

Jews in Oxford after 1290

By CECIL ROTH

[*Note*.—I have dealt with the record up to 1290 in a separate volume, *The Jews of Medieval Oxford* (Oxford Hist. Soc., 1951); this article is by way of supplement to that work.]

DURING the long period between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries when England, and rural England in particular, knew nothing or little of Jews at first hand, they tended to be attracted to the University cities for an obvious reason. Some of them, themselves scholarly, were interested in centres of scholarship; others found that a smattering of Hebrew afforded them the opportunity of making an easy livelihood, and sometimes even a reputation, by teaching that tongue to eager English theologians. There is, however, a corollary. At a time when professing Jews were excluded from the English universities, the path of the teacher of Hebrew was enormously simplified by submission to baptism. Among the handful of persons of Jewish birth who may be traced in Oxford from the sixteenth century onwards, therefore, one must expect to find a disproportionate number of apostates. It was, in fact, by this means that Jewish associations with the city were tenuously protracted after the Expulsion of 1290. Thus in 1321 provision was made for paying the salary of the convert who taught Hebrew and Greek (curious bedfellows!) at Oxford, in obedience to the recent decree of the Council of Vienne—a landmark in the history of the study of the sacred tongue among European Christians. The name of this teacher (as we know from another source) was John of Bristol.¹

The next two centuries are for our purpose a blank. There is indeed a reputed 'legend' of dubious antiquity to the effect that some sort of crypto-Jewish settlement continued in Oxford in Penny Farthing (now Pembroke) Street, in immediate proximity to the old Jewish quarter in St. Aldate's, throughout the Middle Ages,² but no shred of confirmatory evidence is to be traced. Indeed, when in 1340 a Hebrew document was produced in evidence at Farley (Surrey) in connection presumably with a dispute over land-ownership, an Oxford clerk with no Jewish affiliations was sent to interpret

¹ Rashdall, *Medieval Universities*, III, 161-2; Wood, *Antiquities*, I, 401; Oxford Historical Society, *Collectanea*, II, 313-14. Cf. (Hist. MSS. Comm., Dean and Chapter of Wells, I, 208) the record of a payment of 2½d. in 1323 to the Dean of Axebrigg 'for one convert teaching Hebrew at Oxford, namely, ½d. in the pound'. This suggests that John of Bristol retained his appointment for at least two years; Wood says 'magno scholarium plausu plures annos obibat'.

² O.H.S., *Collectanea*, II, 314.

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it.³ Throughout this period, in fact, Hebrew studies were under eclipse in England, to be revived only at the time of the Reformation. In this process a series of foreign-born teachers of Jewish birth played an important part, though to a somewhat less degree, it seems, in Oxford than in Cambridge.⁴ The earliest among them and one of the most important was Philip Ferdinand, a Polish Jew born in 1556, who became first a Catholic and then a Protestant, made his way to England, was admitted to the privileges of the University of Oxford in 1596, and taught Hebrew in a number of Colleges and Halls. He then migrated to Cambridge where he included among his pupils several professors (who, we are told, soon wearied of him) and published one of the first serious contributions to Hebrew scholarship to appear in this country.⁵

We know but few details regarding Ferdinand's immediate successors as teachers of Hebrew in Oxford. We may, however, conjecture that he was one only of a series of persons of similar origin who performed this function; for it can hardly be imagined that Hebrew studies would have attained the high standard that they did in the first half of the seventeenth century without some such stimulus. Yet in one of the most interesting cases—that of a Jew who had some sort of official teaching appointment as early as 1607 and whose collaboration was eagerly desired by Sir Thomas Bodley for cataloguing his Library—we do not know even the teacher's name. All our information comes from a couple of passages in Bodley's letters to Thomas James, the first Keeper of the Library, to whom he wrote from Fulham on 22 December 1607:

I pray Sir, forgette not to vse the helpe of the Iewe, if he may be wonne vnto it, as by suche meanes, as Mr Principal shall find, I doe not doubt, but he may, that the titles of all your Hebrewe bookes may be aptly taken, and vnderstoode.

A very few days later, on the last day of the month, he returned to the charge, even more pressingly:

In any case endeuour, to gette the helpe of the Iewe, for the Hebrewe catalogue. For it can not be done without him, and either by your self, or by your frindes in autoritie, yow shall be able to procure, that for so short a time, his auditours wheresoeuer, will be willing to spare him, for so good a publicke purpose.

³ Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, II, 579: 'in procuratoria soluta cuidam clerico Oxon. exponenti Ebraicum in Latinum'; the sum of twopence was paid for this service.

⁴ See for the younger University especially H. P. Stokes, *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History*. It is perhaps desirable to point out that Isaac de Cardenas, who taught Hebrew in Oxford in the middle of the sixteenth century, was a Protestant refugee and not (as has so often been assumed) a Jew.

⁵ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1540-1714*, p. 492; A. Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, II, 398; M. Adler, *Jews of Medieval England*, pp. 334-5; S. Stein in *Essays presented to J. H. Hertz*, pp. 397-412.

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Ultimately, the candidate either left Oxford, or else proved insufficient, to judge from a later communication of Bodley's (26 February 1610):

In any wise forgette not, to procure an exact catalogue to be taken of all the Hebr. bookes in the Librarie, sith yow haue, as yow told me, so sufficient a scholler to performe it.⁶

It is impossible to ascertain whether the substitute whom James now had in mind was a Jew, but it is not unlikely; for the Bodleian Library opened its doors at this time to at least one Jew and one ex-Jew. The one (registered as a reader on 22 May 1608, and matriculated a week later), Jacob Wolfgang, 'a man well deserving in the Hebrew tongue, and convert from Judaism to the Christian faith', hailed from Germany, and in the previous year had been admitted to the *Domus Conversorum* in London. The other was a certain Jacob Levy (Levita), conflictingly described in the registers of the Library (19 November 1612) as 'Judaeus Orientalis' and 'Judaeus natus in Italia'.⁷ These two may have overlapped with Jacob Barnett (*hebraice* perhaps Jacob ben Isaachar Ber) who is encountered in Oxford about this time giving instruction with the sanction of Richard Kilbye, the Regius Professor of Hebrew. His University career was brief but interesting. His attainments (for he knew Latin besides being versed in Rabbinic literature) procured him a certain degree of intimacy with some of the best-known tutors and professors, and in 1609-10 he was taken away to London by the great humanist, Isaac Casaubon. But the latter's means did not permit him to retain his services, and in June 1613, Barnett returned to Oxford with warm letters of recommendation, prepared (so at least his former employer believed) to submit himself for baptism. The Professor of Hebrew took his instruction in Christian doctrine under his special care, the Vice-Chancellor was informed, preparations were made for an impressive ceremony, even the date was fixed; but by this time the volatile candidate had changed his mind and fled from the city, so that the preacher designated to deliver the baptismal sermon had to change his theme to the Perfidy of the Jews. After a frantic search, the fugitive was apprehended on the way to London and was committed to gaol by the Vice-Chancellor. The personal intervention of Casaubon (who wrote to a friend that to refuse to become a Christian was no offence in law) secured his release;

⁶ *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James*, ed. G. W. Wheeler, nos. 163-4, 182 (pp. 172-4, 187). For the vicissitudes of the earliest catalogue of Hebrew books, which was ultimately compiled by Henry Jacob of Merton, see *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, III, 144-6.

⁷ *Oxford University Register*, II, i, 266, 274; Adler, *op. cit.*, p. 336; Bodl. Lib. MS. Wood E.5, ff. 87b, 89b.

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but it is not surprising that on 16 November 1613, the Privy Council ordered that 'Jacobus Bernatus, a Jew' should be escorted from England.⁸

Thereafter follows a succession of persons of smaller steadfastness. Early in 1626, Henrietta Maria applied to Convocation in an autograph letter for some special favour to be shown to her 'servant', Antonio Maria da Verona, who had been active in Cambridge since 1622 and afterwards had received a pension from the Government. Though always described as a Jew, his name makes it clear that he was no longer one by religion.⁹ (He is presumably identical with the convert named Véronne who had been introduced to the French court with other Italian charlatans by Concino Concini, specializing in divinations by means of the Cabbala.)¹⁰ Some years later we find another Italian neophyte, from Florence, named Alessandro Amidei (not 'Arnidei', as the name figures in certain standard authorities), at one time lecturer in Hebrew at Sion College, London. He apparently took some part in university life, and in 1658 was among the collaborators in a little work satirizing one of the university poetasters, Samuel Austin. On sig. A7 verso of this rare volume there appears Amidei's contribution: '*Sonetto in lode del autore. Or, in plain English, a Jews letter in ink to commend our negro.*'¹¹ Amidei subsequently became Professor of Hebrew at Edinburgh. (A copy of the Hebrew chronicle *Jossipon* bearing his autograph was formerly in the Mocatta Library, London.)

These mildly bookish Italians rubbed shoulders with a few Germanic and Eastern European ('Ashkenazi') scamps. During the Commonwealth period there were active in England two apostate ne'er-do-wells, Abraham ben Samuel haCohen, *alias* Peter Samuel, and Eleazar ben Isaiah, *alias* Paul Isaiah. (The latter in particular attracted attention by the ease with which he changed his religious professions and by the scurrilous attacks against his former coreligionists which he published at the time of Menasseh ben Israel's

⁸ L. Wolf, *The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History in Papers read before the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* (1888), pp. 73-4; *Acts of Privy Council*, 1613-14, pp. 257, 272; M. Pattison, *Life of Casaubon*, pp. 413-16. From the dates it seems not unlikely that Wolfgang was the Jewish cataloguer Bodley first had in mind, while Barnett was the substitute later suggested by James.

It is conceivable, though improbable, that Barnett had something to do with the spiritual evolution of the Traskite, James Whitehall, of Christ Church, who after sailing with Raleigh on the Orinoco expedition was prosecuted in 1624 for teaching 'Judaism'—i.e. obedience to the Mosaic code (Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1623, p. 435); he subsequently escaped from prison, made his way to Ireland, was again arrested, but continued his preaching even within the walls of Dublin Castle.

⁹ *Athenaeum*, 27 August, 3 September, 1887; he was admitted to read in the Bodleian Library in May 1626; MS. Wood E.5, f. 96b.

¹⁰ Ansel, *Les Juifs de France* (1946), p. 147. Antonio de Verona likewise passed subsequently to Cambridge, and it was presumably there that he wrote in 1626 a Hebrew ode in honour of Charles Chauncy, of Trinity College, later President of Harvard (Kohut, *Ezra Styles*, pp. 71-2); he is said to have compiled Hebrew anagrams also in this year.

¹¹ *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, B20, 2. Amidei, too, subsequently appears in Cambridge (1661 and again in 1690).

That another apostate, Solomon Franco, taught Elias Ashmole Hebrew in Oxford in 1652 is apparently incorrect; see *Miscellanies of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, III, 9.

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mission to secure the readmission of the Jews to England.) Both had associations with Oxford, where Peter Samuel was 'received' into the Baptist Church some time previous to 1653, and both of them enjoyed a half-yearly stipend from the local Baptist congregation.¹² Paul Isaiah was still (or again) in Oxford in 1656, when he received £3 2s. 2d. from Magdalen College, presumably for giving instruction in Hebrew there.¹³ A more respectable convert of this period was Jacob ben Samuel, Reader in Hebrew at Sion College, London, a letter from whom lamenting the loss of his property in the Great Fire of London is in my collection. From another of his letters, it appears that he was resident in Oxford for some time previous to his conversion (i.e. about 1658) and that while he was there he observed the dietary laws as far as possible :

'Whereas before I exactly kept y^e Criticisms of y^e Jewish Religion, insomuch as I did not eate of any meate from a Christian. The like strictness I used in Oxford & Cambridge & in Dr. Busby's house, & y^e Colledge where I was too & fro for two yeares together, & never would eate or touch any meate, from any body, unlesse itt were of my owne dressing. . . .'¹⁴

With the beginnings of the resettlement of the Jews in England, the possibilities for visiting Oxford became greater. Menasseh ben Israel's son, Samuel Soeiro, boasted an honorary doctorate from the University ; but it was an idle, and probably a fraudulent, boast, as the document is a palpable forgery.¹⁵ On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt that he was in the city, and his father, the industrious Menasseh, is recorded as having visited the principal persons in both Universities. (I had hoped to find his name in the Bodleian Admissions Register, but my search has unfortunately proved fruitless. The only name of Jewish interest at this period is that of the eminent Hebraist, Johannes Buxtorf the Younger.)¹⁶

The most famous Oxford Jew of the seventeenth century (if he was indeed a Jew) makes his appearance under the Commonwealth. Anthony Wood writes under the year 1650 :¹⁷ 'This year Jacob a Jew opened a Coffey House at "the Angel" in the Parish of St. Peter in the East, Oxon ; and there

¹² The details are from a paper by W. S. Samuel, *The Strayings of Paul Isaiah in England, 1651-1656*, to be published in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, xvi.

¹³ Macray, *Register and Accounts of Magdalen College*, iv, 13.

¹⁴ P.R.O., S.P. 29/448, 102. I owe the transcript to the kindness of Mr. W. S. Samuel.

¹⁵ *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, i, 48-54. I have in my hands a photograph of this document, which seems to have been of English provenance ; but that does not make it less a forgery.

¹⁶ I have been able to find in the Bodleian Admissions Book of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries only one potentially Jewish name other than those recorded—Solomon Negri, of Damascus (20 July 1721), whose portrait was at one time in the University Gallery.

¹⁷ *Life and Times*, ed. Clark, i, 68.

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it was by some, who delighted in noveltie, drank. When he left Oxford he sold it in old Southampton Buildings in Holborne neare London.' There are further details later on: '1654. Cirques Jobson, a Jew and Jacobite, borne neare Mount Libanus, sold coffee in Oxon in a house between Edmund Hall and Queen Coll: corner.'¹⁸ (In 1657, it seems, the proprietor was a certain James Gough, who is recorded to have been carrying on business then 'at Mr. Surge's the tayler by Queen's Coll: corner. Oxon.')¹⁹ I must personally confess to the suspicion that Jacob and Cirques Jobson are one and the same person, and that he was in fact a Syrian Jacobite, or Maronite, whose religious affiliations were misinterpreted by his contemporaries. But I have no evidence to support my theory, and must enrol Jacob the Jew, who first introduced coffee into England, and his Syrian successor Cirques Jobson, in my list of Oxford Jewish worthies.

The first professing and uncompromising Jew who is known to have resided in Oxford in modern times is Isaac Abendana, a competent scholar of Dutch birth, whose brother Jacob was to be appointed Rabbi or *Haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London in 1681. He himself had come to England soon after the Restoration, arriving in Oxford in June 1662, with a letter of introduction to Edward Pococke from another very eminent Hebraist, Edmund Castel.²⁰ From 1663 onwards he was resident in Cambridge, where he taught Hebrew and made a monumental translation of the *Mishnah* into Latin, still unpublished. He eked out his livelihood by dealing in Hebrew books and manuscripts, and in 1668 received £37 from the Bodleian Library for a consignment purchased as the result of a visit in the previous year. Quarrelling with his Cambridge supporters, in 1676 he transferred himself to Oxford, where we find him admitted to read in the Bodleian Library on 26 April of that year. He was employed in the University for some years as a lecturer in Hebrew at an insignificant wage, was friendly with Anthony Wood and many contemporary theologians, and published between 1692 and 1699 a series of Jewish Calendars embodying some valuable 'Discourses' on Jewish lore and literature which were afterwards collected and republished separately.²¹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁹ W. R. Dawson, 'The London Coffee Houses and the Beginnings of Lloyds', in *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, n.s., xl (1934); H. M. Smith, *The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn* (Oxford, 1920), n. 132; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 658.

²⁰ Twell's *Life of Pococke*, ed. 1816, p. 272. In the previous month, an Amsterdam Jew had come to Oxford to sell copies of a book he had recently published, which Herbert Thorndike (another contemporary Hebrew scholar) opined, in a letter to Pococke, might serve as an introduction to Rabbinic studies (*ibid.*, p. 271); I cannot suggest what book, or author, is in question, nor whether Thorndike's pious hope, that he might be converted to Christianity, was realized.

²¹ I. Abrahams in *Transactions of Jewish Historical Society of England*, VIII, 98 ff., x, 221 ff.; Macray, *Register of Magdalen College*, IV, 48, and in *Steinschneider Festschrift* (1896), pp. 89-90; G. Weil, 'Aus einem Briefe John Lockes' in *Soncin-Blattern*, I, 199-208; MS. Wood E.5, f. 116a.

Abendana might have been expected to establish a tradition ; but in fact he had no successor in Oxford, in the fullest sense, until the bibliographer Adolphe Neubauer settled there two centuries later. During the eighteenth century Hebrew scholarship in the University was at a low ebb, and its Jewish exponents were few and fickle. Philip Levi was one ; of whom we have a glimpse in a letter from the bibliographer Humfrey Wanley to Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, of 1 August 1705 : ' I perceive you have gotten another Rabbi in the University ', he wrote, ' whom I should be glad to hear, has given you sufficient Tokens of a Real Conversion.' (Later in the same letter he refers to him as ' Rabbi Philipp '.)²² We know little more about him except that he was in fact a convert, that he taught Hebrew at Magdalen, and that he was allowed to publish under his own name a *Compendium of Hebrew Grammar* written by Bishop Clavering (Oxford, 1705). He died apparently in 1709, when the College made a grant of £2 to his widow.²³ His successor, after some interval, was a certain Aaron, who was employed by the same college from 1726 to 1734 at a fee of £4 a year *pro lectione linguae Hebraicae*.²⁴ He was looked upon in the University as an authority in all things Hebraic. On one occasion, it is recorded, he was shown a Shekel for his opinion. ' Foo ! foo ! ' he cried. ' They may make such every day '²⁵—a clear indication of his perspicacity.

There were doubtless other teachers at this period, but further research is needed into the college muniments to compile a full roll. A few names, however, emerge from time to time. Mark Moses Vowel, ' Reader of the Hebrew Language at Oxford ', whom I imagine to have been of Jewish birth, sent a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1751 regarding the authority of the Massorah—then the object of much discussion in learned circles.²⁶ About the same time there was living here the convert David Francisco Lates (Lattes), of Turin, who taught Hebrew, music and modern languages, and is said to have attempted to palm off the ' original ' Italian of Cicero's epistles on the

²² Bod. Lib., MS. Ballard 13, f.116B, 117A. I owe this reference, with others, to the generosity of Mr. J. S. G. Simmons.

²³ S. Levy in *The Jewish Annual*, London, 1940-1, p. 82 ; Macray, *op. cit.*, iv, 54-5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, v, 9.

²⁵ Hearne, *Collections* (O.H.S.), xi, 246. Of the Muselli who gave instruction in the same language here in the middle of the eighteenth century (Macray, *op. cit.*, p. 21) I have been able to find nothing more, but he was probably a Jew. Magdalen was not especially interested in Hebrew studies, so far as we know ; but the College accounts happen to have been studied.

²⁶ Macray, *op. cit.*, v, 15 ; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1751, pp. 317-18. The name appears vaguely Jewish, but one cannot be sure. Similarly, there is nothing to show the Jewish origin of the Hungarian orientalist Johannes Uri, who resided in Oxford from 1766 to his death thirty years later and compiled a poor catalogue of the Hebrew and kindred MSS. in Bodley (his work being complicated, according to a tradition reported by Bandinel to Steinschneider, by the machinations of his personal enemies, who deliberately confused the pages of the codices submitted to him).

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Principal of Hertford.²⁷ (He was caricatured by the Rev. G. Collins of Queen's as 'Signior Snig', but I have been unable to trace this production.) In addition to publishing *A New Method of easily attaining the Italian tongue, according to the Instructions of signor Veneroni* (London, 1762), he produced the following work in the realm of Hebrew studies:

Regulae generales legendi linguam sanctam sine punctis masoreticis. Breviter, & Methodice in usum Tyronum propositae, & in Ordine Alphabetico expressae. A Davide Francisco Lates, Linguarum Italicae, Gallicae, Hispanae, Lusitanae, Hebr. & in Musica Magistro &c. qui in Acad. Taurin. & in Collegio Jesuitano Annos xxii Studiis operam dedit; & hasce Linguas Permissione Vice-Cancell. in Universitate Oxon, docet.

Oxonii, e Theatro Sheldoniano, MDCCLVIII.
(xvi+28 pp.).

This extremely rare brochure begins (p. ii) with an address to the benevolent reader, followed (pp. iii-iv) by quotations from the Hebrew (with a transliteration in the Italian style: e.g. *ascer* where *asher* might be expected), various passages in praise of scholarship and (pp. v-xvi) a long list of subscribers. The rules for reading Hebrew without points follow, pp. 1-15; and a glossary of Hebrew abbreviations, of considerable originality but little utility (the first of them is to designate the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; the second one conflicts with the normal interpretation) concludes the work on pp. 17-28.

By the dropping of one of the 't's' in his name, Signior Lattes (who died in 1777)²⁸ succeeded in anglicizing his family, which we can trace at Oxford for two generations after him. His son, James Lates (*Privilegiatus* 18 November 1763) made himself a name as a violinist, was at one time in the employment of the Duke of Marlborough, published *Six Solos for a Violin and Violoncello* and other music, and qualified for a place in the Dictionary of National Biography;²⁹ this was the case also with his son, in turn, Charles Lates (b. 1771), who entered Magdalen College in 1793, became a Bachelor of Music in 1794, and

²⁷ Cf. letter signed 'Senex' in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1800, II, 841: 'When I was a young man at Oxford . . . one Lates, who taught musick, and pretended to teach modern languages, in the University', etc. I was informed by the late Mistress of Girton that he was twice at least in Cambridge also, teaching Italian and collecting subscribers for Italian text-books that he proposed to publish. In 1772 'Mr. Lates' had a residence and outhouse near Worcester College (Salter, *Survey of Oxford in 1772*, pp. 43, 44).

²⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1777, p. 247: 'April 28: Signior Lates, late teacher of Oriental languages, at Oxford.'

²⁹ Cf. *Alumni Oxonienses*, s.v. ('James Lates, musicae studiosus, privilegiatus 18th November 1763'); see also Grove's *Dictionary of Music* for some further details. 'James Lates, musician' was living in St. Ebbe's, Oxford, in 1777, and opposite the Theatre in 1779.

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published *A Sett of Sonatas for the Pianoforte*.³⁰ John James Lates, Charles's elder brother (1770-1831), matriculated from All Souls' in 1786, graduated as B.A. in 1790, and subsequently became Rector of Sudeley.³¹ It is a typical, and not undiverting, instance of assimilation. But we may now retrace our steps and follow the development of a more steadfast if less learned element in Oxford Jewry.

The Resettlement of the Jews in England began, approximately, in the Commonwealth period, but there is no record of any nucleus outside the capital until the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Dr. D'Blossiers Tovey, Fellow of Merton and Principal of New Inn Hall, writing in 1738, stated that the synagogues of the Jews in London were all those 'allow'd them in any Part of the Kingdom'.³² One may deduce from this that there was no significant settlement in his day in Oxford, the city in which he was most interested and with which he was best acquainted. Nevertheless, in the next year the first trace of a Jewish colony is found here. There is preserved in the muniments of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London a register of circumcisions performed by one Abraham Carrião de Paiba, which contains a number of very interesting entries relating to the Jews outside London. One of the earliest records the circumcision in 1739 of Joseph, son of Hyam Levy, at Oxford, where Paiba went to perform the ceremony; three years later he was there again, this time accompanied by his wife, to operate on a brother, Manuel, and again in 1750 for a third child, Abraham. This same Levy's name is recorded as godfather ('padriño') when Alexander, son of Saunders ('Alexander fº de Saunders') was operated on here in 1748 by the same practitioner, his wife being godmother. There was living in Oxford, in addition to these Jewish households, one convert, whose name is unfortunately unrecorded, but who seems to have brought his family with him when he embraced Judaism; for among the children circumcised by this same practitioner he records (without giving the date) 'Israel, son of a *tudesco* [i.e. German Jew]: the wife of the aforesaid being daughter of a *Ger* [i.e. proselyte] in Oxford'.³³

Those mentioned in this record do not comprise the entire group. There was in the American colonies at this period a Jewish trader named Levy Andrew Levy, who later on married a daughter of Joseph Simon and supported the Revolutionary cause during the War of Independence. He was in business

³⁰ *Dictionary of National Biography*, and Grove, *Dictionary of Music*, s.v. But there seems to be some slight confusion of names and dates in these accounts.

³¹ *Alumni Oxonienses*, s.v.

³² Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 302.

³³ 'Saunders' as an eighteenth-century Anglo-Jewish name is curious: can he have been the Oxford proselyte? Paiba mentions a Saunders also as godmother on the occasion of the circumcision of Samuel, son of Aaron Cardoso, in London (probably 1749).

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in America by 1760, when he was already a man of substance and can hardly have been less than thirty years old. (He was perhaps an older son of the Hyam Levy mentioned above.) In 1771, when he was living in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a stranger arrived and claimed relationship with him, asserting that they had been brought up in the same street at Oxford, and that his uncle was married to Levy's mother. The visitor's own name is not given (he seems to have been something of a rogue), but he was the son, he said, of Hayyim (Hyam) Gast.³⁴ We are thus introduced to a third family living in Oxford in the first half of the eighteenth century. We may add to their number one Salomon Israel, writing-master, who in 1745 produced here in Hebrew and English a specimen of his craft, so wonderfully elaborate as to be all but indecipherable.³⁵

This handful of Jews must have found conditions somewhat awkward in 1753, when the introduction into Parliament of the trivial Jews' Naturalization Bill (merely facilitating the acquisition by foreign Jews resident in England of the qualified rights already enjoyed by the native-born) gave the Tory opposition, in view of the impending Parliamentary election, a unique tactical opportunity. There followed an extraordinary outburst of verbal anti-semitism throughout the country. In Oxfordshire, long a Tory stronghold, Viscount Parker and Sir Edward Turner were proposing to stand in the Government interest in opposition to the sitting members, Sir James Dashwood and Viscount Wenman, who had hitherto represented Oxford city. The contest was protracted, spirited and expensive, beginning well before the dissolution of the old Parliament; and from the outset the opportunity afforded to the opposition by the Bill was avidly and unscrupulously seized upon.³⁶ This was a significant year in the history of Oxford journalism, for it saw the establishment of *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, the ancestor of the city's periodical press of the present day. Although William Jackson, the founder, professed political impartiality, his sympathies in this matter at least were unequivocally Tory. The first volume of the new publication, in the issues between May and November 1753, is therefore filled with scurrilous references to the 'Jew Bill', as it was called—comments, squibs, reports, fictitious advertisements and so on—in many of which the terms 'Whig' and 'Jew' were employed interchangeably in the fashion of the political polemic of the day. In most cases, these were copied

³⁴ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, xxxiv (1937), pp. 99-102. Andrew Levy's career may be traced in other volumes of the publications of this body, and in Byars, B. & M. Gratz, *Merchants in Philadelphia, 1754-1798*—a collection of documents and letters of great importance for Anglo-American social history. The name *Gast* might be read *Gost*, *Guest*, etc.; or conceivably it is a misreading of Gokkes, the synagogal name of the Anglo-American family Hendricks.

³⁵ PL. VII. The original is preserved in the grangerized copy of Picciotto's *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* now in the Mocatta Library, London.

³⁶ Cf. R. J. Robson, *The Oxfordshire Election of 1754* (Oxford, 1949): especially cap. vi, 'Two Oxfordshire Gentlemen and the Repeal of the Jew Bill'.

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from the London press—in particular from *The London Evening Post*, the principal anti-Government organ.³⁷ Sometimes, however, local colour was introduced. Thus, it was reported that the chief business of a Whig meeting at Burford was to be the appointment of a circumciser to the Whig gentry of the neighbourhood; or, more circumstantially, that 'Gideon and Da Costa, at the head of the tribe of Gad, [would] set out on Sunday in order to attend' the 'New Interest' cricket-match in Bicester, and all Jews wandering in Oxfordshire were urged to attend and give in their names, so that freeholds of 40s. a year value might be assigned to them in order to qualify them to vote.³⁸ Independent publications to much the same effect also made their appearance; for example, the following very rare pamphlet (not in the Bodleian Library), a copy of which is in my own collection:

The
CHRISTIAN's
New Warning Piece :
or,
A Full and True Account
of the
Circumcision of Sir E. T. Bart.,
as it was perform'd at the
BEAR INN in the City of *Oxford*
On *Saturday* last, being the *Jewish* Sabbath.
Wherein is contain'd
a Faithful NARRATIVE
of the sad EFFECTS of
AMBITION and VANITY,
in the
Departure from the FAITH,
and the
Deplorable CIRCUMSTANCES
of that Unfortunate GENTLEMAN.

LONDON

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the Booksellers in *Oxford*. MDCCLIII.

[Price Three Pence]

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-92. Among the spurious items of intelligence was that 'A Jew, A—F—, Esq., has bought the manor of P— in the County of Leicester for £41,000'. The initials are those of the 'great rich Jew', Aaron Franks, of London and Isleworth.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91, quoting from *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 6.3.3. 'Sampson' is Sampson Gideon, the Government financial adviser; 'Da Costa' presumably Benjamin Mendes da Costa. The reference to Jews wandering in Oxfordshire suggests that Jewish pedlars were already familiar in the countryside.

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This scurrilous but not unamusing production is, of course, purely (or impurely) imaginative ; and it would be unwise to be misled by the information it gives that Mr. *G-d-n* came down to be present at the ceremony, bringing with him 'the famous Mr. Moses Ben-Amri'—a fictitious character—as practitioner.³⁹

The University, on the other hand, paid little attention to the issue, one way or the other, notwithstanding its overwhelmingly Tory sympathies ; indeed, the only public reaction was a sermon favourable to the Jews preached in the second week of October at St. Mary's by Dr. Free, which was afterwards published.⁴⁰ In order to maintain his claim to impartiality, Jackson admitted a sprinkling of paragraphs favourable to the Bill in the columns of the *Journal*, but they were utterly overwhelmed by the vast outpouring on the other side.

Dashwood felt it his duty to impress the Oxfordshire electors by continuing the political farce at Westminster. It was he who, in an incoherent speech, first proposed in the House of Commons the repeal of the measure, on which the Government had already decided on grounds of political expediency, his opponent, Viscount Parker, trying to counteract the effect by supporting his motion. In due course, the repealing Bill unanimously passed its third reading. When the news reached Oxfordshire, the bells of Bicester Church pealed for an entire day in celebration of the triumph, and that night the inhabitants drank Dashwood's health to cries of 'No Jews ! No Naturalization !'. The agitation was not ineffective, for at the election in April the opposition candidates were triumphant at the polls, though afterwards unseated. It is one of the curiosities of eighteenth century politics that this artificial furore, so exaggerated and so widespread, did not result in any outburst of anti-Jewish violence ; yet the little group of Oxford Jews can hardly have felt comfortable during these excited months.

Besides the permanent residents, Oxford like most other market-towns was a centre of activity for the Jewish pedlars who were such a distinctive feature of the countryside in Georgian England. There was one occasion, in 1771, when, in consequence of the reports which circulated regarding delinquents in London, unfriendly feelings were aroused against the Jews throughout the country, and it is stated that some were arrested in Oxford on suspicion. It is unlikely that these humble traders would have denied themselves the luxury of divine worship in accordance with the tradition of their ancestors, especially as there were Jewish families in the town which could serve as a

³⁹ Gideon is associated with the election also in a caricature of 1753, '*All the WORLD in a HURRY or the ROAD from LONDON to OXFORD*', in which he is shown trudging along the road and saying : 'Verily England is too Hot at this time of y^e Year'. These attacks were rather unfair, since he was personally opposed to the 'Jew Bill'.

⁴⁰ I have thus far been unable to trace a copy of this, referred to by Robson, p. 92n.

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nucleus ; and, even though no synagogue was to be established until long afterwards, there can be little doubt that services were held, occasionally at least, in the eighteenth century.

The group was reinforced by one Marcus Wolfe (probably Mordecai ben Benjamin). It would have been as well if it had not been, to judge from the following extract :

17th December 1768 :

On Wednesday one, Marcus Wolfe, a Jew of the Parish of St. Clements, by Decree of Convocation, was interdicted all commerce with the gentlemen of the University for various offences greatly prejudicial to the youth of the place and injurious to the good order and discipline of the University.⁴¹

It is comforting to know that there was, anyhow, nothing criminal in Marcus Wolfe's activities, for in 1772, according to the Survey of that year, he was still resident in the same parish, in the High Street. Near him was another Jew—Mayer Lewis, perfumier and dentist, who in 1779 removed to Russell Street, Bloomsbury Square, London. There are a few other semi-Jewish names in this Survey—Spiers, Hart, Harris, Lewis, Emanuel, Barnet—but none of the names, taken in conjunction with the professions and other circumstances, can be considered distinctive.⁴² The families that have been mentioned do not quite exhaust our list of Oxford Jewish householders in the eighteenth century. Thus Abraham ben Benjamin Cohen Oxford, known as Abraham Oxford, figures in the records of the Hambro' Synagogue in London from about 1770 onwards, together with his son-in-law Mattathias ; his son, Jacob, was circumcised, presumably in the University city, in the early spring of 1785. (Abraham Oxford died in 1795, his wife having predeceased him in the previous year.)⁴³ In the tenement known as Smith's Place, High Street (on the site of the present Examination Schools) the fifty-four occupants in 1791 included Barnett Isaacs who was certainly a Jew, and Joseph Hart who was probably one ;⁴⁴ their families are not mentioned, and this may have been a centre for the travelling pedlars.

⁴¹ Extract cited in work referred to in next note.

⁴² H. Salter, *Survey of Oxford in 1772* (Oxford, 1912). I have used the annotated copy in the Bodleian Library. Joseph Hart is a gunsmith—hardly a Jewish calling ; William Spiers is a joiner and Peter Spiers a wine-merchant, and the family seems to be too numerous to make it probable that it was (at this period, before the Jews had been established for any length of time in the country) Jewish. The name of Barnet is suggestive, as we know that there was a family of the name in Oxford : but John Barnet, Hatter, of Coach and Horses Lane (now King Street) does not sound distinctive.

⁴³ Muniments of the United Synagogue, London. But it must be stated that the reading ' Oxford ' is not quite certain, and that the transliteration is not consistent.

⁴⁴ Salter, *Oseney Cartulary*, I, 304.

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The group of townspeople was supplemented from time to time by scholars, none of great eminence, who in accordance with the old tradition taught Hebrew to members of the University. The earliest professing Jew I have been able to trace, in this capacity, after 'Old Aaron' of 1726-1734, is one M. Sailman: I identify him with Moses ben Shallum Oxford who married Brina b. Benjamin Bunem in London, under the auspices of the New Synagogue, in 1804. Sailman subsequently settled in Southampton, where he set up as a teacher of languages and published in 1817 the following extraordinary work:

The MYSTERY UNFOLDED, or, *an exposition* of the extraordinary means employed to obtain converts by the agents of the London Society for promoting *Christianity among the Jews*, with . . . the interesting cases of JACOB JOSEPHSON, a convert accused of purloining the communion plate at Stanstead; and Nehemiah Benjamin Solomon, who after a conversion of *some years*, intreated to be 'taken from between Christians'. . . . With various interesting facts, relative to the conduct of about Forty other Converts, disclosing a scene of Iniquity, not to be paralleled in the Annals of Religious Impositions. . . .

In the following year, this author published another curious book, *Researches in the East, or, an important account of the . . . ten tribes of Israel* (London, 1818).

When Sailman left Oxford, his place was taken by a more conventional scholar—Solomon Lyon, who, though generally associated with the younger University only, describes himself on the title-page of his *Theological Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon* (Liverpool, 1815) as 'teacher of Hebrew to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Eton College &c.' He was certainly resident at Oxford in 1812, when there appeared here a slender volume: *Miscellaneous Poems, by Miss Emma Lyon, daughter of the Rev. S. Lyon, Hebrew Teacher*. (The writer, subsequently Mrs. Abraham Henry, was almost the earliest Anglo-Jewish authoress.) Contemporary with Lyon, or slightly posterior, was H. V. Bolaffey, who similarly taught both at Oxford and at Eton, published a couple of grammars and miscellaneous works, was brother-in-law of Rabbi David Meldola, engaged in an exciting quarrel with his former patroness, the so-called Baroness Despensier,⁴⁵ and was still apparently working in Oxford when he died in 1836.⁴⁶ He is possibly the same person as Hannanel

⁴⁵ See her engaging 'Declaration' regarding his conduct (London, 1824).

⁴⁶ Bolaffey is stated in the obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1836, I, 444) to have been 'teacher of languages at Oxford, and many years accredited master of Hebrew and Italian at Eton College. He was a native of Florence, and spoke the Italian language in its greatest purity, and his knowledge of English was perfect'.

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Abolaffiah, Teacher of Languages, who was born in Florence in 1770, came to England in 1798, and is registered in the records of the Bevis Marks Synagogue in London.

The instructors in Hebrew just mentioned overlapped with an eccentric named Solomon Strassburg (1747-1817), who was active in Oxford apparently for a pretty long while. All we know of him is derived from an obituary notice which appeared in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* at the time of his death (10 May 1817):

'Yesterday se'night died at Bath aged 70 Solomon Strasburg, a Polish Jew and well known for many years as a teacher of the Hebrew language. His death was awfully sudden: being siezed with an apoplectic fit whilst in the act of purchasing meat at a shop in the Grove, he fell down and instantly expired. He was a man of singular habits. He was in the habit of making occasional excursions from this city on foot to Bath, Cheltenham etc., and always conducted the expenses of his journeys, and of his whole system of life, on the principles of the most rigid economy. Although possessed of considerable property in the funds, he never could be induced, on any occasion to deviate from this plan; and so extreme was his penury that at the time of his death he was without a shirt.'

Similar notices in a condensed form appeared in the *City and University Herald* for the same date and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* under the heading of 2 May 1817. Whether he was a professing Jew or no, it is obvious from the account of his death that he was conspicuously careless of the dietary laws.⁴⁷

Whereas most of the Oxford Jewish pioneers of this period are no more than isolated names, there is one family which can be traced (if we are to believe legend) for something more than two centuries. Its reputed forebear was a certain Dr. Raphael, 'Professor' of Music, who came to England in the reign of Charles II. This worthy had a daughter named Eva, born in London (it is said) in 1689, who died in Oxford on 28 December, 1794, at the age of 105 years. She was twice married: first (at the age of twelve) to a certain — Davis, and then at the age of twenty-one to — Barnett. By him she had a daughter, Sarah Barnett, who in 1762 married one Henry Isaacs, of Oxford.⁴⁸ He at least is a creature of flesh and blood, his name occurring in the London synagogal registers and in the local press. His father,

⁴⁷ The next recorded Jewish teacher of Hebrew in Oxford was the German Hebraist, Selig Newman, who is said to have taught at Oxford while acting as Minister at Plymouth, from 1814 onwards. (He published a Hebrew lexicon in London, 1832-4.) The account of his Oxford career in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ix, 294, is obviously exaggerated.

⁴⁸ Clara Melchior, *Familienminder* (Copenhagen, 1915), pp. 96 ff. (by Lucien Wolf).

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an old-established English Jew, known in the Synagogue as Meir Englander (it is probable that he derived his surname from his own father, whose name was therefore presumably Isaac), had also apparently lived in Oxford. He had another son besides Henry, David Isaacs, called David ben Meir Oxford, who was a member of the New Synagogue in London and in 1795 belonged to the learned confraternity *Midrash Phineas*.⁴⁹

The name of Henry Isaacs is not found in the Oxford survey of 1772, but later on he lived in Ship Lane (later Ship Street).⁵⁰ Here he died on 14 September 1812, in his 74th year. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, in the following month, duly recorded the event :

DEATH :—Advanced in years, Mr. Isaacs of Oxford. Being an Israelite he was immediately placed in a shell and forwarded to his Synagogue for interment in conformity to the funeral rites of that people.

This is confirmed by the burial registers of the Brady Street cemetery in London, which record the burial on 17 September of Mr. Henry Isaacs of Oxford, whose name is given in the Hebrew as Hertz ben Meir Englander.

By his marriage with Sarah Barnett, Henry Isaacs had twenty children. Among them was Michael (Meir) Isaacs, who married Betsy, daughter of Aaron Levy, under the auspices of the Great Synagogue in London, on 24 February 1796 ; he subsequently settled in the capital, was a well-known figure in his day in the East End, and used to conduct the overflow services at the Great Synagogue on the High Holydays. Another child was Ralph Isaac(s) of Liverpool (1772-1840), and another Rosetta, known according to family tradition as the Belle of Oxford.⁵¹ The Oxford connection was maintained (though not for many years) by L. Isaacs, the solitary Jewish name among the local subscribers to Sailman's curious publication of 1817. Members of this family may still be traced in the Anglo-Jewish community. Another

⁴⁹ Records of the United Synagogue, London : list of subscribers to *Midrash Phineas* of Phineas ben Samuel, London, 1795. Hendele, daughter of Meir (=Michael) Oxford—i.e. Michael Isaacs—married Meir ben Zevi Hirsch under the auspices of the New Synagogue in 1803. A marriage in February, 1824, under the auspices of the Great Synagogue of the cousins Isaac Isaacs (Joseph Isaac b. Meir) and Eve Isaacs (Chavah b. Issachar Ber) is also recorded.

It should be mentioned that 'Barnett' is hardly a surname, but an Anglicization of the homonym 'Behr' invariably appended to 'Issachar'. Hence the combination 'Issachar Barnett', etc., though it sounds highly distinctive, is nothing of the sort.

⁵⁰ Obituary in *Oxford Journal*, 19.ix.1812. He is here called 'Mr. Isaacs, Senior', indicating that he had a grown-up son living in Oxford.

⁵¹ Muniments of the United Synagogue, London ; *Records of the Franklin Family*, pp. 97-9.

In the *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* (London, 1887), p. 49, there is listed (§966) a portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Isaacs (c. 1760) with the observation : 'Mr. Isaacs was the son of the first Jew established in Oxford after the Return.' I have no reason to believe that 'Isaac the Oxford Grinner', a local eccentric whose portrait was engraved and published c. 1770, was a Jew or had any connection with this family.

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early nineteenth-century family is brought to our notice by the record of the circumcision on 22 November 1824, of David ben Jacob of Oxford—possibly the son of the Jacob ben Abraham (b. 1785) who has been mentioned above.⁵²

It will have been noted that nothing has been said thus far regarding Jewish students in the University. The reason is obvious: until the Oxford University Reform Act of 1854, it was necessary for all persons to make a statutory Declaration, in Christological form, before matriculating. (In Cambridge, this formality took place on proceeding to a degree, so that exclusion was not quite so rigid.) Accordingly, it was impossible for a conforming Jew to become a member of the University, and one has to eye with suspicion the legendary stories of Oxford Jewish students even at or near the dawn of the nineteenth century.⁵³ Joshua Montefiore (1762-1843), the adventurous and mendacious uncle of Moses Montefiore, said to have been the first Jew to hold a commission in the British Army (it is not clear how he achieved this), is reported to have graduated at Oxford; but the story is inherently improbable, and the name does not occur in any official roll. So, too, family legend told how John Solomon (1798-1881), son of the notorious quack doctor Samuel Solomon, inventor and purveyor of the famous panacea 'Balm of Gilead', was at Oxford with Lord Byron, with whom he used to box; but, unfortunately, Byron was a Cambridge man, and anyhow his senior by ten years. The extremely gifted Israel Lyons (the younger: 1739-1775), one of the most promising English scientists of his age, gave some lectures in Botany at Oxford in 1762-3 under the auspices of Mr. (later, Sir Joseph) Banks. They were very successful, and he had at least sixty pupils; but he lost his chance of following up this promising beginning because he 'could not be prevailed upon to make a long absence from Cambridge'.⁵⁴ On the other hand, there is no record that the appointment was an official one, and in any case it does not appear that Lyons was at this time a professing Jew. It is significant that a better-known person than he, Emanuel Mendes da Costa, the encyclopaedic conchologist who was at one time Clerk of the Royal Society, was refused permission to lecture in Oxford in 1774, well known

⁵² Muniments of the Western Synagogue, London.

⁵³ Moses Mendes, the first Anglo-Jewish poet, who is said to have studied at St. Mary Hall, was admitted Master of Arts *honoris causa* in 1750, but this was after (perhaps because of) his conversion to Christianity; cf. the entry in the Register of Convocation (kindly communicated to me by the former Keeper of the Archives, Mr. Strickland Gibson): 'ut egregius vir Moses Mendes a Judaismo ad Christianam Religionem nuper conversus ad gradum magistri in Artibus honoris causa admittatur'.

⁵⁴ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, II, 227-8. He apparently went back to Oxford in the following year together with his father, but on different business; cf. E. Mendes da Costa's letter of 6 June, 1763, to the Rev. Mr. Huddesford in Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, IV, 475: 'This letter will be delivered to you by my very esteemed friend Mr. Israel Lyons and his son, who set out tomorrow for Oxford to promote by subscription his intended publication of the Keri, or Dissertation on the marginal notes of the Sacred Text'—a work which, incidentally, never appeared.

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in the University though he was; this, however, may have been due to defects of character.⁵⁵

Persons of Jewish birth or descent began, however, to figure in the University about this time in increasing number (e.g. Emanuel Samuel, the earliest Anglo-Jewish journalist, who entered Magdalen in 1782, or John Leicester Adolphus, the literary critic and historian, who matriculated in 1811); and in 1825 Disraeli's cousin, George Basevi, made an unobtrusive addition to Oxford architecture in the new buildings on the west front of Balliol.⁵⁶

By the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria a handful of permanent Jewish residents had arrived in the town—second-hand clothes dealers, cigar merchants and so on—perhaps half a dozen families all told.⁵⁷ In 1841, according to official report, they formed themselves into an organized Jewish community, with a synagogue (certainly not constructed expressly for this purpose) situated from 1847 if not earlier in Paradise Square. The petty chronicle of communal vicissitudes may be left for another occasion.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ There are several references to Oxford in his correspondence in the British Museum; Add. MS. 28536, f. 153, regarding an invitation to dine, and Add. MS. 28538, ff. 168-171, to the Savilian Professor about delivering some lectures. In Add. MS. 28540, f. 186 his appointment as Parsons Reader in Anatomy in 1773 is broached.

There were, of course, many other Jewish visitors to Oxford in this period; e.g. the conjurer Jonas who was on the Bath coach when it was robbed by a highwayman outside Botley one day in December 1776, and lost his watch and about four guineas. ('It is more than probable that either the suddenness of the deed or the imprecations of the Highwayman might so alarm Mr. Jonas as totally to deprive him of his wonderful act of conveyance' drily observed *Jackson's Oxford Journal* of 7 December 1776, in reporting the episode.)

⁵⁶ Another Jewish name which figures at this period in connection with the amenities of Oxford was that of a certain Barnet (? Morris Barnett, the dramatist and actor, 1800-1856) who, after Oxford had been without a theatre for twelve years, opened the New Theatre in Blue Boar Lane Tennis Court in the summer of 1827 (*Jackson's Gazetteer*, 21.vii.1827); six years later, he opened at the New Theatre, St. Mary Hall Lane (*ibid.*, 6 June 1833).

⁵⁷ One of them was that of 'Rabbi' Aaron Jacobs, who was burned to death, with his eldest daughter Rebecca, in a fire which broke out at his house in St. Ebbe's in the morning of 27 February 1844; see *Oxford University, City and County Herald*, and *Jackson's Oxford Journal* of 2.iii.1844, which records how the Oxford Jews 'feel very acutely the loss they have sustained in the premature death of one who, as a Rabbi, or a neighbour, commanded the respect and esteem of all who knew him'. A Scroll of the Law was also destroyed in the fire.

⁵⁸ In 1878, after a period of decadence, the synagogue was transferred to 15 Worcester Place, and in 1893 to its present site, at what had formerly been a church lecture-hall, in Nelson Street.



SPECIMEN SHEET BY SALOMON ISRAEL, WRITING MASTER, 1745