

MOSES ANGEL AND THE JEWS' FREE SCHOOL

Mary Lazarus, edited by Jennifer McNaughton

INTRODUCTION

The story of Moses Angel or Angel Moses (see text for elucidation on this point) occurred through the good offices, energy and dedication of Louise Rosenberg who tracked down my aunt, Mary Lazarus's research paper about a man whom she dubs as her 'co-lateral ancestor'. I knew it existed and I believed I had a copy, but after she died in 1992 it could not be traced. We tracked the manuscript down to the house of Dr Edward Conway, the former Principal of the Jews' Free School, who lived in the East End of London. Dr Conway had served as principal for 20 years.

When I say we, it was really only the feisty and dedicated Louise who made this journey of discovery and now she and I are both anxious that this story should be published, as it is a fascinating and significant part of Jewish history. Louise prevailed upon Dr Conway to allow her to photocopy the paper that Mary, my aunt, must have given him. He agreed to this request and Louise returned to Australia with a copy of the typed manuscript.

The story is closely linked to Australia. Moses Angel's (originally Angel Moses) father, Emmanuel Moses, (known as 'Money Moses') was transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1841 and Angel, himself, would have ended up in Australia had it not been for the philanthropy of some 'wealthy gentleman' in England. Mary Moses, Angel's sister, however, did migrate later to Van Diemen's Land. She was my aunt, Mary Lazarus' great grandmother, and my great, great grandmother while Emmanuel Moses was our very distant grandfather. (See Appendix I).

Jenny McNaughton

FOREWORD



Mary Lazarus (left) and her neice, Jenny McNaughton (née Lazarus).

I decided that the life and work of my co-lateral ancestor Moses Angel was a subject worth investigating when, in the course of doing other research, I read the Report of the Newcastle Commission, appointed in 1858 to 'inquire into the state of popular education in England', with its praise of Moses Angel and the Jews' Free School. (JFS) My maternal grandfather, Moses Angel's nephew, lived with my family when I was a child and both he and my mother used to refer to *Uncle Angel*. I was interested as long ago as that, in the very little I knew of him. His portrait, which I still have hung on the wall of our sitting room;¹ I did not realise it then, but it was a photograph of a painting. When my mother and I went to England in 1933, and we saw the painting there, we did not know it too was a copy of the original.

At this stage it did not occur to me that I should try to discover more about Uncle Angel's life and work when there would have been many people still alive who knew him. Indeed, I could not at that time have undertaken the task as I was in England on leave of absence from my position as a full time High School teacher with the Department of Education in Victoria, Australia.

My visit to England in 1971 was made only a year or so after I saw the reference to Moses Angel in the Report of the Newcastle Commission. Soon after my arrival I went to see Dr Conway, the headmaster of the JFS Comprehensive School in Camden Town. He

was interested in my project and encouraging, but alas, he told me that all school records, which I had hoped to be able to consult, had been destroyed in the Blitz. Dr Conway did, however, suggest that I write to Edmund de Rothschild, a member of the School Committee, who was carrying on a family tradition of over a century in his active interest in the School. I hoped that there might be some references to the School in his firm's archives. Two Annual reports were discovered which he kindly made available for me to consult.

My investigations took me to the office of the *Jewish Chronicle* and to a number of libraries and in all these places the librarians were most helpful. The libraries include those at the Jews' College, Woburn House, the County Hall and the Ministry of Education and also the Mocatta and Tower Hamlets' Libraries. It was on one of the occasions when I went to the Mocatta Library that a parcel arrived containing the School minute books covering a period of twenty years, 1840 -1860. These were invaluable sources of information.

In addition to the people I have mentioned, I should like also to thank Mr Joseph Leftwitch, the biographer of Israel Zangwill, Mrs Beth-Zion Abrahams who told me of the article in *Young Israel* and allowed me to see her copy and Mr L Rubins who was engaged in completing the index of the *Jewish Chronicle*.



*Moses Angel (1819-1898) Headmaster from 1842-1897.
Reproduced from Gerry Black, JFS: The History of the Jews' Free
School, London since 1732, (London: Tynsder Publishing, 1998),
Image (III).*

MOSES ANGEL AND THE JEWS' FREE SCHOOL

When the Jews' Free School was founded in 1817, there were about 30,000 Jews in the whole of England. About two thirds of these lived in London² and although a comparatively small group was well-to-do and influential, the majority, who lived in the East End of London, were poverty stricken. There were several small synagogues in the area with which the Talmud Torahs (small religious schools), were usually associated. These mainly provided a traditional Jewish religious education and a number of wealthy, philanthropic Jews thought that something more was called for. Some twenty years or so after its foundation, the aims and objects of the founders of the Jews' Free School were outlined as follows:

Ignorance, combined with idleness, is a bane to society; both are sources of licentiousness and vice. The mind of man, naturally active, will, unless directed to useful purposes, employ itself merely for its own gratification; and if, from want of instruction, it be uninformed of moral truths, and unrestrained by the fear of God, nothing but the strong hand of the law can prevent its indulging in every species of evil. The children of the poor are particularly exposed to misfortune and vice; uneducated, ignorant of all religious, moral or social duties, and unoccupied, their time becomes devoted to wicked courses; and habits are produced, which eventually prove destructive to the individual and injurious to society. To raise the future generations of the poor from so degraded a condition – to crush in the bud all growing dispositions to vice – to implant in their minds the germs of knowledge, the tenets of our holy law; the elements of moral and religious truth and thereby to enable them to claim and uphold a due rank among their fellow citizens – are objects which must ever demand the attention of the philanthropist and call forth the aid of the public.³

The first pupils, all of whom were boys, were admitted in 1817. From the beginning, parents were eager to send their children and soon there were too many to be accommodated in the original building in Lancaster Lane. A Joint Stock Company was formed, a freehold property was purchased in Bell Lane, Middlesex Street (Petticoat Lane) at a cost of £700 and 'a draughty and barn like' building was erected to accommodate the 262 pupils who were enrolled by that time.⁴

This number now included some girls, for the Committee had decided that provision should be made for girls, the members 'being

convinced that the complete amelioration of society could not possibly be effected unless females...were likewise initiated in those duties, which if known and practised, must invariably ensure individual happiness and general prosperity'.⁵

By 1841 the number of pupils had more than trebled; the building had been enlarged to accommodate them and also to provide 'suitable playground and commodious residences for the Master and Mistress'. The curriculum consisted of Hebrew, the three Rs and in addition for the girls, 'plain needlework'. The highest class or Talmud Torah, in which there were at that time twenty-one boys, was 'to serve the purpose of a grammar school, giving instruction of a more advanced character in Hebrew and English and teaching also Geography, History, and the Hebrew commentators on the Sacred Writings'.⁶

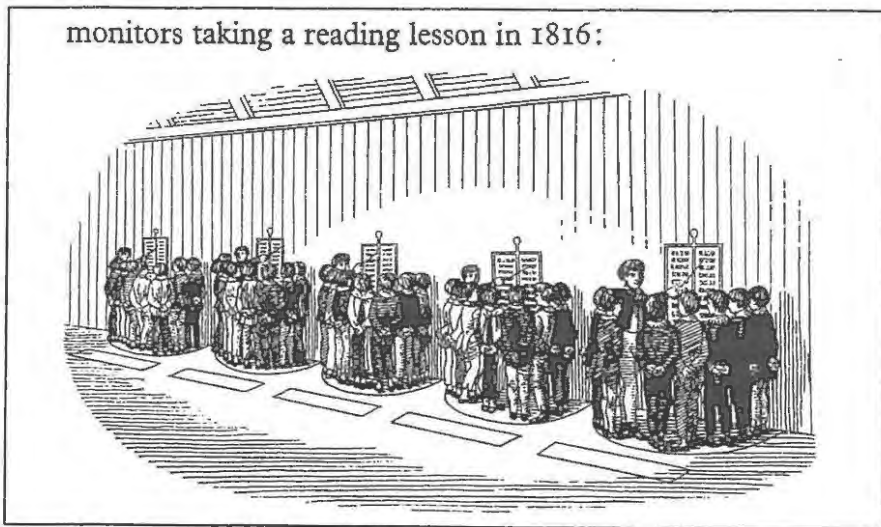
At this time, the master of this class was the twenty-two year old Moses Angel who had been appointed to the post in the previous year. In his doctoral thesis, Quinn wrote that Angel 'was the enigma whose antecedence is still cloaked in mystery'.⁷ In view of the fact that less than three years later, on the retirement of the Rev. H.A. Henry, Angel was appointed Master, that is Headmaster of the Jews' Free School, where his background would be of some importance, it was, Quinn considered, all the more strange that nothing was known of it. All that is known of his early days, Quinn went on, is that he had been virtually adopted by a 'non-Jewish gentleman'. Though much remains obscure or unknown about his background, a little light on this 'mystery' can be thrown by the present writer.

Angel, when an old man of 79, told a journalist that his father was a poor man with eleven children and that a 'wealthy gentleman'⁸ had adopted him as his son. He did not say when this occurred nor did he mention that his mother and three sisters had emigrated to Van Diemen's Land in 1842, but this was so. One of these sisters, born in 1826 was the present writer's great grandmother and her maiden name was Mary Moses.⁹ At some time, Angel Moses transposed his name, perhaps at the suggestion of his rich patron but we can only guess at his reasons.

In 1827, when he was eight years old, he went to board at H. A. Solomon's boarding school in Hammersmith. It seems reasonable to conclude that his patron paid for this and it was probably at this time that he transposed his name. If this was the case, the change was sure to have been known to his headmaster, who had gone to this post from the staff of the Jew's Free School. When he was eleven, Angel was appointed captain of the Hammersmith School and three years later he transferred to the secular University College School where he was at once placed in the Sixth Form. He was awarded

prizes for mathematics in each of his two years there. He was permitted to matriculate at the age of fourteen and a half, eighteen months before the legal age; this, according to Quinn, was quite unprecedented. He attended University college for the next few years: however, his patron intended that his protégé ought to be a lawyer, but just at the time when his legal training would have begun, the patron's business failed so Angel's 'expectations of a legal career suffered disappointment and he was thrown upon his own resources before he was seventeen years'.¹⁰ For a time he was employed as a clerk in a Dublin bank but when a master was needed for the Upper Division of the Jew's Free School, (the Talmud Torah), H. A. Solomon recommended Moses Angel for the post.¹¹

At this time there were twenty-one boys in the class and from these, the monitors, without whom the school could not have functioned at all, were chosen. A school run on the monitorial system had a large class room at one end of which, was a raised platform on which the master sat supervising the great number of children, perhaps several hundred, in his care. These were divided into groups each in the charge of a monitor, one of the older pupils who had received special instruction from the Master. The monitor's task was to pass on the information to the children in his group and to drill them in it.



Monitors Taking a Reading Lesson in 1816, Reproduced from Gerry Black, JFS: The History of the Jews' Free School, London since 1732, London: Tymsder Publishing, 1998, Image (VIII).

Angel inherited this system and later expressed his opinion of it, calling it 'that cheap method of imparting the least possible

amount of information to the smallest number of pupils in a large school'.¹² The first mention of him in the minutes of the Jew's Free School Committee meeting was to record his application to be allowed the use of the school library for his pupils in the Talmud Torah class. Permission was given. Not long afterwards he was entrusted with other duties.

At this time there was no Jewish newspaper in English. Nathan Isaac Vallentine was anxious to start one. He had difficulty in raising sufficient money and although Jacob Franklin agreed to support his scheme and is recorded as the co-founder of the *Jewish Chronicle*,¹³ Vallentine was anxious to start a paper of his own. On 16 September 1841, the first issue of Franklin's *The Voice of Jacob* appeared. It was intended to be a fortnightly paper but the second issue did not come out until 15 October. Jacob Franklin, 'a public spirited and pious Jew', ten years Angel's senior, was a member of the well known banking family of that name, though he himself was not a banker. He had originally been an optician, then a statistician and also an educationist, philanthropist and patron of scholars.¹⁴

For some reason, Franklin had decided to anticipate Vallentine with his paper. The first issue of the *Jewish Chronicle* did not appear until 12 November 1841, two months after the first issue of the *Voice of Jacob*. The *Jewish Chronicle* was under the joint editorship of the Rev David Meldola and Moses Angel, Hebrew and English editors respectively. Angel had accepted the post on two conditions: that his services should be honorary and 'that anonymity should be strictly preserved in regard to the editorship'.¹⁵ It was probably Angel who outlined the paper's policy in its first issue: 'Our creed is peace to all man-kind - opposition to none and the love of God, worshipping Him through the medium of our affections and hopes and not our fears'.¹⁶

In later years, Moses Angel said that the *Chronicle's* early success was largely due:

... to the mystery which shrouded the authorship of the articles.

Intoxicated by success, Vallentine, in a moment unfortunate for his own interest, induced Angel to allow the names of the Editors to be printed on the face of the paper. The collapse was as sudden as the success had been eminent. People resented the fact that a teacher from the Jews' Free School 'was setting himself in authority over them'.¹⁷

The Jewish community at this time was scarcely large enough to support two papers; when the *Jewish Chronicle's* fortunes were at a low ebb, Franklin offered to buy Vallentine out, incorporating the *Chronicle* in his paper. He asked Angel if he would edit his paper.

The following letter from Moses Angel to Franklin, dated 21 April 1842, makes the issue clear. He began by informing Franklin of Vallentine's refusal to sell his paper and his determination to continue its publication. He continued:

Under the above circumstances your proposition about me of course falls to the ground; but be it at once understood that I should not think myself at any time justified in uniting with you in the production of a paper if, by so doing, I should confess myself your inferior by acting as your subordinate. The request is one you are certainly at liberty to make, but it is one which the consciousness of our relative positions in the Jewish literary world would by no means permit me to comply.¹⁸

Despite this confident statement, a month after the letter was written the *Chronicle* had to cease publication because of 'heavy losses'. According to the *Chronicle's* historian, for eighteen months *The Voice of Jacob* 'entered upon a short blaze of glory under Moses Angel's editorship, which lasted until September 1843'. Evidently some arrangement was made by which differences over the owner's and the editor's 'relative positions in the Jewish literary world' were overcome. The *Voice of Jacob* continued publication until September 1846. The *Chronicle* was reissued after an interval of eighteen months and has continued to be published as a successful weekly paper until the present day.

By the time the *Voice* ceased publication, Moses Angel's position at the Jew's Free School had greatly changed. In August 1842, after the retirement of Rev H.A. Henry, H.W. Solomon, chairman of the education committee and Angel's former headmaster from Hammersmith, moved a resolution that a replacement, Angel, be appointed to the post. He was then twenty-three years of age and the committee passed the motion. His salary was to be £140 a year and was to start when school resumed on 2 October. He was also to be provided with coals and a house in the school grounds which he was to occupy 'forthwith'. If it were found that he was 'not competent to fill the duties of the office' he was to be given three months notice.¹⁹

There were at this time some nine hundred pupils in attendance, two thirds of whom were boys. Angel continued to teach the Talmud Torah class. Three months after he took up his new appointment, he applied for leave of absence as he was to be married to Rebekah Godfrey²⁰ on Wednesday 11 January 1843. Five days' leave was granted and the school was given a holiday on his wedding day.²¹

One of the conditions of his appointment as headmaster was that he should 'devote the whole of his time to the business of the School

and that he be not allowed to engage himself in any other pursuits whatsoever'.²² However, according to the historian of the *Jewish Chronicle*, he continued to edit the *Voice of Jacob* until September 1843. Three months after this, on 21 December 1843, he wrote the following letter to the President and Committee of the School:

Gentlemen,

Finding the restrictions as to my not being allowed to employ my after hours press so heavily upon me in consequence of the extraordinary expenditure I have been obliged to make, I respectfully beg you will allow me as all other Masters have done, to devote my Evenings to some pursuit likely to be conducive to increase my income on my promise that I will in no way mix myself either with public Organs or public bodies but will devote my time to private tuition or Book keeping in such a manner as shall neither interfere with my duties to you nor my position with regard to the Public. I am above all anxious that you should understand that I shall enter into no employment of which you in Committee shall disapprove, as you have always reserved to yourselves the right to deprive me of the privilege should you find I abuse it. Indeed, I should not ask it if I did not find that illness unfortunately long protracted brings with it enormous expences (sic) and that the birth of a child engenders in its father a consideration for its future as well as present provision.²³

The child was his eldest son Emanuel and it must have been his wife's illness to which he referred though this can only be inferred. The Committee resolved that his request be granted. He later referred to having private pupils. He also from time to time contributed to the Jewish press, but whether he was paid for this is not known. Family worries were not the only ones he had to contend with. A week or so before his marriage, he had to suspend two boys 'in consequence of their bad conduct and the insolence of their relations'.²⁴

At the end of the year, he reported to the president and vice-president of the School Committee:

The conduct of the children is only tolerable, arising as I think from the almost total lack of Corporal Punishment. I find the system of keeping inefficient, as much as the kept frequently thrash the monitor appointed to take care of them and at times do much damage to the Books, Lesson Books and Pointer. I respectfully call your attention to this subject. Truantism still prevails to a great extent – the only remedy I can recommend

for this as well as for neglect of paying the weekly pence is stoppage of the clothing.²⁵

The reference to 'paying the weekly pence' in a Free School needs explanation. Payment was not enforced if the pupils came from very poor families. For example in 1850 when the enrolment was over one thousand, only £64/3/3 was collected from the scholars.²⁶ Probably about one third paid. Moses Angel 'did not think any evil arose through one child knowing that another had been excused payment.'²⁷ He believed that the children who paid most regularly valued their education most.²⁸

The 'stoppage of clothing' referred to the gifts of clothing supplied annually by Mrs Nathaniel Rothschild since 1822. (Her husband was at this time president of the School Committee) In 1837 she had contributed £1400 to an accumulating fund, which she established for this purpose. From the School's foundation until the present day, members of the Rothschild family have taken not only a generous but also an active interest in the School. Israel Zangwill, one of the School's most famous sons wrote: 'Rothschild was a magic name in the Ghetto; it stood next to the Almighty's as a redresser of grievances and a friend of the poor'.²⁹

By 1840, nearly 4000 children had benefited from gifts of clothing, who 'but for such aid must have remained home and wanted both clothing and education'.³⁰ Some years later the good attendance at the Jews' Free School, so much better than at other schools in poor areas, was said to be partly due to the fact that gifts of clothing were withheld from truants.³¹ Nearly a year before Moses Angel had suggested this method of checking truancy, Mrs de Rothschild had herself suggested that the headmaster should withhold clothing from any boys who had been 'refractory' or had 'misbehaved' until such time 'as they had retrieved their character'.³² Angel still had to depend on monitors to run his school; most of them were chosen from the Talmud Torah class and by no means were all of these were suitable. Angel reported to the Committee:

As the Talmud Torah boys form the majority of the monitors I think you will agree with me that it is essential they should be of such a stamp as that when one leaves at fourteen years of age another should be capable of stepping into the place, otherwise I shall at some period be left without sufficient talent to work the classes. Eighteen of the twenty-one Talmud Torah boys are thus qualified for graduation, the other three whom I have now endeavoured to teach for fifteen months are such incorrigible dunces that they still remain behind boys more recently admitted.

They can neither read, spell nor cipher and their stock of general knowledge is below zero. I have therefore respectfully to suggest that as they have never been regularly elected, only appointed by a sub committee, that measures be taken to remove them from the Talmud Torah School which I take it should be held out to those Boys best capable of receiving the Benefit of a Superior education and not to those who in spite of all my endeavours are dead-weights impeding the progress of their class fellows and wholly useless as monitors. I respectfully urge earnest and immediate attention to this subject.³³

Four months later the committee empowered him to conduct the School with the help of such monitors 'as may be deemed by him capable of cooperating with and assisting him in his duties'.³⁴ The monitors were paid 10/- a month and an additional 40/- or £2.00, was granted to the headmaster.

It was not unusual for monitors in other schools to be under twelve when they were appointed and some were as young as eight or nine! Judged by this standard, the Jews' Free School monitors were satisfactory, but Angel was only one of many leading educationists who condemned the whole system.³⁵ A few promising lads from the Free School were sent to the Borough Road School, considered the best monitorial school, to be trained for service within their own school.

On several occasions the headmaster reported that attendance was unsatisfactory. Apparently the School opened seven days a week, for he stated that the attendance averaged three hundred out of four hundred for Mondays to Thursdays and was only one hundred and fifty on Fridays and the Sabbath, though rising to two hundred and twenty on Sundays. (The Headmaster held religious services at the school on Saturdays.) Dr. Adler, the Chief Rabbi, had used his influence to combat the poor attendance but 'with only partial success'.³⁶ No mention was made at this time of the penalty of withholding the gifts of clothing from truants or badly behaved pupils and there were still some incorrigible pupils. One had to be expelled for 'brutal and inhuman conduct' and two others were admonished in view of the school.³⁷

Despite these problems, the enrolments continued to rise and Angel reported a record enrolment of 489 in the Boys' School in May 1848. The president agreed that for the present no new pupils should be admitted and plans were soon started to enlarge the building. There were so many boys in the lowest division that Angel himself devoted the whole of each morning to teaching the boys in this part of the school.³⁸

Moses Angel's family as well as the number of his pupils was increasing. He had four children, two sons and two daughters though there may have been others who did not survive him.³⁹ In 1846, he told the Committee that his house was by that time too small to accommodate his family and his request for it to be enlarged was referred to the Building committee.⁴⁰ This request was granted and the house was also sewered.

From the outset, Angel had been anxious to build up the school library and add such equipment as the limited resources at his disposal would allow. From time to time small grants were made to him with which he purchased books for the library and such items as 'an object box', a microscope, a magic lantern with astronomical slides and a set of 120 plates in Natural History.⁴¹ He tried to widen the narrow horizons of Spitalfields by occasionally arranging outings for the boys. Twenty boys (presumably from the Talmud Torah class) attended the lectures of the Jewish and General Literary and Scientific Institute.⁴² A few months later he took 'a large number of the most deserving boys' for a day's outing to the British Museum and the Surrey Zoological gardens, picnicking by the roadside. The *Voice of Jacob* reported that 'the advantages of thus introducing to the notice of the children the most striking objects in nature and art cannot be overrated'.⁴³ In 1846, a famous Minute on Education with which the name of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth is associated, recommended various changes in the education system. These included the replacement of monitors by pupil teachers, who from the age of thirteen would serve a five-years' apprenticeship and would be paid an annual salary of £10 in the first year, and subject to passing the annual examination, rising to £20 in the fifth. To receive a government grant, a school and its headmaster had to be approved by a government inspector. It was hoped that the masters would have a certificate of merit, but at first this was impossible to enforce as there were so few who were so qualified. 'It was enough if the inspector found the school in good order and well instructed, and formed the opinion that the master knew enough of the work and was able to be a guide and example in the formation of the character of the apprentices.'⁴⁴ He was responsible for training them as teachers and for further instructing them in general subjects.

The Jews' Free School must have been among the first to employ pupil teachers, though it was five years before a government subsidy for this purpose was provided. As early as May 1848, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported 'the dawn of a new system',⁴⁵ and a few months later the first pupil teachers were appointed at a salary of £10 a year.⁴⁶ In 1850 a visitor to the school reported that he had been 'more than gratified' by what he had seen of the new system.⁴⁷ Moses Angel,

responsible for training these apprentice teachers, took classes in general subjects after school hours and these included modern and ancient languages.⁴⁸ In each of the years 1850 and 1851, the corporation of the City of London granted £105 to the School, the first contributions from a public body. It can be presumed that this was to defray the expenses of the pupil teachers until such time as the government made a grant. A delay in this may have been due to a dispute between the Jewish Board of Deputies and the School Committee as to who should be ultimately responsible for the School but apparently this was resolved without the School Committee giving up its complete authority.⁴⁹ Boys applying to be pupil teachers had to be approved by the headmaster and the appointment had to be confirmed by the Committee. The president interviewed them. One of the first pupil teachers many years later recalled this:

I can see him now - Sir Anthony de Rothschild - bluff, stout, hale, hearty, a country gentleman every inch of him. He looked at Mr Angel and then at me. 'Is that him?' he asked. I hope I do not wrong him in declaring that he used the ungrammatical 'him' instead of 'he'. 'He's small.' 'He will grow,' said my Master, 'Humph', was the rejoinder.⁵⁰

The boy was then fourteen years of age and his appointment not only meant that he could continue his education, 'above all it meant continuance of association and increased association with the man I had long loved and worshipped'.⁵¹ Angel was insistent on grammatical rules being accurately learnt and applied. The only unjust action his former pupil remembered his ever having performed was caning a dull boy who could not understand the degrees of comparison:

I felt that my hero had in this been far from heroic, that he had given way to temper. It was nearly fifty years ago and I remember it vividly as though it had occurred yesterday. How uniformly kind or at least just, he must have been that his severity or injustice should so ineffaceably have impressed itself on my memory.⁵²

Early in 1852, Angel was granted a gratuity of £20 'in consideration of the progress of the pupil teachers under his instruction'.⁵³ Some few months later the Committee resolved that steps be taken so that the Head Master be examined as to his fitness to train pupil teachers. This decision was taken only a few days after a most unfortunate incident, a fire in the vicinity of the school that 'threatened the entire

destruction of the neighbourhood...Mr Angel having barely time to rescue children who had retired for the night'.⁵⁴ Angel, despite his personal worries, quickly took steps to minimise the inevitable disruption. A room was hired as a classroom for the boys. He attended the school daily during repairs and a man recommended by the Fire Brigade was appointed to be on duty from 6pm to 9am at a cost of 4/- a night. The headmaster paid tribute to the police for the help they gave him for eighteen hours.⁵⁵

This must have been a serious upset to school routine and caused the headmaster to spend much time away from his usual duties just when he and his staff knew that the first official government inspection would soon be taking place. Two months after the fire, the Committee agreed to engage a teacher to take the Talmud Torah class, thus leaving the headmaster free to attend to 'the superintendence and supervision of the school generally'.⁵⁶ He was to continue to instruct the pupil teachers and he was to 'devote special attention to the class hitherto instructed by him'.⁵⁷ This was, of course, the class from which the pupil teachers were selected.

Some months later the first official government inspection took place. Her Majesty's Inspector who carried out the task was the twenty-nine year old Matthew Arnold, the recently appointed inspector for the Spitalfields area. As he said, he had 'sat by the cradle of the Free School'.⁵⁸ He considered its headmaster to be 'a man of supreme educational abilities' who had 'the school under his complete command'.⁵⁹ Arnold inspected the school for at least six years and never failed in his annual reports to praise the headmaster and its school. He often made constructive suggestions for improvements in buildings or organisation and the Committee seems always to have acted on his advice. At his first inspection, he agreed that the five boys who came before him should begin their training as pupil teachers. One of them acquitted himself so well that he 'declared him to be competent to be placed at the end instead of the beginning of the first year'.⁶⁰

In the following year, Arnold found the school 'still in a most efficient state and the instruction, notwithstanding the hour daily bestowed on the teaching of Hebrew, sound and well advanced'. In the Boy's School, 'both classrooms and teaching were in general good'. Arnold singled out the instruction in Angel's class as being 'superior', but 'the lower mass of the School was too large for the teaching power'. (One assistant and four pupil teachers.) Throughout the school, drill and discipline were 'excellent'. Angel was responsible for the whole school but the Girls' School was run separately and had its own staff and headmistress. Arnold was more critical of this part of the school, though, there too discipline was 'good', but instruction

was only 'fair'. The numbers in the 'vast fourth division' had been reduced since his last visit but there were 'still too many in it'. He nevertheless praised the headmistress and reported that the instruction in the upper classes had 'decidedly improved' since his last visit. A month before, the Committee had resolved to raise Moses Angel's salary from £350 to £450 and that of the headmistress from £110 to £150. Both wrote to express thanks.

Arnold also reported on the recent examination of the Pupil teachers which must have been the first group to complete their training under the new system. To show their appreciation of their headmaster who had trained them, they presented him '...with a splendidly bound edition of Macaulay's *History of England* accompanied by a suitable letter'.⁶¹ Arnold must have suggested that the lads should attend classes at the School of Design, a suggestion followed by the headmaster. Early in the following year, the School Committee grudgingly approved his action 'but recommended that in future no arrangements be definitely made by Mr Angel without the sanction of the General Committee'.⁶² It seems to be one of the few occasions when an implied criticism of the headmaster was recorded, though in the past he had 'not always received the undivided support of the managers of school in the radical changes he introduced'.⁶³ Probably in 1857, some of the headmaster's old critics were still on the Committee, but on the whole it remained appreciative of the headmaster and his staff and minutes of appreciation are often recorded. It was in that year that a mistress in the Girls' School was granted a gratuity of £10 'in consideration of the very efficient manner in which she conducted the examination of the Girls under the inspection of Mr Arnold, Her Majesty's Inspector'.⁶⁴

A year later, 'Mr Arnold having intimated his wish that the next examination of Pupil Teachers take place at this Institution', the Committee agreed that 'his wish be complied with' and that he should be asked if the members of the Ladies General Committee could attend the examination.⁶⁵ They had a common interest in the Jews' Free School. This examination must have been successful for in the School's Annual Report of that year it was stated that five pupil teachers had successfully completed their apprenticeship and were engaged as assistant teachers. They would receive their certificates after three years experience and would then enter University College to work for degrees.

Jews were restricted by religious tests from entering the teachers' training colleges of the time or obtaining Queen's Scholarships but the wealthy and philanthropic school treasurer, Alfred Davis, provided funds so that they could enrol as students at

University College. Thus, an increasing number of graduates joined the staff of the Jews' Free School. Davis, who gave more than £21,000 to the School in his lifetime, left a legacy of £30,000 so that a fund could be provided to pay teachers from the Free School attending University College. He also left a legacy to Moses Angel of £3000.⁶⁶ The 1858 Annual Report stated that the School 'had acquired all the characteristics of a normal School', training teachers for its own and many other schools as well.

Moses Angel had himself received no specific training but from the outset of his career at the Jews' Free School spared no effort to familiarise himself with the problems connected with running an elementary school. He may have learnt as much what to avoid as what to imitate in the visits he paid to 'some of the principal elementary schools in London'.⁶⁷ His own standard of education must have been superior to that of the average headmasters of such schools. His own school's reputation for good discipline was not earned without the headmaster's supervision of every aspect of its activities. For example, every time the School was dismissed, his 'tall figure' was to be seen 'standing erect at the small door in Bell Lane, his keen eye directing the outpouring of the thousands of his charges in the narrow thoroughfare'.⁶⁸

The children's health had always been of concern to the headmaster and to the Committee. As early as 1847 a resolution was passed that no child should be admitted without a certificate of vaccination.⁶⁹ Smallpox was still a scourge and the first Acts to make vaccination compulsory were not passed for another twenty years. All boys had to have their hair 'closely cut' or risk being deprived of the gifts of clothing.⁷⁰ The headmaster's report to his Committee on the dirty condition of the boys is an example of his practical way of dealing with problems. He wrote:

It appears to me that much of the difference between the appearance of the Boys and Girls is due to the difference of their clothing and to the fact that the Boys are constantly taking off and putting on their caps thus disarranging their hair. The Girls wear dresses which are frequently washed and thus rendered clean and their bare shoulders and arms being lean and their hair parted and not disturbed by caps they mostly look tidy. The Boys wear clothes made of cotton cord which can neither be brushed nor washed, their shirts, not always clean, are visible in front of their buttonless jackets, their sleeves are begrimed with accumulated grease and this is nothing, but their faces are seen; if these be not very clean, which is difficult owing to their want of Pocket Handkerchiefs and consequent

use of their aforesaid sleeves, their general appearance is not tidy.⁷¹

He went on to explain, that the male teachers examined the boys before they entered the school in the morning but in the afternoon they could not be so particular, for if the boys were sent home, there was little chance of their returning, especially as most of the mothers were out. He suggested that:

A man be engaged for two hours daily from 1.45 to 2.45 at a sum not exceeding 5/- per week. That he be furnished under my guidance with three wooden washing bowls and that thirty six towels be supplied, eighteen in use and eighteen at wash, that soap be given through me as required say three pounds per week. That three dozen strong combs be furnished to be used indiscriminately by the boys and to be kept washed by the man. That the duty of the man be to wash every boy sent to him for that purpose and to see that each Boy goes into school clean. It would be very desirable that the boys should be enabled to have something analogous to the Pinafores worn by the Girls during School hours and which would effectively conceal all defects of clothing. For this purpose I suggest a supply of dark coloured Blouses to be kept in the School and I am to receive patterns of stuff for such blouses and by direction of the President I shall submit the particulars to him.⁷²

There had recently been improvement in the ventilation, heating and draining 'and a constant and adequate supply of water secures the comfort and cleanliness of the pupils'. There was a covered way in both playgrounds for wet weather and the space was used as an open classroom for the Boys in the heat of the summer. No wonder that Matthew Arnold had expressed 'much satisfaction with the ventilation and sanitary condition of the building, and the healthful appearance and general proficiency of the children'.⁷³ Some years later the good health of the children was thought to be in part due to the 'simple breakfast' consisting of warm milk and dry bread donated by a 'benevolent friend' but it is not clear how long this scheme was in operation. Ten per cent of the boys took advantage of this but the other children 'influenced by a feeling of independence, prefer to go without'.⁷⁴

In 1858, a royal commission under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle was appointed 'to inquire into the state of Popular Education in England'. Its Report was published in 1861. The publication of Moses Angel's answers to a long questionnaire

regarding the School make it clear that by that time the School's 'wide sphere of usefulness' had become known outside Jewish circles.⁷⁵

At the beginning of 1858, 1701 pupils were enrolled, 997 boys and 704 girls. Of these 212 boys and 100 girls had been born abroad and 194 boys and 100 girls had foreign-born parents. Many of these, according to Moses Angel, 'often bring vices and prejudices of their country of origin'.⁷⁶ The integration of the children in the life of their new country was an important task faced by the school. This was the task of all the teachers, The Headmaster, The Senior Hebrew Master (M.H. Myers), ten assistant teachers and twelve 'Government Pupil Teachers'. Early in 1859, the first member of the staff to graduate took out 'a first class Bachelor of Arts' degree at the University of London. The School Committee presented him with a cap and gown.⁷⁷ In the Girls' School, the Headmistress (Mrs. Phillips) had Miss Lipson as her assistant and sixteen other assistant teachers, two teachers of needlework, a Housekeeper and a Domestic Superintendant (sic) who had a General Assistant'. In addition there were twelve girls in training in training to be teachers who had two masters and a drawing mistress to instruct them. (A distinction was made in the Annual Report between these girls and the Government Pupil Teachers.)

The curriculum consisted of English, Euclid, Mensuration, Algebra, Natural Science, History, Geography, Grammar, 'Physiology as applied to health' and of course Hebrew. In the highest class, the boys studied the *Mishna*, 'vocal music from notes' and drawing.⁷⁸ Angel believed that music and drawing 'cultivate the taste and so refine the character and should be introduced into an extended system of education'. He doubted if 'the luxuries of learning should interfere with the necessities'.⁷⁹ Boys who entered the Talmud Torah class, even though they might be only thirteen years old, were considered to have entered 'an extended system of education'. There were still only twenty-one pupils in the Talmud Torah class as most children had left before they reached this stage and it was considered an honour to be admitted to it. Many years later, an 'Old Boy' writing in the *Jewish Chronicle* recalled his delight at entering the 'holy of holies and becoming one of Mr Angel's boys'.⁸⁰

In the Girls' section of the Jews' Free School:

less attention [was] of necessity, devoted to the higher branches of intellectual cultivation in order to afford time for instruction in duties more useful to females.

These included plain and ornamental needlework and laundry; 'other household economies [were] sedulously inculcated'.⁸¹

Angel had clear ideas about the education of girls:

Domestic training for girls, who are one day to become mothers of families and mistresses of houses, cannot be carried too far. Every young woman is the better for knowing how to mend, wash, make clean, scour, polish, cook etc. No lady needs to be ashamed to know how to tell when such labour is properly done.⁸²

Angel had always regarded the library as of great importance. It now formed 'a prominent feature of the school', and was used 'for reference and circulation'. Many people had made donations of books. These included fourteen volumes of *Household Words* (the weekly paper edited by Charles Dickens, a volume comprised twenty-six weekly numbers), Prescott's *The Conquest of Mexico*, Captain Marryat's novels and 'various other entertaining works'. A museum contained 'almost everything that can be required to illustrate lessons on art, science and manufactures', and it was 'continually receiving additions'.

The secretary of the South Kensington Museum had told Moses Angel that he 'might select from the Museum such Diagrams of Machinery and manufactures as might be useful in the school. Angel had taken advantage of this offer and had been 'materially assisted' by a member of the Museum staff in doing so.⁸³ According to the School's Report, 'Every article, in short, that was formerly regarded as a luxury of school life, has been here considered a necessity and has been copiously supplied'.

Among the hundreds of pupils in attendance at the school, many of them from homes where standards of conduct were not high, it is not surprising that recalcitrant pupils and trouble-making parents presented problems. The 'Old Boy' previously quoted, who was a Pupil Teacher at the time, remembered that in the fifties 'the Jewish denizens of Bell Lane were a rough lot'.⁸⁴ On one occasion, an assistant mistress, Miss Kitty Goldman, no doubt tried beyond endurance, had slapped one girl on the face. (This was the same young teacher who, only the year before, had acquitted herself so well before Arnold). The child's mother, Mrs. Benjamin, came to the school, accosted Miss Goldman and slapped her on the face. An enquiry that followed discovered that Miss Goldman 'frequently slapped the girls' faces but never to cause pain'. Mrs. Benjamin was found was judged 'a low type of person' and was made to apologise to Miss Goldman who was instructed not to slap the girls' faces in the future. The report of the incident concluded: 'The Committee must admit that they do not believe that the practice of corporal punishment is systematically practised in the School'.⁸⁵

However, Moses Angel thought that the abolition of corporal punishment could have a bad effect. His own procedure if a 'delinquent' was sent to him was to say: 'Hold out' and the culprit would receive 'one', 'two' or 'three'. The 'Old Boy' who recalled this was probably typical of many. 'We feared and we adored him', he wrote. To his pupils, he appeared 'calm, strong, irresistible'. He, too, had sometimes to face 'enfuriated (sic) parents' whose children he had corrected:

I have seen them [his old pupil recalled] shouting curses and oaths at 'the Master' vomiting brutal insults and coarse threats and he was 'as one who heard not'. He pursued his course unchecked and unruffled.⁸⁶

W.B. Hodgson, LLD, the Assistant Commissioner appointed by the Newcastle Commission to report on the area which included Spitalfields, visited the Jews' Free School on many occasions and included a paragraph on it in his Report. He summarised its history and described the area around the school: 'A sort of London Ghetto swarming with Jewish tribes....the School in Bell Lane, being Jewish, being free, being close to hand and being very efficiently conducted, naturally absorbs the teeming juvenile population of this district'. He added a footnote. 'This school is remarkable in more respects than I have space to tell...Mr. Angel, the headmaster, who has conducted it for about twenty years, is no ordinary man'.⁸⁷ He went on to say how much the School owed to the 'munificence of the Rothschilds'.

In the year 1858, Baron Lionel de Rothschild was, for the first time, allowed to take his seat in the House of Commons. Hitherto, although he had been elected on several occasions, he refused to take the oath 'on the true faith of a Christian' and was therefore not allowed to take his seat. In 1858 the law requiring this phrase to be included was altered and Baron de Rothschild became the first Jewish MP. To commemorate this, a fund was raised to provide a scholarship worth £30 a year, available to pupils at the Jews' Free School.⁸⁸

The Newcastle Commission recommended various reforms but no legislation embodying them was enacted. Instead a 'Revised Code' was issued. Its chief provision, which came into force in 1863, was that grants to schools were to be dependent on the children's attendance and on their results at the annual examinations. The only subjects examined were reading, writing and arithmetic and the examinations were conducted by government appointed inspectors. For these examinations, the children were divided not into classes according to age, but into standards. 'In Standard I, the age range might be from seven to eleven with the majority aged eight or nine.

A boy of eight or nine might be in Standard II. If eleven was accepted as the general leaving age very few children would rise above Standard II.⁸⁹

Most children at the Jews' Free School left school when they were eleven.⁹⁰ Those in standards IV, V and VI were likely to be either intelligent eleven year olds or children of twelve to fourteen. This may explain Moses Angel's statement that he introduced 'as many extra subjects as was possible in Standards IV, V and VI so as to screw out of the Government who would pay only by results, the largest grant possible'.⁹¹ He considered this system of payment by results 'wrong from the commencement'. Reading, one of the three subjects examined by the inspectors, 'bore no relation to general intelligence - some children read mechanically'.⁹²

The subjects taught in the highest class in his school continued to be the same as those before the Revised Code came into force. Evidently it did not greatly affect the Jews' Free School, which was perhaps less dependent on government grants than other church schools. Some years later, a doctor who visited the School reported that there, unlike other schools he visited, 'no spurt is ever put on in anticipation of examinations' and he listed 'avoidance of pressure before examinations' as one of the 'special advantages' of the Jews' Free School.⁹³

The Revised Code came into force in the twentieth year of Moses Angel's headmastership. To mark this occasion, more than eleven hundred people met to honour him. Past and present pupils and teachers presented him with a pair of salvers, a pair of goblets and a claret jug, 'all of silver of the most massive and *recherché* description'. Sir Anthony de Rothschild, chairman of the School committee, spoke warmly on the depths of feeling and appreciation of all those who had contact with him.

There were several speeches; a senior master, G.J. Emanuel, BA, spoke of the immense benefits derived by all who had passed under Angel's care. He alluded to the kindness and solicitude bestowed by Angel, not only on those who were his current pupils but also on those who, having been his pupils, 'had grown to man's estate'. It was due to him, Emanuel went on, that universities were now open to many who without him would have been denied this advantage. A younger master, L.B. Abrahams, who many years later was to succeed Moses Angel as headmaster, spoke on behalf of the women teachers. Moses Angel, he said, had been 'their teacher, adviser and friend'; they had long felt for him 'sentiments of affectionate gratitude'.

When Moses Angel rose to give thanks he was 'received with vociferous and renewed cheering'. He said he had always tried to give

as much education to every child as he could take, regardless of 'station'. The meeting closed with three hearty cheers for Angel and his family.⁹⁴

Two years later, the Committee marked what the *Jewish Chronicle* reported as Moses Angel's twenty-five years as headmaster. Actually, the year 1865 marks his first quarter century's association with the school. Sir Anthony Rothschild presided over a Committee meeting when 'a magnificent silver inkstand emblematically designed was presented to Mr. Angel'. Some five years later the *Jewish Chronicle* published a long article on the Jews' Free School, praising its 'great and good work'. The writer of the article had one criticism of the school – pupil teachers were allowed 'to administer corporal punishment'. This practice, which the article stated, was not allowed in Christian primary schools, 'is as injurious to the mind of the flogger as to the body of the flogged'. Not long after this, Moses Angel was reported as saying that he thought that the 'abolition of the rod' would have a bad effect. He then said that in his school 'all teachers except the juniors might use it to tap the delinquent but he would never allow any of them to flog'.⁹⁵ 'Old Boy', himself, one of the first pupil teachers, remembered that the boys had to refer to the pupil teachers as 'master', and they strongly objected. He continued, 'How many lectures were addressed! How many rebukes administered! How many strokes of the cane fell on extended palms! How many severe thrashings were inflicted before that stubborn resistance was subdued'.⁹⁶ This does not suggest that the pupil teachers were allowed to administer corporal punishment but he does not make this clear.

For some time the question of an Act to provide schools for all children had been discussed. The controversies over whether government subsidies should be granted to schools giving religious instruction, and whether this should be compulsory or what form it should take, delayed the passage of the Education Act of 1870. Moses Angel had expressed his views on some of these matters in his answers to the Newcastle Commissioners' questionnaire. On the matter of religious instruction, he had written that the curriculum should include:

Religious information enough to produce those practical virtues which bless society, such as charity in thought and deed, tolerance, sympathy, belief – less in the dogmas of sectarianism than in the beauty of all God-worship, a superstructure in short, rising from this foundation – that an Eternal Almighty, All-Merciful, All-perfect Being placed man in this world to perfect his own happiness through piety to Heaven and charity and love on earth....and so on in that vein.⁹⁷

He thought that government aid should be withdrawn from sectarian schools, though not from Jewish schools as non-Jews were not likely to attend schools where so much time was given to the teaching of Hebrew. This seems a little like a piece of special pleading. Though he thought that every encouragement should be given to parents to send their children to school, education should not be made compulsory. He wrote: 'I am of the opinion that the prime object of law is to restrain people from what is wrong, not to coerce them to do what is right and I would therefore not apply it to education'.⁹⁸

The Act of 1870 did not make education compulsory. It did say that schools should be provided for all children and where existing authorities had not made up the deficiencies within a year of the passage of the Act, Boards should be elected by ratepayers in defined areas whose duties should include the provision of schools for such children not already catered for. Each Board had the power, if it so wished to make education compulsory in its own area. The Act forbade instruction in the tenets of a particular sect, but otherwise, the question of religious instruction was left open. The early meetings of the London Board 'were rent with arguments' but eventually a compromise was reached, followed in time by most other Boards. It decided:

That in the schools provided by the Board, the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacities of the children...provided that no sectarian teaching is given and that special arrangements shall be made where necessary. [for example in Whitechapel where the population was mostly Jewish.]⁹⁹

This decision must have satisfied Moses Angel and it seems likely that his views were remembered when it was made. At this point there were 1600 boys and 1000 girls in attendance. In the Boys' School there were, besides himself, sixteen certificated and assistant teachers and thirteen pupil teachers. Presumably because the girls' cookery, laundry and needlework classes had to be smaller than those for general subjects, there were more teachers in the Girls' School — forty two. The report does not make clear whether this included the nine pupil teachers. Angel himself took classes for these girls from 4 pm to 6 pm on four afternoons a week. He thought a good teacher could manage a class of seventy, though this was too large a number for effective teaching. He would prefer forty. There were in the Boys' School fifteen large class rooms in addition to a 'great school room', one hundred feet by fifty, which could either be used as one large room or divided into three.

The normal school day was from 9 am until 1pm and from 2 pm until 4 pm. The School opened for half a day on Sunday to make up for the short school day on Friday (short, because the Jewish Sabbath begins at sundown). During the lunch hour break some children went home, others stayed at school and played in the playground or gymnasium. Marbles 'or any game involving loss or gain' was forbidden. The plan, first introduced some fourteen years before, of employing a man to come at midday to wash any boys needing such attention had been extended; a woman was now also employed for the girls.

There were certain disadvantages suffered by orthodox Jewish children seeking employment; they would not work on Friday afternoons, Saturdays or on Jewish holy days. That is why, according to Moses Angel, 'Jews followed such peculiar occupations'. It is not clear what he meant by this but he also said that the parents of his pupils were 'hawkers and such like who generally live from hand to mouth'. A decade later, it has been estimated that though hawking had declined, it was still the trade in which the greatest percentage of London Jews was employed, indeed, about 20 per cent. Boot and shoe making and tobacco trades each employed about ten per cent; the diamond, jewellery, fur and cabinet making trades each employed something less than ten per cent.¹⁰⁰

Moses Angel had said that the parents of his pupils were 'sober, cleanly and continent. Immorality was scarcely known among Jews; vice was common enough, but not immorality; a woman guilty of incontinency lost caste for ever among her race.' This description of the families whose children attended the Jews free School might have passed without comment but this was by no means the case with the passage that follows. According to the *School Board Chronicle*, he said that the families of the foreign children:

....were the refuse population of the worst parts of Europe, whose first object in sending the children to school was to get them out of the way; many of the children had to be admitted half a dozen times before they finally settled down into regular attendance. The population among whom his school was placed lived a quasi-dishonourable life, by selling things which were not what they seemed; and the children he was afraid, contracted many objectionable habits, truancy among the number.

It was this passage that poured the fat into the fire. 'These statements were tossed about among the dailies and weeklies for many weeks after they were uttered'¹⁰¹ and were bitterly resented by all sections

of the Jewish community. Within a few months, the matter was taken up by the Board of Deputies of British Jews. This body, according to Cecil Roth was 'little less than an Anglo-Jewish Parliament'.¹⁰² Its president at this time was Sir Moses Montefiore.¹⁰³ He wrote to the President of the Committee of the Jews' Free School to complain of the opinions expressed by Moses Angel. His letter began by quoting the objectionable passage from the *School Board Chronicle* and continued:

By a careful perusal of the evidence referred to, it was felt that the statement of Mr Angel contained most improper reflections upon the Jews and I cannot doubt that your Committee will take such steps as will remove from our co-religionists the very unwarranted imputations which have been cast upon them and which have caused deep pain and irritation amongst a large section of the community.

Moses Angel must have been called before his committee to answer the charge. On 13 February 1872, he wrote a long letter of explanation addressed to the President and Committee.

The President of the School Committee, Sir Anthony Rothschild, in forwarding this letter to the Board of Deputies, accompanied it by one from himself:

Mr Angel's explanations of the evidence given by him to the School Board were satisfactory. The Committee are likewise convinced that it was never the intention of Mr Angel to cast any reflection on our industrious and deserving co-religionists of the poorer classes whom during a period of over thirty two years he has done so much to elevate in his capacity of a successful and devoted teacher.

A letter was also read from the secretary of the London School Board in answer to a query as to whether Mr Angel's evidence had been given *viva voce* or handed in to the Committee. The secretary replied that the evidence was given *viva voce* and that a *précis* of it had been published in the *School Board Chronicle*. He added: 'I may add my inference as to the sentence (quasi-dishonourable) to which you refer is that it applies to the population of the District in which the School is placed and not to the parents of the pupils of the School'. In support of this he referred them to the evidence and quoted the passage referring to the 'cleanly and continent' character of the parents of his pupils.

The matter was debated by the Board of Deputies at some length.

Finally Moses Angel was exonerated. A motion that his explanation should be accepted was passed by thirteen to four.

The stir caused by this episode soon blew over. Later references in the press to the School and its headmaster were as appreciative as ever. Past students continued to be appointed to positions of responsibility - heads of other schools, ministers of religion and many in business and the professions. Sir Anthony Rothschild, who for so long had been President of the School committee and had been actively interested in its affairs, died early in 1876. A correspondent to the *Jewish Chronicle* in recalling Sir Anthony's great service to the school, thought that the time was appropriate for a history of the School to be written. How unfortunate it is that this suggestion was not taken up and Moses Angel encouraged to carry out the task.



Lord (Nathaniel) Rothschild (1840-1915), President of JFS, 1876-1915.

Reproduced from Gerry Black, JFS: The History of the Jews' Free School, London since 1732, London: Tynsder Publishing, 1998, Image (VII)

Sir Anthony was succeeded as President by his nephew Lord Nathaniel Rothschild who continued in this office for many years.¹⁰⁴ The School, soon to be faced with new problems, continued to receive the praise of Her Majesty's Inspectors. In 1880, the report referred to the 'excellent examination' which testified 'to the great energy and ability exerted in tuition'. The Girls' School continued 'to be carried on with undiminished efficiency. The reading of the higher standards and indeed all the work of the first class, deserves special praise'. The *Jewish Chronicle* in reporting this commented:

Some minor defects are of course, pointed out, for no school is absolutely perfect, certainly no school in the eyes of a Government Inspector. But that such eulogistic words should find a place in a report that is expected to be characterised by the sobriety so dear to the official mind conclusively proves the excellence of the work of teachers and pupils.

Ninety five per cent of the girls and ninety seven per cent of the boys who presented for examination passed and the government grant, still dependent on results, had reached the extraordinary sum of £2,073. The amount of time given to teaching Hebrew (and this was about a quarter of each day)¹⁰⁵ had not affected achievement in other subjects. The *Chronicle's* report ended:

To Mr Angel's remarkable qualities, his untiring energy, his general knowledge and above all his administrative ability, the repeated success of the School are directly and very largely due. Veteran teacher as he is, he is yet eminently modest; and thus he is, a fit type of the institution he superintends. He is to be congratulated on the School's latest achievements, the managing body on the ability of its teachers, the community¹⁰⁶ on the efficiency of its representative educational institution.

Between 1850 and 1880, the Jewish population of Britain had increased by about seventy per cent. (London by about 125 per cent).¹⁰⁷ Restrictive laws and harsh penalties had led to a big emigration of Jews from Russia (which then included Poland) throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. An Education Code of 1882 laid down new standards for school buildings. This and the still increasing number of pupils seeking entry to the Jews' Free School determined the Committee to embark on plans for extensive alterations and additions to the building. Events in Russia were to make this an even more pressing need.

In March 1881, Tsar Alexander II was assassinated by a group of 'terrorists' and although Jews were not implicated 'within a few weeks, Hell was let loose against the unfortunate Russian Jews. Tens of thousands of homeless refugees were thrown destitute upon the charity of their more fortunately situated brethren'.¹⁰⁸ Many of these came to England, and nearly all gravitated to the East end of London where within twenty-five years, the Jewish population rose from 40,000 to 150,000.¹⁰⁹ The problem of the integration of large numbers of foreign children had always been one the Jews' Free School had to face and one with which it had dealt successfully. During the next two decades the problem increased in magnitude.

An enlarged building became an even greater necessity.

In February, 1883, Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, still president of the School Committee, wrote a long letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* appealing for funds to add to and alter the existing building. As he pointed out, the London School Board had shown 'special consideration to the Jews in the area'. Those who could not be accommodated at the Jews' Free School would not be sent to local Board Schools but to *Chiderim*, 'close, ill-ventilated rooms where inefficient teachers unacquainted with the English language are wholly incapable of giving the Jewish poor an education which can in any way fit them to be a credit to the Jewish community of the country of their adoption'.¹¹⁰

The funds were finally raised and the building completed within the year. It was important enough to merit a long, illustrated article in *The Builder* from which we learn something of how the School functioned while the new building was in progress. Temporary rooms were erected in the playground so 'that the work of the school was not disturbed for a single day during the reconstruction'. The work 'progressed with remarkable rapidity being carried out day and night'.¹¹¹

The four-storeyed building with a frontage of 94 feet on Bell Lane was 'a well-ordered design of early Italian Renaissance decorations carried out in red brick and terra-cotta, materials which impart a distinctly Bolognese flavour'.¹¹² There were fifty-two new classrooms of varying sizes; the largest could hold sixty children, the smallest thirty-two. These were built round a quadrangle eighty feet by thirty, with each room 'separately accessible'. There were also store rooms, cloak rooms and with old rooms still in use, there were altogether seventy-two rooms. The number of staircases enabled class rooms to be lighted on both sides and also facilitated rapid discharge of the pupils, a necessity in case of fire for there were now nearly three thousand children in the school as well as a staff of seventy five. Each room had a glass panel in the door, through which the headmaster used to peer to see that all was well within.¹¹³ The quadrangle, with its sky-lighted roof, formed a central hall and its 'convertible' desks enabled it to be used as a venue for examinations and other school functions.¹¹⁴ On Festival days, a free synagogue for parents and children was held there. An article in the *Sanitary Record* paid a tribute to the provision made for hygienic conditions – glazed tiles, abundant water supply, 'drains flushed many times a day by attendants engaged for that purpose'.¹¹⁵

CATERING FOR THE EASTERN EUROPEAN REFUGEES

Over a decade before Moses Angel had spoken of the number of foreign-born children who came to the school unable to speak a word of

English.¹¹⁶ A few years later, a journalist described the area where the School was situated, with its predominantly Jewish population and where in the streets one seldom heard anything spoken but Yiddish. This was before the influx of refugees from Russia. Yiddish was the medium (though it was described as 'the Judeo-German dialect') that was chosen in 1886 to instruct 'the large number of pupils [of the Jews' Free School] who cannot speak a word of English'. A. Herschowitz, the superintendent of the Poor Jews' Temporary shelter, was engaged to teach these children.¹¹⁷ From this time until the end of the century, tributes from a variety of sources were paid to this important work done by the School. There is evidence from non-Jewish authorities of the magnitude of the problem.

When Beatrice Potter, better known as Beatrice Webb, (wife of Sidney Webb) studied conditions in the East End of London for Charles Booth's survey of social conditions in Great Britain, she was impressed with the Jews' Free School, describing it as 'a striking example of the admirable organization peculiar to Jewish charity'. She gave figures of the number of foreign children in the school. Altogether there were 3,400 pupils. Of these, 897 (26.3 per cent) were born abroad, 1,962 (57.7 per cent) were born in England of foreign parents and only 541 (16 per cent) were born in England of English parents.¹¹⁸ Three or four years later the total number of pupils had risen to 3,582 and by this time the number of foreign born children had increased to 1358 or 38 per cent, an increase of nearly 12 per cent. The number of children born in England with foreign parents had dropped to 45.5 per cent and 596 had English parents, an increase of about 6 per cent.¹¹⁹

At about this time, the School Inspector of the area told a gathering in the Great Hall of the School:

You have not seen as I have seen these galleries filled with strange children from other lands, who have often come here unable to read one single word of English, often unable to speak one single word, and witness as I have the rapid manner in which these strange foreigners at first are transformed into bright and clever English scholars and this work is accomplished with marvellous celerity by the genius of our esteemed friend Mr Angel.¹²⁰

A reporter from the *Daily Graphic*¹²¹ visiting the Board of Trade commented: 'the great Jews' Free School in Bell Lane, Spitalfields' was 'far more powerful for "anglicising" the foreign community' than adult evening classes. The report continued;

As the children pass from the ABC class at the bottom, in which the energies of the teachers are mainly directed to teaching them the English language and something of English notions of cleanliness, upwards through the standards to the top of the school, there is almost marked change in their appearance and habits. They enter the School Russians and Poles and emerge from it almost indistinguishable from English children.¹²²

On another occasion, a reporter from the *Daily Graphic* visited the School in 1895. He was struck by the high percentage of foreign children who entered the school knowing no English. He wrote that often such children were admitted to the School 'the very day after they landed in London. When they leave, after passing the successive standards, they all speak English with a regard for grammar and a purity of accent far above the average of the neighbourhood'.¹²³ His impressions of the School are those of a disinterested observer:

I went during the play hours and the children swarmed around me like bees. On the average they seemed to be as healthy and sturdy a set of children as one could hope to find in a poor quarter of a great town...of the work the School does in turning these little foreigners into English folk, I had most interesting evidence. In the course of my visit I was introduced to and chatted with several of the teachers. As I was bidding good-bye to the venerable headmaster of the School, I remarked incidentally and in all good faith on the number of English and presumably Christian teachers he seemed to find it necessary to employ. 'With one exception' was his reply, 'every one of the hundred teachers on our staff is a Jew and has been trained from childhood in the School itself'.¹²⁴

The journalist met the manager of another institution and asked him how such 'an obvious "John Bull" came to be so closely connected with the Jews'. The reply was that this 'John Bull' was a Jew who had come to London from Poland when he was four years old and received all his education at the Jews' Free School. The journalist concluded his account;

This is typical of the work the School does. This school, supported by Jewish subscriptions and Jewish endowments, is in effect a huge factory for the production of English citizens from foreign material.¹²⁵



*A Singing Lesson at the Jews' Free School, 1908. Sir Arthur Sullivan was so impressed with the School choir that he promised to compose a special work for them.*¹²⁶

Reproduced from

<http://www.victorianweb.org/history/education/jewsfreeschool1.jpg>

Israel Zangwill, who was perhaps the best known former pupil and one time staff member, wrote in *Children of the Ghetto*: 'The brazen clanging of a bell. It was the bell of the great Ghetto school, summoning its pupils from the reeking courts and alleys, from the garrets and the cellars, calling them to come and be anglicised'.¹²⁷ The School was indeed 'a huge factory for the production of English citizens from foreign material', but it was much more than this. A leader writer in the *Jewish Chronicle*, probably an old pupil of the school said of Moses Angel that he was 'not only the master of a great teaching machine, he constantly came face to face with his pupils in the bracing impact of mind upon mind which constitutes the daily detail of actual education'.¹²⁸

This was also the opinion of the 'Old Boy' who remembered Moses Angel more than forty years earlier and who thought it necessary in the nineties to remind people that by that time, Moses Angel had come to be thought of as a great administrator and it was sometimes forgotten that he was also an outstanding teacher able to hold his pupils spellbound.¹²⁹

The year 1889 was the fiftieth of Moses Angel's association with the School. Early in that year, a function was held to honour him: 'The scene on that occasion in the great hall of the School in Bell Lane

was unique in the annals of the Jewish Community'.¹³⁰ Lord Rothschild presided over the large gathering which included 'members of all sections of the community'. He opened the proceedings by outlining the School's history and went on:

If you look back over the history of the Jews' free School you think of the history of education in this country and whatever may be your views about the future, you will agree with me that men like Mr Angel – and Mr Angel is pre-eminent among those who worked with him in his youth – were the pioneers of the system you are so proud of and the education you are apt to boast of. Education - I am talking of elementary schools - education in its infancy certainly owed everything to denominational schools. They fought the first battle, they showed the advantages of education to the world, and your present broad and imperial system has simply been grafted upon the work which men like Mr Angel have done in the past and are still doing now. [Lord Rothschild then spoke of his training of teachers] Headmasters and Headmistresses of many other schools and all the Jewish teachers in the employment of the London School Board who were trained by Mr Angel and more Jewish clergymen and Readers have been trained by him than have been trained at the Jews' College.

The speech had been interrupted by cheering at one or two points and at its conclusion, Lord Rothschild handed to the guest of honour an antique silver casket suitably inscribed containing a cheque for £800. Lord and Lady Rothschild also gave him four silver candlesticks engraved with his monogram,¹³¹ but as this was not reported in the *Chronicle*, it was probably presented on a private occasion.

The staff of the School gave him 'a very massive and elegant silver vase, gilt inside, standing on an ebony plinth. This too had inscriptions on the silver plates placed back and front'. Mrs. Angel was presented with an old English silver gilt card stand of 'very chaste design'. The three thousand children then in attendance gave him 'a pair of handsome brass pedestal telescope lamps standing six feet high'. In making the presentation, one of the pupils said, 'I wish I could express sufficiently on their behalf, and on my own all the love and gratitude we bear to you...In every way you are our benefactor, ever ready to plead our cause, ever anxious to relieve our necessities; through you the hungry are fed, the naked clothed'.

A former Minister of Education, A. J. Mundella, also spoke in

praise of Moses Angel's work. It was on this occasion that T.S. Aldis, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the district, referred to the speed with which foreign pupils learnt English. He concluded, 'I am glad to join you in wishing to our dear friend that the crown of glory which grey hairs give, may long be worn by him and that his remaining years may be free from those troubles which afflict so many who attain as he has done, to such a prolonged career of usefulness.' This too was greeted with cheers.

When Angel, now only three months from his seventieth birthday, rose to speak, the applause continued for 'some minutes' and the old man was 'quite overcome with emotion'. Several times during his speech he 'faltered, but was encouraged by the renewed cheering of the audience'. He apologised for his faltering: 'If ought I say appears to be incoherent or illogical, it is not for want of feeling but on the contrary, through the fullness of my feelings of gratitude'.

He outlined the progress of the school and ascribed his success, 'I believe I have been successful', to his belief that 'unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it'.

He paid tribute to the support given to him by the late Sir Anthony Rothschild who 'was kind enough to take a personal interest in me'. He praised the members of his staff, especially Miss Lipman, head of the Girls' School and his chief assistant, his 'old friend and pupil, Mr Abrahams'. (This teacher was to be his successor as headmaster).

He then referred to another gift from the Committee, teachers and pupils 'which will probably do the same in my domestic circle as the Scholarship which they propose to give to the School, a portrait of myself painted by my friend Mr B.S. Marks, to whom I am deeply grateful'. He concluded, saying that though he felt 'the advance of years' bodily, 'as far as mental energy is concerned I feel as young as ever'. He 'resumed his seat, quite overcome, amid loud and prolonged applause'. It must have been a moving occasion for the members of his family who were present: his wife of course, his eldest son Emanuel, his daughter Maria and her husband John Hart, another daughter, Mrs. J. Myer and 'several of Mr and Mrs Angel's grandchildren'.

At his Jubilee celebration, Moses Angel spoke of feeling his years but no mention was made of his suffering any illness for another two years. Early in 1891 he became seriously ill and had to be absent from school for more than a fortnight, an 'unprecedented' event. 'His absence was severely felt by the entire staff of the institution, particularly as it coincided with the annual examination of the pupils by Her Majesty's Inspector'.¹³² On his return to school he 'was greeted with genuine pleasure in both departments of the School'.¹³³

This illness must have brought home to Lord Rothschild (still president of the School Committee) that the headmaster was not immortal. The annual prize giving that year was a special occasion, partly because the new Chief Rabbi of Great Britain and the Chief Rabbi of France were both present and both paid tributes to the 'veteran headmaster'. The main event of the day was the presentation to the School of a copy made by B.S. Marks who had painted the original of the portrait of Moses Angel given to him on the occasion of his Jubilee.¹³⁴ In making the presentation Lord Rothschild said:

The portrait has been given by some friends of the Institution. They give it to the pupils, pupil-teachers and scholars in order that they may look upon the portrait and remember that the best friend of these schools has been and will be I hope for many years, the able headmaster, who for more than half a century has presided over its destinies.¹³⁵

Lord Rothschild spoke again after the award of prizes. He moved a vote of thanks to the headmaster, the headmistress and all the staff. Mr Angel responded for them all.

Moses Angel did not retire for another six years. In 1893, he and his wife celebrated their golden wedding and over three years later, Mrs. Angel died. From this time he had 'a series of illnesses that greatly enfeebled his powerful frame'. In November 1897 he retired from the position of headmaster and was then appointed to 'the more dignified but less harassing position of Principal'. He continued to attend the School daily when his health permitted. On the last day of term before the summer holidays in 1898, he handed the key of the School to the secretary saying 'that he did not believe he would ever need it again'. He contracted jaundice only nine days after this and died a little over a month later.¹³⁶ He was in his eightieth year.

He was buried at Willesdon Cemetery and 'the entire teaching staff were present. Contrary to usual Jewish practice, all the women teachers were there. Not only that but they stayed until after the others had left, helping to fill in Mr Angel's grave. It was splendidly characteristic of the man himself, a duty to be done somewhat out of the beaten path but done with all love and no ostentation. Boys from a neighbouring Jewish school and those from the Seventh Standard of the Jews' Free School as well as many former pupils were present. Among these last was 'the striking figure of Myer Davis' who had been in the 'Talmud Torah class when Moses Angel first taught there. He was 'the oldest among those who had been [his] colleagues'.¹³⁷

The chief mourners were members of his family; his eldest son Emanuel, his son-in-law John Hart and their sons, Moses Angel's

four grandsons. The ceremony was, an onlooker reported, 'just the kind of farewell that he would have desired, simple in every detail, profoundly impressive, attended by those who knew him best and best appreciated his worth to the great institution which he built up, and to the great community which in its turn has been mainly built up by the Jews' Free School'.¹³⁸ The bier was carried to the grave by former pupils. 'Most divergent were their walks of life but they were old boys again in spirit and paid the Master their last act of attention'.¹³⁹

A memorial service was held at the School three days after the funeral. The sermon was preached by the Rev. G.J Emanuel, minister of the Birmingham Hebrew congregation, an old pupil of Moses Angel's and a former teacher at the School. Perhaps obituary articles and funeral sermons are not the places where one would find critical estimates of their subject but the praises accorded to Moses Angel at this time must be considered when trying to form an estimate of the man.

Something of the character, personality and ideas will perhaps have emerged from the foregoing account. He was undoubtedly a great teacher and administrator who had, according to the *London Times* 'raised the Jews' Free School from a comparatively unimportant institution to be, on the authority of Matthew Arnold and others, not only the largest, but the best managed elementary school in the United Kingdom'.¹⁴⁰ He did not achieve this without presenting a stern exterior to the world and maintaining strict discipline in his school.

But there is plenty of evidence that, stern though he could be, his deep concern for the welfare of his pupils and staff members was one of his outstanding characteristics. A writer, who described the scenes at his graveside, reported. 'There were many who repeatedly asserted that they had lost one who was regarded more as a father than a Headmaster'. Putting the words of many into one sentence, 'he never lost an opportunity of serving need, or of rewarding merit or of encouraging effort'.

In his memorial sermon, the Rev. G.J. Emanuel, who had been both pupil and teacher under him, felt he had lost his 'father, friend, teacher, guide'. He spoke of his power of inspiring 'his subordinates, grey-haired men to beardless youths, with confidence, courage and strength'.

Mr Emanuel continued: 'You could not help loving him. He was your friend to whom you came when in trouble or doubt. Ah! How kind and gentle he was! How large-minded! How wise and sympathetic! How generous and considerate! You always left him comforted, encouraged, sustained, helped'. This kindness and gentleness were not apparent at

all. 'He never wore his heart on his sleeve, and disclaimed, to his own loss perhaps, to let the gentler side of his character become known except to a select few privileged friends'.¹⁴¹

Some of his views on religion have already been referred to. In 1858, he published *The Law of Sinai and Its Appointed Times*, most of which had appeared as articles in the Jewish press. He wrote, as he stated in the Preface, in the hope that it would 'contribute to a better understanding between Jew and Christian...by demonstrating the possibility that all may be right who honestly conform to the first principles of Revelation by showing that true charity admits of no qualification...It is the spirit of the law, as contained in the Law, which is eternal. I have endeavoured to evoke that spirit from the shroud in which it has been laid'.¹⁴² He concluded the Preface, 'I shall be more than rewarded in the knowledge that I have fulfilled my vocation as a Jew, by aiding the diffusion of a blessing to all the families of the earth'.

These are the words of a sincerely religious man and not those of a bigot, for bigotry he hated. In his answers to the Newcastle Commissioners' questionnaire, he told them that he had known many Sunday school teachers:

While for many I entertain much respect, I am no less bound to say, that as a body of men, I know none to whom I should feel less disposed to entrust the proper education of children. They are mostly narrow-minded, bigoted, sectarianists as incapable of instilling that universal charity and sympathy which should permeate all true religion, as they are wilfully blind to all moral excellence without the pale of their own peculiar creed.

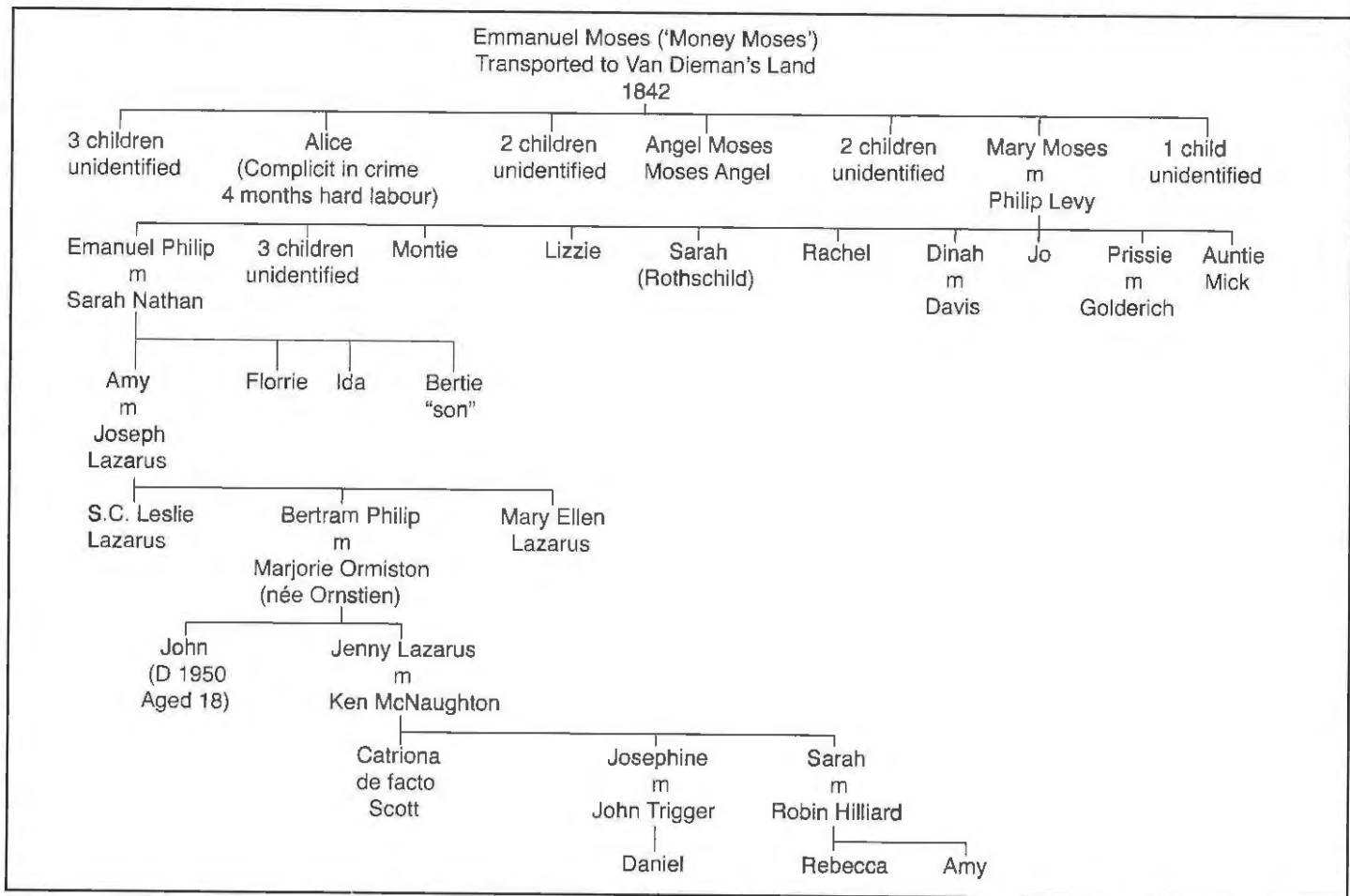
In the answer to another question, he came out equally strongly against 'charitable endowment' schools. *Dombey and Son*¹⁴³ had appeared a decade before the publication of the Newcastle Commission Report, with Dickens' scathing condemnation of such a school. Perhaps the thought of 'Charitable Grinders'¹⁴⁴ was in Angel's mind when he wrote the following:

Every school which, under the name of a charitable endowment, clothes boys in leather smalls, and girls in hideous nightcaps, or such like abominations, and which atones for rendering the body a deformity by storing the mind with catechetical bigotry, I would at once annihilate by Act of Parliament, and would make the funds so rendered disposable, available for the general purposes of education.

We know nothing of his methods of bringing up his own children, but he appeared to have strict views as to the employment of leisure. He thought that lectures and mechanics' institutes were valuable adjuncts to adult education for the poor. With all their faults, they were better than 'the tavern, the billiard room, the cheap theatre and the casino'. They were also suitable places to meet those of the opposite sex, but as they encouraged those 'socially inclined to indulge in company keeping' this often led to extravagant habits. Also they 'sometimes convert half educated men into ill-formed politicians (and therefore revolutionists, [sic] or at least democrats) or dogmatic school men'.¹⁴⁵

These views are what one might expect from 'the Bismarck of Bell Lane' as Israel Zangwill called him and they come as rather a surprise after some of his more liberal views. He thought there should be free libraries, 'even with the risk of converting a few young men into dreamers and a few girls into slatterns, for some people "reading is a necessity"'. One surmises that he himself belonged to this category. As Dr Hodgson had written of him about a century before, he was 'no ordinary man.'

APPENDIX 1: FAMILY TREE OF EMMANUEL MOSES



ENDNOTES

1. At the time of writing the portrait was in Mary Lazarus's possession. However, it was later mislaid.
2. G.M. Trevelyan, *History of England*, Longman Group (Far East) Limited, 1926, p.608 - an estimate made from a table in Cecil Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry*, pp.110-111.
3. Twenty Fourth Annual Report - Jews' Free School, 1841.
4. Quinn, Thesis held in the Library, University College, the University of London, *Jewish Schooling Systems of London, 1656 -1956*.
5. Twenty Fourth Annual Report, op cit.
6. *Ibid*.
7. Quinn, op.cit.
8. *Young Israel*, April 1898. (As typed in the original manuscript; reference could not be verified.)
9. He kept in touch with his sister Mary during his life time as I know from what my grandfather, Moses Angel's nephew, told me. *M.L.*
10. *Young Israel*, April 1890. (As typed in the original manuscript; reference could not be verified.)
11. He did not graduate. King's college and University College formed the University of London, a degree awarding institution that was not incorporated until 1836.
12. Report of the Commissioners appointed to *Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England*, Vol V, 1861.
13. *History of the Jewish Chronicle*, p13. This reference is probably to Cecil Roth, *The Jewish Chronicle 1841-1941: A Century of Newspaper History* (London, 1949).
14. *Ibid*, p.9.
15. Article by Asher Myer, quoting Moses Angel. Jubilee Edition of the the *Jewish Chronicle (JC)*, 13 November 1891.
16. *JC*, 12 November 1841.
17. *History of the Jewish Chronicle*, pp. 25-26.
18. Picotti, *Sketches of Jewish History*, Vol 2, facsimile of letter.
19. *Jews' Free School Committee Minutes*, 3 August 1842.
20. See *JC*, Obituary, 9 September 1898.
21. *Minutes*, 2 January 1843.
22. *Minutes*, op. cit., 1842.
23. *Minutes*, 21 December 1843.
24. *Minutes*, 2 January 1843.
25. *Minutes*, 21 December 1843.
26. *Minutes*, 8 April 1851.
27. *The Schools Board Chronicle*, 8 July 1871.
28. *Report of the 1861 Commissioners*, Vol V.
29. Israel Zangwill, *the Children of the Ghetto*, Ch 12 (London, 1892).
30. Twenty Fourth Annual Report, op. cit.
31. *Aldis Report to the Committee of Council on Education*, 1887-8.
32. *Minutes*, 2 January 1843.
33. *Minutes*, December 1843.
34. *Minutes*, 25 April 1844.
35. Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People-A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: WH Smith, 1967). Contains an account of the monitorial system.

36. *Minutes*, 21 September 1841, 18 May and 3 October 1842.
37. *Minutes*, 8 December 1846.
38. *Minutes*, 17 May 1848.
39. *JC*, 9 September 1898 and also Moses Angel's will, lodged at Somerset House.
40. *Minutes*, 8 December 1846.
41. *Minutes*, 1 February 1844.
42. *Minutes*, 14 April 1845.
43. *Voice of Jacob*, 11 August 1845.
44. Sturt, *op. cit.*, pp.195-6.
45. *JC*, 12 May 1848.
46. *Minutes*, September 1848.
47. *JC*, 12 April 1850.
48. *Minutes*, 8 May 1851.
49. *Minutes*, 13 July, 27 September, 10 October 1852.
50. Article by 'Old Boy', *JC*, 29 July 1898.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Minutes*, 1 March 1852.
54. *JC*, 8 October 1852.
55. *Minutes*, 12 October 1852.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Minutes*, 11 January 1853.
58. *JC*, 9 September 1898.
59. *Young Israel*, April 1898.
60. *JC*, 26 August 1853.
61. *JC*, 29 August 1856.
62. *Minutes*, 10 February 1857.
63. *JC*, 9 September 1898.
64. *Minutes*, 9 June 1857.
65. *Minutes*, 13 April 1858. Matthew Arnold was among the many guests entertained by Sir Anthony de Rothschild.
66. *JC*, 9 September 1898 and *Report of Newcastle Commission*, Vol V.
67. *Report of Newcastle Commission*, Vol V.
68. 'An Impressive Farewell- by an Onlooker', *JC*, 9 September 1890.
69. *Minutes*, October 1847.
70. *Minutes*, 8 April 1851.
71. *Minutes*, 10 February 1857.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Forty First Annual Report*, *op. cit.*
74. Article in *Sanitary Record*, Dr Maurice Davis, quoted in *JC*, 13 February 1885.
75. House of Lords Papers 1861, Vol 44. *Commission to Inquire into the Present state of Popular Education in England and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the Extension of Sound and Cheap Elementary Instruction*. (The Newcastle Commission).
76. *Appendix to the Newcastle Commission Report*.
77. *Minutes*, March 1859.
78. *Forty First Annual Report*, *op. cit.*
79. *Appendix to the Newcastle Commission Report*.
80. *JC*, 22 July 1898.
81. *Appendix to the Newcastle Commission Report*.

82. *JC*, 29 July 1898.
83. *Minutes*, 8 June 1858.
84. *JC*, 22 July 1898.
85. *Minutes*, 14 December 1858.
86. *JC*, 22 and 27 July 1898.
87. *Newcastle Commission Report*, Vol III, p.486.
88. *Minutes*, 11 January 1859. The title 'Baron' was conferred by the Austrian Emperor.
89. Sturt, *op. cit.*, p.274.
90. *Appendix to the Newcastle Commission Report*.
91. *The Schools Board Chronicle*, 8 July 1871.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *The Sanitary Record* as quoted in *JC*, 13 February 1885. The other 'special advantages' were a free breakfast provided for ten per cent of the pupils, 'penny dinners' for 3-4 per cent and clothing and boots for 90 per cent.
94. *JC*, 9 January 1863.
95. *JC*, 29 July 1898.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*
99. Sturt, *op. cit.*, pp.321-322.
100. V.D. Lipman, *Social History of Jews in England 1850-1950* (London, Watts & Co), p.81.
101. *JC*, 29 December 1871.
102. Cecil Roth, *A Short History of the Jewish People* (London: East & West Library, 1969), p.378.
103. Sir Anthony Rothschild, President of the School Committee was married to Sir Moses Montefiore's niece.
104. Sir Nathaniel had represented Aylesbury in the House of Commons since 1865 when he was only twenty five. In 1895 he was raised to the peerage, the first Jew to be so honoured.
105. Moses Angel's evidence to the School Board committee in 1871.
106. *JC*, 9 April 1880.
107. V.D. Lipson, *Social History of the Jews*, p.165. (As typed in the original manuscript, reference could not be verified.)
108. Cecil Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 384 & 386.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 390.
110. *JC*, 2 February 1883.
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Survey of London*, Vol XXVII, Spitalfields and Mile End, p.241.
113. When the present writer (ML) visited the School in the early nineteen thirties, she was told this by an elderly member of staff who had been a pupil teacher in Moses Angel's time.
114. *The Builder*, 7 July 1883.
115. *JC*, 13 February 1885.
116. His evidence given to the School Board Committee in 1871.
117. *JC*, 12 November 1886.
118. *Life and Labour of the People*, Charles Booth (ed.), Vol 1, Pt III, p 57. The figures are from the 1891 edition. Judging from this and Beatrice Webb's *My Apprenticeship* Vol II, Ch 6, the figures applied to 1890.
119. *Board of Trade Report of 1894*, quoted by V.D. Lipman, *op. cit.*, p.146.

120. *JC*, 4 January 1889.
121. ML did not provide an exact reference for this information. The London newspaper *The Graphic* was founded in 1869 and commenced the *Daily Graphic* in 1889, the first issue of which appeared on 4 January 1890. Extract from *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Graphic, accessed 1 May 2011
122. Quoted in V.D. Lipman, op. cit. pp.146 & 147.
123. *Daily Graphic*, 22 October 1895.
124. *Ibid*.
125. *Ibid*.
126. This quote is from Gerry Black, *JFS: The History of the Jews' Free School, London since 1732*, London: Tynsder Publishing, 1998, Image (XLII).
127. Zangwill, op. cit., Ch. 3.
128. *JC*, 1 January 1889.
129. *Ibid*, 22 October 1898.
130. *Ibid*, 1 January 1889.
131. These are specifically mentioned in his Will lodged at Somerset House.
132. *JC*, 20 February 1891.
133. *Ibid*.
134. The portrait survived the Blitz. The writer saw it in The Bell Lane building in 1933 and again in 1971 in the JFS Comprehensive School. In the May school holidays that followed this second visit, vandals entered the school and damaged the portrait. 'A copy is being made as Moses Angel was considered quite outstanding' as Mr Edmund de Rothschild, a member of the School Committee, told the writer in a letter written soon after the unfortunate affair.
135. *JC*, 3 July 1891.
136. *JC*, 9 September 1898.
137. *Ibid*.
138. *Ibid*.
139. *Ibid*.
140. *The Times*, 7 September 1898, from an Obituary.
141. *JC*, 9 September 1898
142. The book was a commentary on the first five books of the bible (the Torah) and was intended to show their relevance to the times.
143. Charles Dickens, *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son: Wholesale, Retail and for Export* (London, Bradbury and Evans, Monthly October 1846-April 1848).
144. The name of a school in Dickens' *Dombey and Son*.
145. No reference is given in the original manuscript for the quotes in this paragraph.