appeal is a little sacrifice by the Jewish folk. – Yours faithfully VIOLINIST.[613]

The identity of the author of this letter is unknown but it seems highly likely it was written at Osias' instigation, probably by Maude's brother Isidore who had been her

[611] *Rhondda Leader*, 3 April 1909, p.1 & 10 April 1909, p.6 respectively.
[612] *Rhondda Leader*, 1 May 1909, p65.
[613] *Rhondda Leader*, 12 February 1910, p.1.

original teacher. There was an interesting divergence between this letter and the earlier report in the *Rhondda Leader*, which made only an indirect reference to Maude's difference in her being 'not of their faith'. In contrast, the 'Violinist' referred to her as a Jewess, highlighting her otherness, thus giving her identity an extra dimension. This was an intriguing strategy as it emphasised the point that, within the Welsh community, she belonged to a distinct sub-group who should accept prime responsibility for her future. The result of the appeal and whether the JEAS knew of it is not recorded. However, if successful it seems not to have reduced the debt owed to the JEAS which, by early February 1911, amounted to £180.19.10d, a considerable sum at that time.

One of Osias' reasons for not contributing towards Maude's maintenance was that 'he had to spend too much on clothes for the child'. The Music Committee pointed out that 'this excuse was invalid because Mrs Davison, at the EHH, had expended a considerable amount of money on clothes for the child'.[614] Furthermore the members of the Society were clearly incensed that despite his claims to have no money, 'members of the Gold family had come up to London to hear her [Maude] play in a concert and had stayed in an hôtel'.[615] Clearly exasperated, the General Committee sought legal advice about enforcing payment of the 5/- per week for Maude's maintenance. The brief notes in the JEAS minutes show that some correspondence ensued between Osias and a solicitor about this, but regrettably none survives. Obviously doubting Osias' claims of hardship, the Music Committee wrote to the Cardiff Branch of the Charity Organisation Society (COS), a non-Jewish body, requesting they investigate his financial position.[616] As the work of the COS was largely concerned with investigation, when linked to notions such as the deserving and undeserving poor, and the significance of individual responsibility, Osias' claim of financial hardship must have been upheld as it was agreed to suspend payment. Nevertheless, it was made clear to him that the Committee maintained the right to claim re-instatement directly his circumstances improved.[617]

Time after time the JEAS sought maintenance from Osias and time after time he prevaricated and pleaded poverty, with the Society responding by threatening to

[614] JEAS (MC) Minutes 28 September 1913 & 12 October 1913.
[615] JEAS (MC) Minutes 21 December 1913.
[616] The COS is now Family Action. Although some archives are held at the LMA none relate to the Cardiff Branch in this period.
[617] JEAS (GC) Minutes 22 December 1913 to 6 May 1914.

cease their help and send Maude home. Over the ensuing years, with very little financial input from her father, Maude was provided with lodgings, clothing, medical and dental attention, tuition, the occasional holiday and fares home to Wales during some of the RCM vacations. In return the JEAS had a talented, but often troublesome, student with a demanding parent who clearly tried to interfere with his daughter's progress. From the information contained in the JEAS documents the indication is that Osias regarded Maude primarily as a commodity, a major factor being her potential income and the kudos attached to having a talented child. On a number of occasions he had wanted Maude to appear at concerts in Wales and London. The Society usually refused but there were instances when they agreed, providing Osias met all the expenses and the RCM approved. One such event was on 23 July 1909 when, at the age of eleven (although again reported as nine making her seem all the more remarkable) Maude performed before H.R.H Princess Louise and the Duke of Argyle. In this instance the princess is said to have presented Maude with a 'handsome reward'. She was also reported as having said to Osias 'You must be very proud of her as her playing was wonderful'.[618]

Clearly Osias was of the opinion that Maude's early promise as a solo performer was unabated as, despite a report to the contrary when she left the RCM, he repeatedly raised the issue with the JEAS.[619] In December 1918 he was still 'pressing for her to be given a recital or otherwise be brought out in London'. Her tutor, Maurice Sons, again responded that Maude was not ready and, in any case, this would not lead to her getting solo engagements, instead she should try to get a job with a theatre orchestra. Meanwhile he continued giving her lessons and the Society helped with her maintenance. The intention was for this arrangement to continue until early spring 1919 when the Society 'should pay for her to play at a good concert and so bring her before the London public'.[620] By then Maude would have been almost 21 years of age and Osias was told that with this funding 'the Society's financial assistance would cease'.[621]

By March 1919 Maud was playing in the orchestra at the Globe Theatre and in the Queen's Hall Orchestra. She was earning nearly £5 per week, ten percent of which was being paid to the JEAS. Her playing had greatly impressed a Mrs Fachiri,

[618] *Rhondda Leader*, 7 August 1909, p.1 & *JC*, 13 August 1909, p.19.
[619] JEAS (MC) Minutes 25 June 1917.
[620] JEAS (MC) Minutes 8 December 1918.
[621] JEAS (MC) Minutes 5 January 1919.

a celebrated violinist who was much in demand as a teacher and who 'consented to take Maud as a pupil...Maud intended to pay for these lessons herself'.[622] At this point it appeared Maude was gaining a modicum of control over her life, financially at least. However, Osias still wanted more for his daughter. He disliked and disagreed with her playing in a theatre orchestra and still wanted her to be helped to become a soloist. He was told she was not ready as she had not fulfilled her early promise 'of becoming an artist of the first order'. Nevertheless the Society was 'still carefully watching her and would advise on her best interests'.[623] Well meaning though this was it meant that once again Maude's life was being controlled by others.

Indicative of the problems the JEAS had with Osias is a letter dated 1 March 1920 sent to him on their behalf, although from whom is not recorded. Regrettably Osias' 'letter of the 27th' is not available but the response it engendered clearly illustrates his intransigence.

> I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th ult.
>
> Apart from the foolish remarks you have thought fit to make regarding the Society to whom your daughter owes everything, your present action in refusing to sign the agreement which has been put before you is extremely unfair to her. The object of the agreement is to enable us to secure for Maud the loan of a beautiful violin. We have, of course, every confidence that Maud will take the greatest possible care of it, but in order that the matter may be in proper form it is necessary for you to sign the agreement, owing to her not being of an age to take full legal responsibility. If you do not care to do so this great opportunity for Maud may be lost, but I hope you will decide on consideration not thus to stand in her way, and will immediately return [the signed agreement].There can be no question whatever of the insertion in this or any other agreement of any such clause as you have suggested.[624]

The nub of this letter denotes that whoever had agreed to loan Maude a violin wanted the assurance that it would be properly cared for and, in due course, would be returned. Seemingly, Osias was arguing against either or both of these undertakings. It also suggests that the JEAS were not aware of, or had overlooked, Maude's age. By then, despite being referred to as 'not being of an age to take full legal responsibility', she was almost twenty-two. The fact that both her father and

[622] JEAS (MC) Minutes 24 March 1919. Adila Fachiri (1886-1962) Hungarian violinist. www.oxforddnb.com. 31 August 2009.
[623] JEAS (GC) Minutes 19 December 1919.
[624] University of Southampton, Special Collections: Papers of Robert Waley Cohen: MS363: A3006 . This copy of the letter is undated and unsigned.

the JEAS still appeared to regard her as a child must have been detrimental to her emotional development and quite likely added to her continuing personality problems, which showed themselves when she was in Brussels. Nevertheless, notwithstanding any objections Maude or Osias may have had, she was in thrall to the JEAS. It held the balance of power, partly because of the financial input and partly due to the contacts it had within the Jewish and musical fraternities.

Training and employment in Brussels

Despite the threat that funding would cease in early 1919, within a year the JEAS had agreed to pay for Maude to attend a finishing course at the Brussels Conservatoire. Having arrived in Brussels at the end of September 1920, by August 1921 she was said to be doing very well. She gained the highest award conferred by the Conservatoire, the *Premier Prix du Conservatoire avec la plus Grande Distinction*.[625] In recognition of such an achievement the JEAS awarded her the Hetty Waley Cohen Prize for 1921 and voted her '100 guineas' to fund another six months at the Conservatoire.[626] In March 1922 a further £55 was voted and Maude was told, yet again, this was the final award. Displaying an attitude similar to that of her father in earlier years she failed to respond and the Committee voiced their concern about her future intentions. However, in July 1922 she was awarded another *Premier Prix du Conservatoire avec la plus Grande Distinction*, this time for Chamber Music. She then informed the JEAS she was staying in Brussels as she had a music hall engagement commencing in October. Her JEAS grant covered her until August but as 'she had done so well' they gave her another £24 to cover her maintenance until the October. At this point 'It was to be made quite clear to Maude and Mr Gold this was the last grant the Society would make'.[627]

There is no record of a further award until 1924 implying that Maude, between October 1922 and the end of 1923, was self- supporting. However, as with her earlier life, this was a period of mixed fortunes. It seemed the music hall engagements were spasmodic, as in early 1923 she reported that she was 'not getting on too well, but wanted to stay in Brussels' partly because she was due to play

[625] *JC*, 12 August 1921, p.33.
[626] JEAS (GC) Minutes 21 September 1921.
[627] JEAS (GC) Minutes 24 July 1922.

before the King of Spain in May of that year.[628] This performance, which was before the Kings and Queens of Spain and Belgium, was said to have been very favourably commented upon by the Belgian press. Furthermore, the burgomaster of Brussels, Adolphe Max, gave her a violin.[629] It was also reported that the Belgian artist, Émile Baes, intended to paint her portrait.[630]

In October 1923, as she had found it a financial struggle in Brussels, she returned to play in a concert in England. Despite this she said she wished to return to Brussels in order to repay some debts and then wanted to go to Paris for some lessons from 'the great master Capet'.[631] This latter request was countermanded by the JEAS as the members of the Musical Committee had 'received an unsatisfactory report about M. Capet as a teacher'.[632] Nevertheless they were still prepared to help Maude, providing they approved of the arrangements. In view of this, in January 1924, she was awarded £50 to help towards 'finishing lessons' from a 'master'. This was on the understanding that she would be responsible for her own maintenance and that 'this was the final (sic) vote as so much money had been given over so many years'.[633] By now Maude was twenty five and had been assisted by the JEAS for sixteen years. With their help she had spent four years training and working in Brussels yet once again her attitude incurred their displeasure. They had received reports from Brussels that she was causing trouble by speaking disparagingly of her teacher at the Conservatoire and all he had done for her. She also claimed that the Society was paying all expenses for her to study in Holland for two years.[634] Consequently the Secretary wrote her 'a stiff letter of reprobation' in response to which Maude placed the blame for 'all the bad rumours' on the anger this teacher felt at her leaving him for another.[635]

Notwithstanding the irritation Maude caused arrangements were made for her to become a pupil of Oskar Back, the Dutch violinist, either in Brussels or

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[628] JEAS Record Card 28 March 1923 & 18 April 1923.
[629] Adolphe Max gained an international reputation for his resistance to the Germans in WW1 and was held in high esteem. www.britannica.com. 24 September 2009.
[630] *JC*, w/c 7 May 1923 (undated cutting provided by Mrs Anita Gold) & JEAS Record Card 28 October 1923.
[631] Lucien Capet, French violinist and composer. Renowned as a teacher, especially of bowing technique. www.oxfordmusiconline.com. 24 September 2009.
[632] JEAS Record Card 19 November 1923.
[633] JEAS (GC) Minutes 13 December 1923 & 28 January 1924.
[634] JEAS Record Card 18 May 1924.
[635] JEAS Record Card 26 May 1924.

Amsterdam.[636] He had agreed, for £50, to cover her expenses and lodge her with friends for two years. In May Mr Back informed the JEAS that Maude had commenced lessons with him and later gave her a favourable report.[637] For the next seventeen months things seem to have settled down but in October 1925 it is recorded that:

> On account of the sad circumstances of her parents Maud had felt obliged to leave Brussels and make her home with her brother in Cardiff whence she hoped to get engagements and pupils...[she was] well noticed in the press in Wales and London...[and was] also engaged by the Broadcasting company.[638]

The cause of these 'sad circumstances' is not explained but elsewhere in the JEAS records reference is made to her parents' 'straightened circumstances' thus inferring the problems were pecuniary.[639]

Return to the UK

For a few weeks Maude stayed with her brother Isidore in Cardiff but in January 1926 she said there was 'nothing doing' there so she was 'coming to London'. For some time, she stayed with various female members of the JEAS Music Committee who, amongst other things, 'helped with gifts of clothes'.[640] For a while she played at one of the Lyons Corner Houses then went on tour, but by January 1927 was back in London 'under the patronage of Mrs Waley' (Chairwoman of the UJW). Later she was at a different address and said to be on the staff of the London College of Music (LCM) in addition to earning her living by teaching and occasional engagements. Whether or not she was employed at the LCM cannot be confirmed as records for this period no longer exist but she did advertise her services as a music and singing teacher.[641]

In January 1929 she was again staying with Mrs Waley and there was 'vague news that Maude was in difficult circumstances' as 'things were slack'.[642] This sorry state of affairs evidently continued as in March 1930 she called at the Society's

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[636] Oskar Bach Dutch violinist and teacher in Brussels, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. www.oxfordmisiconline.com. 24 September 2009.
[637] JEAS Record Card 18 May 1924 & 22 July 1924.
[638] JEAS (GC) Minutes 20 October 1925.
[639] JEAS Record Card 14 October 1925.
[640] JEAS Record Card 8 January 1926.
[641] *The Times*, 25 November 1926, p.12.
[642] JEAS Record Card January 1929.

Office to collect a box of clothes. The entry on her Record Card reads 'circumstances were very difficult – Mrs Waley helping with maintenance 'til May – couple of concerts in prospect, very few pupils'.[643] The closing entry was made sometime in 1936 and reads simply 'Sent parcel of clothes – No (sic) acknowledgement'.[644] Whether Maude ever repaid all the monies spent on her education and maintenance will never be known but it seems that her association with the JEAS ended here, after almost thirty years, although her story continued.

Following her return to the UK in 1925, it is evident from press reports that she obtained work in the Cardiff area, both broadcasting and performing at concerts. Having left Cardiff in early 1926 many of her engagements were either broadcasts or playing in cinemas before the films and during the intervals. From press advertisements and the *Radio Times* it can be seen that between 1926 and 1935 Maude's playing was frequently broadcast. The nature of the programmes varied between gramophone recordings, a mixture in which Maude played the violin live as an accompaniment to a recording and live performances from outside venues.[645] At times she played as a member of a Quartet, at others as a solo performer or as a soloist within a larger organisation such as the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra and the Wireless Military Band.[646]

Maude was one of the earliest musicians to make recordings for British Brunswick Ltd which released its first UK records in July 1927, prior to which all their records had been American masters.[647] The issue of British masters was short lived, only running from 1927 to 1929.[648] This may be why she appears in their index only in August and September 1927.[649] At least two of her recordings are still

[643] JEAS Record Card March 1930.
[644] JEAS Record Card noted only1936.
[645] Outside broadcasting commenced around 1930 and was referred to as 'the Daventry Experiment'. *Sussex Agricultural Express,* 7 March 1930, p.13 & *Western Morning News,* 8 March 1930, p.10.
[646] For example: *Daily Mail,* 12 July 1928, p.30, *Radio Times*, 8 March 1930 and numerous other press advertisements 1926 – 1935.
[647] The Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company was established in Canada but later the Brunswick label was acquired by the American Record Corporation in the USA. British Brunswick Ltd., was established in London 20 September 1926 and originally imported US records. In 1927 they started recording locally produced records in the 100 series. Ross Laird, *Brunswick Records: New York Sessions, 1916-1926,* Vol.1, (Westport CT, Greenwood Publishing Co., 2001), pp.46-47.
[648] *Dance Band Encyclopaedia . British Brunswick and Brunswick Cliftophone*. The 100 series ran from 100-220. www.mgthomas.co.uk. 6 June 2015.
[649] Laird, *Brunswick Records,* p.1473

available, firstly a violin solo of the Londonderry Air (Fig.32). Secondly is a 1934 pressing of the recording of *Tartini's "Variations on a Theme by Corelli"*.[650]

Figure 32: Brunswick Label Record circa September 1927 [651]

The review of the original (1927) *Tartini* recording described her simply as 'advancing in her style' which, bearing in mind the training and effusive admiration she had received throughout her early years, could be said to be damning her with faint praise.[652] Furthermore, another recording, of the *Souvenir*, was described as lacking in vitality 'the surface rough, and the intonation far from satisfactory'.[653] However, a review of a later recording of Bruch's *Kol Nidrei* was more favourable. Although 'the top register of her instrument was not perfectly produced' it said that Maude showed a considerable improvement on her previous records 'as regards steadiness and intonation'.[654]

There may be an explanation for both of these comments. Firstly, Bruch's composition was originally intended for cello and orchestra. As Maude performed on the violin something may have been lost in the re-arrangement. Secondly, although

[650] This can be heard on www.youtube.com. 23 March 2015.
[651] Advertised on www.ebay.com. 23 March 2015. The small stamp on the label shows the original vendor as 'Hawkes' and the price as 1s 8d. Hawkes & Son, founded in 1865, were music publishers and manufacturers of musical instruments. In 1930 they merged with Boosey & Company, thus becoming Boosey & Hawkes. www.boosey.com. 23 March 2015.
[652] *South Wales Echo*, 'Gramophone Notes', 14 November 1927.
[653] *The Gramophone*, November 1927, p.15
[654] *The Gramophone*, January 1928, p.20.

Bruch regarded his work simply as an artistic arrangement of a folk tune, it association with the *Kol Nidrei* prayer recited during the evening service on *Yom Kippur* probably held a deeper meaning for Maude in view of the religious enthusiasm she had displayed whilst at the EHH, resulting in the improved intonation.[655] It is also possible that the technical quality of the sound reproduction, coupled with the unusual surroundings of a recording studio, had an adverse effect on Maude's earlier recorded performances.

Presumably Maude earned something from her recording contract and broadcast appearances. In addition between 1925 and 1932 newspaper articles and advertisements confirm she appeared in concert and music halls, sometimes as a soloist and at others as a member of a musical ensemble. She successfully performed at some venues in Wales as, following a concert at Mumbles, she was described as a brilliant violinist evidently destined for a great future and 'The audience simply would not let her go, and she was recalled again and again'.[656] Later, after giving a violin recital at Cardiff, it was said she was 'one of the surprises of the local concert world' and 'proclaimed the artist of no ordinary talent'.[657] During the 1926 summer season at Westcliffe-on-Sea, she was described as 'undoubtedly one of the greatest instrumentalists that Southend has ever heard, and she must rival more than one London artiste'.[658]

Her first violin recital took place at the Aeolian Hall on 1 February 1927. This was reviewed in a number of papers when she was described variously as having had a 'brilliant career in the musical profession', being 'a conspicuous success' and displaying faultless intonation which coupled with 'the warmth and sincerity of the execution produced a truly artistic effect.[659] *The Times* critique was more restrained saying she:

> Created a very favourable impression, for she plays with an unusual degree of fire and shows a decided personality in style. Technically she is well advanced and displayed few slips...[However] in the Tchaikowsky (sic) concerto the execution was not so good, passages being rather scrambled and

[655] *Max Bruch, Kol Nidrei*, www.chazzanut.com. 5 June 2015.
[656] *Western Daily Post*, 12 October 1925.
[657] Extracted from un-named press cutting, dated November 1925, found in Isidore's papers after his death. Provided by Mrs Anita Gold, his daughters-in-law..
[658] *Glamorgan press & Rhondda Leader*, 28 August 1926.
[659] *South Wales News*, 1 February, 1927, *South Wales Express*, 12 August 1927 and *JC*, 11 February 1927, respectively.

> occasionally out of time and the tone inclined to roughness. A rather cramped style of bowing seems to hamper her in obtaining real freedom of phrasing...in particular needing more breadth, and one felt that this work had not been studied quite carefully enough as a whole.[660]

More generous than *The Times* reviewer were members of the provincial press two of whom chose to interview Maude and, 'after her triumph at the Aeolian Hall', quoted her response:

> I shall never forget the splendid reception I had. It was really marvellous the way the people received me. Why! After my first number I was simply overwhelmed with flowers and bouquets which simply covered the piano. On March 17th I shall be in Wales for I am giving a celebrity concert at Treherbert, and I am looking forward to this visit as much if not more than I did my recital. Welsh audiences are so very warm in their appreciation, and I shall be among my own people again.[661]

This latter remark may well have been a demonstration of her genuine fondness for and identity with the country of her birth, in any event it probably helped endear her to the audience as the 'Treherbert Celebrity Concert' brought her another glowing review in the Welsh press:

> The extraordinary brilliance of Miss Gold's performance was thoroughly appreciated by the large audience. One recognised in her playing the rare combination of highly trained artist, and the insight of the born musician...Her tone, technique and rhythm challenged comparison with that of much more mature soloists.[662]

Between 1926 and 1932, Maude was quite regularly engaged, but in provincial venues as opposed to major London Concert Halls. She is reported as appearing at various locations in Wales and toured to Bournemouth, Eastbourne, Brighton, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Bath, Harrogate, Hull and Aberdeen. Reports of her appearances were often accompanied by a photograph such as those included in the *Tatler* (Fig.33) and the *Western Mail* (Fig.34). These portrayed a young and attractive woman which, taken together with some of the news reports, depicted her not only as a serious musician but also as a romantic and exotic figure.

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[660] *The Times*, 4 February 1927, p.12.
[661] *Rhondda Gazette*, February 1927 and *Western Mail*, 11February 1927.
[662] *Glamorgan Free Press & Rhondda Leader*, 26 March 1927.

Figure 33: Miss Maude Gold [663]

Figure 34: Miss Maude Gold [664]

[663] *Tatler*, 12 October 1927.
[664] *Western Mail*, 16 April 1928.

In the past newspapers germane to Wales and the West Country, areas in which Maude had always been popular, emphasised her Welsh origin. However, as her status as a soloist diminished some reports gave prominence to her mixed Welsh and 'Rumanian' ancestry, coupled with the fact that she was better known in England and Belgium than in Wales.[665] This is in stark contrast to the earlier reference that in Wales she was among her own people. It is possible that emphasising her mixed antecedence and the time spent in Brussels was a self-promotion exercise. By enhancing her 'otherness' and highlighting the 'foreign' element, publicity of this nature could have been introduced to make her seem mysterious and thus more attractive, both to audiences and booking agents.

In another article headed 'Social and Personal' dated 16 November 1927 it was reported that she 'scored a notable success at Brussels a season or two ago... has played on concert platform all over the country, and has a reputation as one of the most gifted woman violinists in the country'. Furthermore, she had been appointed to the post of professor at the London College of Violinists (LCV).[666]

A lengthy and scathing article about the LCV appeared in the *Musical News* in 1899. As Maude's appointment was in 1927 this establishment may have gained some credibility in the ensuing years. Conversely, as little is known of it and there is no record of its incorporation with the RCM or other similar organisation, the contemptuous appraisal casts doubt on the worth of Maude's 'professorship'. The following extract underpins this scepticism:

> It would seem that there is enough money in the imitation 'College' Business to warrant more competition in this field of speculation. There is sent to us, from a correspondent, a packet containing a prospectus, newspaper puffs, a circular advertisement of fiddles and music, all received from the proprietors of yet another diploma, certificate, and medals-distributing institution. It bears the title 'London College of Violinists'... Our readers will note the significance of the purely philosophic remarks on the value of handsomely framed diplomas. Unquestionably these are of use in impressing a *clientèle*, unfortunately for the most part unable to discriminate, and easily deceived as to the true artistic value of a gorgeous gown, bronze medal, and big gaudy certificates; nevertheless, these are outward manifestations of showy significance to the less well informed among us, and they are killing bait to the young unsophisticated fry.[667]

[665] *South Wales Echo*, 14 November 1927.
[666] The name of the newspaper publication is unknown but from adjacent articles it was clearly circulated in Wales. From Isidore's papers provided by Mrs Anita Gold.
[667] *Musical News*, 28 October 1899, No. 452, p.363.

The author of this article also cast doubt on the true status of the examiners. Attention was drawn to the fact that although all would be violinists of proved ability 'and recognised standing in the musical world' they would not be identified until the aspiring student entered the examination room and met the 'proved and recognised great fiddlers waiting to hear him'. The purpose of this was said to protect the student from the 'nervousness [s/he] might experience in playing before such luminaries of the violin world'.[668]

Considering the musical education Maude had received at the RCM and in Brussels she is unlikely to have been gullible or easily impressed by such an institution, but the title 'Professor of Music' could well have impressed others. Regardless of the fact that this 'College' had no connection with the RCM and probably its certificates held little worth amongst musical aficionados her brother's earlier involvement may have led to Maude's relationship with it in 1927. Isidore is recorded as having passed with honours in 1909, at the age of eighteen, an examination of the College of Violinists. He then gained the 'Strad Prize for passing the A.C.V. [Associate of the College of Violinists] top in the whole of South Wales and came third in the United Kingdom'.[669]

By August 1928, when Maude appeared at the Treorchy Eisteddfod, her reviews were far more muted than they had been during the early years. Although she produced 'good tone and accurate intonation her performance was a little weak in rhythm.[670] Later that year, it was said in *The Times*:

> With a little more refinement and perceptions sharpened a little more for the nature of the music as opposed to the nature of mere violin playing Miss Maude Gold would make an excellent violinist...Perhaps to listen to other players, both good and indifferent, would be a help.[671]

A more favourable review of this performance appeared in the *Western Mail* whose correspondent referred to her 'adding another success to the list of her musical achievements'.[672] However this article described her as 'only 22 years of age' when in fact she was thirty and had undergone years of training by a series of eminent

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[668] Ibid
[669] *Rhondda Leader*, 23 January 1909, p.9 & 6 March 1909, p.10, respectively.
[670] *The Times*, 9 August 1928, p.12.
[671] *The Times*, 19 October 1928, p.14.
[672] *Western Mail*, 16 October 1928.

musicians. At twenty two her performance may have warranted *The Times'* critique but, if her solo career was to progress, she should have mastered those failings by the age of thirty. The fact she had not must have been a cause for concern.

From press advertisements it is evident Maude continued to broadcast on a fairly regular basis to 1931, but her solo concert performances diminished. In the main she was simply mentioned as the violinist member of a musical group, such as the Piccadilly Trio with whom she performed in a variety show at Bath Theatre Royal.[673] A report in the *Derby Daily Telegraph* makes sad reading as it shows that by now Maude was relying on her past to boost her importance in the musical arena. Her interview related to the events in 1923, eight years earlier, when she had been given a violin by the 'Lord Mayor of Brussels', a bracelet after her performance before the royalty of Spain and Belgium and had her portrait painted by the Belgian artist Baes.[674] The only mention in this article relating to her musical performance was 'It would be difficult to find four merrier artists than those who entertained the Queen's Hall audience on Saturday evening'.[675]

In May 1932 whilst a member of Miss Pattie Hall's Women's Orchestra playing in Hull, she again relied on her past when, as a 'prodigy at the age of eight' she performed before 'Princess Louise at the Royal Albert Hall, London', and also before Spanish and Belgian royalty.[676] She continued with the Women's Orchestra, at various venues, until the end of the season in September 1932, in addition to accepting other engagements.[677] She is reported to have appeared as a 'support turn' to Sir Harry Lauder at His Majesty's Theatre, Aberdeen. The supporting acts were a whistler who imitated birds, two dancers, a troupe of acrobats, a female singer and 'Maud Gold, a violinist'. Regrettably it was said that compared to the others, 'the violin playing and singing of Muriel Sims and Maud Gold is somewhat unequal, though here and there it achieves quite pleasant effect'.[678]

By now Maude's star was clearly in decline and press reports of her performances became few and far between. In 1935 there was an advertisement in several newspapers of a live broadcast of the Cardiff Musical Society with Maude

[673] *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 6 September 1930, p.12.
[674] *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 23 March 1931, p.2.
[675] Ibid.
[676] *Hull Daily Mail*, 18 May 1932, p.3.
[677] *Hull Daily Mail*, 10 June 1932, p.10 & 13June 1932, p.8.
[678] *Aberdeen Journal*, 27 August 1932, p.8 & 30 August 1932, p.6.

merely mentioned as the solo violinist.[679] In 1936 her violin solos were 'greatly enjoyed' at a 'Series of Popular Celebrity Concerts arranged in connection with Nottingham Wesley Chapel'.[680] Following a concert in Hull the quality of her playing was said to be 'more evident in the quieter passages of her work than in the complex and forte ones'.[681] Reports of her playing became ever more infrequent and less complimentary. Following an appearance with the Torquay Municipal Orchestra her playing was described as 'rather deficient' although the orchestra gave her 'excellent support and came gallantly to her assistance in some awkward passages'.[682] Despite this lacklustre performance she appears to have remained with the Municipal Orchestra for some time although the final report is far from flattering:

> Miss Gold is a promising player, but occasional lapses in intonation and uncertainties of attack make her performances rather uneasy to listen to. Also she is at times inclined to fall into a somewhat humdrum style of delivery, which robs her playing of vitality.[683]

Maude, at the age of almost forty-four, had been playing in public for over thirty-five years. The JEAS had spent a significant amount of money and effort in fostering what many had considered to be a remarkable talent and to now be described as 'a promising player' must have been demoralising in the extreme. She may, at times, still have been considered a 'celebrity' at parochial venues such as the Nottingham Wesley Chapel but the implication is that her talent gradually diminished after her return from Brussels in 1925. In spite of this the indications are that Maude was still able to earn a living. Although she had to travel widely her main place of residence between 1929 and 1945 appears to have been at a variety of addresses in London. For a number of years she was listed in the electoral rôle and telephone directory and, in the 1939 Register, was recorded living in Wembley. Also she participated in the National Gallery Concerts given in London from October 1939 to April 1946.[684]

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[679] *Western Daily Press*, 21 March 1935, p.9. and others
[680] *Nottingham Evening Post*, 27 November 1936, p.6.
[681] *Hull Daily Mail*, 17 February 1937, p.3, 22 February 1937, p.9 & 8 March 1937, p.8, respectively.
[682] *Western Morning News*, 22 August 1941, p.2.
[683] *Western Morning News*, 12 June, 1942, p.4.
[684] www.concertprogrammes.org.uk &. www.answers.com/topic/national-gallery-concerts. 27 August 2009. The proceeds of these concerts were given to the Musicians' Benevolent Fund. Maude may, at times, have qualified as a beneficiary of such an organisation but neither their records, nor those of the Musicians' Union, covering this period, have been retained. John Laurent, care@mbf.org.uk.27 August 2009 and Lynn Calvin, info@ theMU.org. 31 October 2009.

Conceivably Maude eventually realised she would never aspire to becoming the solo concert virtuoso her father had so desired. It seems likely that family responsibilities, which are discussed later, coupled with financial necessity, drove her to be more realistic about her opportunities now that she was no longer a child prodigy or a 'baby Joachim'. Thus, in September 1945, she became a permanent member of the Hallé Orchestra, Manchester, where she remained until April 1960. In view of the Hallé's reputation this was not an insignificant achievement. It confirms her ability as a violinist, albeit not a virtuoso soloist. Being in continuous, salaried, employment must have been quite a relief, although Maude's life was not without its problems as the following quote from the Assistant Archivist at the Hallé demonstrates:

> I've been able to speak to a musician who was in the Hallé at the same time as Maude. Cecily Holliday was in the second violins and Maude was in the first violin section at the same time. However Cecily remembers Maude as an excellent violinist and a rather 'private' person. Cecily did visit Maude and recalls that Maude looked after her sister Sophie who had very, very poor eyesight. Cecily says that the orchestra worked very hard (which is true) consequently long hours both playing and travelling and the responsibility of Sophie and work, Maude had a hard life. Also I think later on Maude's other sister (Cecily thinks her name was Edie but is unsure) joined Maude and Sophie. Cecily liked Maude very much indeed.[685]

The Hallé's records show Maude's address as 1 Seymour Grove, Old Trafford but in May 1960 she and Sophie were living in a flat at Elm House, Carlton Road (Fig.35).[686]

[685] From Stuart Robinson, Assistant Archivist. stuart.robinson@halle.co.uk. 5 March 2015.
[686] This is the address given when Maude & Sophie were granted probate of their brother Harry's estate 23 May 1960.

Figure 35: Elm House, 2 Carlton Road, Manchester 2014 [687]

Edith is not mentioned at this address but as she was thought, by then, to be living with Maude and Sophie it is reasonable to assume she too was here and that she later moved with her sisters to Bournemouth.

Between 1961 and 1965 The Electoral Register and Kelly's Directory show Maude and Sophie living at various addresses in Bournemouth. However, in February 1965 the three sisters moved to Flat 3, Baron's Court, Poole Road, Branksome. Maude was then diagnosed with ovarian cancer and, in April and died at home on 13 December 1965.[688] Her tomb is at in the Jewish Section of Kinson Cemetery, Bournemouth (Fig.36 & Fig.37).

[687] www.google.co.uk/maps. Street View August 2014
[688] Coroner's File, Dorset Constabulary, 13 December 1965 and Death Certificate..

Figure 36: Maude's Grave, 21 January 2015 [689]

Figure 37: Maude's Headstone, 21 January 2015 [690]

[689] Photograph taken 21 January 2015. Plot U/65 in the Jewish Section of Kinson Cemetery, Bournemouth.
[690] Ibid.

Maude's relationship with her family

From the information available it is clear that Maude, between the ages of nine to forty-seven, spent much of her time based in London. As a child she returned to Wales during the RCM holidays where her parents and five siblings, lived for many years at 34 Primrose Street, Tonypandy (Fig.38).[691] Even whilst training and working on the continent she occasionally returned to Wales to perform in a concert although it is evident she did not always stay with her parents. In 1925 she lived for a short time with Isidore, who in 1920 had married and left the family home.[692] He set up his own business in Cardiff as a 'Wholesale furniture factor' where he remained until he moved to Manchester sometime between late 1928 and early 1930.[693]

Figure 38: 34 Primrose Street, Tonypandy, 2014 [694]

Bearing in mind that later, for at least fifteen years, Maude lived in Manchester where Isidore and his family were then living it is reasonable to believe she maintained a good relationship with them. This assumption is supported by the fact that Isidore had retained a selection of newspaper cuttings relating to some of

[691] Information obtained from Maude's RCM records 1912-1917 and *Glamorgan County Times*, 11 March 1927.
[692] JEAS (GC) Minutes 20 October 1925 refer to Maude staying with Isidore.
[693] *Kelly's Directory*, 1923, *Telephone Directory*, 1924-1926, marriage certificate 18 August 1920 and sons' birth records 1928 and 1930.
[694] www.google.co.uk/maps. Street View September 2014.

Maude's performances from 1925 to 1931. These were found amongst his effects following his death in 1972. Unfortunately Maude's nephews have since died, leaving Isidore's two daughters-in-law as her closest surviving relatives. Regrettably, apart from the newspaper cuttings which, according to Mrs Anita Gold had been kept by chance, they have been unable to provide any further details of Maude's life and relationship with other family members.[695]

Apart from the JEAS records there is little to tell about Maude's relationship with her father, nothing about her mother and scant information available about her siblings at this time. This then is an area reliant upon only a few hard facts contained in official documents and is thus open to the realms of speculation. It is known that in 1928 the family were living at 161 Newport Road, Cardiff (Fig.39) from where the youngest daughter, Esther, married.[696] It is also probable that the youngest son, Harry, who by then was an adult, had also left home as in 1939 he is known to have been living and working in London.[697] At most this would have left Osias and Tony Gold with their two older daughters Sophie and Edith. This could account for the change of address, particularly if circumstances dictated a move to smaller and cheaper premises, probably in a multi-occupied property in which they could rent rooms. Whether either of the remaining daughters contributed financially to the household is unknown. In the 1911 Census, Sophie is said to have been working as a 'traveller' on her own account but for how long this continued is not recorded as in the 1939 Register she is recorded as 'Incapacitated'. No occupation was shown for Edith until the 1939 Register when she is described as a 'Matcher & Saleswoman'. It is possible either or both women remained at home supported by, or supporting, their parents. At least one may have been required at home to care for Osias, whose health was probably deteriorating as he died in December 1929 following a prostate related operation.[698]

Evidently, for whatever reason, Maude did not stay here on her subsequent visits to Wales as in the latter months of 1928 her address was given as Partridge Road, Cardiff.[699] The records of the JEAS demonstrate the controlling influence

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[695] Telephone conversation with Mrs Anita Gold, 24 October, 2013.
[696] GRO marriage certificate. Esther Gold to Abraham Joseph at Windsor Place Synagogue, Cardiff. All that is known of Esther is that in 1930 she had daughter and died on 25 January 1949. GRO records and District Probate Registry Llandaff, respectively.
[697] The 1939 Register. www.findmypast.co.uk.
[698] GRO death certificate.
[699] *Western Mail & South Wales News*, undated but from the text is after August 1928.

Osias had on Maude's life so she may simply have wished to escape her father's dominance. Alternatively, there was simply insufficient room to accommodate her.

Figure 39: 161 Newport Road, Cardiff 2014 [700]

Following Osias' death it seems likely that Tony, Edith and Sophie eventually moved to London because, in 1938, Tony died in Paddington Hospital.[701] It is unlikely she was living in London alone as, according to her death certificate, she was senile, suffered with diabetes and died of acute toxic myocarditis. Therefore, it is logical to assume she was living with one or more of her unmarried children.

In the 1939 Register Maude, Harry, Sophie and Edith are shown as living at 22 Grosvenor Crescent, Wembley. It is therefore reasonable to think that when Maude moved to Manchester in 1945 both Sophie and Edith went with her. Taking into account Sophie's failing sight and Maude's work commitments, providing Edith was physically and mentally able to help, this would have been the sensible thing to

[700] www.google.co.uk/maps. Street View September 2014.

[701] GRO death certificate gives her home address as 117, Portsdown Road, Paddington. Paddington Hospital was originally Paddington Workhouse which later incorporated a separate infirmary building. In 1929 both workhouse and infirmary transferred to the LCC, who renamed the site Paddington Hospital. In 1954 it became Paddington General Hospital and in 1968 was re-named St Mary's Hospital (Harrow Road). *Lost Hospitals of London.* www.ezitis.myzen.co.uk. 15 January 2011.

do. Thereafter it appears the three sisters stayed together until Maude's death in 1965.

Harry, in contrast, remained in London. His will, made in 1957, gave his address as 93, Kensal Road, Kensington where he died, aged fifty-nine, in January 1960. The date of death is unknown but his body was found there on 23 January 1960. Following an inquest on 27 January the Coroner returned a verdict of accidental death resulting from 'asphyxia due to carbon monoxide poisoning. Gas taps turned on in the next room'.[702] Setting aside the distress Harry's death would have caused the family, the verdict of accidental death, as opposed to suicide, must have come as a great relief. Not only is suicide deemed a grave sin in Jewish tradition, in 1960 it was still a criminal offence in English Law.[703] Probate was granted on 23 May 1960 to Maude and Sophie, named as his only beneficiaries, who were then living in Elm House (Fig 35). The net value of the estate, to be equally shared, was £523 5s 5d. As Isidore had his own business in Manchester it is understandable that Harry did not include him as a beneficiary but why he omitted Edith is a mystery, particularly as it seems likely she was then living with Maude. One explanation could be that as, according to the 1939 Register, she had been employed she was self sufficient

Maude too had made a will, leaving her net estate of £967 14s 0d in Trust to be administered by her Bank. Sophie and Edith were entitled to equal shares as tenants in common if both were still living at the time of Maude's death. In Sophie's situation, as she was by then blind, leaving the funds in Trust was understandable but the additional restrictions applied in Edith's case were curious, as was her omission from Harry's will. Her share was to be retained and invested by the Trustees who were then required to pay her the income. At their discretion they could also pay a lump sum if this was thought to be 'desirable' for her 'benefit and comfort'. In the event that Edith died before Sophie then the residue of her trust was to pass to Sophie. Had Sophie pre-deceased Edith then upon the latter's death any residue was for the benefit of the Manchester Victoria Memorial Jewish Hospital. Interestingly, other than being placed in Trust to be administered by the Bank, no such conditions were applied to Sophie's share. These restrictions, coupled with the fact that Harry had omitted Edith as a beneficiary in his will, infers that she was either not to be

[702] Harry Gold's Death Certificate, 28 January 1960.
[703] Suicide as a crime was abrogated by the Suicide Act 1961.

trusted to handle financial affairs or, perhaps, was impaired in some way. Clearly from the terms of the will, as both were older than she, Maude was concerned about her sisters well being and ability to manage. In the event that Maude outlived both her sisters all funds were to pass to the aforementioned Hospital a further confirmation of both Maude's and her family's adherence to their Jewish roots and possibly in some measure as repayment to the JEAS.[704]

Although it seems likely that Edith had lived with her two sisters from at least 1939 for some unknown reason she was never included with them in any of the Electoral Registers. This, coupled with the restrictions in Maude's will, raises the possibility that Maude, being the younger of the three and, by all accounts their carer, had doubts about her sister's mental capacity. Maude died in December 1965 and the 1967 Electoral Register shows a change of occupant at 3 Baron's Court, confirming that Edith and Sophie had moved elsewhere during 1966. Clearly both were eventually admitted into the care of the Social Services as, in 1969, they are both recorded in the Electoral Register as being resident in Shaldon Grange Care Home, Watkin Road, Bournemouth. By 1970 Sophie had been moved to Herrison Psychiatric Hospital, Charminster, where, on 11 August 1971 aged seventy eight, she died of bronchopneumonia. Edith remained at Shaldon Grange until 1972 when, around August 1972, she was admitted to Odstock Hospital, Salisbury. She died there, aged seventy six, on 23 August 1972 of bronchopneumonia, the result of burns. The Coroner's report is not available but presumably the burns were sustained whilst at the Care Home. Her Death Certificate confirms that an inquest took place on 21 November 1972 and returned a verdict of misadventure.[705]

Eventually these sisters were buried in a joint plot (Fig.40) in Kinson Cemetery. As the headstone (Fig.41) is a single slab it is clear that the commemoration was held in abeyance until both sisters had died and, also, occurred after Isidore's death.

[704] District Probate Registry at Winchester 26 January 1966 and Maude's will 16 March 1965.
[705] Bournemouth Borough Council have not retained the records for either of these care Homes.

Figure 40: Sophie and Edith's Grave[706]

Figure 41: Sophie and Edith's Headstone[707]

Sophie's Memorial reads 'Sadly missed by her loving sister, brother and family' whereas Edith's is 'Sadly missed by her loving sister-in-law and family' (Fig.41). Thus those who had been most closely connected to Maude's history ceased to be.

[706] Photograph taken 21 January 2015. Plot N3/105 &106 Kinson Cemetery, Bournemouth.
[707] Ibid.

Conclusion

Remembering that Maude was a small child at the beginning of her involvement with the JEAS the effect of their contribution on her life, coupled with that of her father's, raises a number of questions. There is always an argument to be made concerning the competing effect of nature versus nurture in developing an individual's personality. In Maude's case it would have been a combination of both although, with the evidence based primarily on that contained within the JEAS documents, it is impossible to say which held the greater sway. Her underlying nature would, at least in part, have been inherited from her parents. Little is known about her mother Tony, but Osias appears to have been a difficult man and Maude was described as being of 'not a very easy temperament'. Added to that was her clearly unsettled lifestyle. During the years between her removal to London in 1908 and her departure to Brussels in 1920 she moved to at least sixteen different addresses. Following her return from Brussels in 1925 until her last recorded contact with the JEAS in 1936 she is recorded at a further nine.

Throughout her most formative years after her 'adoption' by the JEAS she experienced only two relatively settled periods. The first, and probably the most stable, was the time she lived at the EHH, a period of just under five years. The second was the five years she spent in Brussels. Even then, at least caused in part by Maude's personality, neither period was without its problems. Secondly there is her father's behaviour and example. Apart from moving his family to at least five different addresses during Maude's childhood, he was, over the years, variously described as a 'travelling draper' (1898); a self employed 'draper and furniture dealer' (1901); a 'traveller' (1911) and a 'credit draper' (1929). Having seemed relatively well off in 1901 he was declared bankrupt in 1902 and by 1909 was claiming to be 'very poor and in great financial difficulties'.[708] Evidently he was not a successful businessman. Furthermore, having managed to set his young daughter on what he hoped to be the path to fame, he expected others to fund her. As she grew older Maude may well have been aware of, and unsettled by, the conflict this caused between Osias and the JEAS.

In spite of this, Maude was greatly 'nurtured' by the JEAS and members of the UJW for many years. However, the Society's constant failure to carry out its

[708] JEAS (GC) Minutes 4 November 1909.

numerous threats to withdraw funding may well have done more harm than good. This weakness is likely to have been manipulated by Osias and may have given Maude the impression that help would always be forthcoming from members of the JEAS because of her importance to them. Combining the effect of these two spheres of influence it seems that a rather difficult child grew into a woman who failed to fulfil the expectations others had of her and, until she joined Hallé, failed to recognise her own short comings as a solo artist.

For years, from a very early age, she had been encouraged to believe she was exceptional. Coupled with the money and effort expended on her training, this makes the slow demise of her solo career a sorry tale. This then brings into question the effect of having been designated a child prodigy, as opposed to simply being regarded as a gifted child, had on the development of Maude's personality. A prodigy is a more extreme version of a gifted child who performs in a domain at an adult level, in Maude's case as a violinist.[709] There are three particularly notable personality traits of this type of child, all of which can be identified in Maude's history. They are highly motivated, nonconforming and tend to be introverted and lonelier than the average child.[710] It is now estimated that about twenty-five per cent of gifted children have social and emotional difficulties leading to problems.[711] Add to this the attitude of the 'parents', who conform to Alissa Quart's description of her father who was 'hell-bent on bettering my lot – and by extension our family's lot'.[712] Both Osias and the JEAS displayed the characteristics of authoritarian parents which, by restricting the development of Maude's independence could have affected her eventual lack of achievement as a celebrated soloist.[713] Throughout the early years the JEAS records constantly referred to her as 'the child' thus depriving her of identity as an individual. Furthermore, when a young adult it is evident she was granted little independence, being subjected to constant supervision. Well meaning though their intentions were, throughout her formative years and into early adulthood, Maude had been treated as a commodity by her father and a possession by the JEAS/UJW, to be flaunted for the benefit of their own self-aggrandisement.

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[709] Ellen Winner, *Gifted Children. Myths and Realities*, (New York: Basic Books, 1996), pp. 4-5.
[710] Winner, *Gifted Children,* p.212.
[711] Winner, *Gifted Children,* pp211-212.
[712] Alissa Quart, quoted in *TIME*, 'The Downside of Being a Child Prodigy' by Andrea Sachs, 6 September 2006.
[713] Winner, *Gifted Children,* pp.196-197.

To a great extent Osias' attitude was understandable. He wanted to improve the lot of his family and, because she displayed such a talent, Maude's in particular. In the face of this, as foreigners his family had to overcome the marginal state faced by the majority of Jewish immigrants. Bearing in mind the insecure nature of his trade his fluctuating financial circumstances were not untypical, as was the changeable attitude of his neighbours. At the time of Osias' bankruptcy he was mocked and stereotyped as an untrustworthy Jew. Conversely, there was praise, support and inclusion when Maude, the 'young Tonypandy violinist' achieved success, as this reflected favourably on the community as a whole. The control exerted by the JEAS is also understandable as their aim was to promote excellence. A considerable amount of money and effort was spent on this and they did not want to be seen to have failed in their judgement and choice of candidate.

From her photographs Maude appears to have been an attractive young woman. She was talented and, thanks to the JEAS, educated and well travelled. Why she did not marry is therefore perhaps surprising but is likely to have been the result of a combination of factors. Her temperament in her younger years was described as difficult. Later, when at the Hallé, she had become more reticent. Added to this her peripatetic life style, travelling all over the country to musical venues, would have made it difficult to form a lasting attachment. Then there is her commitment to her religion and her family, both could have made finding a suitable partner difficult. Maude would probably have been cognisant of the sacrifices other members of her family made during her training and any prospective partner would have required the acceptance of them all. This alone could have proved difficult. It is perhaps telling that she appears to have been the mainstay of her two elder sisters and that single status predominated amongst the Gold siblings as, of the six, only Isidore the eldest son and Esther the youngest daughter married, both according to the Rights and Ceremonies of the Jews (Appendix 3).

At times Maude must have found it very difficult to adhere to her Jewish beliefs. As the JEAS had predicted, the demands of her career could not be dictated by her *Kosher* requirements. Even when she was settled with the Hallé she would have encountered problems with performances staged on days such as Fridays and Saturdays to suit secular audiences. Whilst there is no evidence that her Jewish beliefs developed into a kind of 'hysterical emotionalism' it is evident that she retained the 'religious enthusiasm and strong feeling for Jewish things', as identified

in 1917 whilst at the EHH. Both she and her sisters were buried in a Jewish Cemetery and Maude had made sure that any residue of her estate was for the benefit of the Manchester Victoria Memorial Jewish Hospital.

Finally and sadly, apart from the two newspaper interviews which purport to quote her, there is no record of Maude's 'voice' so it will never be known if she regretted being taken away from her home and family to become a 'child prodigy'.

Chapter 4

Amy Rolda – A question of identity

Introduction

> Our document, though in its own way eloquent, is on these subjects mute. We may call Eurydice forth from the world of the dead, but we cannot make her answer; and when we turn to look at her we glimpse her only for a moment, before she slips from our grasp and flees. As all historians know, the past is a great darkness, and filled with echoes. Voices may reach us from it; but what they say to us is imbued with the obscurity of the matrix out of which they come; and, try as we may, we cannot always decipher them precisely in the clearer light of our own day.[714]

This quote from Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*, albeit a work of fiction, summarises the problems pertaining to the search for Amy Rolda's 'voice'. As demonstrated by the information contained within the archives of the UJW and the JEAC 'we glimpse her only for a moment'. The 'darkness' of her past highlights the difficulty encountered in a study of this type which aims, to use Spivak's terminology, to allow the 'subaltern' to speak. As she emphasises, this will not describe 'the way things really were' but will offer an account of what may have been, based upon the sources and information available.[715]

Initially Amy contacted the UJW for assistance in finding employment. Their records show that 'The following [has] applied for work: Miss Amy Robinson (Rolda professional name) for singing engagements'.[716] Following on from this Mrs Nathaniel Louis Cohen, President of the UJW, referred the case to the JEAC for financial assistance as Amy was said to possess a voice 'of quite exceptional power and quality' but had, since the death of her father, been unable to continue her studies 'for the operatic stage'.[717] The JEAC agreed to help financially, providing some funds were raised from other sources.[718] To this end the JEAS approached Mrs Cohen and the Reverend Abraham Wolf of Manchester.[719] By November 1903

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[714] Margaret Atwood, *The Handmaid's Tale*, (London: Vintage Books 1996), p.324.
[715] Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' pp.271-313.
[716] UJW Executive Committee Minutes 13 May 1903.
[717] JEAC Minutes 24 September 1903.
[718] Ibid.
[719] Abraham Wolf was Rabbi of Manchester Reform Synagogue (1901 to 1907) and President of the Park Place Synagogue Association. See Rabbi P.Slevin Goldberg, *The Manchester Congregation*

£125.00 had been raised sufficient for Amy, (thereinafter in the archives of both organizations only referred to as Amy Rolda), to train in Berlin. All the necessary arrangements for her stay there were undertaken by the UJW, and 'She was given introductions and advice and addresses for *pensions* and lessons'.[720]

Whilst in Berlin she received tuition from Mathilde Mallinger, a renowned Professor of Singing.[721] In May 1904, following a satisfactory report of her progress, Amy wrote to the UJW to report that 'she had not finished learning her repertoire and that all her masters wished her to study longer in Berlin'. The UJW response to this was that if she remained in Berlin 'she must help herself'.[722] However, it appears she returned to England for a short while during which time the UJW collected sufficient funds (source not stated) for her to return to Berlin for a further six months training.[723] This she did in October 1904, at which time she wrote to the UJW 'promising repayments of the loan when her earnings reach £200 per annum'.[724]

At this stage it is evident that the members of the JEAC considered that the £257.18s.6d already spent 'in return for which Miss Rolda had had two complete sessions of the best musical training in Berlin' was 'out of all proportion to the results obtained, more especially as Miss Rolda's teacher had asked that she should take a few months further instruction'.[725] From this time on it appears that, in the main, financial assistance ceased although it is evident she maintained contact with members of the UJW from whom she received advice and introductions within the musical community. Apparently sufficient 'funds were in hand' to cover her stay in Berlin until May 1905 after which time it was suggested that 'she seek German engagements' or that 'her family help' or that 'she live *au pair* or give lessons in Berlin'.[726] By May 1905, according to the Minutes of the UJW, Amy had given several concerts in Germany and was to appear at the Schiller Festival in Berlin. She had learnt at least eight operatic roles with Frau Mallinger and 'can now learn any

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of British Jews 1857-1957, Chapter IX. www.jacksonsrow.awardspace.com. Accessed 24 January 2010. Also *JC* 30 October 1903, p.31.

[720] UJW Minutes 11 November 1903

[721] Mathilde Mallinger 1847-1920, lyric soprano who, following retirement became Professor of Singing, teaching in Prague and Berlin. www.oxfordmusiconline.com. 26 August 2009.

[722] UJW Minutes 11 May 1904.

[723] UJW Minutes 13 July 1904.

[724] UJW Minutes 12 October 1904.

[725] JEAC Minutes 15 February 1905.

[726] UJW Minutes 1 March 1905 & 5 April 1905.

others by herself'. Presumably Amy's confidence in her own ability was shared by others as members of the Jewish and musical community in Manchester were still interested in her wellbeing and musical career. The UJW minutes 10 May 1905 report that the Reverend Wolf had obtained £60 funding (referred to as 'the Manchester contribution') and arranged for her to have additional lessons upon her return to England. Her tutor was to be Emil Kreuz, a member of the Hallé Orchestra who at that time was turning his attention to operatic work and the training of singers.[727] It was agreed Amy would repay his fees once she was earning.

By July 1905 Amy was receiving lessons from Kreuz and had sung for several managers in London. Yet in January 1906 it was reported that her progress 'was not quite satisfactory', causing some concern.[728] Wolf then consulted 'Dr Richter', (Conductor of the Hallé) about the type of work Amy should obtain, be it in 'opera, oratorios or concerts'.[729] Clearly Reverend Wolf was of the opinion that Amy should return to Manchester for further training. However she then had sufficient work in London to pay her own expenses and had written to the UJW thanking them for their help and once again stating her intention 'someday to repay' the money they had provided. The UJW therefore informed him that Amy:

> ...was not inclined at present to accept the advice to train in Manchester, but that the UJW hopes when the present engagements have been completed, that Miss Rolda would put herself under the teacher in Manchester, recommended by Dr Richter.[730]

Here there arises some confusion as, although there is no record that she ever accepted this advice a Miss A Robinson, soprano, is recorded as singing with the Hallé Orchestra and Choir, conducted by Hans Richter, at three concerts between 1904/5 and 1906/7.[731] Prior to that, from1901/2 to 1903/4 a Miss Robinson is listed as a soprano with the Hallé Choir. It is probable that this woman was indeed Amy Robinson/Rolda but that it was not deemed fit for her to be referred to, as a member of the choir, under her stage name. Even so, the announcement by Mrs Cohen,

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[727] Emil Kreuz was an Orchestral Conductor, viola player and teacher who had trained at the RCM, London. *The Era*, 24 March 1900. www.oxfordmusiconline.com. 18 February 2010, and www.grandemusica.net. 27 August 2012.
[728] UJW Minutes 3 January 1906 & 7 February 1906.
[729] Hans Richter, permanent conductor of the Hallé Orchestra, Manchester, 1899-1911. www.oxfordmusiconline.com. 10 February 2010.
[730] UJW Minutes 7 March 1906.
[731] Hallé Choir Lists 1905/6 & 1906/7. www.archives.halle.co.uk. 27 August 2012.

President of the UJW, that, 'Miss Rolda would make her début in London at Mr Kreuz' concert on November 27th [1905]' confirms her professional status was established.[732]

By 1902, although not a fully trained singer, and before her contact with the UJW or the JEAC, Amy was already using the stage name Rolda. Referred to, in *The Musical Times* as 'Miss Aimée Rolda, a talented pupil of Madame Marchesi' she was amongst the singers at a concert in Hope Hall, Liverpool.[733] Shortly after, named as *Mdlle* [*Mademoiselle*] Rolda, she performed in Southampton with the Philharmonic Society.[734] By October 1903, subsequent to her initial contact with the UJW in June and referral to the JEAC in September, her appearance before the Park Place Synagogue Association showed she was gaining a reputation in Manchester, including within the prominent Jewish Community:

> Good music is one of the special features of the Association, which counts among its members and friends some of the most musical of musical Manchester. [The instrumentalists were assisted by] Miss Rolda (soprano)... In proposing a vote of thanks to the artists, the President [Reverend Wolf] made special reference to Miss Rolda's imminent departure for the Continent, there to finish her training for the operatic stage. Miss Rolda, who is a gifted pupil of Marchesi, received a hearty ovation.[735]

Following her return from training in Berlin Amy's London début was at a concert conducted by Emil Kreuz at the Bechstein Hall. She earned a pleasing review in the *Manchester Guardian* in which she was referred to as 'the singer of the evening'.[736] The review in the *Jewish Chronicle* (*JC*) was equally flattering:

> Miss Amy Rolda, a talented young soprano from Manchester, recently made her London début at Bechstein Hall. Miss Rolda's voice and delivery are spoken of in very high terms by the musical critics. While on the Continent recently Miss Rolda also received flattering criticisms.[737]

As demonstrated by further press reviews the plaudits continued:

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[732] UJW GC Minutes 10 November 1905.
[733] *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1 March 1902, p.191.Blanche Marchesi (1863-1940) was an operatic soprano of some note. For many years she taught singing in London. www.oxfordmusiconline.com. 11 February 2010).
Hope Hall, Liverpool is now incorporated in the building housing the Everyman Theatre. www.arthurlloyd.co.uk. 28 August 2012.
[734] *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1 May 1902, p.340. The Philharmonic Society is now the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society.
[735] *JC*, 30 October 1903, p.31.
[736] *Manchester Guardian*, 28 November 1905, p.6.
[737] *JC* 26 January 1906, p.28.

> Miss Rolda has evidently profited by her studies in Germany under Madame Mallinger. She possesses a rich dramatic soprano voice... [She] had to give several additional songs.[738]

Even so, and evidently in support of the UJW comment in their minutes of 3 January 1906 that her progress 'was not quite satisfactory', this report also contained a note of caution saying '...in the interest of the young vocalist it is desirable to insist that she should carefully avoid forcing her high notes'.[739] Caustic criticism of this performance also appeared in *The Times*:

> Miss Amy Rolda has a voice of such fine range and rich quality, it is a great pity that she should ever force it as she sometimes does when singing high notes which she might sing with perfect ease. This defect was heard at its worst at her concert...the last part of which she took at about half its usual *tempo*, apparently to gain more time for her unrestrained high notes...the same unpleasant quality of tone sometimes intruded [in another piece] but [elsewhere] there was no trace of it, and was a pleasure to hear. Delightful in a very different way...which showed that she can use her voice lightly and flexibly.[740]

The overall conclusion reached by this critic was that 'at present' she lacks 'the power of restraint'.[741]

Despite these criticisms, for a time her performances continued to give satisfaction and in September 1907 she was engaged to sing with the Carl Rosa Opera Company.[742] Her début earned the following review:

> Miss Amy Rolda, the new *prima donna* made her début... in the role of Santuzza in *Cavaliera Rusticana* and scored a marked success. She was well received on the following day... On each occasion she exhibited real vocal and dramatic ability. She was repeatedly recalled by crowded audiences. [Her] versatility and wide range were displayed in her subsequent appearances...and her inclusion in the cast has undoubtedly added a new element of strength to the...company. [Later in the season at Covent Garden she] will appear in the leading soprano parts which she will have already taken in the preliminary tour.[743]

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[738] *JC* 14 December 1906, p.28.
[739] Ibid.
[740] *The Times*, 10 February 1906, p.12.
[741] Ibid.
[742] The Carl Rosa Opera Company still exists but is unable to help with enquiries about pre 1969 performers. They have no archivist, a situation they hope to remedy eventually. www.carlrosaopera.co.uk. 14 January 2010.
[743] *JC* 12 September 1907, p.21.

Notwithstanding this evaluation of her ability it seems she was destined to take a supporting role in future, having failed to maintain her initial promise. This is reflected in a report in *The Sydney Mail*, 4 November 1908 which included a brief mention of her 'assisting' a 'talented young Sydney violinist' who would be performing in London. Coupled with this faint praise was *The Times'* unflattering review:

> Miss Amy Rolda...showed off her powerful voice and the *vibrato* which spoils it by making her sing out of tune...though she can study a song and sing it with the same effect, she has little initiative or perception...This latter defect was further illustrated... [as the various pieces sound] all alike with the same quality of tone and the same lack of feeling...[744]

Thereafter, and possibly at least partly due to such publicized contempt, her performances diminished. In 1918 an advertisement for the Annual Meeting of the Ancoats Recreation Brotherhood Section, to which admission was free, refers to her in a perfunctory manner by saying simply '…after the address Vocal Music by 'Miss Amy Rolda (of Covent Garden, Paris and Berlin Opera). Accompanist Mrs. Kenneth Lodge'.[745]

Advertisements for similar minor engagements followed, culminating in *The Times'* final scathing critique:

> There was often a curious detachment between words and music in the singing of Miss Amy Rolda...making one think that she was not putting enough of herself into her work, it lacked, in fact, reality. Technically she needs more control so as to be able to maintain a dynamic level of tone, while her style is rather cramped. She has a soprano voice with an insufficiently developed dramatic quality... [there was] more ingenuity of accompaniment [by the instrumentalist] than charm of vocal line.[746]

The programme, subject of this review, included the aria from *Cavaliera Rusticana*, the rôle for which she had received recognition in 1907.

The final mention of Amy Rolda is simply an advertisement for a song recital at the Grotrian Steinweg Hall on 27 October 1925.[747] It is significant, however, to note that as Amy Rolda's appearances diminished 'Miss A Robinson' returned to sing with the Hallé Orchestra Choir. Having been absent after the 1906/7 season she

[744] *The Times*, 16 December 1908, p.11.
[745] *Manchester Guardian*, 28 February 1918, p.1.
[746] *The Times*, 14 November 1924, p.10.
[747] *JC* 23 October 1925, p.35, and *The Times* 26 October 1925, p.9.

reappeared in 1919/20 and remained until 1924/25. By then, if they are one and the same, the case for which will be outlined in this chapter, Amy Robinson/Rolda was aged 51 years and had been performing in public for at least 23 years. It may be her voice had deteriorated with use and/or age and she decided to retire unsung and unsinging.

A singer's problems

Initially the references contained in the minutes of the UJW and JEAC are all that provide a 'glimpse' of Amy Rolda. Add to that the various press reports and the programmes relating to her performances at the Bechstein Hall and there exists a picture of a classical soprano whose career did not fulfil its early promise. The question is what brought about her decline, was it lack of opportunity, her personality or her family background? Without direct access to Amy's 'voice' it is necessary to utilize other sources in order to illuminate the 'great darkness' that is her past. Although she clearly received plenty of opportunities in the early years, being given financial help which granted her access to some of the most highly regarded tutors of the age, there are many problems which may have prevented her from establishing a long and successful career. It is the writings of one of her early teachers, Blanche Marchesi, that give an insight into some of the difficulties Amy may have encountered.[748] The young Amy Robinson [Rolda] was clearly not of sufficient merit to warrant a direct mention in Marchesi's memoir but her views of the obstacles encountered by aspiring classical singers may well apply to her.

Blanche Marchesi was the daughter of Mathilde Marchesi, a renowned mezzo-soprano and singing teacher.[749] In her memoir Blanche quotes her mother's opinion of one of the major problems encountered by British singers:

> ...the great masters are not attracted to England, for when they are here they are not treated with distinction by the musical world or society. When they turn out remarkable pupils, these pupils are told they are no good because they do not come from abroad! The British student who is a perfect artist will not be accepted in England, because he is British, but must first go to the

[748] Blanche Marchesi, *Singer's Pilgrimage*, (New York, Da Capo Press 1978 – the unabridged reprint of the 1st ed. Boston, Small Maynard, 1923).
[749] Mathilde Marchesi for many years taught at the Vienna Conservatory and later at her own school of singing in Paris. www.oxfordmusiconline.com. 18 January 2010.

> Continent, where he need not even sing a single scale, but from the moment he returns, saying that he has been 'abroad' he will be listened to.[750]

Blanche Marchesi supports this view and comments further that when she arrived in England in 1896 she was 'simply amazed at the general low standard of comprehension [of music and its performers]'. In effect she accuses music producers of feeding the public anything of 'the lowest type' simply with the aim of bringing in 'big fees'.[751] The enhancement of a singer's career engendered by a period of training and performing abroad may have some substance as Amy's departure to, and return from, 'the Continent' merits mention in the *JC*.[752] Thus, Marchesi's influence in this regard may have contributed to Amy's wish to study abroad in order to increase her opportunities. It may also have led to her adoption of a 'foreign' sounding professional name as it is relevant to note that whilst she was still Marchesi's pupil she was referred to as Aimée Rolda and *Mdle* [M*ademoiselle*] Rolda.[753]

In Marchesi's opinion lack of appreciation was not the only handicap faced by musical artists, be they fledgling or established. She refers to the 'contempt in the faces of the members of the orchestra' who 'have a very small respect for singers...who [in their view] always want to finish with a top note to bring the house down'.[754] (This very act of Amy's led to the criticism of her 'unrestrained high notes' referred to in *The Times* review 10 February 1906.) Added to this are the problems of stage fright, 'revolting' accommodation, 'terrible' theatre dressing rooms and:

> ...by far the greatest cruelty to a singer is experienced when stairs lead up to the platform and land you straight in front of the public, breathless from both stage fright and physical exertion.[755]

Then of course there were the 'heavy expenses' incurred by any artist who wished to put on a concert. Often these, when set against the receipts, left little or nothing for the artist. It was the agent, proprietor of the hall, printer, accompanist and

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[750] Marchesi, *Singer's Pilgrimage*, p 23.
[751] Marchesi, *Singer's Pilgrimage*, p.64.
[752] For example see *JC* 26 January 1906, p.28 & 14 December 1906, p.28.
[753] *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol.43, No. 709 (March 1 1902), p.191 & Vol.43, No. 711 (May 1, 1902), p.340.
[754] Marchesi, *Singer's Pilgrimage*, p.87.
[755] Marchesi, *Singer's Pilgrimage*, p.88.

sundry others who made a living out of such enterprises, 'The artist produces the work, the others make a profit'.[756] In Marchesi's opinion very few artists found themselves in receipt of 'a fine salary', the majority 'have to go through life toiling and suffering'.[757] It seems, from the gradually diminishing reports of Amy Rolda's performances that she fell into this latter group. Perhaps she would have done well to heed Marchesi's warning to students:

> When you have arrived at the end of an accomplished and perfect education with a view to a career as a singer; when you have all the necessary knowledge for that difficult and long journey to Parnassus; when you count among your luggage health, character, luck, personality of some sort – then starts the struggle with the agents, directors, critics, fellow artists and, in some countries especially, the public.[758]

Marchesi's memoir gives a glimpse of what Amy's life as a singer may have been like and why she seems to have faded away as a performer, but it gives no indication of her as a person, and no access to her 'voice'. In order to remedy this omission it is necessary to establish the link between Amy Rolda and Amy Robinson and then explore her family background, thus giving substance to the individual persona.

Rolda or Robinson? The search for identity

Once Amy Rolda had come to the notice of the UJW and the JEAC, the question then arose 'who was she and what was her background'? The search for her identity was hampered by the lack of information in the minutes of both organizations. Were it not for the brief notation that Amy Robinson used the professional name of Rolda it would have been impossible to expand her story.[759] Clearly these archives are insufficient for the purpose and the search had to be widened, utilizing a variety of other sources which, as Arnold points out 'can in fact be anything that has left us a trace of the past'.[760] This case study, whilst it has not without question been able to give 'voice' to Amy Rolda, has been introduced as an

[756] Marchesi, *Singer's Pilgrimage*, p.89.
[757] Ibid.
[758] Ibid.
[759] UJW Executive Committee Minutes 18 June 1903.
[760] John H.Arnold, *History: A very short introduction*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.60.

example of the difficulties and frustration experienced by the researcher when the evidence is so fragmented.

The initial step in this continuing investigation was to return to the minutes of the UJW and JEAC in order to extract any clues which may help in furthering the search for the identity of the Amy Robinson who used the name Rolda. What was known was that, although her age was unspecified, she was sent abroad on her own, being provided only with money and 'introductions and advice and addresses for *pensions* and lessons'.[761] In other words she was considered old enough and experienced enough to fend for herself. Moreover her voice was sufficiently mature to allow her to sing demanding rôles. There is also the photograph of her (Fig.42) which appears on the Bechstein Hall programme for the concert 14 December 1908. As an indication of her age at the time this could be misleading because, apart from the fact the photograph itself is not dated, the interpretation of age is subjective being in the eye of the beholder. All that can be concluded is that when this photograph was taken Amy Rolda was a woman, as opposed to being a young girl. Furthermore, it is known from the records of the UJW and the JEAC that Amy Robinson had originally applied to the UJW in 1903 seeking help to get 'singing engagements'.[762] Following this the UJW referred her to the JEAC for financial help as after the death of her father she could not afford to continue her studies. Additionally, the person referred to as Amy Rolda came from Manchester, was a member of the Jewish community and was known to the Reverend Abraham Woolf. Her age is not stated but had she been a minor at this time the press reports, as was the habit of the day, would have referred to her parentage. This silence in itself indicates she was an adult when she first came to the notice of the critics.

[761] UJW Minutes 11 November 1903.
[762] UJW Executive Committee minutes 18 June 1903. MS129 AJ26.B1.

Figure 42: Amy Rolda [763]

The means of research 'consists of an exhaustive, and exhausting, review of everything that may conceivably be germane to [the] investigation'.[764] Sometimes all it takes to unravel a mystery is a single strand but to find that strand requires constant re-assembling of the evidence. One must remove all assumptions to re-establish a chain of substantiation. In this case the chain of substantiation commenced with tracing a Jewish family in Manchester by the name of Robinson, whose father died prior to 1903 and which included (by 1903) an adult sibling named Amy. By a process of elimination using the English Census Records and the birth, marriage and death details available from the GRO these factors came together in the person of a Jewish Russian immigrant recorded as Eskell Robinson.[765] Thus, on the balance of probability, Amy Rolda was the professional name of Amy Robinson, the daughter of Eskell and Eliza Robinson of Manchester. However, in the realms of historical research the 'balance of probability' is not enough. Amy's case epitomizes the problems encountered by the researcher who tries to explore and verify the 'history' relating to those who have failed to leave detailed personal

[763] Bechstein Hall programme for the concert 14 December 1908.
[764] G.R.Elton, *The Practice of History*, (London: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1967), p.88.
[765] Unless stated otherwise the details of this Robinson family are available on the English Census Returns from 1851 to 1911 and on birth, death and marriage certificates obtained from the GRO.

accounts of their lives or, as is frequently the case, where those records have subsequently been destroyed. It then rests to correlate what is known of Amy Robinson and Amy Rolda from the records which have survived.

It is proven that an Amy Robinson came from Manchester and was the daughter of Eskell, a Jew who had recently died. She was then aged about twenty eight, had received musical training and sung as a soprano with the Hallé Choir.[766] Although at various periods between 1903 to 1905 Amy Rolda was studying in Berlin these absences would not necessarily preclude her from appearing with the Hallé during the times she was in the UK. Furthermore, as Amy Rolda's career seemed to wane, Miss A Robinson returned to the Hallé in 1919/20, remaining there until 1924/25. It is likely that, having received training in Germany, Amy Rolda could speak German. Certainly she sang in German, much to the disdain of one critic who commented this 'was hardly necessary, seeing that she is evidently not a German by birth'.[767] Added to that, Richard Stephenson Harper a beneficiary of Amy Robinson's will, whose account appears later in this study, could recall seeing books of poetry in German in her home and thought that she had studied in Germany.

The final piece of the jigsaw puzzle, proving beyond doubt that Amy Robinson, daughter of Eskell Robinson, was also the singer Amy Rolda cannot be found. Thus it remains, considering the evidence presented within this work, that it would be difficult if not perverse to conclude otherwise. With that in mind it is essential to widen the research to encompass the lives of the entire Robinson family. Only by so doing is there any possibility of delving into Amy's life and the reasons it took the course it did. Were the aims and decisions hers alone, or were they affected by the diverse personalities with whom she lived? Examination of the behaviour of her parents and siblings, coupled with the actions of the JEAC and UJW, may give insight into the influence they exerted on her personal life and career.

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[766] Hallé Choir Lists Miss Robinson 1901/02, 1902/03, 1903/04: Miss A Robinson 1904/05, 1905/06, 1906/07. www.halle.co.uk. 12 January 2013. As all members of the choir gave their services voluntarily they were regarded as amateur and were unpaid. This would account for Amy being referred to as Robinson, not by her professional name of Rolda, in the lists Information provided by Stuart Robinson, Assistant Archivist Hallé Orchestra and Choir Stuart.robinson@halle.co.uk. 11 February 2016.

[767] *The Times*, 23 June 1906, p.13.

The wide range of research material used showed that this Robinson family suffered many vicissitudes in life, both financial and emotional which could have contributed to Amy Rolda's failure to fulfil her early promise as a singer. In exploring the lives of all the members of the family, with the aim of finding the real Amy Rolda, there is the temptation to fit the circumstantial evidence to prove the theory. Providing this is recognized the research remains valid and, at the least, presents a portrayal of the lives of the members of a large Jewish family, living in Manchester, from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth. It also demonstrates their need and desire to assimilate into English society in order to become 'typical' bourgeois Victorians. Thus the starting point is the father, Eskell Robinson.

Eskell Robinson

When Eskell arrived in the UK is unclear. During his bankruptcy examination in 1895, which will be addressed later in this chapter, he stated he had arrived from Russia in 1844 and 'started in the gold and silver business in Sheffield'.[768] There is a record of a *goldarbeiter* (gold worker) named Robinson arriving in London from Rotterdam on 10 August 1843 but this contains insufficient information to confirm this was Eskell.[769] It is not until the 1851 Census that his identity and residence can be verified. Then he was declared as lodging in Fig Tree Lane Sheffield, in the household of Samuel Cohen a 'Minister of the Jews'.[770] Eskell, then aged thirty and unmarried, declared his occupation as 'jeweller' although it is likely that he was working as a pedlar or travelling salesman, hawking

[768] *Manchester Evening News*, 11 November 1895, p.2.
[769] England, Alien Arrivals, 1810-1811, 1826-1869. www.ancestry.co.uk.
[770] In 1842 it was said there were ten Jewish families resident in Sheffield, see Armin Krausz, *Sheffield Jewry. Commentary on a Community*, (Israel: Bar-Ilan University, 1980), p.389. By 1850 this had increased to 400 individual Jews, *Jewish Study Guide, V 1-3.* www.sheffield.gov.uk. 16 January 2016. In 1847 premises were rented in Fig Tree Lane and converted into a Synagogue, the property being purchased in 1851. www.jewishgen.org. 16 January 2016. See also Krausz, *Sheffield Jewry* p.390. In 1851 Samuel Cohen was a Rabbi, probably at Fig Tree Synagogue. He died on 13 December 1851. www.sheffield.gov.uk. 16 January 2016.

trinkets from house to house in the outlying districts.[771] This being the case would explain his meeting with his future wife, Eliza Hall, some time prior to 1851.[772]

In the 1851 Census twenty-one year old Eliza Hall and her ten month old daughter Sarah *Robinson* Hall (born 14 May 1850) were living with Eliza's father, a self employed joiner, in Ecclesall Bierlow, 'a township, in the parish of Sheffield'.[773] The marriage of Eskell Robinson and Eliza Hall took place at the local Register Office on 14 July 1852. Thereafter Sarah *Robinson* Hall is declared on all Census returns as Sarah Robinson, daughter of Eskell Robinson. Although Sarah's birth certificate carries no details of her father this, coupled with the fact that she was registered as Sarah *Robinson* Hall, indicates that Eskell accepted paternity from the outset. During Eskell and Eliza's marriage, which lasted forty two years until her death in 1894, they produced a further eleven children (Appendix 4). Of the total of twelve Sarah was the eldest, born in 1850 and Amy the youngest, born in 1874. Nine of these children lived to adulthood but in 1861 a three year old daughter died of 'croup', in 1863 a son died at six weeks of 'tuberculosis' and in 1873 another son, aged fifteen months, fell victim to 'congenital hydrocephalus and convulsions'.[774]

Although, as will be seen, Eskell Robinson achieved some material success over the years he had a somewhat chequered career and, as various documents indicate, he sometimes behaved in a dubious manner as far as his business and financial affairs were concerned. Several reports imply he was guilty of malfeasance but on the other hand his treatment of his children indicate a man who was concerned for their well being, giving some of them educational opportunities beyond the expectations of many children at that time. It could of course be argued that his aim in this regard was to benefit from a form of reflected glory when his children succeeded and that to this end he was a controlling, rather than a guiding, force in their lives. Nonetheless, as the story of the family unfolds it is clear that Eskell went to considerable effort to ensure he and his family rose up the financial

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[771] This was still a relatively common occupation for the poorer Jewish immigrant, although as the century progressed so did a gradual decline in the characteristic occupations of hawking, peddling and miscellaneous dealing. Alderman, *Modern British Jewry,* pp.9-10 & Lipman, 'The Age of Emancipation, 1815-1880' in V.D.Lipman (ed), *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History. A Volume of Essays,* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1961), pp.74-75.

[772] Bearing in mind Sarah Robinson Hall's date of birth 14 May 1850 it is likely Eskell Robinson and Eliza Hall had commenced their relationship by mid 1849 at the latest.

[773] Urban Sheffield was rapidly expanding due to the industrial revolution. In 1851 the Parish was made up of six townships' one of which was Ecclesall Bierlow, said to be three miles South West of Sheffield. www.genuki.org.uk. 24 February 2010.

[774] Details of cause of death recorded on their death certificates.

and social scale. In this endeavour, for a time at least, he became what Williams refers to as one of the '*nouveaux riches* of entrepreneurs in commerce and the workshop trades within the Eastern immigrant community itself'.[775]

Somewhat vague about dates and his various occupations he claimed on his marriage certificate to be a jeweller but later told the Bankruptcy Court he had moved to Manchester in 1851 and 'went into the waterproof trade'.[776] Neither of these pieces of information was quite correct, as his various changes in occupation and places of residence can be traced by examination of the family's birth, marriage and death certificates. Thus it is known that between his marriage in 1852 and the birth in May 1853 of Ellen (later known as Helen and hereinafter referred to as such), his second child, Eskell was still working as a 'jeweller' and living in Ecclesall Bierlow. Within a month of Helen's birth they had moved to Salford and by January 1855 Eskell was working as a waterproof garment maker living with his family at 4 Victoria Street, Manchester. By 1856 they had moved to 105 Reather Street but from 1858 to early 1863 they were living at 50 Miller Street.[777] In the 1861 Census Eskell is described as a 'Cloth Cap Manufacturer', employing two men, one boy and twelve girls. From the number of employees this business appears to have been quite substantial. As Williams points out cap making had been a boom industry in the late 1840s and 1850s and continued to be one of the 'immigrant trades' which offered a 'fairly swift upward mobility to the more enterprising'.[778] Eskell appears to have possessed sufficient business acumen to take advantage of this trade which he followed until about 1866.

For some unexplained reason in 1867, on his son Solomon's birth certificate, Eskell was described as a 'shipping agent', but by the 1871Census he had become a 'Bristle Merchant' operating from premises in Bradshaw Street funded by capital of £3000 acquired as a result of the cap business.[779] Bearing in mind Eskell's beginnings in the UK, twenty or so years earlier, and the fact that the couple had by

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[775] Bill Williams, '"East and West": Class and Community', p.16.

[776] This change of occupation is indicative of economic influence leading to the transition from lower-class to middle-class status within the Jewish community. Lipman, 'The Age of Emancipation', pp.74-76.

[777] *Manchester Rate Books 1706-1900.* www.findmypast.co.uk.

[778] Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), pp.179 & 274.

[779] *Manchester Evening News*, 11 November 1895, p.2. According to the records in the *Manchester Rate Books* Eskell rented business premises at 3 Bradshaw Street from 1864 to 1883, at which time he became the owner until 1895. Between 1887 and 1889 he rented two additional units and in 1885 he owned additional premises at 22 Bradshaw Street.

then produced ten children, eight of whom were still alive, this was no mean feat. It appears he continued working as a bristle merchant/brush manufacturer for a further twenty three year until, he claimed, 1894 when he ceased work and sold the business to his son Charles.[780] In the 1901 Census he was said to be a 'Tea Agent' although there is no further mention of this and the occupation described on his death certificate in 1902 was still bristle merchant.

Whatever his occupation it is evident he made money and gradually moved up the financial and social scale. From Miller Street, during the following twenty years, the growing family moved to a number of addresses in Manchester: Cheetham Street; Derby Street; Cheetwood Lane, Denison Road and Coyngham Road until by January 1882 they were residing in Summerfield Lodge, Denison Road, Victoria Park, which, according to the *Manchester Rate Book*, Eskell *owned*.[781] This, coupled with the fact that Victoria Park was a desirable area originally built for the wealthy merchants of Manchester, certainly declared Eskell's desire to join the ranks of the English bourgeois. Their neighbours were either widows living on 'private means' or professional men and all residents, including the Robinsons, had one or more domestic servants.[782] Perhaps co-incidentally it was shortly after Eskell's first bankruptcy examination that the family moved from Summerfield Lodge to 301 Upper Brook Street, an area occupied by a wide variety of people of immigrant background.[783] Despite the fact that some retained one or two servants most were tradesmen or running other businesses and many had boarders. Evidently this heralded a decline in Eskell's fortunes and the family's social standing.

This résumé forms the base upon which the story of the Robinson family may be built. The caveat is, in many respects, that it is not possible to present the 'way things really were' but rather to offer an account and explanation of reality based upon the evidence available.[784] Even official documents may not be correct in detail as, when compared to their birth certificates (the most reliable source), it is clear the Robinsons frequently misquoted their ages and at times changed their first names on the Census returns and on marriage and death certificates. Some of this variation on the Census returns may have been the fault of the enumerator as in the early years

[780] *Manchester Evening News*, 11 November 1895, p.2.
[781] This information was not disclosed at his bankruptcy hearing.
[782] 1891 Census.
[783] Resident at 301 Upper Brook Street by May 1896. *Liverpool Mercury*, 16 May 1896, p.6 & *Manchester Guardian*, 16 May 1896, p.5 refer. Also 1901 Census.
[784] Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', p.281.

neither of the Robinson parents could write and Eskell's command of English, on his own admission, was limited. Initially this could well have led to misunderstandings.

Eskell's business mistakes or mis-deeds?

In 1875 Eskell was involved in a court case having double voted in the Manchester City Council Elections on 2 and 20 November 1874. The inference was that there had been 'bribery and treating' amongst the candidates and their various supporters. It appears, however, he was given the benefit of the doubt in that he may have made a genuine mistake. It seems he lived in one Ward and had business premises in the other thus believing, incorrectly, that he was permitted to vote in both.[785] Nevertheless, this was only the first of Eskell's appearances before the Courts and in the press. These subsequent revelations were, frequently, concerned with his involvement with The Rhyl Pier and Pavilion Company Ltd.

In 1891 Eskell was aged about seventy, had lived and been in business in Manchester for at least 35 years, was evidently known within the community and living in the upper middle-class area of Victoria Park. On 8 May 1891 an advertisement appeared in the *Manchester Times* inviting subscriptions for share capital in The Rhyl Pier and Pavilion Company Ltd (forthwith referred to as The Company). This probably appealed to Eskell's entrepreneurial sense as being a good business opportunity. The pier was already a tourist attraction, from which steamer excursions ran to other Welsh resorts, and the proposal was to expand the appeal by building a 'Grand Pavilion' at its entrance (Fig.43).[786] This was to provide a concert hall, restaurants and other attractions similar to those of the Pier Pavilion at Llandudno, which 'attracted visitors in their thousands', from large industrial cities such as Liverpool and Manchester.[787] The Rhyl Pavilion was described, variously, as an 'Eastern Palace', 'Mosque like' and having a 'Moorish style of architecture' the inside facilities were expressed as 'ideal' and the acoustic properties as 'exceptionally good' (Fig.44).[788]

[785] *Bradford Observer*, 14 January 1875, iss.3758, *Manchester Times*, 16 January 1875, iss.894 & 13 February, 1875, iss.896.
[786] *The Grand Pavilion.* www.rhylhistoryclub.wordpress.com.
[787] Ibid.
[788] Ibid.

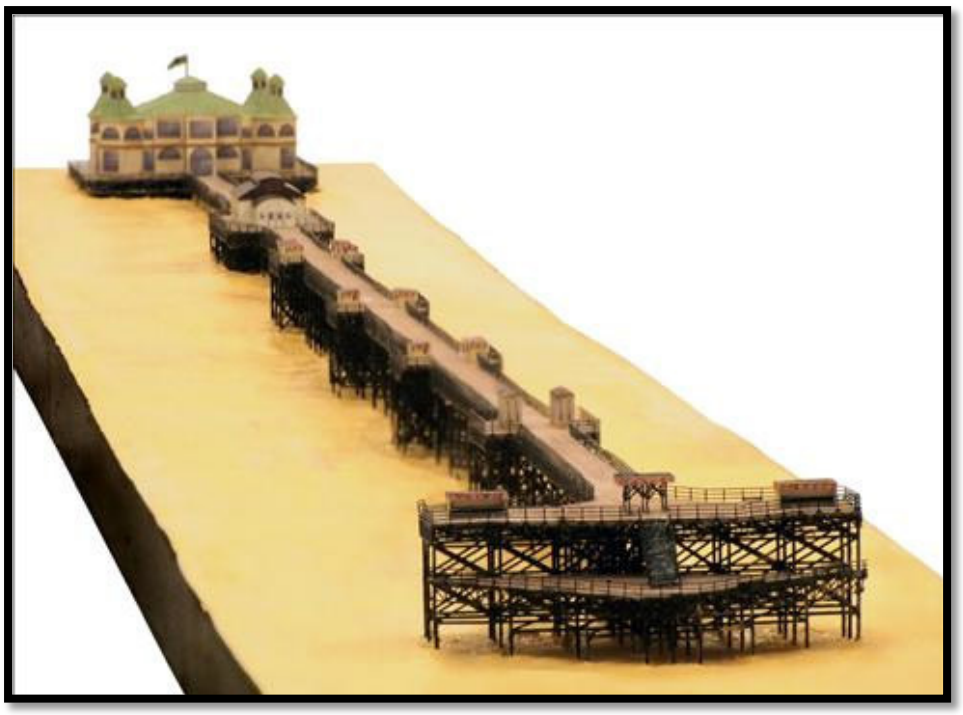

Figure 43: Proposed Grand Pavilion, Rhyl [789]

Figure 44: The Grand Pavilion [790]

[789] Image from *The People's Collection*. www.peoplescollectionwales.co.uk.
[790] www.rhylhistoryclub.wordpress.com.

At this time Eskell was not mentioned as a director but, in view of future events, he must have taken out a subscription, an action likely to have been commensurate with his own opinion of his business acumen and social status. The building was opened 12 September 1891.[791] But by June 1892 dissent was reported between the directors and the shareholders of the Company. On 22 October 1892, at a meeting of shareholders, Herman Robinson (Eskell's son and by then a qualified Barrister) proposed that a committee of shareholders be appointed to investigate the accounts.[792] Elected to this committee was Eskell Robinson.[793] This event clearly gave him the foothold in The Company he desired as, blessed with a good command of English or not, by November 1893 he was chairman of the directors. From that time the arguments amongst the directors, their auditors and the shareholders escalated from bad to worse. Eskell was accused of being autocratic and by one shareholder of having '...an axe to grind, and that was to get the undertaking [The Company] into the possession of his family'.[794] This allegation carries some weight as by then Eskell was Chairman and Managing Director, his son Charles was a director, Albert [Moses Albert] the secretary and Herman the legal counsel.[795]

The internal fighting and adverse press reports continued. At a shareholders' meeting in December 1893 Eskell accused some of the other directors of being responsible for the previous year's trading loss by their excessive drinking of 'whisky, brandy and champagne'.[796] Throughout this meeting there were several heated exchanges. Albert's removal as secretary was called for with his response that he would happily relinquish the job for which he was paid only fifteen shillings per week. The auditors claimed to have been unable to inspect the books as the result of Eskell's physical and verbal refusal to co-operate with them and there was a call for the Robinsons to resign from The Company.[797] Eventually the auditors resigned and issued the following press statement:

> We beg to tender our resignation of the office of auditors to the company owing to the continued unsatisfactory state of the books and accounts, and to our disapproval of the proceedings of the management with regard to its

[791] *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 September 1891, iss.13631.
[792] *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 October 1892, iss.10716.
[793] *North Wales Chronicle*, 29 October 1892, iss.3398.
[794] *Western Mail*, 6 November 1893, iss.7634.
[795] *North Wales Chronicle*, 11 December 1893, iss.3452.
[796] *Manchester Guardian*, 11 December 1893, p.8.
[797] Ibid.

> affairs, rendering it impossible for us to satisfactorily perform our duty to the shareholders.[798]

They then sued for their fees.[799]

Following the hearing to decide the matter the Judge found in the plaintiffs' favour and his comments were reported as follows:

> The way the proceedings of the company had been conducted appeared to him to be disgraceful. It was a perfect scandal the way in which it had been managed, or mismanaged he should say. A totally unjustifiable amount of personal feeling had been brought to bear at almost every meeting of the company, and he did not know how, under such circumstances, any business, worth calling a business, had been done at all.[800]

Despite this criticism and the attendant problems of his initial bankruptcy examination in November 1895, Eskell continued as Chairman, with his sons Charles and Albert by his side, until the Annual General Meeting in January 1896. They were then voted off the board and it was agreed The Company would apply for voluntary liquidation and accept an offer to purchase its property for £15,500.[801] In the event, The Grand pavilion was totally destroyed by fire on 14 September, 1901, just ten years after its opening (Fig.45). Fortuitously it was said that the damage 'estimated at thousands of pounds is understood to be covered by insurance'.[802]

[798] *North Wales Chronicle,* 10 February 1884, iss.3465.
[799] *North Wales Chronicle, 2*3 June 1884, iss.3484.
[800] *Liverpool Mercury*, 4 August 1894, iss.14536.
[801] *Birmingham Daily Post*, 23 December 1895, iss.11705 & *Liverpool Mercury*, 2 January 1896, iss.14978.
[802] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 16 September 1901, p.4.

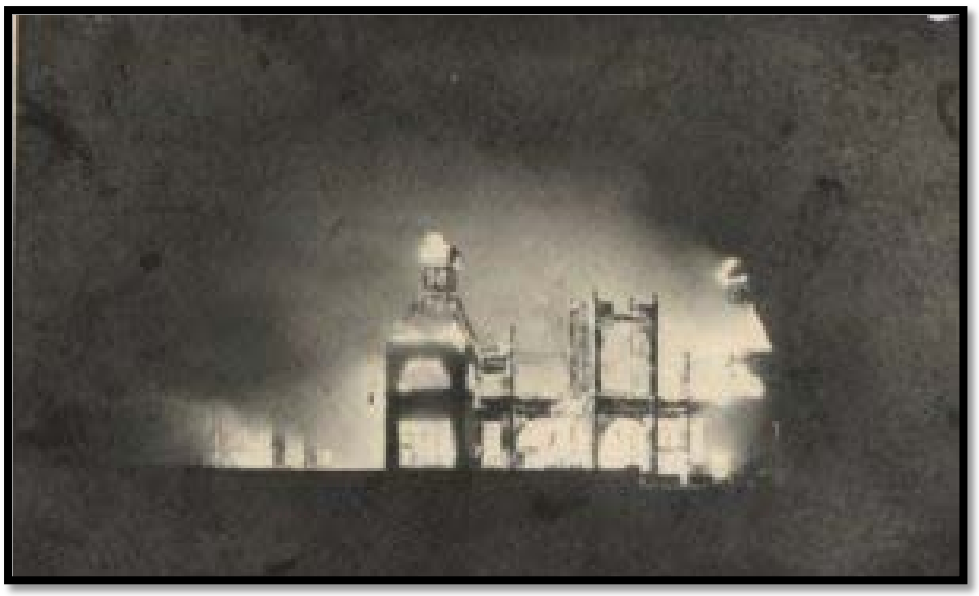

Figure 45: The Grand Pavilion destroyed by fire [803]

Indicative of Eskell's temperament and the problems he had, or caused, whilst involved with The Company are a number of other press reports. Between 1893 and 1894 there were several articles concerning a protracted court case brought against him for non repayment of a loan. In 1893 a Mr. Roberts, an erstwhile director of The Company, brought an action against Eskell (represented by his son Herman) to recover what Roberts claimed was a loan of £66. Although Eskell had refused to sign an I.O.U. Roberts lent him the money as 'he believed the defendant was an honest man'. In response to this, causing much laughter in the court, Eskell said 'Of course I am; I have royal blood in me'. Asked 'Oh, indeed, what blood is that?'. He replied, wisely or not, drawing attention to his Jewish and foreign origin, 'Why, I belong to Moses'.[804] In his turn Eskell claimed that the £66 was the return of director's fees and expenses to which Roberts was not entitled.[805] The case was finally resolved in January 1894 when the judge found for Roberts. It was evident, however, from the press report that the Judge held a low opinion of both parties whose evidence was:

> ...wholly irreconcilable... He was of the opinion that underlying all this there was a kind of dodge that this money was to be used as a kind of a lever, but it

[803] *The Grand Pavilion destroyed by fire,* 1901. www.rhylhistoryclub.wordpress.com.
[804] *North Wales Chronicle,* 5 August 1893. Although acts of anti-semitism had been rare in Manchester, by the 1880s anti-alien feelings were increasing –see Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry,* p.335.
[805] *North Wales Chronicle,* 16 September 1893.

> was none the less a loan. It may have been given for the purpose of flourishing it in the face of the other directors and inducing them to return their fees. There was no doubt in his mind but that that was the case. However, it was not his business to inquire into a speculative question of this kind. He believed that the money was a loan...[806]

Eskell's business dealings and his conduct in and out of court could be described as eccentric. On a number of occasions his actions caused some amusement as demonstrated in the same edition of the *North Wales Chronicle* which carried a piece headed 'An Extraordinary Offer'. In this it was reported that a female ex-employee of The Company was suing for arrears of wages totalling £5. Her solicitor remarked amid laughter that '…on one occasion Mr Eskell Robinson, the managing director, offered [the plaintiff] the coppers out of an automatic slot machine, and told her to take what she wanted'. In response, the Judge, causing more laughter, quipped 'And I suppose to get them she would have to put a penny in the slot' and found in her favour, awarding the full amount and costs.[807]

Later that same year Eskell was sued for slander by a fellow director of The Company. In conjunction with the other articles concerning him the report of that case makes it clear that he had a volatile temperament and played upon his foreign antecedence when he thought it suited him. The slander case revolved around comments alleged to have been made by Eskell at a Directors' meeting in January 1894 when he called for the resignation of a Mr Warhurst.[808] Warhurst thought the remarks reflected upon his honesty and character as a director of The Company. Although not reported *verbatim* 'certain words' used by Eskell had clearly caused offence to Warhurst, a Justice of the Peace (JP) , who claimed to have been 'a large loser rather than a gainer out of The Company'. In mitigation Eskell's Queen's Counsel (QC) offered the following explanation:

> Mr Robinson was not an Englishman and he had not perfect command of the English Language and could not therefore make use of the exact words he

[806] *North Wales Chronicle*, 20 January 1894.
[807] Ibid.
[808] Warhurst, with a Mr Carter, were the original members of The Company in 1891. It was they who took over the whole concern after its failure in 1896. They 'made huge efforts to obtain public support' to revive the business', which 'would have succeeded had it not been for the fire'. *The Grand Pavilion*. www.rhylhistoryclub.wordpress.com.

> might desire to have used at the meeting...[also] the words were used in a moment of excitement...[809]

Here the Judge asked 'What is he?'. Being told 'a German' he continued, 'I should have thought Robinson an English name', to which the plaintiff's QC replied 'Perhaps it is a translation'. Once again there was laughter in court at Eskell's expense. His QC then explained to the court that Eskell did not speak good English and, partly caused by the problems experienced by The Company, had lost his temper at the meeting. He was now prepared to withdraw 'any suggestion as to the dishonesty of the plaintiff' and make a public apology. In view of this Warhurst was prepared to withdraw the action, to which the Judge responded that he was glad the case had come to such a happy termination, and the record was withdrawn.[810]

To add to Eskell's business problems, prior to his being removed as a director of The Company, bankruptcy proceedings were instigated. The court records no longer exist thus details of events rest upon press reports. Identifying Eskell Robinson of Summerfield Lodge, a bristle merchant trading at Bradshaw Street, notification of impending proceedings appeared in the *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 16 October 1895 and the *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 October 1895. The first hearing was reported, briefly, as 'The Affairs of a Manchester Bristle Merchant' in which it was indicated that liabilities far outweighed assets, citing 'bad debts, etc' as the cause.[811] The first hearing at the Manchester Bankruptcy Court took place on 11 November 1895 and the second on 11 March 1896. The press reports are lengthy and clearly identify Eskell as a Jew and a foreigner. They further demonstrate his difficult personality, his involvement in dubious, business dealings and, to a certain extent, his relationship with some members of his family. Nevertheless, it needs to be born in mind that they are third party reports and may be skewed to accommodate the reporters' personal prejudice.

The first detailed report appeared in the *Manchester Evening News* under the title 'A Jewish Merchant's Career'.[812] In answer to the Official Receiver Eskell said that originally having worked in Sheffield he moved, in 1851, to Manchester. He then made £3,000 manufacturing hats and caps and used that capital to establish

[809] *Manchester Times*, 27 April 1894, iss.1916.
[810] Ibid.
[811] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 2 November 1895, p.9.
[812] *Manchester Evening News*, 11 November 1895, p.2.

himself as a bristle importer in Bradshaw Street, later trading as the Alliance Brush Company. He could not say what his yearly turnover had been or what was his average profit on bristles, and he did not remember telling the manager of the bank in August 1891 that he was worth about £20,000. Neither was he aware that as the result of that statement the bank increased his overdraft from £9,000 to £12,000. Indeed he denied that the overdraft had been increased and blamed the excess charges made by his bankers as one of the causes of his insolvency.[813]

Eskell claimed, in an apparent effort to exonerate himself from liability, that he had sold the business, fixtures, fittings and stock to his son Charles in March 1895. Also that he had relinquished the tenancy of the business premises in September 1895, despite the fact that the landlord claimed he was still the tenant on the date of the receiving order. Asked how he maintained himself, he said Charles had paid him £200 for the stock and provided him with an additional £300 or £400. He also claimed he had given his daughter (probably meaning Sarah) 'certain life assurance policies' as security for money she had lent him, although there was nothing in writing to verify this. Furthermore, he said that when his wife died she had left £4000 to the children but nothing to him.[814] Bearing in mind his wife's background (addressed later) and the fact that he claimed the 'will had not been proved because of the cost of doing so' it seems highly unlikely she left such an estate.[815]

Under further examination Eskell claimed that a mortgage for £933 in The Company, although in his name, really belonged to Charles, who had advanced the money. Additionally, the 108 £5 shares he held were valueless because the scrip had not been issued and, although still chairman of The Company he supposed he would have to resign. Also he had obtained a mortgage, in excess of the purchase price, to buy three cottages adjoining his warehouse but 'The money was offered to him, and why should he not take it?' However, now he doubted these properties were worth more than he had paid, meaning the sale would not cover the debt.[816]

Despite this lengthy examination by the Official Receiver, Eskell's total liabilities were not established as:

[813] Ibid.
[814] Ibid.
[815] Ibid.
[816] Ibid.

> …he had at first informed [the assistant Official Receiver] that his liabilities amounted to £7,000, and that he had £5,000 of foreign liabilities. It was also true that when he was pressed to say to whom he owed the £5,000 he declined to say. He did not remember that he afterwards said he wished to put the total of his liabilities as £4,500. It was the case that he said subsequently that he had no foreign liabilities. He was a good deal mixed up at the time, and did not know what he was saying.[817]

Certainly Eskell's responses regarding his financial affairs left a lot to be desired and, although he was prepared to swear that he had disclosed the whole of his liabilities, his veracity was clearly in doubt when the examination was adjourned.[818] It is significant that his ownership of Summerfield Lodge was never mentioned and, presumably, never recognized as an asset.

Subsequent to this hearing and another (unreported in the press) held on 6 January 1896, an 'Order for Committal' was held on 10 March 1896 at Manchester County Court, the reason being that Eskell had failed to deliver his accounts dating from 6 August 1891 onwards. The information given to the court clearly explained the reason for requiring 'the need for the filing of further accounts'.[819] Namely, it was claimed that in 1891 Eskell had secured an overdraft from the bank of £12,000, his assets at the time being stated as £28,285. His assets in bankruptcy had been filed at £2,028, and the trustee wanted to know what had been done with the difference. However, although he had failed to comply with the order to file additional accounts by 20 January 1896 it was claimed in mitigation that he had not wilfully disobeyed the orders of the court, simply that:

> …it was impossible for him to file the accounts asked for, inasmuch as he was not a native of this country, that he could neither read nor write English beyond his own name, that what books he had kept were in Hebrew, and that most of his time and business had been spent and conducted abroad.[820]

Furthermore, Eskell claimed that the office of the trustee had 'not produced all the papers' and many were missing, in consequence of which they [Eskell and Charles] could not make out the required accounts'. Additionally, Charles 'had since refused to assist him any longer, and he could read no documents except those written in Hebrew'. Both the Official Receiver and the trustee denied that any

[817] Ibid.
[818] Ibid.
[819] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*,11 March 1896, p.7
[820] Ibid.

documents had been withheld and said they had given Eskell what help they could. In consequence the Judge made an order for committal, suspended until 27 April 1896 in order that Eskell 'may have time to furnish the counts required'.[821]

Whether or not Eskell complied with this order is not recorded. The only other reference was an entry in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 6 July 1896 under the heading 'Bankruptcy Fixtures and Fittings' in which it was noted that the public examination of Eskell Robinson had been adjourned (date unspecified).[822] It is of course only conjecture but, if this case was not pursued further, Eskell's deteriorating health may have been a contributory factor. By now he was about 75 years of age and, as later events in 1901 when he entered the Workhouse indicate, may have been becoming senile or otherwise unable to cope.

As far as Eskell's eventual financial failure is concerned little is recorded about his earlier occupations or his business as a bristle merchant, the emphasis in the press having rested upon his involvement with the Rhyl Pier and Pavilion Company. It is nevertheless reasonable to assume that he adopted a similar attitude to all his business dealings, namely a combination of naivety, excessive optimism, exaggeration and underhanded, if not totally dishonest, dealings. To a certain extent he is representative of the stereotypical foreign outsider Melmotte, described by Trollope in *The Way We Live Now* 'as the most gigantic swindler' and the man who 'carried the South Pacific and Mexican Railway in his pocket'.[823] Accordingly, to quote Peter Merchant:

> ...from here pernicious practices cascade downward through society so pervasively that Trollope sees no shortage of characters equipped and inclined to pursue what Melmotte has begun. Their wheeling and dealing, also, is a telling index of the way we live now.[824]

Melmotte had come to England from Germany with little money, few if any friends and almost no education.[825] Similarly, Eskell had entered Britain from Russia at around 1843 or 1844.[826] How he initially settled in Sheffield is unexplained but,

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[821] Ibid.
[822] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 6 July 1896, p.4.
[823] Anthony Trollope, *The Way We Live Now*, (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 2001), pp.27 & 268.
[824] Trollope, *The Way We Live Now: Introduction* by Peter Merchant, p.xv.
[825] Trollope, *The Way We Live Now*, p.490.
[826] The England, Alien Arrivals, 1810-1811, 1826-1869 record shows a Robinson arriving in 1843.

evidently by his own acumen, he gradually rose socially and financially. Similarly to Melmotte and the South Pacific and Mexican Railway, Eskell 'carried' the Rhyl Pier and Pavilion Company and was happily followed by other investors. Apparently those with an eye to profit were, for some time, inclined to pursue what he had begun. However when it was realized the profit had disappeared he was ousted and his world collapsed.

Examination of Eskell's working practices, suspect though they appear from the limited information available, give only a partial impression of his personality. To gain a fuller picture, incomplete though it may remain, it is necessary to investigate the family as a whole. This is an examination of the affairs of a family beset by problems, involving violent and sudden death, infant mortality, academic success, apparent marital desertion and a thwarted love affair that ended in marriage at the eleventh hour, a few months before the bridegroom's death. It is indeed the stuff that novels are made of, but this is not a novel as stated 'facts' are supported by documentary evidence. In so doing it is possible, despite the dearth of personal testimony, to gain an insight into the life of this family from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth. In turn it contributes a considerable amount of circumstantial evidence linking Amy Robinson with Amy Rolda, the classical soprano. Furthermore, accepting they were one and the same, it throws light on Amy Rolda's lack of success in fulfilling her initial potential as a singer. Perforce however, there are areas open to assumption and interpretation both by the author and the reader, but these are clearly acknowledged.

Family life in Manchester

Since moving to Manchester around 1854/55 and 1866/67, when Eskell commenced trading as a bristle merchant, the family had lived, at the least, at six different addresses. Thereafter there was a period of stability when they lived at 61 Cheetwood Lane. These changes in accommodation are only identifiable by reference to some of the children's birth and death certificates, the 1861 Census and the *Manchester Rate Books*, but it seems that between 1855 and 1878 the various tenancies ranged from as little as one year to as many as eleven. In 1878 the family

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www.ancestry.co.uk. 15 November 2012.But Eskell is reported as saying he had arrived in 1844 *Manchester Evening News*, 11 November 1895, p.2.

moved to a rented house and garden in Denison Road.[827] In 1881 they were at 3 Conyngham Road and from here in 1882 they moved to the owner occupied property of Summerfield Lodge.[828] Thus, having commenced in Victoria Street, Saint Georges, Manchester, it took Eskell about twenty eight years to gradually move up the housing, and thus the social, scale.

Little then is known about the types of accommodation the family occupied but by reference to the occupations of the residents recorded in the 1851 and 1861 Census returns it is possible to get a general idea of the area and the income and social status of the inhabitants. The occupants of Victoria Street were mainly working-class manual workers. In Miller Street, where there was a Public Baths, some of the properties show multiple occupation with separate dwellings in the cellars. A number of the residents were tradesmen, brush makers and clothing manufacturers. Some of the residents in Cheetham Street had lodgers and the occasional household included a servant. There was also a change in occupation, which indicated improved incomes, for example a chemist, governess, book-keeper and manufacturing inspector would have been regarded as financially and socially superior to the labourers and bricklayers in Victoria Street. Derby Street, Cheetham indicates another step up the social scale as, in addition to the households which contained a servant, the occupations of the head of the household included a baker, brewer, book-keeper, missionary and a theological student (1861), and a portrait painter, teacher, book-keeper and telegraph inspector (1871).[829] The accommodation of Summerfield House, Cheetwood Lane is more difficult to assess as, despite the address, it is not included in the 1871 Census return of Cheetwood Lane. It was shown in a separate return with one other property named as Fountain Cottage, Cheetwood Lane. The residents there were an 'annuitant', his wife and a boarder who was an assistant to an architect. What can be deduced from other information available is that by this time Eskell had both a domestic dwelling and a separate business premise, presumably that in Bradshaw Street, otherwise he could not have

[827] *Manchester Rate Books 1706-1900.*
[828] Ibid.
[829] In 1870-72 Cheetham Hill was a village 'all suburban to Manchester; [containing] numerous villas of Manchester merchants and manufacturers;...' University of Portsmouth, *History of Cheetham Hill, in Manchester and Lancashire*. www.visionofbritain.org.uk. 11 March 2016.

double voted in the Manchester City Council Elections on 2 and 20 November 1874 which resulted in the 1875 a court case.[830]

The Robinsons remained at Summerfield House, Cheetwood Lane for about eleven years moving sometime around 1878 to the development of Victoria Park, firstly in Denison Road and then, by 1881, to 3 Conyngham Road. Here their neighbours included a civil engineer and a dental surgeon. Still in Victoria, Eskell purchased Summerfield Lodge, Denison Road, where they remained from 1882 until the end of 1895 or beginning of 1896. Here their neighbours included a Professor of Latin; a retired Lieutenant Colonel; several solicitors; a stock broker, a schools' inspector and a number of people living on private means, all of whom employed one or more domestic servants. Although neither of the properties, 3 Conyngham Road or Summerfield Lodge, Denison Road still exist the current road plan (Fig.46) when compared with the 1837 plan of Victoria Park (Fig.47) confirms the location to be well within this desirable, eighteenth century, residential area and signifies Eskell's gradual rise in social and financial status.

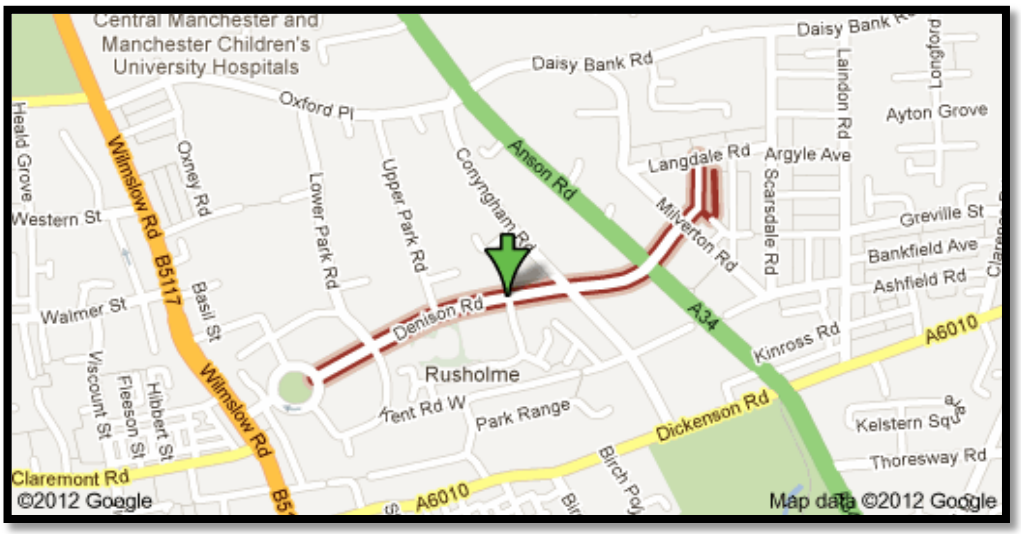

Figure 46: Victoria Park area 2012 [831]

[830] *Bradford Observer*, 14 January 1875, iss.3758. *Manchester Times*, 16 January 1875, iss.894 & 13 February, 1875, iss.896.
[831] www.google.co.uk/maps. Denison Road, Manchester M14 5PB. 2012.

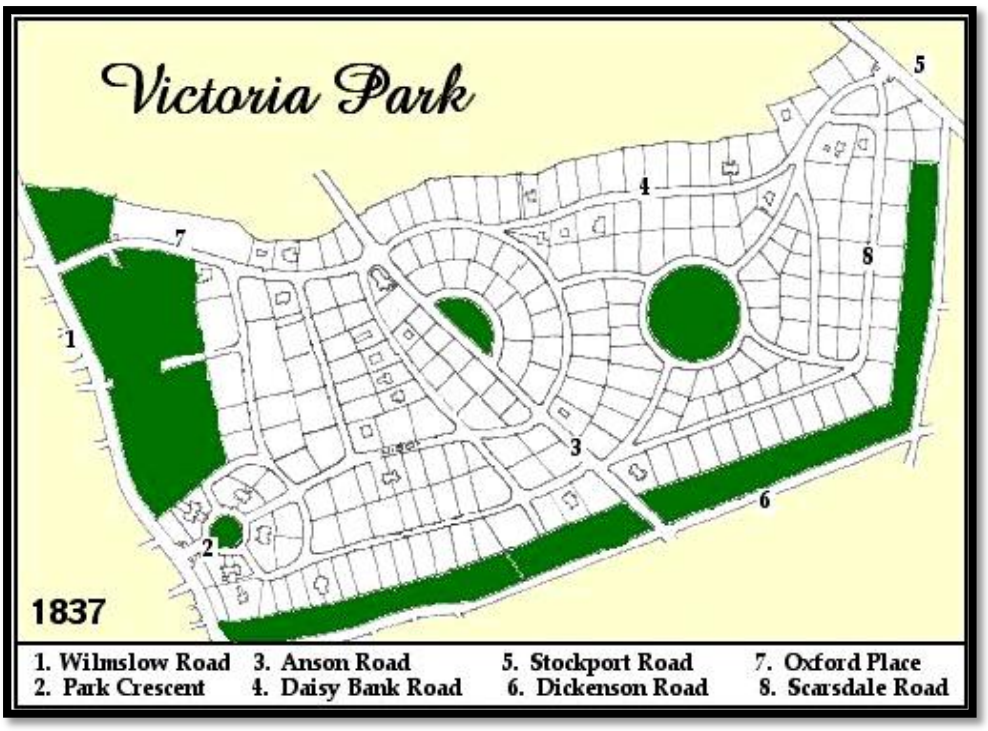

Figure 47: Plan of Victoria Park 1837 [832]

The development of Victoria Park commenced in 1836, covering about 180 acres, mostly within the area of Rusholme.[833] It was to be a walled, gated, ornamental park with plots for mansions and villas none of which would have a rental value of less than £50 per annum.[834] In 1846, adding to its desirability by protecting the privacy of the residents and preventing non- residents from using the park as a means of avoiding the turnpike tolls levied on the roads into Manchester, toll gates were introduced (Fig.48).

[832] The Foundation of Victoria Park'. www.manchesterhistory.net. 19 November 2012.
[833] Ibid.
[834] Ibid.

Figure 48: A Victoria Park Toll Gate [835]

Properties in this area were highly regarded by the better off who were removed from the other central residential districts thus:

> ... [hardening] the lines of class distinction by providing the rich with means enough to place a distance between themselves and the workers upon whom their wealth depended.[836]

Commenting upon social conditions in Manchester this distinction was described by Leon Faucher, a French politician and economist, as representing two towns in one:

> ...in the one portion, there is space, fresh air, and provision for health; and in the other, everything which poisons and abridges existence; the crowding of cottages and families together; dark gloomy courts. Which are both damp and contagious. It is not, therefore; astonishing that the rate of mortality in Manchester, varies so much amongst the different classes of society. For the professional persons and gentry, the probable duration of life is thirty-eight years; for the shop-keepers, (Who inhabit the more narrow and badly

[835] 'Victoria Park. An Introduction'. www.manchesterhistory.net. 19 November 2012.
[836] Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry*, p.80.

> cleansed streets,) twenty years only; and for the factory operatives and labouring classes generally, only seventeen years.[837]

Whilst Faucher's life expectancy statistics are questionable his description of the difference between the two communities is, in many ways, valid. From the other side of Stockport Road (Fig.47 item 5) to the railway were the narrow terraced streets of the workers. However, a short distance away in the area of Daisy Bank Road (Fig.47 item 4) were houses occupied by Sir Harry Smith, ex-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope; Charles Hallé, founder of The Hallé Orchestra and Choir; Ford Maddox Brown the artist and Elizabeth Gaskell the novelist, whose family remained in 84 Plymouth Grove until 1913 (Fig.49).[838]

Figure 49: Gaskell House, 84 Plymouth Grove[839]

It was tenants such as these, and others who could afford rents predicted to be between £100 and £250 a year, who were expected to be attracted by the substantial dwellings within Victoria Park which was to be:

[837] Leon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844. Its Present Conditions and Future Prospects'* p.69. Quoted in 'Victoria Park. An Introduction'. www.manchesterhistory.net. 19 November 2012. Also Tristram Hunt, *The Frock-Coated Communist. The Life and Times of the Original Champagne Socialist*, (London: Penguin Books, 2010), p.87.
[838] The Gaskell Society. www.gaskellsociety.co.uk. 19 November 2012.
[839] Ibid.

> ...free from any possible nuisances that in other situations may arise from the vicinity of smoke and manufactures; and to combine, with the advantage of a close proximity to the town, the privacy and advantage of a country residence, which, in the rapid conversion of all the former private residences of the town into warehouses, has long been deemed to be a desideratum...There are in the park five miles of roads, laid out in crescents, terraces, &c., with ornamental plantations on either side; so that a few years will produce a beautiful effect, and afford many attractions which have been hitherto unknown to Manchester.[840]

This mode of urban planning was, in Frederick Engels' opinion, far from accidental. It clearly reflected the class divisions of industrial society, as he explained:

> The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working people's quarter or even the workers…This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with outspoken conscious determination, the working people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle classes.[841]

Nothing is known of Eskell's background prior to 1844 but, considering his beginnings in England, the fact that by his mid-fifties he was financially and socially able to move his family into this milieu was an admirable achievement. Initially, when he and Eliza married in 1852, their lives were probably difficult in many respects. They had produced a child out of wedlock, Eskell's command of the English language, written and spoken, was limited and his earning potential uncertain. Neither could sign their names on their marriage certificate, an indication that both had received little, if any, education. Clearly, although sometimes possibly by dubious means, Eskell overcame many of these problems to ensure that his children, particularly his sons, had a better start in life at least as far as their education was concerned.

Of the seven sons two died in infancy. There is evidence that the scholastic ability of the remaining five varied. Charles, the eldest, was a pupil at Manchester Grammar School (MGS) from January 1876 to December 1877. He was academically good in his first year, especially in the modern languages of French and German. However, there is the suggestion he was absent quite frequently during his

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[840] Benjamin Love, *Manchester as it is*, (Manchester: Love and Barton, 1839), pp.182.
[841] Hunt, *The Frock-Coated Communist*, p.109. Quoting from Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Originally published in Germany in 1845, later in English in 1887.

second year and he did not progress to the sixth form.[842] Herman, three years younger than Charles, attended Cheetham Collegiate School between the ages of six and twelve, from 1870 to 1876.[843] He then moved to MGS where the record states that he was a pupil from April 1877 to December 1880 but that his performance 'tailed off' in his last year and he did not proceed into the sixth form.[844] This latter comment is surprising and at odds with information held at Emmanuel College which states that Herman remained at MGS until 1883 when, on 10 March, he was admitted to Emmanuel College. In 1886, whilst at Emmanuel, he obtained his BA, followed by his LL.B (1887) and LL.M (1892).[845] He was admitted to The Honourable Society of the Middle Temple on 7 November 1884, aged twenty, Called to the Bar on 19 November 1888 and by 1895 had Chambers at 2 Garden Court in the Temple.[846] The next son, Raphael, two years younger than Herman, was also academically gifted. Raphael attended MGS from April 1877 to July 1885 and entered Brasenose College Oxford in October 1885, obtained a BA in 1890 and an MA in 1893. He first worked as an Assistant Master at Market Bosworth Grammar School, during which time he wrote a Grammar of Classical Greek. In 1899 he moved to Ampleforth College and from 1908 became Senior Classical Master at Horsham Grammar School.[847] It seems the remaining two sons, Solomon and Moses Albert, did not enter higher education. There is no record of a Solomon Robinson having attended MGS. It is possible that Moses Albert was at the school from January 1884 to July 1886, recorded as A Robinson but he was regarded as no more than academically competent and 'seems to have been absent for his last term'.[848]

There were five Robinson daughters, one of whom died in 1861, aged three. Of the others only the education records relating to Amy have been traced.[849] It is possible that either Eskell's interest in his children's education did not extend to the three older girls who were born in 1850, 1853 and 1855 or, more likely, that he could

[842] Jeremy Ward, Archivist MGS. jeremyward18@aol.com. 14 March 2010.
[843] Amanda Goode, Archivist Emmanuel College. archives@emma.cam.ac.uk. 18 February 2010.
[844] Jeremy Ward, Archivist MGS.
[845] Amanda Goode, Archivist Emmanuel College.
[846] Hannah Baker, Assistant Archivist, Middle Temple Archive. h.baker@middletemple.org.uk. 17 & 23 February 2010.
[847] Christopher Tudor, Archives Assistant, Brasenose College. christopher.tudor@bnc.ox.ac.uk. 24 February 2010.
[848] Jeremy Ward, Archivist MGS.
[849] These are directly linked to the question of her identity as Amy Rolda therefore the matter is dealt with as a separate issue later in this work.

not afford their schooling, beyond the basic, as it was during what should have been their early school years that he was trying to establish his business.

Sarah Robinson and Max Wolpé

Apart from the true identity of Amy Robinson/Rolda there are a number of other mysteries attached to the members of this family. Sarah, the eldest daughter, married a few days away from her thirty-third birthday, although on the marriage certificate she is declared as being twenty-five. Whether this was a genuine mistake, an attempt to hide her illegitimacy or because the bridegroom was said to be twenty-eight, making him the younger, is unknown. What is known is that on 2 May 1883 she married a Max Wolpé at the Robinson's family home 'according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Congregation of British Jews'.[850] At the time of the marriage both bride and groom gave the address of Summerfield Lodge. As the marriage announcement referred to 'Max Wolpé, Esq., of Paris' it is reasonable to assume that he was staying with the Robinson's immediately prior to the marriage.[851] There may well have been a connection going back a number of years between Eskell and the Wolpé family as, at his second Bankruptcy examination, Eskell had claimed that 'most of his time and business had been spent and conducted abroad'.[852] By now Eskell had been trading as a bristle merchant for at least twelve years and it is possible that some of his business had been conducted in France. If that is the case Max Wolpé could well have been the son of a business contact there and, bearing in mind Eskell's evident propensity to indulge in various machinations as far as his business dealings were concerned, this could have been a marriage of convenience rather than one of mutual attraction between the couple.

All that is known of Max is that he came from Paris, upon his marriage his occupation was stated as a book-keeper and his father was declared on the certificate as Isaac Wolpé, a merchant. This limited information about the Wolpés does not allow a productive search of the Paris Archives. However, it contributes to the suggestion there was a business link between Eskell, the bristle merchant, and Isaac Wolpé, the merchant, tenuous though this may be. In support of this theory are entries in the Manchester Rate Books showing that M Wolpé rented a cellar at 28a

[850] Marriage Certificate showing Summerfield Lodge, Denison Road, Victoria Park, Rusholme, Manchester.
[851] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 5 May 1883.
[852] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 11 March 1896, p.7.

Miller Street from 1891 until September 1892 and a warehouse at 46 Miller Street from 1891 to 1896. Additionally, are two 1895 trade directory entries in *Slater's, Manchester and Salford Directory* (pp.38 & 271), namely 'Wolpé M & Co. 46 Miller St. Shudehill' and 'Wolpé M & Co. brush makers', respectively. In the Manchester edition of *Kelly's Directory,* (p.683) are two entries, 'Wolpé M & Co. brush manufacturers and merchants, 46 Miller Street – TA "Volpe, Manchester" and 'Wolpé Max, brush manufactr. (M.Wolpé & Co.), Victoria prk.' Also in *Slater's* are entries in respect of Eskell (pp.38 & 49). The first, listed under 'Brush Material and Bristle Merchants' simply states 'Robinson Eskell, 3, 5 & 7 Bradshaw St. Shudehill'. The second is a list of businesses in Bradshaw Street and refers to '3, 5 & 7 Robinson Eskell, bristle merchant'. Max is also listed in the 1898 and 1899 directories with the business at 46 Miller Street and the telephone/telegraphic address of 'TA VOLPE Manchester', but he is not listed in 1900 and 1903.[853] It should be born in mind that entries to trade directories are arranged in advance and it is possible that prior to the 1898/99 entries the business had ceased trading.

The only other references to Max Wolpé are those showing him to have been the ratepayer at 21 Conyngham Road from 1885 to 1890 and those held in the records of the Manchester High School for Girls (MHSG) when, in September 1886, he acted as referee for Amy, also giving the address 21 Conyngham Road.[854] It is possible that for a while Sarah and Max lived here, away from the Robinson family, but by the 1891 Census Sarah was back at Summerfield Lodge. Between 1895 and 1898 she then became the rate payer at 301 Upper Brook Street.[855] Whether Max remained with her when he ceased to be the rate payer at 21 Conygham Road in 1891 is unknown as, although Sarah continued to declare herself as married (1901 & 1911 Census) there is no mention of him in the household. When she died in 1924 it was stated on her death certificate she was the 'widow of Max Wolpé Shipping Merchant'.

This silence concerning Max's whereabouts could be explained by the fact that, simply, he was not in the household at the time of the Census. But for there to be no record of his death indicates that this did not occur in Britain. In 1896, the year

[853] Helen Ostell, Neighbourhood Delivery Office. archiveslocalstudies@manchester.gov.uk. 6 September 2012.
[854] Manchester Rate Books 1706-1900, and Dr. Christine Joy, School Archivist MHSG. cjoy@mhsg.manchester.sch.uk. 9 March 2010.
[855] Manchester Rate Books 1706-1900.

he ceased to be the ratepayer of the warehouse in Miller Street, there are, however, two records of a male named M Wolpé sailing from Southampton for South Africa. The first on 18 July 1896 was declared as aged twenty eight, the second on 7 November 1896 as aged thirty four, both said to be miners and unmarried.[856] It is questionable that these entries refer to the same man or, indeed, to Sarah's husband but it is not impossible despite the misleading discrepancy in the declared ages. Based on Max's marriage certificate he would have been about forty in 1896 however, as the Robinsons' records demonstrate the family adopted a cavalier attitude to age, with variations by as much as twenty years from the actual being quoted. Furthermore, had Max intended to desert Sarah it is likely he would have claimed to be single. Lastly, although Max Wolpé's occupation was either as a book-keeper or a brush manufacturer this would not have prohibited his going, in 1896, to work in the South African mines. The 1896 shipping manifests in which an M Wolpé appears include a considerable number of men who state their occupation as miner, no doubt because this was a time when 'farmers, butchers, bakers, hairdressers and persons generally unsuccessful in their occupation' sought work in the South African Mines, their only qualification being 'their physical fitness and their suitability for rough work'.[857] It was expected that 'Untrained whites, after working a few months underground, were required to supervise gangs of Africans...' despite the fact that '...the white miner had often little knowledge of the mine on which he worked and still less of the African committed to his charge'.[858] Had Max chosen this route it could have been out of financial necessity or the desire to escape from Sarah and the Robinson family. There are a number of Max Wolpés recorded in the South African Jewish Database but regrettably there is insufficient information available to identify any as Sarah's husband.[859]

Although only supposition, a possible reason for Max's 'disappearance' could have been that Sarah possessed a strong and controlling personality. In support of this hypothesis is the fact that, following her mother's death in 1894 and the family's subsequent move to 301 Upper Brook Street (Fig.50), Sarah was declared as head of the household.[860] This was despite the fact that Eskell and his eldest son

[856] UK Outward Passenger Lists 1890-1960. www.ancestry.co.uk. 23 October 2012.
[857] H.J.Simons, 'Death in South African Mines,' *Africa South*, Vol.5. No.4, July-Sept. 1961, p.43.
[858] Ibid.
[859] http://chrysalis.its.uct.ac.za. (SA Jewish Rootbank). 23 October 2012.
[860] Sarah became the rate payer at 301 Upper Brook Street, rented at £58 per annum, with effect from

Charles were living at the same address. Eskell may not have thought it necessary for his three elder daughters to receive the same academic education as his sons but this event demonstrates that he and the other children, male and female, probably held Sarah in some esteem.

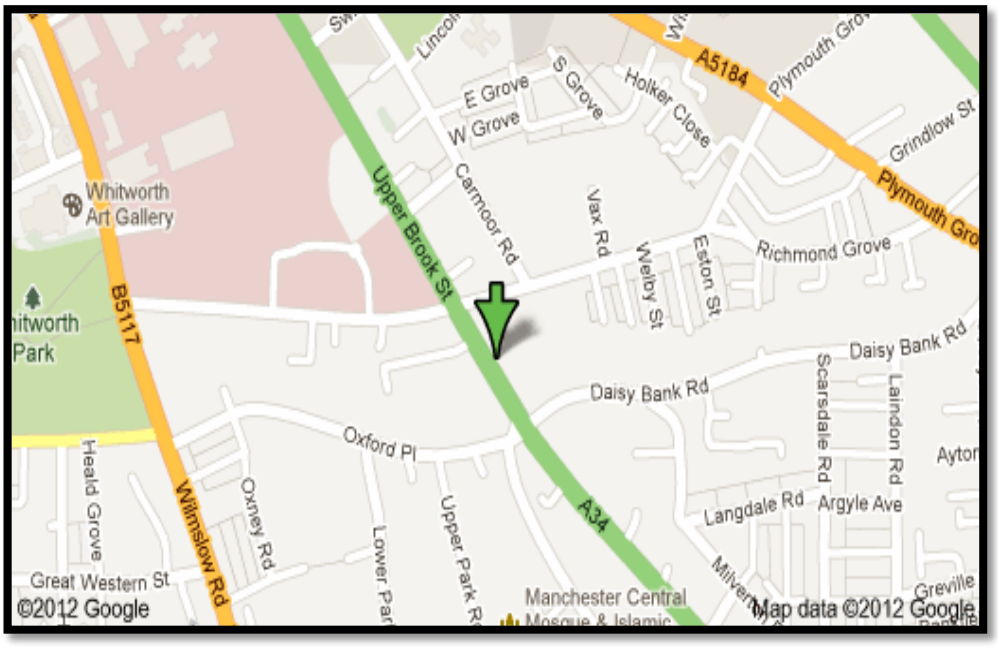

Figure 50: Upper Brook Street 2012 [861]

It may be that Sarah took charge of the family because of her father's mental and/or physical infirmity as by this time, based upon his age declared in the 1851 Census, Eskell was about eighty. Furthermore, as previously stated, the fact that his bankruptcy examination had been adjourned and not resumed in 1896 suggests he may have been regarded as unfit, mentally or physically. Indicative of his impaired mental state is his self-admission to the Withington Workhouse for three days in 1901.[862] He was either 'retrieved' by his family or returned home of his own volition as he died at 301 Upper Brook Street on 21 November 1902.

Following Eskell's death the household comprised Charles, aged forty, and his four sisters, none of whom had an occupation or, evidently, any source of

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1895, *Manchester Rate Books 1706-1900*. The 1901 Census shows Sarah Wolpé as head of the household.

[861] www.google.co.uk/maps. Upper Brook Street, Manchester M13. 2012.

[862] Withington Workhouse Register, 30 June 1901 to 2 July 1901. www.findmypast.co.uk. 12 September 2012.

income. Charles was then the only male living in the household. Although eleven years Sarah's junior it seems unusual that he did not, at that point, assume the rôle of head of the household. This responsibility, however, remained with Sarah, she being declared as such in 1911, by when the family had moved back to Victoria Park.[863] Without further details it is impossible to comment with any certainty on Sarah's personality but, based on this information, it is not unreasonable to think she was a controlling influence in the household and had assumed the position of matriarch.

Solomon Robinson and Ada/Ida Holroyd

It was not until 1898, fifteen years after Sarah's marriage, that another of the Robinson siblings, Solomon, married. As he did not attend MGS, nor was he involved in the affairs of the Rhyl Pier and Pavilion Company, it seems he was not academically gifted - a detail which is reflected in his declared occupations. According to the 1891 Census he worked as a 'traveller', probably meaning a door to door salesman who was 'paid on a wage or commission basis'.[864] His marriage certificate records his occupation as 'Agent' and in the 1901 Census he is a 'Financial Agent on own account'. It is feasible that, having worked as a traveller he had progressed to becoming what was generally termed a tallyman, 'One who carries on a tally-trade. Or supplies goods on credit, to be paid for by instalments'.[865] Probably, because of his occupation, he was required to travel quite widely and therefore would have spent time living away from the rest of the family, who by 1898 had moved to Upper Brook Street. This would account for him being at an address in Blackpool when he married.

Solomon Robinson, Bachelor, and Ada Holroyd, Spinster, were married on 27 June 1898 in Christ Church, Blackpool 'according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church after Banns'.[866] Both gave the same address, 2 Maybell Avenue, Blackpool. This raises some interesting points. Firstly it means the couple would have been living in Blackpool for some time and secondly that Solomon had

[863] 1911 Census states Sarah, Helen, Charlotte, Charles, Solomon (married but no wife in household) and Amy as those present.
[864] Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry*, p.64.
[865] *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd. Ed, (Guild Publishing, London, 1988), p.2239.
[866] The marriage rules of the Church of England require the reading of banns unless the marriage is arrange by Common Licence. Banns need to be read in the parish where each of the couple lives as well as in the church in which they are to be married, if that is elsewhere. The readings must take place on three Sundays during the three months before the wedding, although this may be on three consecutive Sundays. www.yourchurchwedding.org. 28 November2012.

eschewed the need for a Jewish ceremony and had 'married out'. Then there is the question of how he met Ada Holroyd?

Ada, born in 1871 in Saddleworth, was the third daughter of a woollen weaver/farmer. By the 1891 Census, aged twenty, she had left her parents' home and was living with her older sister and brother-in-law. At that time she was working as a dressmaker. When she married Solomon in 1898 she was simply described as 'spinster'. However the 1901 Census shows the householder at 2 Maybell Avenue, Blackpool, as a retired draper with his daughter, a dressmaker. In addition to this they had a boarder which presents two possibilities. Firstly, Ada could have been connected by occupation or friendship with the family and secondly both she and Solomon could have been commercial boarders at that address. Whatever the true answer they met, married and by the 1901 Census were living at 30 Willesden Avenue, Rusholme where Ada was recorded as Ida. This road came within the bounds of Victoria Park and was not far away from the Robinson family's home in Upper Brook Street. (Fig.51, Fig.47 and Fig.50 refer respectively) indicating that Solomon's income was sufficient for the couple to maintain a reasonable standard both socially and financially.

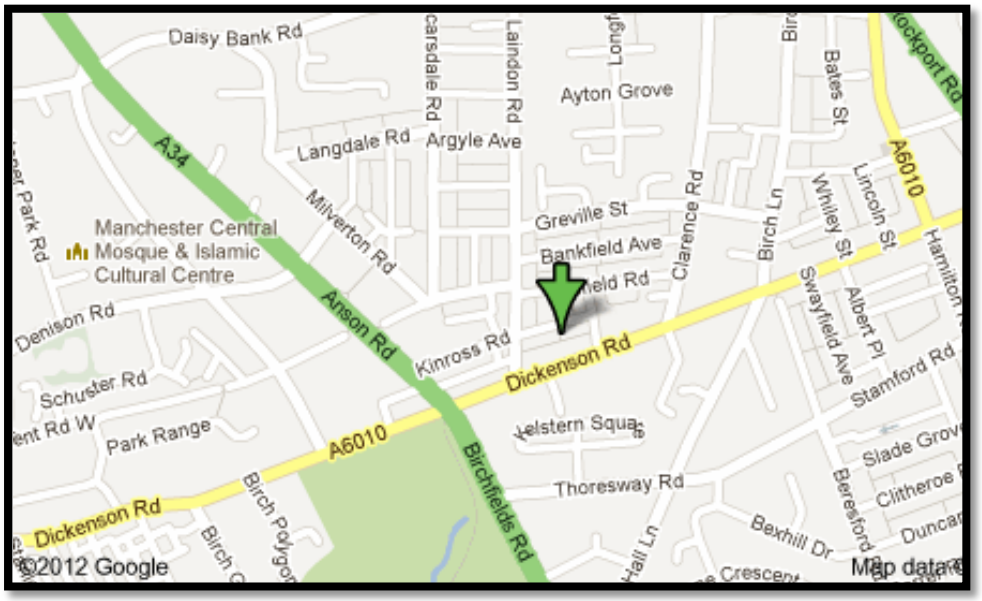

Figure 51: Willesden Avenue 2012 [867]

[867] www.google.co.uk/maps. Willesden Avenue, Manchester M13 0ZN. 2012.

How long they remained there is unknown but by the 1911 Census Solomon was back in the Robinson household, this time working as a 'Yarn Agent (Cotton)' on his own account. Although still declared as married there was no reference to his wife. It may be that she had died (in which case he should have been declared a 'widower) but there is insufficient information to verify this, particularly as the registration of her death could have been under either first name, Ada or Ida.

Another conundrum arises in connection with Solomon's death from a cerebral haemorrhage on 9 December 1923. His occupation at the date of death was stated as 'mining engineer'. As he was living in a private hotel at The Red House, Appleby it is likely he was working at one of the mines still operating in that area at the time, mostly mining lead.[868] The question is how and when did he receive his training for such an occupation? Slender though the connection is he too may have been one of the many young men to work in the South African mines in the late nineteenth century as, on 18 July 1896 a single male aged twenty nine, named as S Robinson, occupation miner, sailed from Southampton to South Africa.[869] This was two years before Solomon married and the age accords with his date of birth in 1867. Furthermore another passenger was M Wolpé, who may well have been his brother-in-law.[870]

Information given by various members of the Robinson family, albeit on official documents, at times appears to enhance their financial and/or social standing and should be treated with caution. For example, Solomon's probate document described him as a director of a limited company but there is no indication of the name of the company or the business in which it and Solomon were engaged.[871] It is possible, bearing in mind some of the rather inventive statements made by Eskell during his working life, that at least one of the Robinson children adopted a similar approach to his business affairs. This is not to accuse Solomon of a deliberate lie but rather of embroidering the truth to enhance his status and business opportunities. Thus, conceivably, a short period in the South African mines could be transmuted into his being a 'mining engineer' and thus a director of his own company.

Once again there was no mention of his wife. The notification of his death

[868] Letters from Leslie Dowson, 23 May 2012 & 11 & 22 June 2012. See also Les Dowson, *My Red House Years. Memoirs of a local lad*, (Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria: Hayloft Publishing Ltd., 2005).
[869] UK Outward Passenger Lists 1890-1960. www.ancestry.co.uk.
[870] Ibid.
[871] After all this time, with so little information a search at Companies' House would not prove fruitful.

simply read '...the dearly beloved brother of the Misses and Messrs. Charles and Ralph Robinson, Alderley House...fourth son of the late Eskell Robinson, of Victoria Park'.[872] Probate was granted to Charles and Ralph [Raphael] and his estate (net £518.9s.10d) was left equally divided to his surviving sisters, Sarah Wolpé, Helen Robinson and Amy Robinson. This was surely a clear indication that either Ada/Ida had died or, as suspected in the case of Max Wolpé, had decided to leave the sphere of the Robinson family prior to the 1911 Census.

Moses Albert/Albert Robinson and Elizabeth Ann/Lizzie Goddard

Yet another marital mystery exists in relation to the youngest of the surviving Robinson sons, Moses Albert. From at least 1891, aged twenty, and possibly from as early as 1884 if the MGS records do relate to him, he had ceased to use the name Moses. Henceforth, apart from on his death certificate where the family reverted to his full name, he was referred to only as Albert Robinson. According to the 1891 Census Albert was living with the family at Summerfield Lodge, employed as a clerk, but was not in the household in 1901. However, in 1901 an Albert Robinson, born 1871 in Manchester and working as a Commission Estate Agent was living with his wife and a servant at 222 Brunswick Street.[873] The date and place of birth tally with those of Moses Albert and although his advancement from clerk and erstwhile secretary to the Rhyl Pier and Pavilion Company cannot be traced it is not unreasonable to think that he could have progressed to working as an Estate Agent, an occupation also declared by his elder brother Charles in the 1911 Census.

Albert's wife, recorded as Lizzie on the 1901 Census, was said to have been born in Aden. She was Elizabeth Ann Goddard, born in Aden in 1871, daughter of James Goddard a member of the Rifle Brigade.[874] By 1881 James Goddard was an Army pensioner living with his wife and seven children, including Elizabeth Ann, in Brunswick Street. Elizabeth Ann was still with her parents in 1891 but not in 1901, by when she was with Albert Robinson and using the name 'Lizzie'.[875] It is known from newspaper reports that Albert was still living with his family at 301 Upper

[872] *Manchester Guardian*, 13 December 1923, p.18.
[873] Brunswick Street was to the north of the Victoria Park area but off Upper Brook Street, not far from the Robinson family.
[874] Armed Forces Birth, Marriage and Death indexes. www.findmypast.co.uk. 7 July 2012.
[875] The Goddard family are recorded at 8 Brunswick Street in the1881 Census and at 6 Brunswick Street in 1891.

Brook Street in 1896.[876] Therefore it is reasonable to assume he married Lizzie sometime between then and 1901, but to date there is no trace of their marriage certificate. Furthermore, when he died on 3 February 1910, Albert had returned to live with the remaining Robinsons at Alderley House, Anson Road. Solomon was present at his death and there is no mention of a wife. It is of course feasible that Lizzie had died sometime between 1901 and 1910 but, again, it has not been possible to trace a death certificate. Neither does she appear elsewhere under the name of Robinson in the 1911 Census. Her absence raises the question, yet again, was the Robinson family too much for a spouse to tolerate?

Violent and unnatural deaths

In addition to the possible marital problems experienced by the three Robinson children, Sarah, Solomon and Moses Albert, the family also encountered two instances of violent and unnatural death, both resulting in a Coroner's Inquest. The first of these, which concerned the death of a servant, occurred on Monday 28 February 1887 at Summerfield Lodge. The initial report referred to a 'Shocking Burning Fatality in Manchester' and included the following information:

> ...a young woman named Matilda Wall, 20 years old, was employed as domestic servant in the house of Mr Eskell Robinson, bristle merchant,...The circumstances of the occurrence seem to be shrouded in some mystery, but so far as can be ascertained it appears the young woman was engaged in the kitchen about 10 o'clock on Monday morning, when her dress caught fire. She then seems to have gone into the open air, the contact with which caused the flames to spread so rapidly that she was completely enveloped in them...[877]

The report of the inquest held during the afternoon of 2 March 1887 expanded upon this:

> ...Wall had been in the cellar doing washing and was heard to scream. Miss Robinson went to investigate and found her in flames on the cellar steps. Wrapped a rug around the girl but she ran into the yard. On the way to hospital the girl told the constable she was washing clothes and whilst reaching over the boiler her dress caught fire.[878]

[876] Address of Moses Albert during a court case brought by him against the Rhyl Pier & Pavilion Co. *Liverpool Mercury*, 16 May 1896, p.6, and the *Manchester Guardian*, 16 May 1896, p.5.
[877] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 2 March 1887, p.6.
[878] *Manchester Evening News*, 2 March 1887, p.2.

Evidently Matilda had 'sustained shocking injuries, her body being one mass of burns from head to foot...the injuries were of such a character that her recovery was beyond all hope' and she died the following day.[879] A verdict of accidental death was returned.[880]

It is not recorded which Miss Robinson was witness to this event but it is likely to have been one of the adult sisters, Helen or Charlotte, as Sarah was by then Mrs Wolpé and Amy was aged twelve. Whichever of the two women was witness to this 'Shocking Burning Fatality' Charlotte was to witness another death 'shrouded in some mystery' eight years later. This was that of her brother Herman who died on 29 June 1895 of caustic potash poisoning. The Coroner's record is no longer available but the case was the subject of a number of press reports. The most detailed of these appeared in the *Morning Post* under the heading 'STRANGE DEATH OF A BARRISTER' (sic) and is worth reproducing in full as it raises other questions relating to the Robinson family.

> Yesterday [Tuesday 2 July 1895], at the Chelsea Town Hall, Mr C Luxmore Drew held an enquiry with reference to the death of Mr Hermann(sic) Robinson, aged 31, a barrister, having chambers in the Temple, lately residing at 24, Cheyne-court, Chelsea. Mr Raphael Robinson, a brother, gave formal evidence of identification.
> Elizabeth Westbury, domestic servant, said she had never heard her master complain of anything. He was not low spirited or depressed. On Saturday, after breakfast, he complained of having been sick. At three o'clock his sister asked for a cup of hot water for him, as he was lying on the couch. At half-past four she was requested to fetch a doctor, and upon her return he was insensible and breathing heavily. He was a jolly man, and lived comfortably with all members of his family. Witness knew of no trouble. Miss Charlotte Robinson, sister, said she had resided with her brother for five years. He had no trouble and was in no monetary difficulties. On Saturday, after breakfast, witness went into the hall to brush his coat prior to going to his chambers, and found him lying in bed. He had been sick, and afterwards lay on the sofa. Witness gave him some hot water and whisky, and then wrote a letter to a friend at his dictation, making arrangements to take her to the Law Courts. At lunch he had milk and bread, and then went to bed, saying that he felt very ill, and requested witness to send for a doctor. His face was covered with perspiration, and his hands were clenched on his chest. He became insensible before the doctor came, and died before five o'clock. The bottle of caustic potash he purchased to bleach a hat, and the other he used for amateur photography. He had never threatened to destroy himself, and she knew of no reason why he should. He was making his plans for his summer holidays. Dr

[879] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 2 March 1887, p.6.
[880] *Manchester Evening News*, 2 March 1887, p.2.

> R W Johnstone said that when called to the house on the 29th ult. Mr Robinson was insensible and practically dying. Witness remained till death took place. He was unable to account for the cause of death. A *post-mortem* examination revealed signs of old meningitis. The stomach was acutely inflamed. What would that be produced by in a healthy man? An irritant. Could it be produced by a natural condition, such as dyspepsia? I do not think so. The doctor further stated that the condition of the stomach could not be produced by convulsions following the brain symptoms. The caustic potash would cause such irritation. There were patches of congestion in the intestines, which were rather suspicious. He could not say what produced the inflammation beyond that it was an irritant.[881]

The Coroner said the case was a very strange one and adjourned the inquiry to allow an analysis to be made of the contents of the stomach.[882]

An article in the *Huddersfield Chronicle* gave additional information, stating that Raphael Robinson was 'a gentleman of no occupation residing with his brother, the deceased'. He (Raphael) said that after a breakfast of porridge and eggs Herman complained of indigestion and sickness but took no medicine. Raphael then took a message to his brother's chambers, saying he would not be in that day. When he later arrived home, at about 9.0pm, he discovered Herman had died. Raphael said his brother had left no letters or correspondence and as he was healthy, sober and always cheerful there was no reason why he should take his own life.[883]

The resumed inquest was reported in the *West London Reporter*, 27 July 1895, following the analysis of the stomach ordered by the coroner. It was stated that there could be no doubt that Herman died from the effects of caustic potash but, 'That the poison was hardly likely to be taken by a person of suicidal tendencies, as it might not take effect, or [could] produce a lingering death'. In view of this the jury returned an open verdict as, although the cause of death was confirmed, 'there was no evidence to shew (sic) by whom administered, or for what purpose'.[884] This verdict must have been a great relief to the family.

Herman's death presents yet another unanswered and unanswerable question in the life of the Robinson family. The presence of potassium hydroxide, commonly called caustic potash, could have been accidental if he had been using it for photographic purposes or bleaching his hat. Aside from ingestion, it can be absorbed

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[881] *Morning Post*, 3 July 1895, p.5 & pp.6-7. *Nottingham Evening Post*, 3 July 1895, p.2. *Worcester Journal*, 6 July 1895, p.5. *Leeds Times*, 6 July 1895, p.2.
[882] Ibid.
[883] *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 3 July 1895, p.4.
[884] *West London Reporter*, 27 July 1895, p.7.

through the skin or by inhalation, either of which could have happened.[885] Furthermore, Charlotte's statement that her brother had bought it to bleach a hat may well have been correct as it is commonly used in the bleaching industry.[886] It remains that, although readily dissolved in water it gives off much heat and forms a caustic solution indicating it unlikely that, in liquid form, it could be swallowed by mistake.[887] Then again, even had Herman's siblings been aware that he had suicidal intent it is highly unlikely they would have admitted to this as, at that time, suicide was regarded as a crime in England and Wales.[888] Moreover, although attitudes in Jewish law are now more relaxed, at the time of Herman's death suicide was deemed a great sin and he would have been denied a Jewish burial and mourning rites.[889] On either count the family may well have felt humiliated, been ostracized by others and suffered in their business and social dealings. The stigma attached to even the slightest suspicion of suicide may have accounted for the family's press announcement of Herman's death which concluded 'Deeply regretted. Friends please accept this the only intimation'.[890] Herman was buried in the Jewish section of Manchester's Southern cemetery on 4 July 1895.[891] He died intestate leaving a net estate of £11 7s 1d, Letters of Administration being awarded to Raphael.

Charlotte Robinson

The first anomaly raised by the information given at the inquest, which demonstrates the family's disregard for accuracy, relates to Charlotte. There is the discrepancy with the 1891 Census in which Charlotte was declared simultaneously in Eskell's household in Manchester and Herman's in Richmond. This may have been because, being an unmarried female, Charlotte was regarded as being 'owned' by her father and thus *in the household* at the time of the Census. This is in contrast to her brothers who were absent from the family's returns in the years they were living elsewhere. She was also shown, correctly, in the same year's return as a member of Herman's household in Kew, with whom she said she had been living for five years.

[885] *Material Safety Data Sheet. Potassium hydroxide MSDS*. www.sciencelab.com. 3 January 2013.
[886] www.chemicalland21.com, 3 January 2013.
[887] Ibid.
[888] *When suicide was illegal*, BBC News Magazine. www.bbc.co.uk. 3 August 2011.
[889] Rabbi Louis Jacobs, *Suicide in Jewish Tradition and Literature.* www.myjewishlearning.com. 3 January 2013.
[890] *Manchester Times*, 5 July 1895.
[891] www.burialrecords.manchester.gov.uk. 12 April 2012.

In 1891 they occupied a large house (eleven rooms) at 20 Mortlake Road, Kew. The household comprised Herman, Charlotte (declared as twenty nine but in fact aged forty), a female servant and two male students from Bengal. In the absence of a wife it seems reasonable that Charlotte, although declared as 'living on own means', occupied the rôle of housekeeper for her brother. Some time before Herman's death they moved to an apartment in Cheyne Court, Chelsea, from which it appears Charlotte returned to the family home in Manchester, remaining there until her death in 1920. There is no record of any estate following her death and her source of income is unknown it therefore seems likely she was supported by and within the family unit. However, if she is the Miss Charlotte Robinson referred to on a number of occasions in the 'Society' pages of the *Manchester Times,* it seems she was able to maintain a reasonable social standard.[892]

Raphael/Ralph Robinson

The second inconsistency raised at Herman's inquest relates to Raphael who was also staying with him at the time of his death. According to the newspaper report Raphael Robinson was 'a gentleman of no occupation'.[893] There arises some confusion here as in 1891 he was an assistant master at Market Bosworth Grammar School (Fig.52) and is again recorded there from 1894 to 1899.[894]

The question is, did he deliberately lie at the inquest or was he simply being economical with the truth in the interest of expediency? Bearing in mind the stigma which could have attached itself to Herman's 'suspicious' death and the fact that the headmaster and undermaster of the Grammar School were clergymen, this omission is understandable

[892] *Manchester Times*, 16 February 1900, p.7, she attended a Musical Reception at the Town Hall, hosted by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress. *Manchester Times*, 2 March 1900, p.7, she attended a Concert in aid of the Ladies' Patriotic Association, collecting for 'comforts for the Soldiers in South Africa. *Manchester Times,* 19 October 1900, p.9, she was among the guests at the wedding of Miss Lily Dux who was the daughter of a German Merchant resident at 1 Plymouth Grove, Victoria Park.

[893] *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 3 July 1895, p.4.

[894] Raphael appears in the 1891 Census as an assistant master at Market Bosworth Grammar School (now Dixie Grammar School), Leicestershire. He is then recorded in the Brasenose College Register, as being an assistant master at the same school from 1894 to 1899. Tudor, Christopher, Archives Assistant, Brasenose College. However, when he was granted Letters of Administration in respect of Herman's estate, 11 November 1895, he gave as his address a boarding house, 3 Millfield Villas, Snaresbrook, Essex, indicating he may have been absent from work.

Figure 52: The Free Grammar School Market Bosworth circa1828 [895]

From 1899 to 1907 he was employed as a Lay master at Ampleforth College, Yorkshire where he taught gymnastics, Greek and Latin (Fig.53).[896]

Figure 53: Raphael/Ralph Robinson at Ampleforth College [897]

[895] An early image of the school, built in 1828. www.leicestershirevillages.com. 6 January 2013.
[896] Christopher Tudor, Archives Assistant, Brasenose College & Fr.Anselm, Archivist, Ampleforth Abbey. archive@ampleforth.org.uk. 25 January 2013. Ampleforth College is a Roman Catholic school run by Benedictine Monks who, in Raphael's day comprised the majority of staff.

Early on in his teaching career he replaced the name Raphael with Ralph.[898] As such, in 1908, he was engaged at Horsham Grammar School (now Collyer's School) remaining there until retirement in 1927. For the last ten years of his time at Collyer's he was the Second Master (Deputy Head).[899] It is clear from the tribute in the *Collyerian* magazine upon his retirement that, although a classics master, he was a sportsman, a highly regarded natural historian, angler and President of the Photographic Society. Amongst his many other interests, as noted, he wrote a Grammar of Classical Greek and also contributed articles to various magazines, including the *Fishing Gazette*, *The Field* and *Country Life*.[900] He also played a major rôle in the school's theatrical and Concert productions and was founder of the Debating Society.[901]

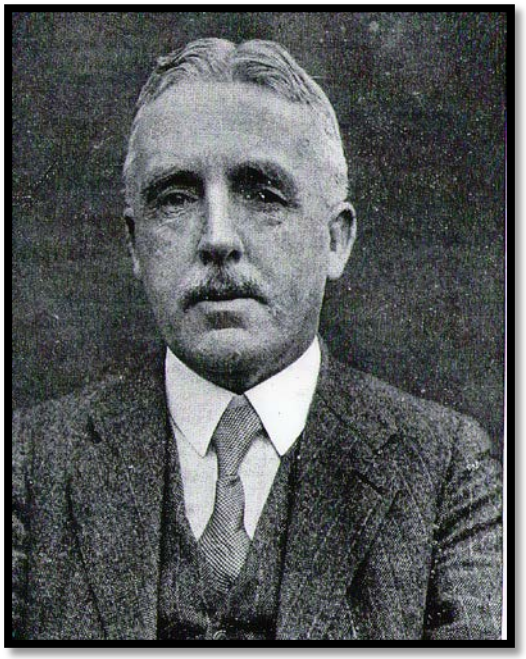

Figure 54: Ralph Robinson [902]

[897] Raphael/Ralph Robinson. Aged between thirty three and forty at the time. Provided by Fr.Anslem.
[898] Bearing in mind that Market Bosworth Grammar and Ampleforth College were both run by Christian organisations he may have felt it expedient to change from Raphael (from the Hebrew *Rafa'el)* to Ralph, an accepted English name, contracted from the Old Norse *Rádúlfr*, or its Norman form *Radulf*. www.behindthename.com. 27 January 2016.
[899] A.N Willson, *A History of Collyer's School 1532 -1964,* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1965), pp.159 & 202.
[900] Christopher Tudor, Archives Assistant, Brasenose College.
[901] Willson, *A History of Collyer's School*, pp.158 & 165.
[902] Ralph Robinson aged about sixty. *The Collyerian*, March 1927. Provided by Nick Weller, Archivist, Old Collyerians Association.

The photograph (Fig.54) is of a much loved and highly respected master, as the following extract from *The Collyerian* of 1927 demonstrates:

> Many an Old Boy is sound in health because of the interest Mr Robinson took in games. Many a mind has been helped to think more clearly, and to take an interest in the world outside the School through his scholarly exposition of the classics and his knowledge of Nature...Mr Robinson's patience and kindly humour were equal to all occasions. Certainly he has won the affection of many hearts by his sympathy and unfailing kindness...he has never spared himself in the interests of Collyer's...The present value of the Museum...owes much to his energy and able supervision...the Natural History Society; and the Aquarium and Aviary...give pleasure to those members of the school who love nature...It would be difficult to find his equal as an amateur photographer. He has specialized in photographing the nests of almost all species of birds found in Sussex, and his collection of these photographs of nests and eggs may be regarded as unique...he is recognized as an authority...sorrow at his departure will be shared... [by those] whose thoughts of School life in Horsham are inseparably and happily interwoven with memories of Mr Robinson's even temper, ready wit and kindly helpfulness. The School owes him a deep debt of gratitude...sincerely felt.[903]

Whilst attending a match at Manchester City Football Ground on 6 May 1929, with his sister Amy, Ralph died of a heart attack. The surviving members of the family, Charles, Helen and Amy, evidently did not publicize the fact. It was not until some days later that it came to the attention of one of Ralph's ex-pupils who, plainly concerned that 'we were unrepresented; no one knew anything about it', wrote an obituary for *The Collyerian*. This supported the sentiments expressed in the earlier article, describing Ralph as a:

> Guide, philosopher and friend... there were some, of the most diverse natures imaginable, who were privileged to know him in all three capacities. And they will never forget. He was a Classical scholar where science reigned supreme, a lover of Nature living among young philistines, a charming gentleman in an age of crudity and bad manners. Yet his popularity steadily increased. Till at length it became universal.[904]

These accolades to Ralph, his 'patience and kindly humour'; his 'sympathy and unfailing kindness'; his 'even temper, ready wit and kindly helpfulness' and the

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[903] *The Collyerian*, March 1927. The author of this article was J.B.Shrewsbury who taught at Horsham Grammar /Collyers from 1905-1936. A long time colleague of Ralph Robinson he succeeded him as Second Master in 1927. Letter from Nick Weller, Archivist, Old Collyerians Association. 2 April 2010 refers.

[904] *The Collyerian*, July 1929. The author of this article was K.B.Paice, an academically distinguished pupil of Ralph Robinson. Letter from Nick Weller, Archivist, Old Collyerians Association refers.

fact that he was regarded as 'a charming gentleman' demonstrate a nature the antithesis of the public face of his father. It is impossible, from the limited information available, to assess if this was the case. There is always the danger that Eskell was the victim of prejudice, being repeatedly presented in a negative light by the press. It may be that amongst his friends and family he was as highly regarded as his son was by his pupils and colleagues. But if, in reality, their temperaments were so diametrically opposed it could simply be that, for most of his adult life, Ralph lived away from the influence of his father and other members of the family.

The fall and rise of the family's fortunes

Following Eskell's death the source of the family's income remains a mystery. Although, during his bankruptcy hearing, he claimed his wife had left £4000 to the children, there was no evidence of this.[905] In any event it is hard to believe Eliza possessed this level of capital as she had never been in paid employment and is unlikely to have inherited from her parents. Various Census returns show her to have been one of at least nine children born to Leonard Hall, a wheelwright and joiner, an occupation followed by his sons. Further research of the Hall family shows that the male members all followed manual trades and those females who worked were either employed as domestic servants or as dressmakers. None appears to have been wealthy and there are no probate records relating to Eskell, Eliza, her parents or any of her siblings. Another unproven claim was that Eskell had given his daughter, presumably Sarah, 'certain life assurance policies...as security for money she had lent him'.[906] Where Sarah, or any of his other daughters, would have obtained money is unknown as none were ever declared as having a paid occupation. Eskell's bankruptcy would doubtless have caused financial problems and, on the face of it, it seems likely that the whole family had to rely upon the sons for support. Bearing in mind that Herman was dead, Raphael was an assistant schoolmaster at Market Bosworth, Solomon had left the household by 1898 upon marriage and, by 1901, Moses Albert was also elsewhere, this eventually left Charles the only breadwinner in the household.

[905] *Manchester Evening News*, 11 November 1895, p.2.
[906] Ibid.

Little is known of Charles or his occupation other than that declared in the Census returns, the press reports relating to the affairs of the Rhyl Pavilion and Eskell's bankruptcy. In 1891 his occupation was said to be a clerk/manager, although he was also named as a director of The Company. In 1901 at 301 Upper Brook Street he was a commercial clerk but in the 1911 Census, when the family were living at Alderley House, Anson Road, he described himself as an estate agent. Finally, his death certificate declared his occupation as 'Bristle Merchant (retired)'. Charles may have continued the manufacturing business after Eskell's alleged sale to him but it is questionable that his earnings alone could have maintained the household. Thus, sometime in 1895 the family moved from Summerfield Lodge to 301 Upper Brook Street, a less prestigious address.[907] Although Eskell's death in 1902 may have helped the family finances it seems this could well explain why 'Miss Amy Robinson (Rolda professional name)' had applied to the UJW 'for singing engagements'.[908] It is also possible that Sarah had access to funds from her husband or his business but what has the greater significance is the disposal of Summerfield Lodge and the undisclosed financial assets this may have generated. There is no record of Eskell having left any estate therefore he may have transferred the property to, most likely, Sarah. This of course is only surmise but bearing in mind some of Eskell's business machinations it is feasible he had devised a way of protecting his investment for the benefit of his children. Whatever the source of income at this time, it appears that Sarah took charge of the family and that finances gradually improved as they eventually moved to Alderley House, Anson Road, Victoria Park.

The date of this move is unknown, although it seems likely to have been during the latter half of 1908 when the house had been advertised as available 'to let'.[909] This was the address given on Moses Albert's death certificate on 3 February 1910 and where the remaining members of the family (with the exception of Raphael) were declared as living at the time of the 1911 Census. The household then comprised of Sarah, two of her brothers, Charles and Solomon, who were both working on their 'own account' and three spinster sisters, the youngest of whom was Amy. There is no record of Sarah's husband, Max Wolpé, or of Solomon's wife Ada, despite the fact that both Sarah and Solomon were still declared as being

[907] Sarah became the rate payer at 301 Upper Brook Street with effect from 1895. *Manchester Rate Books 1706-1900*. www.findmypast.co.uk.
[908] UJW Executive Committee Minutes 13 May 1903.
[909] *Manchester Guardian*, 15 February; 11 April and 22 August 1908.

married. It may be that their spouses were elsewhere at the time of the Census although, as discussed earlier, it is feasible they had either deserted the Robinson family or died. It is in any case evident that the Robinsons were not sticklers for accuracy as far as the completion of official documents is concerned.

Alderley House had eleven rooms and was in an area occupied by professional people all of whom retained domestic staff. As far as can be seen from the 1911 Census the only source of the Robinsons' income was the earnings of the two brothers, Charles as an estate agent and Solomon as a cotton yarn agent. This does not take into account that Amy, performing as Amy Rolda, was absent for a number of years in London and Berlin, when she was either maintained by the JEAS and/or earning from her performances. This must have helped in one of two ways - she may have contributed to the family finances and in any event, when absent, her maintenance would not fall upon the household budget. Nevertheless the move to Alderley House, where the family remained for the rest of their lives, strengthens the suspicion that prior to his bankruptcy, and possibly contributing towards it, Eskell divested himself of assets and placed them in Sarah's hands. This is only conjecture but would explain why she was accepted as the head of the household and how the family maintained a large house, in a prestigious area, despite the fact that the records show relatively modest estates amongst those siblings in respect of whom Probate was granted.

Herman's net estate, in 1895, was £11 7s 1d. In 1923 Solomon left £518 9s 10d, which was shared between the three remaining sisters Amy, Sarah and Helen. Sarah died 10 January 1924 and her net estate of £94 0s 4d was divided between Helen and Amy. Raphael, who returned to the family home following his retirement in1927, died intestate in 1929. His net estate of £618 16s 1d was to be shared between his two remaining sisters Helen and Amy but following the latter's death it was discovered that some £200 of Raphael's money was unadministered.[910] This was subsequently added to Amy's estate.

Following Raphael's death the three remaining siblings, Charles, Helen and Amy, remained at Alderley House until Charles died in 1934, leaving the two sisters. Helen Robinson is the member of the family about whom the least is known. The Census entries from 1861 to 1911 show her living with the family. No occupation is

[910] Further grant of Letters of Administration 6 May 1966.

declared and she remained unmarried. The only other records available are her birth and death certificates and her will made in 1929 a week after Raphael's death and just before her seventy-sixth birthday. She died, at the age of 90 in 1943 at Withington Hospital, leaving a net estate of £560 16s 5d (gross £1666 19s5d which incurred estate duty of £40 18s11d). Although a relatively modest sum the purchasing power would have been considerable at the time and £500 would have been regarded by many as a good annual salary. How she managed to accrue this amount is unknown but evidently the members of the family, singly or collectively, must have had a source of income sufficient for them to remain in Alderley House and maintain a reasonable standard of living into old age.

Amy Shône Dasha Robinson

Two issues remain to be discussed, namely the life of Amy Shône Dasha Robinson born 17 November 1874 and her obvious connection with Amy Rolda. From the information available it appears that Amy was far more favourably treated, at least in regard to her education, than her three older sisters. There could be a number of reasons for this, not least the age difference between her and the other girls. Amy was, respectively, twenty five years, twenty one years and nineteen years younger than Sarah, Helen and Charlotte, and the last of twelve children. When she was born Eskell was already established as a bristle merchant. By the time Amy was about seven the family had moved to Summerfield Lodge, Victoria Park, a clear indication that the household finances had improved far beyond that when the other girls were small. Amy was therefore the baby of a family whose father's financial and social ambition had met with some success. In this regard he appears to have been able enough and long sighted enough to want to give this daughter an academic education beyond that enjoyed by her sisters. Serving this purpose was MHSG, founded in 1874 (the year of Amy's birth) 'to provide for Manchester's daughters what has been provided without stint for Manchester's sons'.[911] Thus, the daughters of those who could afford it were provided with educational opportunities similar to those available to boys who attended the long-established MGS. By 1874 the elder

[911] Certain of 'Manchester's sons' had long had the advantage of access to an education at MGS, a crucial place for the education and upward mobility of children of east European Jewish background such as the Robinson boys. www.mhsgarchive.org. 10 March 2010

Robinson girls were all adults and therefore too old to have taken advantage of this facility, even had they the academic ability or Eskell the financial means.

The Admission Register shows that Amy attended MHSG from September 1886 to July 1890 having previously been a pupil at Parkhouse School. Her date of birth was given, incorrectly, as 7 November 1875. She was in fact aged twelve on admission, not eleven. The fees at this time were £4 4s 0d a term for pupils under the age of fourteen and £5 5s 0d per term for those from fourteen onwards.[912] Claiming Amy to be a year younger than she was would have given Eskell a financial advantage but whether it was a genuine mistake or deliberate is debatable. Considering some of Eskell's business dealings, intent is not beyond the bounds of probability. However, the family's relaxed attitude towards their ages is clearly demonstrated in the Census returns and on marriage and death certificates. For example Sarah, who was fifty in 1901 and sixty in 1911, was declared as forty eight on both Census returns. All the others were similarly stated to be considerably younger than they really were, at times by a margin of between ten and twenty years. When Amy married in 1954, aged seventy nine, she declared herself as fifty nine.

Before acceptance at the MHSG the girls' had to take an entrance exam and subsequent annual exams. They were then streamed according to their ability and the fact that Amy was in the 'A' forms, in the years when there were enough pupils to stream, suggests that she had ability and worked well. In May 1890 she passed the South Kensington Science and Art Exams in freehand and geometry and she left the school in July 1890, aged fifteen years eight months.[913] What she did subsequently is unknown until October 1893, just before her nineteenth birthday, when she commenced at the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM).[914]

What is interesting is that she was one of the first students at the RMCM, which opened formally on 2 October 1893.[915] The idea of a College of Music in Manchester was first raised in December 1891 by Sir Charles Hallé, founder of the Hallé Orchestra.[916] At that time he lived in Greenheys Lane, Chorlton Upon

[912] Dr.Christine Joy, School Archivist MHSG. 14 January 2013.
[913] Dr.Christine Joy, School Archivist MHSG. 9 March 2010.
[914] Mary Ann, Davison, College Archivist and Records Manager, Royal Northern College of Music. Maryann.davison@rncm.ac.uk. 4 April 2012. Note: the records of the RMCM were transferred to the Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM) as the successor body during 1973.
[915] Ibid.
[916] RMCM Archives, Administrative History. www.nationalarchives.gov.uk. 12 January 2013.

Medlock, not far removed from a previous home in Victoria Park.[917] Therefore, it is not inconceivable that the Robinsons knew of him, if not being intimately acquainted. This may have led to Amy being recognized as having a musical talent and being in the first group admitted to the RMCM. Be that as it may, without question she must have received some form of musical tuition, whether instrumental or vocal, before the RMCM opened as all applicants had to take an entrance examination and Amy was one of the original eighty students accepted.[918]

At the time Charles Hallé was head of the college, chief professor of pianoforte and conductor of the Hallé Orchestra and Choir. As Amy's principle study was piano it is likely she received at least some tuition from him and, assuming her secondary topic was singing, that he recognized her vocal ability. Although Hallé died in 1895, before Amy left the RMCM, this connection could account for 'Miss Robinson' being in the soprano section of the Hallé Orchestra Choir from 1901/02 to 1903/04 and 'Miss A Robinson' from 1904/05 to 1906/07.[919]

Amy remained at the College until July 1897, a total of nine terms, for which the fees were £10 per term. However she was listed as 'away 'for the Lent and Midsummer terms in 1893-4 and Michaelmas in 1895-6, for which no fees were paid.[920] As the academic year commenced in October Amy's absence in 1893-4 coincided with her mother's death in January 1894 and Eskell's increasing business problems. The absence in 1895-6 could have been related to Herman's death and Eskell's bankruptcy hearing. There is no record of the level she attained in her musical studies but evidently this was not unusual at the time as many students did not sit their final recital examinations.[921]

Accepting that Amy Robinson performed under the professional name of Amy Rolda which, in view of the evidence already presented it would be difficult to disprove. It is then possible to identify her connection to the UJW and the JEAC and the continuation and demise of her singing career. On this basis it is clear that, having left the RMCM in July 1897, she continued having singing lesson into 1901

[917] 1891 Census
[918] RMCM Administrative History, 12 January 2013 and Mary Ann Davison, College Archivist and Records Manager, RNCM. 4 April 2012
[919] Members of the choir were not listed until 1897/98 and lists for all seasons have not survived. The choir are listed in voice sections and, it is thought, in order of years' service thereafter. www.archive.halle.co.uk. 12 January 2013.
[920] Mary Ann Davison, College Archivist and Records Manager, RNCM. 4 April 2012.
[921] Ibid.

as ‘a talented pupil of Madame Marchesi’ and had commenced public performance by 1902.[922] This indicates that, despite Eskell’s bankruptcy in 1895 and the family’s reduced financial circumstances, someone continued to pay for her tuition. It is possible that until Eskell’s death the family were prepared to abide by his wishes regarding Amy’s training and therefore managed to fund her. It seems likely that this would have been important to Eskell as his press coverage over the years indicates a flamboyant personality who would probably have taken great pleasure in having produced a daughter whose talent attracted an amount of publicity. In effect this degree of ‘reflected glory’ may have compensated him somewhat following his financial and social failure.

There are two possible reasons why the family did not continue to fund Amy’s training once her father died. On the one hand her siblings may have been jealous of the educational advantages she had been given and Eskell’s death gave them the opportunity to say ‘enough is enough’. On the other, taking Eskell as their example, it is possible that Amy and her siblings followed in his footsteps, namely seizing any opportunity that offered to gain help from elsewhere. Eskell’s rise from poor beginnings to a position of some material substance demonstrates a certain degree of acumen in manipulating a situation to his advantage. The family’s evident financial recovery after his bankruptcy indicates that at least one of his children, not necessarily Amy, possessed a similar ability, thus funding from elsewhere was desirable. Indeed, from the information gathered about the individual members of the family it seems likely that Sarah was this controlling influence, in fact the matriarch. However, eventually this rôle probably fell to Amy when, in 1934, she and Helen were the only survivors and, of necessity, she became the carer for her ageing and senile sister. By then Amy was sixty nine and seems to have had a life, for the most part, controlled by either her family or the UJW and JEAC. However, this may not have been entirely the case as from subsequent events it is clear she had social contacts outside the family home.[923] The three most prominent could be said to be Edith Harper and her daughter-in-law Lady Lily Harper, who were the witnesses to Amy’s wedding on 20 July 1954, and her husband William George Gass.

[922] *Musical Times*, Vol. 43, No.709, 1 March 1902, p.191. It is clear from later press reports that ‘Aimeé’ reverted to ‘Amy’.

[923] Edith and Lily Harper were both witnesses on Amy and William Gass’ marriage certificate. Both were also included as beneficiaries in Amy’s will.

Edith Harper's husband was a solicitor and their son, Lily's husband, was Lord Mayor of Manchester 1954-55.[924] He received a Knighthood in 1958. William Gass was an engineer who became a director of Entwistle & Gass Ltd., Bolton.[925] In 1928 he was elected president of the Manchester Association of Engineers.[926] Amy's association with people such as these is a clear indication that she did not live her life solely within the bosom of her family or as an impoverished recluse. What is puzzling is why she waited until she was seventy nine and William was just one week away from his ninety-sixth birthday before they eventually married.

A glimpse of Amy's life and an indication of the answer to this question is provided, in part, by Lady Lily's son who was a legatee in Amy's will. As his accounts, given over a number of days, are of the only personal contact with Amy and her later life they are quoted in full:

> I do not have any photographs or mementoes and I had very little personal contact with her that I can remember. I grew up, of course, before cordless phones, so I remember that when Amy Robinson phoned it meant an hour or more with the television or radio turned down. In the ensuing conversation I picked up a little of what was going on.[927]

He added:

> The impressions I picked up were that Amy Robinson and my grandmother, E C Harper, had got to know each other through fund raising activities for the RNLI (lifeboats). I think I was told that Amy had studied singing in Germany and Mahler was mentioned. This could have been a mistake for Mallinger or Amy had had contact with the composer, who was also a conductor, or wishful thinking! My grandmother thought that the First World War had interrupted her studies and her career had fizzled out. I never heard that she had given concerts. There may have been a misunderstanding or perhaps this was a better story than that she had not made the grade. I am not sure how much of Amy's background my grandmother knew. I think I heard her wondering whether Amy was Jewish, so if I have remembered correctly, it would mean that my grandmother did not know about Amy being sponsored by a Jewish organization. Regarding her marriage: my grandmother understood that William Gass had wanted to marry Amy when she was young, but her family, or was it brothers? (sic) had insisted that she follow her career. Whether they were in contact during and after her singing career I

[924] Obituary of Edith's husband, Alderman Richard Stephenson Harper., *Manchester Guardian*, 20 November 1940, p.10. Lady Lily's husband, Lord Mayor of Manchester Richard Stephenson Harper, *Manchester Guardian*, 22 December,1954, p.6. Knighted 15 July 1958, *The London Gazette*, 18 July 1958,.p.4514.

[925] William Gass' Obituary provided by Ernest Andrews, Secretary, The Manchester Association of Engineers. Esa669@yahoo.com.. 23 January 2012.

[926] *Manchester Guardian*, 13 October 1928, p.15.

[927] Richard Stephenson Harper. R.harper@fibrenett.net. 10 September 2012 .

> do not know. I understood that William was quite well off and that Amy did not want to appear to be marrying him for his money, though I think she was well past the age for that sort of accusation. I understood that when they married she insisted on him making a will leaving his money only in trust for her and reverting to the RNLI. This caused a lot of trouble and telephone calls! You have seen the will, so you know if I have got it right. I have no knowledge of her income. My recollection is of a dark house and I did not get the impression that she had money to spare. Quite why she left me £400 and my mother only £100 (if I remember rightly) I do not know. I had had very little personal contact with her. I remember going to her home with my mother and going into the front room where I found some books of German poetry, perhaps from her time in Germany. I was once sent to cut some catkins from a tree in her garden and only found an ordinary dining knife to cut with. I still have the scar on my finger![928]

The next day, Richard added the following to his recollections:

> The only other thing that seemed to be mentioned quite a bit in the telephone conversations was a tithe barn. I assume that it was William's property. Whether Amy was anxious that he restore it or something of the sort I do not remember and I do not suppose it is relevant to your research. It is a pity I do not know when Amy and my grandmother became friends. My grandfather and my father were both on the city council in Manchester and came in contact with a lot of people. My family were a bit sceptical about them, not exactly anti-Semitic, but they had a feeling that Jews were not quite like us and a bit pushy. Having said that, they had respect for some of the Jewish members of the council - even though they were Labour - and there was a Jewish man who was so grateful to my father for something he had done for him that he sent a packet of matzos every Passover and a box of whole crystallized fruits at Christmas. I mention this as an explanation of my grandmother wondering whether Amy was Jewish, one of them as you might say and showing that she had not known her when her family were involved in the Jewish community in Manchester.[929]

Finally, Richard recalled:

> My grandmother sang solos in a swedenborgian church choir (you get all sorts in Manchester) but she was not a trained singer and I don't think she ever sang with the Hallé. My mother was not a singer. I would doubt that the sort of scepticism towards Jews I mentioned would have been enough to make anyone withdraw from the Jewish community, but I can't really say. It was a bit like the scepticism some people have towards Freemasonry. I think at least 10% of the boys at MGS in my time were Jews. They had their own morning prayers and those who lived some distance from school could miss

[928] Richard Stephenson Harper. 11 September 2012.
[929] Richard Stephenson Harper. 12 September 2012.

> the last lesson on Friday in the middle of winter, so they were not discriminated against there.[930]

Bearing in mind the apparent failure of the marriages of Sarah, Solomon and Moses it is feasible that Amy's relationship with William would have been resisted if not resented by her family. Like Amy, William had lived with his siblings for much of his life but when his sister died in 1938 he was, at the age of eighty, left alone. By then however Amy seems to have been the sole carer of her aged, and likely senile, sister Helen. This could have prevented her marrying at that point but does not explain why the couple waited another eleven years after Helen's death before they married, particularly in view of William's evidently poor state of health.[931] In the event they were married only six months before he died.

As Richard Harper says, William Gass was indeed 'quite well off'. His net estate totalled £152,193 11s 4d. After a number of charitable and personal bequests, varying between £25 and £200, his will was long and complex. In the main his jewellery was left outright to Amy with the residue of the estate, including his house and contents, for 'her use and enjoyment thereof during her life'. Investment of his capital rested with the trustees who were then directed to pay Amy a net annual income of £1500 from these funds. After her death £25,000 was given to the Royal National Lifeboat Institution (RNLI) and £10,000 to Bolton Council.[932] The remainder of the estate was divided amongst various charities and the Unitarian Chapel, the Unity Church and the Free Church, all in Bolton. Possibly William's non-conformist belief was one of the things that the Robinson family objected to, although in the past many Jews in Manchester had abandoned Judaism and become Unitarians or were 'hesitating between Unitarianism and Judaism'.[933] However, in what could be regarded as poetic justice, 'the cremated remains of Amy Robinson Gass' were buried in William's family grave in the non-conformist section of the Tonge cemetery.[934]

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[930] Ibid.

[931] William Gass died 'after a long period of inactivity, following a motor accident'. E.S.Andrews, Secretary, The Manchester Association of Engineers. Esa666@yahoo.com. 23January 2012.

[932] In 1977 the legacy to the RNLI partially funded a lifeboat named 'Wavy Line'. In 1998 this was sold to Mana Volunteer Coastguard Society, New Zealand and is still in service. Hayley Spencer, Legacy Officer, RNLI. Hayley_spencer@rnli.org.uk. 6 October 2012.

[933] Todd M.Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, p.121 & Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry*, p.196.

[934] David Blair, Museum Assistant, Bolton History Centre. archives@bolton.gov.uk 11 & 12 April 2012.

Amy died of a coronary thrombosis in the Private Patients' Home of Manchester Royal Infirmary on 4 October 1964. She too was surprisingly wealthy, leaving a net estate of £27,664 16s 11d. How she amassed this amount, considering what is known of the family's financial history, is remarkable. It could not all be attributed to the annual income left to her by William. Apart from anything else she had the cost of maintaining herself for almost ten years following his death. She left a number of cash bequests, including those to the Harpers, varying between £5 and £300 but the most interesting is as follows:

> I bequeath my Chinese embroideries my Indian shawls and my Chinese tea cloths and silverware (but not my jewellery now lodged at Westminster Bank Limited Longsight) and also the picture of Nell Gwynn painted as Venus reputed to be by Peter Lely (if I shall still own the same at the date of my death) to the Trustees for the time being of the National Gallery AND I WISH (sic) the articles comprised in this bequest to be noted as formerly the property of my parents Eskell and Eliza Robinson of Alderley House Victoria Park Manchester.[935]

What happened to these effects is unknown. The records of the executors and the solicitor concerned cannot be traced. The items mentioned would not have been accepted as suitable for the collection at The National Gallery, neither is there any trace of this bequest being passed to The Tate, The Victoria and Albert Museum, nor the Manchester Museum, The Whitworth Art Gallery or The Manchester Art Galleries.[936] This significantly was not the first time Amy thought some of her possessions were worth exhibiting, as the following newspaper report demonstrates:

> A small showcase in the Manchester Museum has been used for the display of household and decorative articles under the rather curious collective title of 'English Objects'. They are the gift of Miss Amy Robinson, of Manchester. The collection provides an interesting commentary on both the manners and domestic arrangements of the Victorian era...Some of the objects are a reminder that the Victorian era is becoming remote enough to

[935] Extract from the will of Amy Robinson Gass (otherwise known as Amy Robinson) 19 February 1964.

[936] Nicholas Donaldson, Assistant Archivist, The National Gallery
. Nicholas.donaldson@ng-london.org.uk. 9 February 2012.
David Pena, Information Assistant, The Tate. David.pena@tate.org.uk. 11 February, 2012.
Rosemary Crill, The Victoria and Albert Museum. R.crill@vam.ac.uk. 29 March 2012.
Nicola Walker, Head of Collections Care & Access, The Manchester Museum/The Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester. Nicola.walker@manchester.ac.uk. 29 February 2012.

> influence modern fashion, an example being the carved ivory brooches and buckles which are now being revived for dress trimmings.[937]

Yet again there is no trace of these items and Amy does not appear as a 'donor or vendor' in the database of the Manchester City Galleries collections.[938]

With regard to the attempted donation of various personal belongings to a museum in 1964, and the earlier display in Manchester in 1937, it is clear that Amy not only valued these items as representative of her family but also indicative of their/her desire to become assimilated into English society. These possessions are representative of a member of English middle class Victorian society. By placing them in the public domain Amy was advertising herself, and appears to have been accepted, as such. This was a milieu that Eskell, despite his business acumen and transient financial success, ultimately rejected him.

Under the terms of Amy's will all property 'not otherwise effectually disposed of' was to be sold. This may well have been what happened to the items refused by The National Gallery. The resulting funds were to be paid to 'one or more Societies or Organizations' concerned with 'the benefit of refugees with particular regard to Jewish refugees'.[939] This bequest is the only indication that she retained an attachment to her father's origins.

Conclusion

When Amy Robinson came to the attention of the UJW, and subsequently the JEAC she was an adult and by sending her abroad, evidently unaccompanied to continue her training, is an indication that she was recognized as such. Clearly however, whatever her wishes, a certain amount of control was exercised by the JEAC who, between November 1903 and May 1905 funded her training. After this, however, once she had sufficient work to pay her own expenses she seems to have removed herself from their control. By then she was known within the Jewish and musical community in Manchester and presumably wider afield in view of her appearances in London.

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[937] *Manchester Guardian*, 1 January, 1937, p.11.

[938] Nicola Walker, Head of Collections Care & Access, The Manchester Museum/The Whitworth Art Gallery, 29 February 2012 & Dr.Miles Lambert, Senior Manager, Gallery of Costume, Manchester City Galleries. M.lambert@manchester.gov.uk. 29 March 2012.

[939] Extract from the will of Amy Robinson Gass (otherwise known as Amy Robinson) 19 February 1964.

Why her career did not progress as initially expected will never be known. It may simply be that she reached her peak early on or perhaps could not withstand the rigours of a solo artist's life, referred to in Blanche Marchesi's memoir. Added to this the First World War may have interrupted her progress as, between 1909 and 1917 there are no press reports of her performing.[940] Whatever the reasons for her decline, after the initial success, her professional career can only be described as ordinary.

There also arises the issue of the effect the members of the Robinson family had on Amy and her choice of career. Was it indeed her choice or that of her father, who clearly desired to climb the financial and social ladder? Furthermore, bearing in mind the family's probable straightened circumstances in the early 1900s, was she expected to contribute to the middle-class lifestyle they clearly wished to maintain? It seems likely that Sarah had some money as the result of Eskell's machinations and/or her marriage, and that the surviving brothers generated income from employment but, ostensibly, this left the two other daughters without visible means of support.

Researching the archive may not have succeeded in unequivocally finding Amy's voice but widening the investigation to include the entire family has identified a number of issues relevant to the lives of Jewish immigrants such as Eskell. There were those who similarly faced success and failure and acceptance and rejection within the communities in which they eventually settled. The lives of Philip Blackman and Maude Gold, which are discussed in detail within their respective biographies, demonstrate this and their adherence to their Jewish roots. On the other hand, whilst some of the members of the Robinson family clearly retained their allegiance to Judaism it seems that others did not. Based on the available newspaper reports it appears Eskell was proud to be a Jew. Furthermore his eldest daughter was married according to the Rights and Ceremonies of the Congregation of British Jews at a time when he was enjoying some financial and business success.[941] Both he and his wife were buried in the Jewish area of the Southern Cemetery, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester, as were Herman, Raphael and Helen. Surprisingly Sarah was in

[940] See Richard Stephenson Harper, 11 September 2012 and the comments reportedly made by his mother.

[941] Notification of Sarah's marriage appeared in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 5 May 1883, p.7.

a non-conformist section. There is no trace of Moses Albert but Solomon, who 'married out' is also in a non-conformist area.

Although Amy and her siblings had been born in England as the children of a Jewish immigrant, particularly one such as Eskell appears to have been, they could easily have been regarded as outsiders. From the information available it is impossible to assess how each of the children fared in this respect other than Raphael and Amy. Raphael, although unaided by either the JEAC or the JEAS, had achieved the aims of Anglo-Jewry in general. He became a highly respected member of his profession, but here there is a caveat as there is no mention of his Jewish origins. He Anglicized his name and in some ways seemed to have separated his working life from his Jewish background and the Robinson family, who failed to notify his former colleagues of his death. It is also telling that, according to Richard Stephenson Harper, his grandmother wondered 'whether Amy was Jewish, one of them as you might say'.[942] Evidently Amy did not broadcast the fact, there is no mention of her maintaining Jewish religious practices and she eventually married a non-conformist, was cremated and interred with her husband. Nevertheless, the terms of her will clearly reflect her attachment to her Jewish heritage. It is possible that by this bequest she repaid the UJW and the JEAC for their assistance in the past.

[942] Richard Stephenson Harper, 12 September 2012.

Conclusion

As has been shown in the introduction to this thesis, from the latter part of the nineteenth century into the twentieth, there existed many Anglo-Jewish philanthropic organisations which had been established with the aim of demonstrating that indigent Jews, particularly recent immigrants, would not be a drain on the state funds. Much of the assistance was in the form of money, clothes or food for individuals or families whose primary qualification for help was that they were Jews and of good behaviour.

The JEAC, and its successor the JEAS, was unusual in that its successful applicants were not only Jewish but young and possessed of an exceptional talent. At the beginning those chosen often displayed an outstanding artistic ability. This preference on the part of JEAC Committee may have been by chance, but quite possibly was because the founder members, primarily Maccabaeans, were interested in 'the arts' and probably considered themselves aesthetes. Certainly this attitude presented itself when female applicants were considered although there would also have been the commonly held view of what was an acceptable and respectable occupation for a female in the years before the First World War. This would certainly have been a contributing factor when allied with the social class to which the JEAC members and supporters belonged and anticipated their successful candidates would achieve. Gender issues have been touched upon in the thesis as a whole and are explored further below.

There are of course protégés of the JEAC and the JEAS whose artistic ability brought them into the public arena and some lives are recorded in autobiography. One such is the case of Jacob Epstein. There are also biographies of artists David Bomberg, Mark Gertler and Bernard Meninnsky, all of whom are referred to in the Introduction. However, within these works little attention is paid to their early, impoverished beginnings, and the assistance of the JEAS is mentioned only *en passant*. In general studies of these elite ignore or downplay their earlier years. Although the biographies of the baritone Mark Raphael and the poet Isaac Rosenberg give greater detail of their early lives and relationship with the JEAS that is not the thrust of the narration and does not address the issue of the effect such beginnings

had on their lives in the long term.[943] Thus the absence of accounts about the lives of the more everyday talented is an omission in the historical record

This thesis has researched the lives of 'ordinary' people who started life with an exceptional talent. To study philanthropy, whether Jewish or not, from the perspective of the recipients as well as the givers, and to juxtapose the two, is therefore an innovative approach. The aim has been to explore their achievements and failures by recourse to 'evidence' other than that of personal memory. There are two reasons for this approach. Firstly, memory can be a fickle source, enhancing or diminishing past events. Secondly, none of the three left any personal documents recording their lives, hopes or disappointments. Apart from the limited information provided by family members of Philip Blackman and Maude Gold, and the reminiscence of Richard Stephenson Harper, who as a child was acquainted with Amy Robinson, there is silence. Nevertheless this study has shown that by forensic research of a variety of other sources available in the public domain it is possible to cast a light on how their lives developed, starting with the philanthropic support provided by various members of the Anglo-Jewish community.

Bearing in mind the limited amount of personal information available in the JEAC/JEAS records success would seem doubtful but, by exploring what at times appeared to be unlikely sources has proven otherwise. An invaluable starting point, when available, has been the birth, marriage and death certificates of all the family members. These documents provide addresses, names which may have changed over time, and occupations. Added to this, the various census returns from 1841 to 1911 have shown the movements and dispersal of family members. From this base it has been possible, by constant re-examination of the evidence, to obtain sufficient information in order to recreate the lives of these families. Many enquiries have proved fruitless but on the other hand the most tenuous connection has brought its own reward. For example, from the marriage certificate of one of Philip Blackman's daughters it seemed likely her child, Anthony Pollen, was Philip's grandson. This proved to be the case and resulted in obtaining the documents provided by Mrs Alberts. Maude Gold 'disappeared' between the 1940s in London and 1961 in Bournemouth. It was only a chance enquiry to the Hallé Orchestra that traced her

[943] Gillian Thornhill, *The Life, Times and Music of Mark Raphael*, (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2012). And Jean Moorcroft Wilson, *Isaac Rosenberg: The Making of a Great War Poet: a New Life*, (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2007).

and her two older sisters. Similarly, using the information available in Amy Robinson's will it was possible to trace, via the MGS, Richard Stephenson Harper who now lives in Norway. There is an ever increasing amount of information becoming available on the internet, without which it would prove extremely difficult to embark on a research undertaking such as this, but this if often fragmented. The task of the researcher is to build this into a whole as has been done in this thesis.[944]

Doubtless there are many success stories, which could be identified, of those assisted throughout the life of the JEAS. However, this work is devoted to the reconstruction of the lives of only three who obtained assistance during the early years of the JEAC and the JEAS. The difficulty presented here is that most people, unless they became very famous, failed to leave a detailed record of their existence, in other words 'their voice'. As those who knew them die they appear to fade into obscurity. The nub of the research, upon which this thesis is based, is to show that such people still have a 'voice' even if only as a whisper.

From the outset, where applicable, successful applicants were given financial help, introductions to persons of influence and education, both academic and social, with a view to developing 'the talent'. By affording such assistance the intention was to provide the candidate with a career more suited to his or her ability than working in a sweat shop or in domestic service. The unusual feature of this approach was that, if successful, the young person could be raised socially as well as financially. This aim was not totally altruistic on the part of the members of Anglo-Jewry who supported it as it demonstrated to the British populace that amongst those considered a drain on society some had a value which could benefit the community as a whole.

Furthermore, development of the applicant's talent could have a beneficial influence on his/her entire family. Not only was the financial burden of one child removed from the family purse once that child started to bring an income into the household, but also the entire family could benefit, improving the future prospects of other siblings who, although able, would not qualify for help from the JEAC or JEAS. Such it could be argued is the situation of the Blackman family, one of the

[944] The list of Websites used in this research is shown at the end of the Bibliography. These sources, which were accessed repeatedly, often yielded no useful information other than leading the research in a different direction. Then again, what could not be found on one attempt would be available on another, for example the ever increasing digitisation of certain areas such as births, deaths and marriages. To list the purpose and success of every enquiry made in order to re-construct the lives of those cited in this work would serve no useful purpose other than to demonstrate how painstaking and frustrating research of this nature proves to be.

detailed case studies included in this thesis. When Philip Blackman approached the JEAC he possessed number of important assets. He was male, of proven academic ability and appears to have developed an independent spirit. All he required to set him on the path to success in his chosen career was modest financial assistance to continue his studies. His early academic progress clearly benefitted the family as a whole as his earnings as a pupil teacher contributed to the household budget. It is likely that this modest financial help, coupled with Philip's example and a similar academic ability, enabled his younger sister Frances to also qualify as a teacher. In the early twentieth century, for a female, she was fortunate to escape the fate of the majority of girls from the lower classes, namely working in the garment trades or as a domestic servant.

Contrast to Philip's life that of Maude Gold and Amy Robinson/Rolda, both promising musicians. There are differences between these two cases, particularly their ages when they came to the notice of the JEAC/JEAS, but there are also many similarities in the manner with which they were treated and the way their careers progressed. In Maude's case, because of her age when 'adopted' by the JEAS, it is understandable that the members exercised a considerable degree of control. What is questionable is the extent to which this continued throughout the years she remained in contact with either the JEAS or the UJW.[945] Despite not having achieved the success expected of her, clearly she was a talented musician. There will always remain the question surrounding the effect both her father's and the JEAS' dominance had on her development. The influence of both may well have been more restrained had she been male. Similarly, had she been male she probably would not have been expected to, or indeed have been willing, to accept responsibility for her older sisters. Without these various spheres of influence there are two possibilities. Had she not been subjected to the various pressures exercised by her family and the JEAS, she may have been able to devote all her energies to becoming a solo virtuoso. But once realising this would not be the case she may have more willingly accepted a lesser rôle becoming, as she eventually did, a member of a respected orchestra. These suggestions are merely speculation but, researching Maude's life has raised the questions relating to why she did not fulfil her ambition, if indeed it was her ambition and not that imposed upon her by others.

[945] 1908 when 'adopted' as a child prodigy to 1936, when it was recorded she had been sent a parcel of clothes.

In its way, despite the disparity in their ages, Amy' life followed a similar pattern. Clearly she had an ambitious father and when the members of the JEAC took his place financially as far as her career was concerned they fostered that ambition. Although her direct involvement with the JEAC was relatively short lived she benefited by advice and introductions to those of influence within the musical community arranged by members of the UJW. Initially it seems she would achieve success as an operatic soloist but then, as with Maude, family pressures may well have caused her gradual slide into anonymity raising the question 'would this have been the case had she been male'? The inference here is that women were subsumed by their families, be they parents; those acting in *locum-parentes or* siblings.

It was not only women from working class or poor families who were deprived of an academic education leading to a career in anything other than music, which was regarded as falling within women's sphere. Those from more affluent families frequently had little choice other than a life centred on marriage, children and domesticity. This patriarchal attitude is clearly demonstrated by the JEAS towards the members of the UJW regarding the latter's role in the selection of talented female applicants.

In spite of the apparent preference of the Committee members for those of both genders displaying artistic ability there was a clear acceptance that male applicants with an academic aptitude should also be assisted. As has been discussed, whatever the talent, artistic or academic, preference was given to males. The reason for this may not lie totally with the Committee members as to a large degree; they relied on others such as teachers and members of the Jewish community to forward recommendations. It is likely that, because of Judaism's traditional attitude towards the sex-rôle differences, fewer women were proposed for consideration. Whatever its shortcomings there is no doubt that the work of the JEAS improved the lot of some talented, and in some cases exceptional, young people. Yet the reality is that for the poor, immigrant or not, Jewish or not, the vast majority would remain unseen and unheard, thus unable to exploit what talent they had.

Afterword

The records show that during the early years of the JEAC and the JEAS, the majority of the successful applicants were artistic rather than academic. Betsy Buhay was the only academic female until the First World War when, initially, the acceptance of new applicants was deferred as:

> It was decided to take precautionary measure to reserve the Society's funds for the completion of the training of the students already in hand...[946]

This situation continued for some time but by 1916 it was reported that the largest number of new cases had been 'adopted in the Science Section' as the Committee felt that medical students were particularly important 'at the present time'.[947] By 1917 it was recorded that the bulk of applicants were science students and that:

> ...in view of the work of national importance that doctors, chemists, engineers and the like will be called upon to perform now and in the near future...[the Committee]...will assist wherever there is a reasonable expectation of a useful and successful career...[948]

In March 1920 it was reported that the termination of the War had seen a marked effect on the work of the JEAS and an increase in applications.[949] This led to a revision of those accepted and the decision to 'enforce rigid standards' resulting in the lowest ever acceptance of music candidates. On the other hand the Science Section reported that:

> ...5 students, including one lady, passed their final medical examinations. Another lady obtained the B.SC (Agri.) degree.[950]

Regrettably documents relating to the Society's applicants after this date are fragmented, comprising short notes as opposed to formal Minutes. They relate, briefly, to cases continuing from earlier years and, in 1938, to an increase in applicants from Austrian and Polish students because of persecution by the Nazi

[946] JEAS *Annual Report* 1914, p.6.
[947] JEAS *Annual Report* 17 March 1916.
[948] JEAS *Annual Report* 1917.
[949] JEAS *Annual Report* 1919.
[950] JEAS *Annual Report* 1921/1922.

regime. Also there is a reference in 1939 to an Italian who wanted to go to Switzerland because he:

> Was at the outset of a successful career in Italy...[where he had trained as a 'Music Conductor']...when the new laws against Jews came into force. [951]

This application was 'outside the Society's scope' but they obtained help for him from 'Special donations made by other sources'.[952]

The JEAS is believed to have ceased functioning sometime in the 1960s.[953] It is unfortunate that their records between 1939 and then are not available. Maybe requests for their assistance simply 'faded away' as free education possibilities increased.

[951] This information is contained in the Papers of the JEAS MS135: AJ35/337, Box 1, Bundle 2.
[952] Ibid.
[953] *Database of Archives of Non-Governmental Organisations. Education Aid Society (Jewish Education Aid Society).*www.dango.bham.ac.uk.

Appendix 1

Resolution Passed at Sub-Committee Meeting of 28 May, 1907

1. That it is desirable that while preferential treatment be given to cases of really exceptional talent, so as to ensure a continuity with the work of the Education Aid Committee, as hitherto carried on, the scope of the work of the Education Aid Committee be enlarged in the direction of helping all promising students needing assistance, to enable them, after consultation with the Board of Experts defined below, to complete their professional training.

2. That it is desirable that the EAC be entrusted with the duty of helping all female as well as male cases and that, with this end in view, ladies be invited to become members of the Committee.

3. That before finally adopting a female case the Committee shall always have invited the non-expert investigation of such cases by the Union of Jewish Women.

4. That the expenditure of the Committee should proceed from two sources of income, viz:

1. A general fund, to be provided only by subscriptions and donations, and
2. A supplementary fund to be derived from sums placed at the disposal of the Committee for the assistance of individual cases by the Patron or Patrons of such cases, or for the assistance of special classes of cases.

5. That there shall be associated with the Committee a permanent consultative board of experts, forming four sub-committees for, respectively,

1. Literature and Academic Studies;
2. Art;
3. Music;
4. Science:

and that this Board shall consist of not less than sixteen members, viz: - four for each sub-committee, and shall be composed both of men and women.

Appendix 2

Nathan Zelig Blackman [Nachman Bluhmann/Blechmann

B.abt 1840: D.06/02/1911 Bethnal Green

married (abt) 1861

Esther Zelda Friedman

B.(abt) 1840: D. 16/10/1932 Whitechapel

Rudolph	**Abraham**	**Louis**	**Zalman**	**Nathan**
Believed remained in Germany No trace	B.(abt) 1868/70 D.date unknown After 1925 USA census **M.06/05/1894** **Rachel Zelinski [Sashinski}** B.(abt) 1872. D.date unknown After 1925 USA census **Children:** **Born London**: Sarah 1895/6 *** Ada 1897/8 *** Pauline 1898/9 *** **Born USA** 2 after 1900 but died before 1910 Dates unknown *** **Abraham to USA 1898** **Wife & girls to USA 99/1900**	B.(abt) 1871 D. date unknown **M. 1900** **Rosie ????** B. (abt) 1879 D.date unknown After 1940 USA census **Divorced** between 1920/1930 USA census **Children:Born USA:** Ethel B.1901 *** Ida/Ada B.1902 *** Frederick B.1903 *** Abraham/Michael B.1907 *** Isidor/Frank B. 1910 *** Norman B.1916 *** **Louis to USA 1895** **Naturalized 1906**	No trace	B.(abt) 1873 D. date unknown **M 1902 to-1905** **Rosie/Rosa Rafalowoich/Rapolowick** B. date unknown D. date unknown **Children:Born Ontario** Rafael/Ralph Issac B.12/02/1906 D.29/10/1985 Michigan M. Date unknown Anne Kroll B.02/01/1910 D.04/01/1994Michigan *** David Tzchok B.11/02/1907 D.1991 Florida *** Hel (Dtr) B.02/01/1911 *** Nachman Zelig B.19/12/1911 *** Alexander/Elias B.30/07/1913 *** **Nathan To Quebec 16/05/1902**

Appendix 2 (cont.)

Philip	**Annie**	**Frances**
B.16/01/1881 D.04/04/1963 **M. 24/02/1907** **Cissy Danzic** B. (abt) 1885 D.July/Sept 1974 **Children:** Vivian Leopold B.06/01/1909 D. 1919 *** Lilian Rachel B.1910 D.2010 **M 1948** **Solomon Alberts** details unknown *** Theresa B.03/02/1912 D. Aug 2005 **M. 1936** **Joseph Pollen** *** Rose/Rosalind B.23/11/1921 D.Nov.1989 **M. 1949** **Bennie Press** B.1901.D.1992	B.1882 to 1886 D.date unknown **M.02/04/1911** **Joe/Joseph Stone** B. (abt) 1882 D. date unknown **Children:** Nathan Zalig B.22/05/1912 D. between Oct/ Dec 1912 *** John Joseph B. 03/06/1914 D. between April/June 1979	B. 1886 to 1889 D. date unknown **M. 01/08/1915** **Harry/Hyman** **Dubow (Duboff)** B.(abt) 1887 D. date unknown **Children:** Norman Selig B. 24/04/1916 D. date unknown **M.Oct/Dec 1941** Esther L Mackler B. 1920 Sons born 1943 & 1950 To Sydney,Aus. 10/01/1952 *** Iris B. 1923 To Sydney,Aus. 18/12/1951 *** Eveline/Ena. B. 1918 M.1939 Odesseas Chimonas B 25/01/1916 D. Feb.1994

Appendix 3

Osias/Hosea Gold

B.(abt) 1862 Romania D. 05/12/1929
Aged (abt) 67.Post operative shock (prostate)

married (abt) 1888
- -
Tony Pollog/Pollock/Pollack

B.(abt) 1866 Romania D.05/12/1938
Aged (abt) 71. Myocarditis; diabetes mellitius & senility

Isidore/Isadore/Issadore	**Sophie**	**Edith**	**Harry**	**Esther**	**Maud/ Maude**
B.Roumania 29/03/1890 (per DC) D.07/02/1972 Aged 82 Pneumonia + Parkinsons Disease **M.18/08/1920 Prestwich Lily Bernstein** B.27/07/1897 D.Oct.1988 Aged 91 **Children:** Ellis Neville B.1927 D.2011 *** Sidney Graham B.1928 D. N/K *** Cyril Osias B.1930 D.N/K	B. Roumania 26/10/1893 (per DC) D.11/08/1971 Aged 77 Bronchopneu-monia	B.Roumania/ Hungary 29/09/1895 (per DC) D.23/08/1972 Aged 76 misadventure result of burns -	B.Wales 03/08/1900 D.? Body found 23/01/1960 Aged 59 Accidental Carbon monoxide poisoning	B.Wales 15/03/1902 D.25/01/1949 Aged 46 **M. 26/12/1928 Cardiff Abraham Joseph (Abrum Dembt Schuk)** B.(abt)1897 D. (possibly) 1969 **Children:** Shirley B.1930	B.Wales 25/06/1898 D.13/12/1965 Aged 67 Ovarian cancer

Appendix 4

Eskell Robinson

B.(abt) 1821 Russia D.21/11/1902 Manchester
Aged (abt) 80. Diabetis Mellititus

married 14/07/1852 Ecclesall Bierlow

Eliza Hall

B.(abt) 1829/31 Sheffield D.15/01/1894 Manchester
Aged (abt) 64. Bronchitis & congestion of the lungs

Sarah B.14 /05/1850 D.10/01/1924 Aged 73 Chronic bronchitis **M.02/05/1883** **Max Wolpé** B.(abt)1855 D.Unknown	**Ellen** **(aka Helen)** B.26/05/1853 D.24/06/1943 Aged 90 Myocardial degeneration & senility	**Charlotte** B.24/01/1855 D.11/12/1920 Aged 66 Angina pectoria & syncope	**Emma** B.19/05/1858 D.29/11/1861 Aged 3 Croup
Charles B.14/01/1861 D.25/01.1934 Aged 73 Cerebral haemorrhage & arterio-sclerosis	**Ephram** B.09/04/1863 D.25/05/1863 Aged 6/7 weeks Tuberculosis	**Herman** B.19/02/1864 D.29/06/1895 Aged 31 Sudden death by poisoning	**Raphael** **(aka Ralph)** B.28/05/1866 D.06/05/1929 Aged 62 Valvular disease of the heart
Solomon B.15/11/1867 D.09/12/1923 Aged 56 Cerebral haemorrhage **M.27/06/1898** **Ada (Ida) Holroyd** B.1870/71 D.Unknown	**Moses Albert** **(aka Albert)** B.16/01/1871 D.03/02/1910 Aged 39 Cerebral tumour **M (possibly) Between 1896 & 1901** **Elizabeth Ann Goddard** B.Aden 1871 D.Unknown	**Jacob Elijah** B.18/01/1872 D.17/04/1873 Aged 15 mnths Hydrocephalus & convulsions	**Amy Schône Dasha** B.17/11/1874 D.04/10/1964 Aged 89 Coronary thrombosis **M.20/07/1954** **William George Gass** B.1858 D.07/02/1955 Arteriosclerosis & bronchopneumonia

Glossary

Agudas Yisrael
A world Jewish movement and political party seeking to preserve orthodoxy by adherence to **halakhah** as the principle governing Jewish life.

Ashkenazi (plural Ashkenazim)
Jews chiefly of Central and Eastern European origin, following the Polish or German rite, slightly different from that of the Sephardim.

Chevra (plural chevrot)
A society or fraternity, usually formed for religious purposes; hence, a small synagogue.

Der Veker
The Worker

Der Yidisher Ekspres
The Jewish Express.

English zelbst¿-lehrer
A self instruction English language textbook for *Yiddish* speakers.

Frisher luft
Fresh air

Goldarbeiter
Goldworker.

Goy
Gentile

Gubernia
A province.

Halacha(h)
A system of law governing Jewish observance, as opposed to custom or *minhag.*.

Kol Nidrei
The solemn prayer on the eve of Yom Kippur that ushers in the Day of Atonement.

Kosher
Fit for consumption and use according to orthodox Jewish law.

Min-hag
Religious rite or custom.

Mishna / Mishnah (plural Mishnayoth)
An authoritative collection of exegetical material embodying the oral tradition of Jewish law and forming part of the Talmud.

Sephardi (plural Sephardim)
Jews, principally descended from and practicing the rites of those expelled from Spain and Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century.

Sofmuth
Religious scribal art.

Torah
The five Books of Moses; by extension the whole body of Judaic literature.

Tzedakah
Charitable giving, typically seen as a moral obligation as part of Jewish religious tradition.

Yiddish
A language first used by Jews in central and eastern Europe. Originally a German dialect with words from Hebrew and several modern languages.

Yom kippur
The day of Atonement, accompanied by twenty-five-hour fast: the Sabbath of Sabbaths.

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