The Archaeology of Anglo-Jewry in England and Wales 1656–c.1880

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Cover image: Merthyr Tydfil Synagogue 1872, sold in 1983. Photo by J Marks 2010.

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Every effort has been made to trace all the copyright holders, but if any have been overlooked they can be added at the first opportunity.

Provinces

Bath: Norman Marks, Friends of Bath Jewish Burial Ground, Richard Sermon, Archaeological Officer, Bath and North East Somerset Council.

Birmingham: Bernard Gingold, administrator Singers Hill Synagogue. Lionel Singer local historian, Stanley Busby for photographs of Singers Hill Synagogue. Rabbi Shmuel Arkush, Rabbi of Birmingham Jewish Community Care Centre and an authority on the history of the Birmingham community.

Brighton: Gordon Franks, member of the community and guide of Jewish Brighton.

Bristol: Alex Schlesinger and Sam Silverman, President of the Synagogue.

Canterbury: King's School, Bursars Office.

Cardiff: Rabbi Wellenberg, who hold keys to the Old Cemetery

Chatham: David Herling, Vice Chairman Chatham Hebrew Community.

Cheltenham: Sam Stone, Chairman of the Community. Michael Webber Hon. Secretary

Coventry: Barry Deitch, President Coventry Reform Congregation.

Dover: Hambrook and Johns Funeral Directors, who hold field survey plans of the cemetery compiled in 1996 and Dover Reference Library.
Exeter: Dr. Paul Newglass, President of the Synagogue.
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Yarmouth: Town Hall and Records Office.

Most of the Anglo-Jewry community is refugees, descended from refugees or economic migrants. I hope that this study will result in the present community knowing more about the settlement in Britain from the 17th century. This study is also an attempt to create an archive before more of our heritage is lost to neglect. There is a wealth of synagogue and cemetery heritage to be preserved and also topographical and physical evidence of the period 1656-c.1880 and it is increasingly in danger.

I am well aware of the shortcomings in my study, and I shall always be grateful to anyone who lets me know of any errors or omissions.

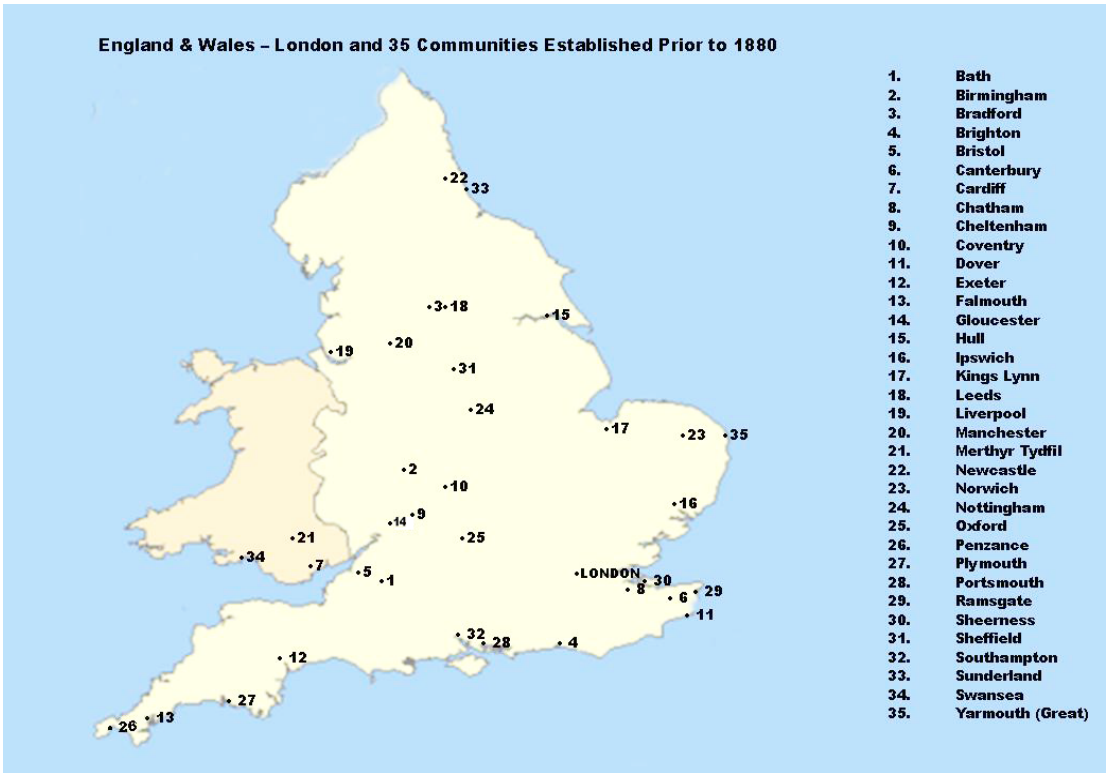

Figure 1.1 London and 35 provincial communities established prior to 1880

Chapter 1

Introduction

From 1656, under Cromwell, during a period when England was a republic, Jews were re-admitted to England after an absence of c.360 years, For around the first 80 years, the community was based solely in London and they could practice their religion openly. In the late second quarter of the 18th century, small communities were established in the provinces. Lipman (1954, 65) states that, '…from a modest beginning, the first Jews numbered around 200 people; the community grew mainly due to the arrival of immigrants from the Continent, so that by 1880 there were already around 60, 000-65, 000 Jews living across the country in around 40 different locations'. Even then, London represented over two thirds of Anglo-Jewry. In one year (1880-1881), the community nearly doubled to around 100, 000, following the arrival of thousands of Jews fleeing from persecution and poverty following the assassination of Alexander II in 1881 and the subsequent anti-Jewish laws (Ibid 85). According to Endelman (2002, 127) 'It is impossible to know the exact number of East European immigrants who settled in Britain. This is in part because the government only began to collect figures of aliens in 1890 and then failed to identify Jews as such'. The history of the Jewish community in England between 1656 and 1880 has been written by several historians, one of the most recent being *The Jews of Britain 1656-2000* (Endelman 2002), with the previous standard work being *A History of the Jews in England* (Roth 1941). The same author wrote several other works, including *The Rise of Provincial Jewry* (1950). Also invaluable has been *Social History of the Jews in England 1850*-1950 (Lipman 1954) the approximate size of each community in 1850 is discussed and *The Lost Synagogues of London* (Renton 2000). There are also works on provincial communities such as *Jews in Bristol* (Samuel 1997), *The Lost Jews of Cornwall from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Pearce and Fry 2000), *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875* (Williams 1976), *Portsmouth Jewry 1730s-1980s* (Weinberg 1998) and a *History of Sunderland Jewish Community 1755-1955* (Levy 1956), *The Jews of Exeter an Illustrated History* (Fry 2013).

This study shows that on the basis of the topography, Judaism is as much a community as it is a religion. Hachlili (2001, 96) states 'The archaeology of Judaism is the term meaning art, archaeology and material culture created specifically for the Jewish community', to this can be added the evidence of burial traditions. As for Jewish archaeology and topography, very little work has been done on these topics,

and published works on aspects are few and far between. Moreover, prior to this study, the evidence of urban topography of Anglo-Jewry in the period 1656-c.1880 had not been brought together in a methodical way.

1.1 The form of this study

This study comprises a further six chapters, which cover the topics described below.

Chapter 2 gives a brief historical picture of the pre-expulsion period, prior to 1290, while the main part deals with Anglo-Jewish history between 1656 and 1880. It separates the London and provincial communities, as it was not until c.1742 that Jewish communities were established in the provinces. The basis for the dates when provincial communities were established is discussed, as is the approximate size and growth of the community in this period.

Chapter 3 identifies themes and approaches and sets out the primary research aims and questions, the methodology, methodological problems and limitations. A questionnaire used when visiting each site, in order to bring a uniform approach, is presented, and the structure of the gazetteer is considered.

Chapter 4 examines the physical evidence of 17th-late 19th-century Jewish communities and synagogues. Their location reflects the history and mobility of the community. Each synagogue is listed and first-and-second edition Ordnance Survey Maps (1880-1900) showing their locations are provided in the gazetteer. In a few cases, there were 'Jewries' and street names with Jewish connections that indicate concentrations of Jews, but this was in contrast to cities in Continental Europe, such as in Paris and Venice which had quarters of the city in which Jews were formerly required to live, known as 'ghettos'. The only archaeological evidence of these areas is the surrounding walls, which were built to isolate and also protect the communities and synagogues which were not destroyed by the Nazis.

Chapter 4 also examines the evidence of *mikva'ot* (religious baths), in certain provincial cities; there are none remaining in London from this period. It also discusses material culture in the form of excavated archaeological evidence (only from London) that can be positively identified as being Jewish, such as pottery, *kosher* meat, cloth seals and *shofar'ot* (ritual rams' horns). These were previously discussed in the authors MA dissertation '*The Archaeology of Anglo-Jewry in London c.1070-1290 and 1656-1850' (*Marks 2008). These topics have been expanded to included further evidence.

Chapter 5 examines the second main body of evidence: cemeteries. Differences existed in burial traditions between Sephardi (Spanish and Portuguese Origins) and Ashkenazi (European) Jews, and changes took place over the period in the form of inscriptions, styles of gravestones and monumental architecture. Where they exist, plans of graveyards are shown. First-edition and second-edition Ordnance Survey Maps showing locations of Jewish cemeteries in the 17th-late 19th century are shown in the gazetteer.

Chapter 6 identifies areas of Jewish settlement and examines changes and movements over the 220-year period. This chapter also includes a discussion of settlement and the economic reasons that lay behind it.

Chapter 7 concludes with an appraisal of the key findings set in a wider cultural and social perspective. Suggestions are made for future research.

Part 2 comprises a gazetteer with summary sheets and extracts from Ordnance Survey maps for individual towns and sites.

Chapter 2

Brief Summary of Anglo-Jewish History c.1066–c.1880

Before discussing the evidence and topography of Anglo-Jewry in Britain between 1656 and c.1880, it is necessary to understand the history of medieval Anglo-Jewry, expulsion in 1290 and the impact this had on immigrants coming to England in the 17th century. Unlike the medieval period, when the first Jewish immigrants came from France, the first immigrants from 1656 came mainly from Amsterdam via Spain and Portugal, followed by Jews from Central and Eastern Europe (Roth 1978, 173).

2.1 Pre-expulsion period c.1066-1290

The first Jews to settle in Britain came largely from Rouen in Normandy after 1066, at the invitation of William the Conqueror. Later, following a massacre in Rouen in 1096 by crusading knights (a prelude to the atrocities on the Rhineland, when all who refused baptism were butchered), the Jewish community in England increased with more immigrants from France. According to Roth (1978, 6) '…it is likely that a settled and relatively numerous Anglo-Jewish Community owes its origin to these events, though there is no documentary evidence to support this assumption'.

William previously had business dealings with Jews in France, particularly money lenders. In the middle ages, Christians were forbidden by cannon law to lend money for interest. Thus, Jews provided credit prior to the emergence of banks, and medieval monarchs found it particularly useful that Jews engaged in money lending. According to Black (2003, 10) '…in addition to financiers, French Jewish doctors came and Jewish and Christian merchants and craftsmen, particularly silversmiths and jewellers'.

Unlike on the continent, formal ghettos were never instituted in England. Whilst there were clusters of Jews in distinct quarters, Jews and Christians lived alongside each other, often near the commercial centre or market place, in areas known as 'Jewries'. According to Roth 'The internal organisation of English Jewry in the Middle Ages was very similar to that which prevailed elsewhere in Europe. Life centred about the synagogues' (1978, 117).

In London and the provinces, Jew's houses were sometimes situated near the castle or cathedral for protection against persecution. The more wealthy Jewish traders and moneylenders lived in stone houses, which afforded greater protection and signified status. It was in these houses that some of the more wealthy had a room set aside for communal prayers and sometimes the under croft was adapted for use as a mikveh (ritual bath). Jews were among the first to live is stone houses in London, which later made them the target for being confiscated and taken over by the nobility.

Throughout the 220 years before expulsion in 1290, heavy taxes were imposed on Jewish communities. 'The Exchequer of the Jews' was set up, and its records in the form of tallage returns (record of taxes levied by the King), deeds and pipe rolls (rolled up parchment containing financial records of yearly audits performed by the Exchequer) are now in the Guildhall Library, the Public Records Office in Kew and St Paul's Cathedral Archives. These show that in the period 1263-1273 alone, £420, 000 was collected from a declining and increasingly persecuted community. While in 1264, 1500 Jews were said to have been killed in London, while in 1280, Jews were forced to attend conversionist sermons (Renton 2000, 17). In 1271, Henry III gave the main synagogue in London to the Dominican friars because the Jews made too much noise when praying (Tovey 1738, 104).Taxes were imposed up to the time of expulsion, which bankrupted the remaining community. Those left were no longer a source of revenue, and therefore they had no value to the King. In 1290 Edward I ordered the expulsion of the Jews from England, and any that did not convert to Christianity were put to death. Property was confiscated, often given to Edward's family or favoured members of the court, whilst Jewish cemeteries such as in London, York and Oxford were destroyed, made into gardens or built over. For example, Stow (1598, 261) states 'This plot of land (the London cemetery) remained to the said Jews till the time of their final banishment out of England, and is now turned into fair garden plots and summer houses for pleasure'.

There are no completely reliable figures as to the size of the 13th century community. According to Lipman (1968, 65) 'at the beginning of the 13th century the community may have been as many as 4, 000-5, 000.The number of Jews then expelled was around 15, 000 (Stow 1598, 245). This figure, however, has been shown to be far too high. Black (2003, 17) states that, '… it now seems generally accepted that at peak there were between 5, 000-6, 000 Jews in England', with at least 25 centres with *archaes*, (chests or coffers for the deposit of the records of Jewish financial transactions). After 1253, Jews were only allowed to live in towns with an *archae* (Figure 1). Morris (2008, 227) notes that, 'According to more recent research, by the time of expulsion there were only around 2, 000 remaining in England'. Any medieval Jewish population figures can only be approximate. By the time the Jews were expelled in 1290, many had already gone to France. England was the first country in medieval Europe to expel its Jewish community. Edward's policy was to remove by confiscation and destruction all physical evidence of Jews in England, although as noted above, large numbers of medieval arbitrary tax documents levied

Figure 2.1 Map of medieval Jewish communities in 12th-13th centuries, showing those with archaes (chests or coffers for the deposit of the records of Jewish financial transactions) (Campbell, et al 2009).

by the king, known as tallages, pipe rolls (annual records of the British Exchequer) and deeds relating to the Jews shed light on the topography and chronology of Anglo-Jewry in the medieval period.

The discovery of the medieval Jewish cemetery in Cripplegate following the bombing of the City of London during the Blitz (Honeybourne, 1959) as well as the unearthing of *mikva'ot* (ritual baths) during re-development in Gresham Street in 1986 and Milk Street in 2001 (Blair et al. 2001) are the most important medieval Jewish archaeological finds made in Britain. Evidence for medieval Jewry is known from several towns, including Bristol, Lincoln, Northampton, Norwich, Worcester and York, and there are medieval finds from London, such as four Hebrew tombstone fragments found in Aldersgate and Moorfields (Honeybourne, 1959) and several medieval copper-alloy Sabbath lamps from Bristol and London.

Despite expulsion, destruction and confiscation of property, Jewish life never completely disappeared. Outwardly, remaining Jews known as Marronas, who were forced to convert to Christianity to save their lives and were compelled to attend

church, married and were buried as Christians. Roth. 1978, 141 notes show that, 'A number of 'secret Jews' (Marranos) fled to London from Spain and Portugal to escape persecution, joining those who worshipped outwardly as Christians but practised Judaism in secret in unknown private houses'.

This is known from Jewish traders who returned to Amsterdam after attending secret services in London (Ibid, 141). According to Black (2003,18) '…before re-admission in 1656 there is written evidence of Jewish doctors from Continental Europe treating Edward II (1307-1327) and Henry IV (1399-1413)'. When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, several Jewish families returned to England' (Ibid, 18). In 1558, 'there were possibly 40 or so families living in London' (Ibid, 19). 'The head of one family was Dr. Roderigo Lopez, the first house physician at St Bartholomew's Hospital. His most eminent patient was the Queen, although he was falsely accused of trying to poison her at the instigation of the King of Spain and executed at Tyburn in 1594' (Roth 1978, 143).

2.2 Jewish population growth from 1656-c.1880

Year	Size of Community	Comments
1656/1657	160	Readmission
1663	219	
1684	414-450	
1695	c.1,000	Census showed 850 within City of London walls
1727/1742	6,000*	Beginnings of provincial communities
1753/1760	6000/ 8,000**	Majority in London
1767	18,000**	
1800	20,000/25,000	
1815	30,000**	c.18,000 in London
1850	c.35,000 ****	c.20,000 in London
1870	40,000	
c.1880	**60,000/65,000******	**(representing c. 0.2 percent of total population)**
1881	100,000***	c. 47,000 in London

Between 1881 and 1914, 120-150,000 East European Jews settled in Britain
**Tovey, 1738 **Roth, 1978 ***Adler, 1970 ****Lipman, 1961*
Other figures from A Survey of Anglo-Jewry in 1851 (Lipman, 1951).
N.B. Prior to 1852, no precise figures exist for the size of the Jewish population. There was no Government agency that regulated the entry of aliens.

Jewish population figures can be based only on contemporary estimates and limited demographic information. Official censuses in the 19th century did not classify populations according to religion. In 1880/1881, no passport or police registration was required to enter England, and many immigrants passed through, some staying for a short while to raise money to pay for their journey onto America, Canada and South Africa.

2.3 Community in London from 1656-c.1880

As early as 1630, 26 years before Cromwell's admission edict, merchants with Jewish origins, known as *Marranos* (Christianized Jews) from Portugal, Spain and Italy, joined the few Jews already living in London. These immigrants had adopted Spanish and Portuguese names; their previous medieval name-form was first name, followed by town or street of their habitation, such as 'Aaron of Lincoln' or 'Moses of Milk Street'. One such immigrant, Fernandez Carvajal, was a native of Portugal who, according to Roth (1978, 159) 'was to become among the most prominent merchants in London'. Black states (2003, 210) that, 'It was to Carvajal that Cromwell gave the assurance of the right of Jews to remain in England'. He is referred to again later.

The Jews of Spain fled from the Inquisition in 1492, moving first to Portugal, then to Amsterdam, where they could openly practice their religion. Amsterdam subsequently became one of the world's leading trading centres with a thriving Jewish community that posed little threat to the Protestant community (Roth 1978, 158). Cromwell, a devout Puritan, aimed to copy the commercial success of Amsterdam and re-establish London as a major trading centre, the re-admission of the Jews was key to this. In 1656, he authorized re-admission after the absence of a community for 366 years. According to Renton (2000, 21) 'The re-admission was based on English financial and commercial interests, as well as on the Puritan study of the Old Testament, allied with a desire for the ultimate conversion and redemption of The Jews'. 'There was also a belief amongst Dutch and English Puritans that the Second Coming of a Messiah would only happen when Jews were present all over the world' (Roth 1978, 157).

In 1665, after 10 years of negotiations during which clergy and merchants opposed the idea, Jews were officially allowed to settle. Certain terms were imposed. At first, Cromwell only allowed entry to merchants and their families, and they had to live in London. The topography of the earliest re-resettlement community is to be found in the City of London, within the area known as the 'Square Mile'. The early settlers were not allowed either to proselytize or speak against Christianity, nor could they publish religious books in English. Furthermore, the community had to be self-dependent and support its own poor. They were, by and large, Dutch of Spanish and Portuguese origin (Sephardim), joined later by a small group of German and Polish origin (Ashkenazim). The Sephardim considered themselves to be superior to the Ashkenazim as they came from a social class in Holland that was assimilated and moneyed, whilst the Ashkenazim came from the more insular and poorer communities in Germany and central Europe.

Cromwell permitted a small group of about 40 or 50 merchants and the families of Portuguese Jewish merchants already living in London to meet for prayers in private houses and to acquire a cemetery in Mile End in the east of London. Black (2003, 19) notes that, 'synagogue services were held privately in a house owned by one Alvaro Mendes in Creechurch Lane, Aldgate'. In 1657, the first synagogue following re-admission was opened in this street, large enough to hold the entire

community at that time. Endelman (2002, 29) writes that, 'In 1660 there were about 35 Sephardim living in London, by 1684 this had increased to 90'. Creechurch Lane was extended in 1673 to hold 250 congregants, by end of the 17th century the London community had grown to over a 1, 000 persons (Black 2003, 24/25). Creechurch Lane survived the Great Fire in 1666 and was in use until 1701. There are no surviving remains, but there are documents and conjectural plans in the Bevis Marks Synagogue archive that give a full description. The first Ashkenazi synagogue was opened in 1690 in Duke's Place, EC3 in the City of London.

Land for the first Sephardi cemetery was purchased in 1657 in Mile End E1. in an orchard in a corner of a field. Records from Bevis Marks Synagogue Burial Register show that prior to 1660, five tombstones had been placed in this cemetery known as the 'House of Life' (*Bet Chajim*), later known as the *Velho* (Old) Cemetery of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. At that time, Mile End was a village, situated one mile from the City. The *Velho* cemetery is the oldest post re-settlement Jewish cemetery in Britain and was in use until c.1742. A second Sephardi cemetery opened in 1733, also in Mile End, is known as the *Nuevo* (New) Cemetery of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. In 1697, the first Ashkenazi (Jews from Central and Eastern Europe) cemetery was opened in Alderney Road adjacent to the *Velho.*

From 1656, Jews were allowed to practice their religion and live openly with rights of residence, but were not allowed to buy freeholds of property. In 1656, they were mainly living around the parish of St Olave, Hart Street, which was within walking distance of Creechurch Lane Synagogue. On August 22nd 1664, the Privy Council issued the first written statement that '…. *the residence of the Jews in England was authorised*' (Roth 1978, 171). A list of Jews in 1660 identifies Jewish families living in Duke's Place, Creechurch Lane and Bevis Marks (Lipman 1970, 43). 'The newcomers took up residence not in Old Jewry (the centre of the medieval community) but in the area of Houndsditch, Duke's Place Petticoat Lane (then called Hog Street) and Jewry Street, all on the edge of the City' (Black 2003, 23). This area was to be associated with the growing community for the next 200 years.

Roth notes that, 'Following Cromwell's death in 1658, his son Richard petitioned for the Jews to be banished and their property confiscated' (1978, 167). This petition received powerful support from the merchants in The City of London who were concerned about trading competition from the new immigrant merchants or 'intruders'. Roth also notes that, 'The petition did not succeed neither did a second petition in 1660 when Charles II came to the throne. The second petition was thrown out in 1664 by the Privy Council' (1978, 176).

From around the 1680s and 1690, the early Sephardi community who were mainly from Spain and Portugal were joined by Ashkenazi immigrants from Holland, Germany and France (Roth 1978, 173). The community now included not only merchants, but also commodity brokers, precious stone dealers and doctors, in addition to pedlars and beggars, who, as was the custom, relied on help from wealthy Jews. Overall, the poor are reckoned to represent around half of the community (Black 2003, 25); this partly accounts for discrepancy in the later census figures, as

many were vagrant pedlars. When Carvajal died in 1660, we know from his will that he bequeathed £30 for the relief of the poor (Wolf 2002, 11).

Where many new immigrants lived can be identified by their names in the 1695 census. They appear in six adjoining parishes: St James' Duke's Place, St Katherine Cree, St Andrew Undershaft, St Katherine Undershaft, St Katherine Coleman and St Helen's Bishopsgate (Figure 4.1). Jews lived and moved in complete freedom, although they tended to live near each other.

By 1690, there were two synagogues in London, one Sephardi in Creechurch Lane and one Ashkenazi in Duke's Place. At first, the Sephardim and Ashkenazim shared one cemetery. There would have been at least one *shochet* (ritual animal slaughterer), who also performed administrative functions. Ritual animal slaughtering was also sometimes carried out by the rabbi, who also may have acted as a *mohel* (one who performs the rite of circumcision).

It is still evident that the poor and infants were buried without head stones. Cemetery evidence will show that sometimes burial records were not accurate. Written records and scarce evidence from inscriptions that can still be read on head stones show that by 1660, and there was an organised and structured community, for example the title 'Rabbi' is evident on restored tombstones (personal observation 2009).

In the late 17th century, in addition to around 1, 000 Jews already settled in London, new immigrants, mostly poor and unskilled, were arriving from Central and Eastern Europe. They dealt in used clothes and peddled, and some opened small shops (Black 2003, 25). Until 1692, many new immigrants met for prayers in private houses occupied by Ashkenazi Jews, not with the Sephardim in Creechurch Lane. The principal reason for this is that Ashkenazim and Sephardim had a different cultural background and retain a different pronunciation of Hebrew with a different form of synagogue service. In 1701, the Sephardim opened a larger synagogue around the corner from the original synagogue in Creechurch Lane. Bevis Marks gets its name from *Buries Markes* from the Court of the Abbots of Bury (St Edmunds), the old name signifying the area where the Abbot held jurisdiction (Hyamson 1951, 75). According to Black (2003, 28) 'The design of Bevis Marks was loosely based of the main synagogue in Amsterdam'. Many of the original members of the London Sephardi community came from Amsterdam. Bevis Marks is the oldest surviving synagogue in Britain with services held every day and is Grade I listed by English Heritage.

From c.1720, the Jewish community numbered about 5, 000 to 6, 000, virtually all based in London. 'In the period 1720-1735 around 1, 500 poor Sephardim arrived in London fleeing from the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. In the second half of the century more Sephardim arrived from Holland, Italy, North Africa and Gibraltar' (Endelman 2002, 168-170). Even with Sephardi immigration, by the 1720s, the Ashkenazim outnumbered the Sephardim. The late 17th and early 18th-century, during the reign of William III (1694-1702), marked the consolidation and acceptance of Jews into society.

Until c.1740, the early history and physical evidence of the Jews of Britain is only found in London. From around 1740, there were two social groups, rich and poor.

Itinerant peddlers returned to London or the nearest provincial town at week-ends, where there were Jews residing, or to be with their families, and to restock with goods for selling the following week. For the poor, trying to make a living in London was difficult, as there were too many peddlers plying their trade in a fairly limited area. Some took to the road selling second-hand clothing, jewellery and other small items that could be carried from town to town. According to Endelman (2002, 41) 'prior to 1740 there would have been itinerant peddlers and long-time vagabonds who travelled the length of the Diaspora'. Roth (1950, 15) notes that, 'some settled in towns where there was a market, others in sea ports, although it was not until c.80 years after re-admission that communities with cemeteries and rooms for prayers were established in the provinces'.

The acquisition of land for a cemetery and the availability of a mikveh (ritual bath) characterised towns where Jews lived, unless they could bathe in the sea or there were facilities in public baths. Rabbis forbade Jews to establish new communities without a mikveh. A mikveh is considered more important than a synagogue, as communal services can be held in private houses. Whilst little hard evidence remains of the early re-settlement *mikva'ot* (plural), documentary evidence reveals *mikva'ot* at synagogues or in houses occupied by Jews. It is necessary to understand the importance of *mikva'ot* in Jewish religious life. A mikveh (singular) is used by both men and women and involves total immersion: Orthodox Jews consider physical purity as a powerful metaphor for spiritual purity. Kadish (1996, 101) states that, '… since temple time and indeed before, the mikveh literally 'a gathering of water' or ritual bath has played an essential role in the practice of Judaism'.

Religious objects such as *Torahs* (parchment scrolls hand-written in Hebrew containing the first five books of the scriptures), silver objects to decorate them, silver candle sticks, prayer books and the congregation itself make a room or synagogue holy. Evidence of synagogues prior to 1880 comprises mainly documentary narratives and illustrations. As communities moved or needed larger synagogues, original buildings were converted to other uses or destroyed. When communities dwindled in size and could no longer support a synagogue, services were held in hired hall or private houses.

'By 1790 the London community had grown to around 18, 000 and a larger Ashkenazi synagogue was erected in Duke's Place, later to be called 'The Great Synagogue' (Black 2003, 29). It was destroyed during the London Blitz on 11th May 1941 and replaced by a temporary hut (Figure 4.20). Roth (1987, 241) states, 'By 1800 the total community in Britain had increased in number to around 20, 000' due to a new wave of pogroms in Eastern Europe leading to thousands of fugitives fleeing persecution'. By the end of the 18th century, there were four important synagogues in London: Bevis Marks, the Great Synagogue; the New Synagogue which opened 1761 at Leadenhall Street and the Hambro, which was opened in a house and extended in 1725. Of these, only Bevis Marks remains. In the 19th-century, there were a number of smaller synagogues, mostly in houses or rented halls. Amongst these were Sandy's Row (established 1851), Princes (Princelet) Street (established 1870) and Whites Row (established 1860), which served Dutch, German and Polish immigrants. The overwhelming majority of Jews

who settled in England during the 18th and early 19th century came from traditional Jewish communities, in Poland, Germany and Holland.

Throughout the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century, the bulk of the community in London remained in the eastern part of the City. Due to lack of space, it began to spread further east, but remained within walking distance of the main synagogues and street markets. Subsequently, the more established immigrants started to move out of the City and east London. From synagogue records, according to Lipman (1972, 44), 'First, two small Jewish settlements of mostly shopkeepers and craftsmen sprang up in the West End, around Covent Garden, St James and Southwark'. In theory, Jews were not allowed to be retailers, as this trade was limited to freemen of the City of London who could take the Christological oath. Outside the City, this practice was ignored. The second development was that 'the richest Jews while keeping their homes in the City in order to be near their businesses were acquiring 'country' seats in Stanmore, Totteridge, Watford, and Highgate' (Ibid, 44).

1800-c.1880 Emancipation

By the beginning of the 19th century, the majority of the Jewish community were either poor immigrants or children of immigrants. By 1880, this had changed and many were now 'middle-class'. More immigrants came from Holland, Germany and Poland, and according to Black (1978, 241), 'By 1830, there were about 30, 000 Jews in total living in Britain, 20, 000 in London and 10, 000 in the provinces'. These immigrants were received and supported by religious and voluntary associations in an established community with an institutional framework: most of them could not speak English (Englander 1994, 64). Some made enough money to pay their sea fare to the United States, Canada and South Africa. By the middle of the 19th century, there were now three classes of Jews: rich merchants and bankers, the growing middle class, and the poor. Over the 200-year period from the re-settlement, the community now reflected wider society in England.

It was not till 1858, however, that a Jew (Baron Lionel de Rothschild) became a Member of Parliament, as the previous Oath of Allegiance had excluded Jews from sitting in the House. By 1870, there were eight Jewish Members of Parliament. Also, they could not be called to the Bar, which required them to take the oath according to the forms of the established church, nor attend university in Oxford or Cambridge, and they were therefore excluded from many professions, such as law. The establishment of University College in London in 1826 was a landmark for the Jewish community, as it was non-denominational and accepted students from all religions. In 1830, the Common Council in London enacted a new rule that '…any person who took up the freedom could make the necessary oath in a form agreeable to his religious convictions' (Roth 1978, 254). This allowed Jews to become freemen of the City, members of the livery companies and to engage in trade. In 1830, Moses Montefiore, a philanthropist, became sheriff of London and was knighted by Queen Victoria. He was the first Jewish knight since Solomon de Medina in 1700. By

1880, there were 200 families who had made their fortunes from banking and other financial activities, who were the main supporters of charitable institutions such as care homes for the Jewish poor and schools' (Black 2003, 77). The election of a Jewish Member of Parliament, a Jew appointed a sheriff of London and knighted, demonstrates their acceptance into the wider society

The London community was to change from 1880, the year recognised by the later community as the great divide for Anglo-Jewish history. Between 1881 and 1914, 3, 000, 000 Jews fled from oppression and poverty, of which 100, 000/150, 000 settled in Britain. This watershed marks the end point of this study.

Where did they live in London?

European Jews have always been urban in their orientation. Throughout the medieval period, over half of the Jews in England lived in London. According to Hillaby (1990, 90), 'A distinct area of Jewish settlement can be traced to an early date. Historical documents in St Paul's refer to a *vicus Judeorum* in about 1130 in all probability 'Old Jewry'. Evidence, such as tallage books, deeds and pipe rolls reveals Jewish settlement in 10 London parishes by the 13th century. First, they were not far from 'The Cheap' the principle marketing area of the city if not the kingdom' (Ibid, 92). Second, they were close to the Tower of London, where the royal Constable was responsible for the administration and protection of the Jewry. On re-admission, they did not settle around the Guildhall (the location of five medieval synagogues), as this area had been rebuilt, and the City fathers did not want 'intruders' to live amongst them (Roth 1978, 168). As they were not freemen of the City, Jews were not allowed to open shops there. However they were free to open shops and market stalls on the eastern fringe. Lipman (1956, 52) states 'The eastern borders of the City attracted other foreigners such as the Huguenots as this area contained zones that were immune from various trade regulations and taxes'. Up to the end of the 18th century, the majority of London Jews lived in the east of London, around Spitalfields. Jews who lived in the City were both rich and poor. According to Lipman, 'The more wealthy members of the community started to move from the area to Hackney and Finsbury around the 1830s (1962, 78-102). The very rich, such as members of the Rothschild, Montefiore, Goldsmid and Mocatto families, moved to the West End. In the 1860s, some of the new middle class moved to Bayswater, Notting Hill and Shepherds Bush. In the 1880s, some moved to the Maida Vale area where according to Black (2003, 64) '20 per cent of Maida Vale's 10, 000 residents were Jewish'. Hackney, at this time a village, was within reach of the City, became a new residential area for the growing 'middle class'.

These changes in demography resulted in new synagogues being established and old ones being abandoned. Synagogues, as well holding religious services, acted as community centres and schools. In the early 19th-century, Orthodox or traditional families who had moved westwards from the City, and even out of the West End, were separated from their synagogues and had to walk four or five miles on a Sabbath

or High Holidays to attend services. In the West End in 1841, The West London Reform Synagogue, near to Marble Arch was established in 1870. The previous small buildings being in Burton Street WC1 and Margaret Street W1, but it did not attract those who wished to worship in the traditional and unReformed way. In 1862, the foundation stone for an Orthodox synagogue was laid in Bayswater off the Harrow Road, 'a pleasant suburban neighbourhood' (Renton 2000, 79).

The development of London Jewish suburbia from 1830s or early 1840s accelerated with the growth of railways in the mid-19th century, when the rich and middle class were moving out of the East End, although the vast majority of London's 20, 000 Jews were still living in east London (Ibid, 79).

Following the severe winter of 1848/9, the standard of living of the poor deteriorated and more charities were established by the communities' voluntary agencies. Black (2003, 73) writes, 'Their primary function was to save the aged poor from starvation and exposure on the streets or having to endure the terrible conditions of the work-house, and to allow them to practise and die in their faith'. There is little physical evidence of these early 19th-century establishments in the east of London, as from 1880/1881, the 'Genesis' period of Anglo-Jewry, new enlarged facilities were needed, such as soup kitchens, hospitals and schools, and the original establishments were abandoned.

By c.1880, the poor still were mainly living in the east and East End of London that at the end of the century was overcrowded, with poor sanitation, polluted air and dirty streets. The middle classes had moved out to the north, north-west and west, with the very rich were living in the heart of the West End. Even with this demographic and urban topographical change, the wealthiest of the community supported the poor and new immigrants arriving from Eastern Europe. The topography and migration of the community in London and the provinces in the 18th and 19th centuries is discussed in Chapter 6.

2.4 Rise of provincial communities from c.1740-c.1880

For the first 80 years or so following re-admission, there were no communities in the provinces. It is not always possible to establish the exact date that a provincial community was established. Individual Jews settled in provincial towns mainly for commercial purposes, and when there were 10 men over the age of 13 who had been *bar-mitzvahed* (the religious initiation service into manhood), they could then hold full services, usually in a private home or a hired room.

The infant provincial communities were for the most part Ashkenazim, who were poorer than their Sephardi brethren. For economic reasons, there needed to be a community large enough to afford a rabbi, who sometimes acted as the *shochet* (ritual slaughterer) and *mohel* (circumciser). When they could afford to open a synagogue, the dedication was recorded by plaques or in synagogue records. A more accurate date is when land was purchased for a cemetery and the first interment noted in the synagogue burial register. Most early burial registers no longer exist

and many middle 18th-century tombstones have not survived. Responsibility for the upkeep of old Orthodox cemeteries is mostly with The Board of Deputies of British Jews. Many rely on volunteers, the local community, local heritage or archaeological societies. In '*The Rise of Provincial' Jewry'* (1950). Roth makes the point that Jews are rooted in this country and briefly sets out to 'provide some of the elements that this may be established'. He continues 'I hope that this concentration of material will further stimulate research by persons with greater local qualifications and conveniences' (Ibid, 11). Lipman (1951, 26) states that, 'It is from around 1851 that the first reliable sources are available. *The Jewish Chronicle*, the major Jewish newspaper dating from this time, is also a reliable source of information. Several provincial historians have written books that detail the establishment and growth of their communities. Local histories include *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875* (Williams 1976), *Jews in Bristol* (Samuel 1997) and *'The Lost Jews of Cornwall'* (Pearce and Fry 2000). Unpublished works include *A History of Birmingham Jewry* (Chesses 2003), and *Swansea Hebrew Congregation 1730-1980* (Glass 1980).

By the late 18th century, communities were established in about 20 cities and towns outside London, 13 were in ports. Many navy agents, ship's chandlers and sailors' outfitters were Jews, providing provisions and equipment for the ships. Three of the earliest communities were Portsmouth (1730), Birmingham (c.1730) and Falmouth (1740). Roth (1950, 94) states that, '….local tradition ascribes the foundation of the community (Portsmouth) to the 1730s and the cemetery was acquired in 1749'. Endelman (2002, 12) notes that 'Portsmouth at this time had the largest community outside London with around 50 families'.

By the 1850s, and after the end of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the importance of the naval towns such as Portsmouth, Falmouth, Plymouth and Sheerness began to decline, as the British Navy was reduced in size by nearly 80%. By the end of the 18th century, small groups of Jews formed communities in market towns, such as Canterbury, Exeter, Gloucester, Norwich and Oxford and spa towns such as Bath, Brighton and Cheltenham. There is no longer a community in Bath, Canterbury, Dover, Falmouth, Gloucester, King's Lynn, Penzance, Sheerness or Great Yarmouth. Roth states 'The history of the majority of these defunct Jewries will probably never be written, from sheer dearth of material' (Jewish Chronicle 1933). However since 1933, the history and evidence of the communities in Bath, Canterbury, Falmouth, King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth have been written but not always published. They all have been examined by the author.

In the 1830s and 1840s, several thousand more German Jews settled in Britain. Many were businessmen with contacts with merchant houses in Germany, particularly dealing in textiles where cities like Manchester and Nottingham were pre-eminent. As previously noted, by 1850, when the total Jewish community had reached c.35, 000, over 20, 000 were in London. This situation was due to improvements in communications, the coming of the railway, the decline in market towns during the years 1760-1820 and the growth in industrial towns such as Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Leeds and Glasgow, but London remained predominant.

In 1845, a community survey titled *'A Statistical Account of the Congregations In The British Empire 1845 (5606)* (Figure 6.2) was conducted for the Chief Rabbi's office and lists the number of seat holders present on the day the survey was taken, usually around 10% of the community. The Account notes if there was a mikveh *(*ritual bath), *mikva'ot* (pl.) in the community as discussed in Chapter 5. According to Lipman (1972, 187/188) 'By 1851 there were thirty six towns which had organized communities with at least another dozen or so with a handful of Jewish families each'. Endelman (2002, 80) reports that 'In 1851 there were about 1, 500 Jews in Liverpool, 1, 100 in Manchester and 780 in Birmingham'. These numbers are discussed below, as they are relevant to the topography of the communities in these cities. Smaller communities had also been established in Coventry, Glasgow, Leeds, Nottingham and Sheffield. Hull became a stopping port on the way to the United States, Canada and South Africa. Small communities were also established in seaside resorts and spas such as Brighton, Bath, and Ramsgate. The rise, and in some cases fall, migration and topography of the provincial communities is discussed in the chapters that follow, with the historical and physical evidence.

In summary, Jews who lived in the provinces, particularly ports and market towns chose to live there for a number of reasons, particularly the commercial opportunities. Towards the mid 19th century, in the new industrial age, several provincial communities declined or ceased to exist, particularly in the ports and market towns on the south coast. The younger generation were attracted to London and the large industrial cities of the north, and some emigrated.

2.4.1 Chronological establishment of provincial communities

PORTSMOUTH	1730/1740	BATH	c.1800*
BIRMINGHAM	1730	BRIGHTON	1800
FALMOUTH	1740*	COVENTRY	c.1800
PENZANCE	1740*	YARMOUTH GREAT)	1801*
KINGS LYNN	1740*	HULL	1810
CHATHAM	1750	NORWICH	1813
LIVERPOOL	1750	LEEDS	c.1820
PLYMOUTH	1752	NOTTINGHAM	1822
BRISTOL	1753	CHELTENHAM	1824
CANTERURY	1760*	NEWCASTLE	1830
EXETER	1763	RAMSGATE	1833
SWANSEA	1768	SOUTHAMPTON	1833
DOVER	c.1770*	SHEFFIELD	1838
MANCHESTER	c.1780	CARDIFF	c.1840
SUNDERLAND	1781	OXFORD	1841
GLOUCESTER	1784*	MERTHYR TYDFIL	1848*
SHEERNESS	1790*	BRADFORD	c.1873
IPSWICH	1792*		

36 communities including London, England and Wales listed are discussed, 18 are in ports. Scotland, Ireland and Jersey have been excluded.
**11 towns where there is no longer a community.*
Dates have been compiled from The Rise of Provincial Jewry. Roth, C. 1950. The History of the Jews in Great Britain. Margoliouth, M. 1851. Jewish London an Illustrated History. Black, G. 2003. Local community records and histories.

2.5 Concluding remarks

The brief history of the Jewish medieval community (1070-1290) provided at the beginning of this chapter, contrasts in many ways with the history of the growing community in the period 1656-c.1880. The medieval community at its peak in the early 13th-century numbered around 5, 000, although lack of records makes it difficult to establish more exact figures. The community was mostly based in London, with around two-thirds of the total, and by the early 13th-century, there were small communities, many only with a handful of Jews in around 70 towns (Figure 2.1).

Following re-admission, less than 10 of these towns were resettled by the middle of the 19th century. Lincoln, Winchester and York were not populated with Jews following re-admission; the reason being that other than London, the commercial centres had moved as the community no longer needed the protection of the King or his Lords. In the case of York, the massacre in 1190 had an almost permanent effect. In Lincoln, there is the restored medieval prayer room in 'Jews House and Jews Court', and it is sometimes used by the 30-40 Jews who live in Lincoln or nearby. Overall, there is little Jewish archaeological evidence remaining of the medieval period. Archaeological evidence other than cemeteries for the early urban re-settlement period is also limited, because community centres of habitation moved with their synagogues within cities. There was also a demographic shift out of city centres, for example in London out of the east of the City to the suburbs. Early communities in the industrial cities such as Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester also moved from city centres and poor districts to the suburbs.

In the City of London, only one synagogue remains from the 18th century: Bevis Marks. In the provinces, only two synagogues remain from the Georgian period in Exeter and Plymouth, where services are still held. The 18th century Great Synagogue in London was destroyed during the Blitz in 1941. The middle/late 18th-century synagogues in Dover, Norwich and Swansea were destroyed or badly damaged in wartime bombings. Large areas of the East End of London where the Jews lived in the period under discussion have been redeveloped, as have the early settlement areas in cities such as Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Plymouth and Portsmouth and Swansea. Place and street names with Jewish connections are discussed in Chapter 4.

As Kadish states (1996, 1), '…a great deal, far too much, of Jewish architectural heritage in Britain has been lost, and what survives is extremely vulnerable'. No pictorial, architects plans or contemporary illustrations survive' During the past 20

years, several of the books referred to in this study have in some cases revised the historical record of Anglo-Jewry, but the archaeological and physical evidence, other than cemeteries and the few remaining synagogues from the 18th and 19thcenturies, whilst not neglected, receives comparatively little attention. In Britain, unlike certain countries in Europe such as Italy and France there were never ghettos where Jews lived enclosed in walled areas. This was done not only to protect them but also to control their movements. Little identifiable evidence remains of these other than Venice. In Britain following readmission Jews were permitted to live and travel where ever they wished.

In summary, the history, archaeological and topographical evidence of Anglo-Jewry from re-admission to the end of the 19th century is entirely based on Jews who lived in towns and cities. By bringing this evidence together, with a social perspective of the lives of Anglo-Jewry in the 17th-late 19th centuries it is possible to increase our knowledge of Jewish life in this period and to recognise the frugality of a diminishing archaeological resource.