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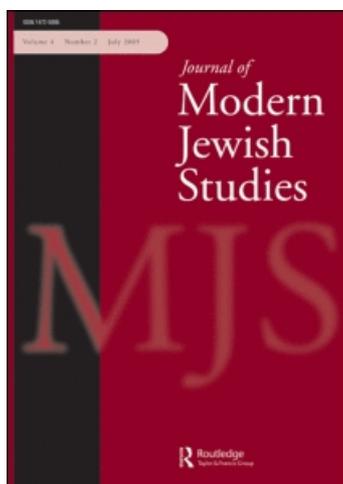
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THE EXTRAORDINARY MOVEMENT OF THE JEWS OF GREAT BRITAIN

1827–1831

This article identifies a previously ignored social movement that existed in London during 1827–1831. The Jewish rights movement, as it will be called here, actually involved a coalition of Jews and Christians. During the movement's initial phase, London Jews, led by Moses E. Levy (an activist from the United States), joined in solidarity with their oppressed brethren in Russia: their public protests against tsarist policies drew a broad response from the national and international press. This unparalleled movement influenced national political agendas and major legislative reforms, and resulted in striking changes within the Anglo-Jewish community. By utilising the modern social movement framework as an essential tool to reconstruct this long-forgotten collective effort, the Jewish rights movement has emerged as a notable chapter in the development of modern Jewish political identity.

“At the present moment, the eyes of England, of Europe, and of a great part of the civilized world seem to be directed toward us, and... men are looking with something approaching anxiety for the result of the Public Meetings of the Jewish Nation that have been called (the first time for many centuries)” (Levy Jewish Community).

Introduction

In London during the winter of 1827, a unique series of public meetings between Jews and Christians had escalated into what many in the newspaper press deemed an “extraordinary movement.”¹ A cohort of predominately middle-class Jews led by Moses E. Levy (1782–1854)—a cosmopolitan reformer from the United States—joined affluent members of the evangelical Philo-Judaeae Society (1826–1831) in an unprecedented political coalition.² Both parties met on equal footing to debate the essentials of their respective faiths; influential evangelicals lobbied for the end of Jewish civil disabilities in England; schools and other philanthropic endeavours were established for the benefit of the Jewish poor; and in what became an international cause célèbre, hundreds of Anglo-Jews expressed solidarity with their coreligionists in Russia by denouncing the anti-Semitic policies of Tsar Nicholas I. This foray into the public sphere by one of England's most stigmatised minorities garnered the interest of the world press and stirred significant controversy. Indeed, if one were to judge the movement solely by the merit of press coverage, the magnitude of exposure would dwarf all other contentious meetings in Britain during the same period.³

Conspicuous as this movement was, it has nevertheless been bypassed by historians: a rather startling omission by any standard.⁴ This legacy of neglect can be traced to the late 19th century when communal historians omitted any mention of this episode in published accounts. At this juncture, the Jewish elite strived to maintain a unified public image that reaffirmed their place in the national polity. Amateur Anglo-Jewish historians willingly advanced this ideal; controversial events were censored and a filiopietistic style predominated. Because the activists of the late 1820s blatantly rebelled against synagogue strictures, were led by Moses Levy (an obstreperous outsider from Florida), associated with “fanatic” Christians, criticised the Jewish oligarchs and drew worldwide scrutiny in the process, it was perhaps inevitable that this contentious chapter was thoroughly excised from collective memory. The fact that Jewish historical identity in England precluded the mere mention of internal strife is, of course, indicative of a heightened degree of communal insecurity, a state of affairs that recent historians have been keen to recognise.⁵

Despite a daunting historiographical lacuna, this article will attempt to establish the credentials of a noteworthy and influential social movement. Countering the familiar critique of Anglo-Jewish history as “a bland and lukewarm” narrative⁶ that was devoid of internal conflict and innovation⁷ it becomes quite evident that the Jewish rights movement drew upon a remarkable level of discontent, enlisted a novel set of characters and had dramatic, long-term consequences. Newly uncovered evidence reveals a structured campaign that not only initiated impassioned debates, but produced voluminous newspaper articles and speeches, and implemented pamphleteering, parliamentary petitioning, public meetings, and other persuasive techniques that were part and parcel of the social movement repertoire.

Prior to the Jewish rights movement, British Jews, like their continental brethren, studiously averted the public sphere. Compliance, not activism, was still the norm and the rabbinic axiom *dina de-malkhuta dina* (“the law of the kingdom is the law [for the Jews]”) was much intact. During the latter half of the 18th century, a handful of Anglo-Jewish authors may have articulated their identities through the literary medium,⁸ but this apolitical “literary public sphere”—what theorist Jurgen Habermas (29) defines as “a process of self-clarification” that emphasised the private intellectual world—was quite distinct from the appearance of a fully political public sphere.⁹ On the other hand, political matters that concerned the Anglo-Jewish community remained within the purview of the Jewish gentry who were expected to act as discreet, behind-the-scenes lobbyists with government officials.

Viewed within this context, the Jewish rights movement clearly manifested a quantum shift in consciousness. Once the medieval “law of the kingdom” *mentalité* had been breached, there was slight chance of reverting to old ways. Thus, recognition of this episode not only adds appreciably to our knowledge of social movements and interfaith activism in late Georgian England but it challenges a variety of preconceptions, including the emergence of modern Jewish politics. Historians, for example, have looked to events in late 19th century Russia as the historical “big-bang”, a cognitive liberation that rejected centuries of political passivity in favour of self-determination.¹⁰ What is more, some have also envisioned Jewish political endeavours prior to this time as a virtual blank slate; Jews were apparently “washed clean,” as David Vital (154) put it, “of political habits and political ideas, let alone political capabilities.” With respect to the celebrated actions surrounding the Damascus Affair (1840), historian David Biale (124)

posited that “perhaps for the first time since antiquity, Jews acted to defend the rights of Jews in other countries”. Earlier in London, however, Jews publicly castigated the Russian tsar and proudly proclaimed that all their brethren were “flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone”.¹¹ The fact that this event occurred in London, the leading cultural and intellectual metropolis, enhanced the movement’s standing and facilitated the diffusion of ideas. The significance of the Jewish rights movement thus transcends national borders and offers historians a radically different perspective on the development of modern Jewish political identity.

The success of this movement owed much to the innovative contributions of Moses Levy—a figure long marginalised in Jewish history. In fact, his promotion of Jewish nationalism, as well as his resolute stand against assimilation, evokes the position of a much later group of Zionists. During Levy’s relatively brief residence in London (1825–1828), he not only established the case for a Jewish homeland as the necessary fulfilment of biblical prophecy, but—in a manner akin to Leo Pinsker’s treatise *Auto-Emancipation* (1882)—he advanced a deep scepticism regarding the future of Jews in Gentile society. “Barbary, Turkey, Poland, the wilds of Prussia, [Jews] tried them all,” Levy declared at London’s elite Freemasons’ Hall, “and everywhere found an enemy in man.”¹² Some 50 years later, Pinsker (9) employed a similar fatalistic approach: “[all] nations, by reason of their eternal, *natural* antagonism, will forever reject us”. Levy often resorted to an emotion-laden rhetoric and used injustice frames that were typical of the anti-slavery crusade but had yet to be applied to the Jews in a social movement context. He claimed, for instance, that without a country of their own Jews would inevitably face the “persecution of contempt” and thus be forced to “drag the chain of servitude”. Levy¹³ even equated this dysfunctional state, as Pinsker did later, with a kind of death. The appearance of these claims in 1820s England counters numerous historical assumptions vis-à-vis the rise of Jewish self-emancipation and the modern Zionist ideal.¹⁴

Predating Marxist and socialist ideology, Levy’s novel outlook reflected a rather complex intellectual synergy that requires brief explanation. Levy had long incorporated a messianic religious orientation with a radical communitarianism—indeed by 1822 he had established the first Jewish communitarian settlement in America.¹⁵ Arriving in England in 1825, he became an active contributor to the abolitionist movement and thus adopted the British social movement “repertoire”.¹⁶ In doing so, Levy had progressed from his roots in an elite and paternalistic communitarianism (where he saw himself as a kind of benevolent social engineer) to trusting in the people’s will, by way of the social movement process. Paramount in Levy’s thought, however, was his belief that true individual freedom had to originate with the “emancipation” of the mind (Monaco 134). Indeed self-liberation resided at the core of the Jewish rights movement, an essential element that will be made much clearer later.

A basic tenet of all social movements, according to historical sociologist Charles Tilly (37), posits that “the prior path of collective claim-making constrains its subsequent forms, influencing the very issues, actors, settings, and outcomes of popular struggle”. In other words, while the Jewish rights movement surely reflected previous modes of collective action in Britain, it also reshaped and informed contemporary endeavours. If one considers that the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (1828), the newly invigorated drive for Catholic emancipation (1829), and the Anglo-Jewish elite’s sudden efforts (after a legacy of indifference) to press for the removal of Jewish disabilities, were all concurrent with the London movement then this episode assumes

even greater relevancy. None of these collective efforts stood in isolation from each other; as evidenced by the fact that Jewish magnates, including Isaac L. Goldsmid and Nathan Rothschild, formed a discreet alliance with Catholic activist Daniel O'Connell in July 1828 in order to advance Jewish emancipation.¹⁷

The constituents of the Jewish rights movement often held unorthodox and seemingly ambiguous views that, without ample context, tend to obscure full comprehension of the movement itself. Coalition members were divided, for instance, between the anti-assimilationist posture of Moses Levy's faction and the advancement of full political emancipation that was undertaken by the Philo-Judaeans. Moreover, Philo-Judaeans efforts may at first evoke a liberal-humanist orientation; this is indeed the view of historian Todd Endelman.¹⁸ Yet upon close examination, it becomes evident that the Philo-Judaeans leadership actually adhered to the precepts of the ultra-conservative, pre-millennial wing of Evangelicalism and considered liberalism as anathema.¹⁹ Such a misconception is therefore indicative of the kinds of problems that may arise in any discussion of the "extraordinary movement". Without first identifying the principal players and delineating their motivations as well as the context of the times, any detailed review of the events themselves may prove misleading. And, just as vital, initial clarification is needed regarding social movements as common understanding may differ from the sociological model used here.

I believe that a social movement framework offers historians the only viable means with which to identify and analyse the events of 1827–1831 and those that followed. Thus equipped, one can excavate the archival sources and actually discern a foundation, so to speak. Social movements, following Charles Tilly (369), are organised public challenges directed at society's power-holders and are conducted on behalf of a needy or disenfranchised group of persons who reside under elite authority. Movement activists pursue social and political change by enacting various public strategies (demonstrations, petitions, committees, meetings and so forth) and openly proclaim their grievances. Furthermore, this type of collective endeavour gains strength and influence only when participants are perceived as a creditable, substantive, and united body and after they risk antagonising the establishment in pursuit of their goals. The Jewish rights movement was certainly a singular event in Anglo-Jewish history but it nevertheless adhered to a well-recognised form of contentious politics that has evolved and endured to the present day.²⁰

A cast of characters

Protest groups who reside outside the existing polity seldom possess sufficient political influence to effect substantive change. Indeed, only after social movement participants form a mutually beneficial alliance with "minority elites" is any practical chance at reform possible.²¹ The Jewish rights movement was therefore given a significant boost by the initial involvement of the Philo-Judaeans Society, an association of predominately Anglican evangelicals whose wealth, social ranking and political connections offset the far more modest status and limited resources of Moses Levy's supporters. The society's inner circle consisted of such eminent figures as Henry Drummond MP, Viscount Mandeville MP, Rev. Hugh McNeile, Hon. J. J. Strutt (Baron Rayleigh) and General Charles Neville (see the *First* and *Second Report*). Allies in Parliament included Robert

Grant and Spencer Perceval (son of the late prime minister) in the Commons; the cabinet minister Lord Bexley and the Earl of Shaftesbury and Baron Vernon in the upper house. Most of these elite individuals were firmly entrenched in a particular apocalyptic religious fervour that was beginning to make inroads into Anglo-Evangelicalism. As proponents of the imminent Second Coming of Christ, Philo-Judaeans believed that Jews had been ordained by God to play a fundamental role during the end times, prior to the founding of the millennial kingdom.²² By virtue of this privileged position, anti-Jewish bias and maltreatment needed to be quashed and immediate measures taken to educate and employ the masses of illiterate Jewish poor in London and eventually the world at large. The society was founded in 1826, following the first of an annual series of prophetic conferences held at Henry Drummond's Albury estate in Surrey, specifically to advance these goals.²³

Strikingly at odds with the aggressive proselytising that had grown to dominate evangelical dealings with English Jews, the Philo-Judaeans Society focused on temporal needs and eschewed conversionist tactics.²⁴ Proselytising, on the other hand, was the exclusive concern of the separate and far better known London Society for the Promotion of Christianity amongst the Jews—commonly referred to as either the London Society or more frequently, the Jews' Society. Unlike the Church of England sponsored Jews' Society, the Philo-Judaeans schema relegated the possibility of conversion to the final moment when “the Lord [comes forth] from the holy of holies...surrounded by angels, and arrayed in the robes of glory”.²⁵ Only then, according to this view, would Jews have the choice of accepting the Messiah.

The Philo-Judaeans rank-and-file may have varied in their reasons for supporting the society but organisational direction was clearly set by its founding officers, which included the popular prophetic author John Aquila Brown. The leadership held a unique doomsday interpretation of the Bible that restricted their philanthropic efforts to the emancipation of slaves²⁶ and the amelioration of the Jews; the rest of humanity would simply have to bear their sufferings until the impending divine judgment. The rising tide of English liberalism, best exemplified by the “good works” tenet of the post-millennial Claphamites, was actually judged by Drummond as spiritual “poison” and the “very principle of Satan”.²⁷ To be sure, this manifest illiberality and exaggerated fatalism resided outside mainstream Protestantism. Yet upper-class Philo-Judaeans were hardly marginalised in any real sense and possessed significant social and political resources.

“M. E. Levy, Esq. of Florida,” as he was often known, was the key figure within the Jewish faction and, as has been stated, also held millennial expectations. Unlike Philo-Judaeans, however, Levy's ideas were based solely on the ancient messianic traditions within Judaism and so were unrelated either to the Second Advent or to Christian notions of the Messiah.²⁸ While growing numbers of European Jews believed that the day of redemption was at hand and some indeed journeyed to Palestine in anticipation of the Messiah,²⁹ there is no indication of any resurgence in these beliefs among the Jews of London. Even so, it is clear that Rabbi Joseph Crooll, a Hebrew instructor at Cambridge University who predicted the impending arrival of the messianic age in several contemporary publications, lent his public support to Levy's cause.³⁰ What distinguishes Levy even more, though, was that his social justice claims not only derived from the Hebrew Bible but were also grounded in an abiding faith in social and moral progress. The “disposition of the civilised world,” as Levy often claimed, had evolved to such a degree that Jews simply had to “rise” and claim their just rights.³¹ With one foot

set in the biblical past and the other in more liberal, Enlightenment ideals, Levy's intrinsic dualism was actually closer to the post-millennial standard than to the rigid pessimism of the Philo-Judaean leadership.

In contrast to his better-known Protestant contemporaries, Moses Levy has eluded historical interest in England. The son of a high-ranking Jewish courtier to the sultan of Morocco, Levy was a sophisticated, transnational figure whose far-ranging travels made him especially vulnerable to historical omission (see Monaco). A former Caribbean merchant, a confidant of governors, bishops and other colonial dignitaries, as well as the father of future United States senator, David L. Yulee (Florida), Levy relinquished a flourishing business career in order to focus entirely on a philanthropic agenda. Distracted by reports of antisemitic violence in post-Napoleonic Europe—particularly the *Hep! Hep!* riots of 1819—Levy arrived in the newly acquired U.S. territory of East Florida in 1821 with the intention of settling a vast 100,000-acre agrarian refuge for oppressed Jews, an idealistic “asylum” based on communitarian principles.³² In order to avoid any prospect of controversy, Levy cautiously kept his plans out of the public eye. However, the myriad difficulties of forging a colony in a subtropical wilderness, funded at his own expense, seriously impeded his ambitions. Even so, Levy founded Pilgrimage Plantation (1822–1835), a large agricultural venture replete with citrus groves, livestock, a sugar mill, plantation house and various dwellings where a half-dozen immigrant Jewish families resided in the isolated Florida interior, including a young scion of the Warburg banking dynasty.³³

In 1825, Levy travelled to London where he tried to persuade members of the Anglo-Jewish elite such as Isaac L. Goldsmid of the efficacy of his colonisation project, but his overtures went unheeded.³⁴ Undaunted, Levy—an ardent Freemason and recent US citizen—proved exceptionally adept at forming friendships and alliances among a broad spectrum of Jews and Christians and eventually attained recognition as an orator and writer of unusual merit.³⁵ Levy's territorialist goal was soon eclipsed by what he considered to be a more urgent and practical necessity: to inculcate a Jewish national consciousness.

The Jews who followed Levy's lead into the public sphere were a diverse group of merchants, petty tradesmen and intellectuals. Most did not appear to share Levy's messianic speculations and cared little for Christian doctrines. Rather, Jews were stirred to action by Levy's focus on social justice, his insistence that they stake their claims in the public sphere, and his idea that a reinvigorated Jewish nationalism was the only means to resolve the plight of Jews everywhere. This was not a secular orientation by any means. In public Levy kept his millennial allusions to a minimum but he still infused his arguments with a forceful Jewish fundamentalism that his followers seemed more than willing to accept. Levy's personal religious views were actually a unique blend of fundamentalism and a radical reform agenda. Not wishing to alienate the more conservative members of the movement, however, Levy adopted a far more traditional religious stance during this period.³⁶ Thus, unlike the earlier rebellious actions of the Charleston, South Carolina “Israelites”, for instance, there was a notable absence of any call for religious reform in London. Individuals such as Isaac Vallentine, Selig Newman, Moses Lyon, Charles Samuels, and Messrs. Polack, Israel, Silver, Solomon, Johnson and Tobias, and many more who remain unidentified, may have emerged as agents of change, but they did not waver very far from Levy's Bible-centred rhetoric.³⁷ Even so, by participating in public meetings held at several of London's most reputable venues

and by upholding parliamentary decorum, these neophyte activists simulated a degree of civil equality not yet awarded to disenfranchised Jews. With Levy as chief instigator, Jews not only defied the privileged reality of the British establishment but quite willingly advanced an alternate, insurgent reality as well. For activist Jews, their oft-repeated declaration, “to shew that they were men”,³⁸ resonated far beyond class boundaries and struck at the core of their identities. This defiant rhetoric adhered to modern concepts of universal rights and contested the rabbinical construction of masculinity that held self-restraint and Torah scholarship as paramount.³⁹

All these individuals, despite divergent motives, were thereby united in a mutual hope for Jewish civil improvement. But in what may be the most puzzling aspect of this movement, Moses Levy stopped short of advancing full political equality: voting rights and representation in Parliament were never part of his plans. Ordinances that impeded the ability of Jews to make a living or to attain an education were considered essential targets for reform, but “amalgamation” into British society was quite another matter. Initially, both Levy and the Philo-Judeans considered the continuance of the Jews as a “distinct and separate people among the nations” a *sine qua non*.⁴⁰ Philo-Judean leaders, however, moderated their views when opportunities arose in Parliament and they in fact aided early attempts at Jewish emancipation. In a way, the limited claims of Levy’s followers are reminiscent of the later “separate but equal” paradigm of American jurisprudence—with the exception, of course, that London Jews demanded (and expected) legitimate parity in everything other than voting and elective office. This distinction was actually in keeping with traditional concepts of *natural rights* (life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness), *civil rights* (owning property, protection by law, marriage, trial by jury, etc.) and *political rights* (voting and holding public office). Inasmuch as the British government was inseparable from the established Church of England, the significant obstacles of oath-taking and non-recognition of the Jewish Sabbath merely reinforced, at least in the minds of Levy and his fellows, the inherent impracticality of political rights. Natural and civil rights were therefore deemed indispensable, so much so that Jews had to vigorously demand them. “It is right and proper,” declared one of Levy’s supporters, “that we protest against persecution and earnestly call upon governments to render us equal justice”.⁴¹ Following the “enlightened” reasoning of the age, Jews could no longer tolerate being the impotent subjects of despotic kings. In an important caveat, however, Levy insisted that Jews could never have dual allegiances; no matter where they turned, “the nationality of Israel stares him in the face”.⁴²

Emboldened by their wide-ranging press celebrity, activist Jews actually appropriated the authority of the elite families (or Anglo-Jewish “Cousinhood”) in the public sphere. Initially, avoidance of the movement by communal notables was quite palpable, a fact that Levy turned to his rhetorical advantage. Imagining that these grandees were either too weak-willed to risk offending the British government or too absorbed “in the improvement of their fortunes, or in fashionable amusements”⁴³ to attend their meetings, Levy mocked these powerful figures.⁴⁴ As a result, the Cousinhood became a vital, albeit unwitting, factor in the dynamics of the movement. Until this time, this privileged group had indeed failed to keep up with an evolving social reality and by insulating themselves from communal needs they had eroded their own legitimacy. They had long barred the predominately middle-class “seat-holders” from any share in congregational decisions, imposed a wealth-based standard of virtue, envisioned poverty as a character flaw, and absolved themselves from coming to the aid of their distant brethren.⁴⁵ This

social and cultural dislocation was at variance with the rising norms of equality, participation, and self-realisation; modern attributes that were, coincidentally, much in alignment with Levy's appeal to activism, public dialogue, and moral regeneration.

Although the social standing of the Philo-Judaeans remained uncontested, despite their atypical beliefs, the status of Jewish activists was far more problematical. Within the social imaginary of early 19th century England, Jews were conspicuous as the penultimate "other." The closest parallel to Anglo-Jewry was in fact the despised gypsy: while Jews filled a cultural niche as urban domestic aliens, gypsies were consigned as their rural counterparts.⁴⁶ Condescension cut across all income levels, from Jewish peddlers to the merchants on the London Exchange who, under the dictates of caste, were regularly stigmatised as parvenus. Naturalisation was denied English Jews, education and employment was severely restricted and even the most talented were barred from the professions (with the exception of foreign-trained physicians who served the insular Jewish community). Jews could not vote, hold public office, or attend university—as was the case with all non-Anglicans during the initial phase of the movement. Simple prejudice, however, further excluded Jews from "common seminaries" or trade institutions. The City of London had barred Jews from the "freedom of the City", thereby excluding them from owning or operating retail shops. While Anglo-Jews worshipped freely and did not suffer the same type of overt oppression that was widespread on the Continent, there was, nevertheless, a palpable "persecution of contempt," as Levy phrased it,⁴⁷ "an open spirit of hatred" and a subsequent social marginalisation that permeated British culture.⁴⁸

A movement evolves

The origins of the Jewish rights movement can be traced to Moses Levy's oratorical debut at the first general meeting of the Philo-Judaeian Society held at Freemasons' Hall on 18 May 1827. The Great Hall, with its central chamber looming sixty feet in height, surrounded "by an entablature and cornice, supported by pilasters and square fluted columns",⁴⁹ was an imposing structure that could easily accommodate 1,000 people in luxurious style. Architecturally, this building mirrored the pretensions of Britain's Anglican elite and thus served as a setting where notables could advance their ideas in a milieu of power and influence. On this occasion, however, the venue was not only filled to capacity with a "highly respectable company of ladies and gentlemen," but among these were a sizeable contingent of Jews.⁵⁰ After official business, including a prayer that equated the new cause to "laying a foundation-stone for the second temple", Moses Levy was introduced to the assembly by Lord Mandeville.⁵¹ Levy's speech, the first that he attempted at such a large and prestigious gathering, detailed past and present abuses toward the Jews throughout the world, rebuffed conversion efforts and deftly utilised emotional appeals to nationalism to communicate a universal plan of redemption. Levy was convinced that even the most liberal gentiles would never be truly free from prejudice and would always hold Jews in disdain; only by forming their own "country" would Jews be able to fulfil their sacred destiny:

At the magic sound of nationality, the hearts of all Israel, both far and near, will be moved, and the mind will necessarily soar above itself in the spirit of revelation; for

to an Israelite, nationality and the Bible are synonymous: he will seek it with a proportionate degree of avidity, as the patriotic flame rages within in his breast; he will attend to its whole structure, instead of its mere disjointed parts; he will be led to the knowledge of the importance of the office consigned to the house of Israel.⁵²

Levy's address resembled a sermon, was well over an hour in length, and was repeatedly interrupted with cheers and resounding applause. The *World*, London's sole evangelical newspaper at the time—owned and operated by the Congregationalist church⁵³—was crucial in launching the movement by its glowing reports of Levy's performance and by publishing his entire speech. The paper's editor, Stephen Bourne (ca. 1792–1868), was genuinely committed to the ideal of universal religious liberty and was on close terms with Lord Holland, the eminent liberal Whig politician.⁵⁴ Bourne was certainly no *End Times* zealot and was firmly aligned within the tolerant, non-apocalyptic, evangelical camp. He remained Levy's constant enthusiast; publishing his letters and articles weekly, favourably commenting on virtually his every move and chastising those who treated him unjustly. In effect, the *World* became the unofficial organ of the movement and a fiery advocate for Jewish liberties. "Every Jew that lives," Bourne wrote, "is a reproach to those who deny to their fellow subjects equal rights".⁵⁵

By summer 1827, a working coalition had been set: Moses Levy and a growing number of Jews, Stephen Bourne and the *World* and the Philo-Judaeae Society with its secretary, John Aq. Brown, assuming the primary public role. At this time a petition was presented to the House of Lords by the Earl of Shaftesbury at the behest of Brown and the Philo-Judaeae Society. The Lords were asked to consider the repeal of ancient oppressive laws directed against the Jews—a body of feudal, "dead letter" statutes that relegated Jews to mere chattel, some dating to Henry III—but the petition foundered.⁵⁶ The same agenda was tried unsuccessfully by Spenser Perceval in the Commons. On the other hand, Levy's Freemasons' Hall speech, as well as the newly forged meetings of Christians and Jews, had captured the interest and approval of a growing segment in London. For the moment, the future of their campaign seemed to exist outside the environs of Parliament and in the direction of the public meeting house.

A series of heated religious debates between Levy and his Jewish supporters (now numbering about 150) and an ultra-conservative group of evangelicals took place at Salvador House in Bishopsgate in October. Although Levy, along with a prominent supporter, the Hebraist Selig Newman, first met with "the spirit of persecution" head on, this "rancour and hatred"⁵⁷ eased remarkably after the Philo-Judaeae ultimately gained control of the proceedings. Within a year, this unlikely forum, now covering an array of religious topics, and "having aroused the Jewish people to the essentials of their faith"⁵⁸ managed to assume a congenial—indeed, some would actually say "brotherly"—demeanour and became a regular feature in the life of the city.⁵⁹

Also that fall, the particulars of a Russian *ukase* or imperial edict issued by Nicholas I began to be noted in the London press. This edict banished Jews from "any of the Cities of Russia" who did not at least hold the status of an artisan. Moreover, all rabbis were to be expelled immediately. Prior to the pro-Jewish alliance, one would hardly expect that news of any foreign ordinance that required Jewish families to abandon their homes and livelihoods within 24 hours or evicted rabbis on sight would have stirred a ripple of interest in London. On 30 October, however, Brown provided an English translation of the *ukase*'s 13 articles which appeared in the *World* wherein he vehemently cautioned

readers that God would soon “avenge his own elect (his chosen people)” for such gross injustices.⁶⁰

Actually just one among several extraordinarily severe and far-reaching directives aimed at Russian Jewry that year—not the least of which was an infamous military conscription decree—Levy, Brown, and the *World* would cast this particular *ukase* in the broadest terms. The victims may have been unmistakably poor and Jewish, but, as with the anti-slavery crusade, the humanity of the oppressed (along with their presumed right to worship freely and to engage their own religious functionaries) would be accentuated to gain general sympathy.⁶¹ Several weeks after the publication of the *ukase*, the subject of Russian abuses entirely dominated the Salvador House meetings.⁶² During the second such meeting, many in the national and international press had been alerted to the radically distinctive voices of the “Jews of England” railing not only against the tsar but the oppressive policies enacted in Frankfurt, Darmstadt and Rome as well. Such Jewish protests had never been heard previously. Their emotional calls for equal justice thus struck a resounding chord and news of these meetings spread beyond England. These gatherings escalated to such a degree that the Jews decided to hold their own separate assembly, led by their own representatives, at the London Tavern on Bishopsgate Street. This was a much larger and far grander establishment than Salvador House and was on equal stature with Freemasons’ Hall. Despite the genteel trappings, public meetings held at London’s elite establishments actually reflected the powers inherent within the British citizenry and their popularity was an indication of a growing shift toward democratisation.

The Jews who gathered in the chandeliered meeting room of the London Tavern on the evening of 5 December were surely mindful of the torrent of publicity that was directed at them. Levy’s observation that “the eyes of England, of Europe, and of a great part of the civilised world seem to be directed toward us,” as well as the anxiety that this situation caused Jews whose very laws precisely forbade this sort of contentious politics, certainly placed their actions into appropriate context.⁶³ Indeed, the presence of the national press as well as foreign correspondents was an indication that these individuals had tapped deeply into the inherent power of social movements. Furthermore, because Anglo-Jews remonstrated against the tsar (the “Autocrat of the North,” as the press dubbed him), their actions played directly into a rampant British Russophobia.⁶⁴ Conditions were thus ripe for a heretofore reclusive category of Britons, long subjugated by the stigma of deicide, to utilise the techniques of collective action to enter the national and international political sphere.

“M. E. Levy, Esq. of Florida, having been instrumental in convening the Meeting and being familiar with its objects,” was unanimously elected chairman.⁶⁵ After the *ukase* was read in full, the meeting secretary, Mr. Israel, reminded all those in attendance of the historic nature of their endeavour: “By coming forward in a proper manner, the English Jews would not only shew to the people of England, but to the inhabitants of Europe, that when they touched one of their nation, his brethren felt that he was flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone”.⁶⁶ The meeting exhibited a striking degree of solidarity and succeeded in doing so entirely apart from the Jewish magnates. Levy then used the occasion to censure what he perceived as the indifference of the wealthy, all of whom were conspicuously absent. “[Most] appeared to be destitute of proper feeling,” Levy claimed,⁶⁷ and so any appeal to them was futile. In essence Levy and his followers dared to render the authority of the oligarchs superfluous and cast themselves as the

legitimate standard bearers. A resolution was passed that requested that “Mr. Levy frame an address to the various congregations of the Jews of Great Britain” in a move to gain wider support for the Russian protests. The press greatly reinforced this presumption of authority; remarkably no-one publicly challenged the meeting’s right to make claims on behalf of Anglo-Jewry.

During the second public meeting on 19 December, Levy’s “Address to the Captive Children of Israel, inhabiting the Dominions of his Britannic Majesty” was read and then unanimously adopted. The entire address, ostensibly for Jews only, later appeared in mainstream religious periodicals in England and the United States.⁶⁸ “Mr. Israel, Mr. Tobias, Mr. Lyons, Mr. Samuel, and several other gentlemen” then addressed the meeting and “urged Jews to arouse their dormant energies, and to present themselves to the different governments of the world as men meriting and claiming equal rights with their fellow citizens.”⁶⁹ Though at times quite eloquent, these activists were still unable to sway a reluctant portion of their brethren in London who avoided the movement entirely. Whether from fear or plain indifference, outright dismissals of suffering in Russia appear to have been routine and so presented a curious challenge. For several speakers, the answer to this stance required a straightforward appeal to manly obligation: “At present it is our duty to stand forward and say to the world, we are men, we call for the rights of men...I would not have my brethren keep back their sentiments through fear.”⁷⁰ Levy proffered a more dramatic appeal, stating that those Jews who ignored the *ukase* or minimised distress were merely adhering to a “slavish state of mind.” Like “West India negroes,” a steady regime of abuse had stifled every feeling other than blind submission. The time was right, however, to strive toward the “amelioration of our condition.” Not only did God demand this, but “all civilised nations” were also in accord with their cause.⁷¹

A movement redefined

Given the media’s influential function as the arbiter of mainstream values,⁷² it should not be unexpected that the press would play a major role in the Jewish rights movement. To be sure, a degree of anti-Semitic invective surfaced during the Russian protests. The prestigious *London Magazine*, for example, feigned enthusiasm for the past horrors of the *auto-da-fé* and hoped to deflate all Jewish pretensions of equality or moral suasion: “When they [Jews] were roasted, they were content; now they are uneasy and complaining of all manner of little nuisances”.⁷³ A similar intolerance surfaced in the working-class *Cobbetts Weekly Political Register*: “the banishment of the *Christ-killers* from Russia is really a good proof...that the Emperor of Russia is *not* a tyrant”.⁷⁴ As a whole, however, press coverage was uncharacteristically extensive and generally dispassionate, the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle* being especially prominent in setting this new standard. Not unexpectedly, the *World* exceeded their competitors by the depth and positive slant of their reporting, usually including entire transcripts of the meetings. Numerous Protestant periodicals in Britain and Ireland included significant mention (and usually voiced sympathy) and regional papers throughout England and Wales reprinted the major London reports in their entirety.⁷⁵ On the Continent, the influential German language daily, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* assigned the protests, as well as Moses Levy’s role in them, to the front page and presented the episode as a genuine British phenomenon. In the

United States, the *New York Observer*, the *Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser* and the *American Baptist Magazine*, among others, all observed “the extraordinary movement of the Jews of Great Britain.”⁷⁶ The Jewish rights movement therefore easily broke through the general press tendency to either withhold notice of social movement activities or to indulge in haughty rebuke.⁷⁷ Such an unusual reaction was a clear indication of the degree to which this distinctive movement resonated throughout much of the Western world. Yet other factors were present that impeded future efforts in London.

Amidst a flurry of public interest that followed the London Tavern meetings, many of the same Jews joined Philo-Judaeans in an expression of solidarity on New Years Day among a capacity crowd at the King’s Head Tavern—thereby gaining still more notice.⁷⁸ The cumulative impact of these meetings, with their growing sense of urgency, was widespread, but a perplexing scenario manifested itself by mid-month. With no forewarning, the winter’s most distinctive news event simply dropped from the public eye; no further commentary concerning the *ukase*, Russian Jewry or the public meetings took place in London. If the English press had proven itself more than willing to support a just cause, one may reasonably suspect that a still undefined force had stifled these lofty impulses. Social movements, especially after reaching this stage of recognition, do not stop or suddenly shift direction without substantial cause. As the Jewish rights movement challenged authority and also claimed a degree of popular sovereignty, its continuance was dependent on the receptiveness of the political and cultural climate in London.⁷⁹ The tenor of the political environment had, in fact, been altered by an abrupt change of government early in 1828.

The resignation of the ineffectual Lord Goderich as Prime Minister on 8 January and the subsequent appointment of the Duke of Wellington obviously presented a more forceful political climate. No friend of Jewish liberties, Wellington would openly relegate Anglo-Jews as perpetual “aliens” who were inherently unworthy of a legitimate place in “Christian Britain”.⁸⁰ Adding to this scenario, Great Britain was also engaged in joint military operations with Russia against Turkey, a precarious and highly controversial alliance in which the ‘Hero of Waterloo’ had been personally involved. Given the new prime minister’s predisposition, the rapidly mounting publicity concerning London Jews, their defiant anti-tsarist rhetoric, the increasing delicacy of the Russian alliance and the explicit threat that these demonstrations presented to the status quo, it is not unexpected that the movement would undergo a significant alteration. Although the social movement model would suggest some type of intervention by “ruling elites”,⁸¹ without documentary evidence, any causal scenario will have to remain conjectural.

Even though protests against Russian abuses stopped entirely, the original Salvador House meetings continued without pause and with strikingly increased numbers of Jewish participants. In January, these debates relocated to the King’s Head Tavern, with Moses Levy and his followers again in attendance. Levy kept a conspicuous presence within the metropolis for another eight months, but he now uncharacteristically refrained from all commentary regarding foreign oppression of the Jews (Russian or otherwise). While Levy would never again mobilise his co-religionists using the venue of a public meeting house, he soon entered the realm of a respected religious celebrity. The *World* continued publishing Levy’s many letters and articles, his stances on Jewish nationalism, educational reform, anti-slavery, irreligion, and other issues were eagerly received and debated.⁸²

Despite significant changes, much of the movement's original momentum managed to survive intact by shifting focus from the plight of foreign Jewry to consolidating all efforts on behalf of the Jews of England. This renewed goal would in fact have significant repercussions for Anglo-Jews. Philo-Judaeans joined Levy in applying their energies toward the new strategy, but unlike Levy, they now made a major commitment toward Jewish political rights and consequently forged a notable rift within the movement.⁸³

Petitions were again submitted to Parliament, this time in regard to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, with Philo-Judaeans supporting an amendment that would have permitted Jews to omit the words "upon the true faith of a Christian" while taking an oath of office. When Lord Bexley moved for the inclusion of the amendment, he remarked that "he could not see how their lordships could have any objection, when they recollected that the Act of Toleration had hitherto authorised the Jews to occupy civil offices, and the words alluded to in this bill would infuse a drop of bitterness into their cup where it might easily have been spared".⁸⁴ The subsequent rejection of this alteration did indeed serve to isolate Jews even more; though the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts certainly benefited others, it also verified, according to the Philo-Judaeans, "that much national antipathy still exists against them [the Jews]".⁸⁵

More successfully, John Aq. Brown and fellow Philo-Judaeans Apsley Pellatt—a London glass manufacturer and member of the Court of Common Council—were both intent on overturning the prohibition of Jews from the freedom of the City. Both Isaac L. Goldsmid (1778–1859) and his son Francis (soon to be admitted to the Bar) joined Philo-Judaeans in petitioning for the reversal of this longstanding ban and in 1830 city officials finally relented—a substantial social and economic boost to the Jewish middle-classes. As I. L. Goldsmid observed some years later, not only did the admission of the Jews to the freedom of the City enable them "to earn their living as shopkeepers", but the collapse of this prohibition "opened the way to the attainment of civil office [in London]".⁸⁶

Additionally, the first of a series of Jewish Disability Bills were introduced by Robert Grant and Lord Bexley in both houses that same year—a move that several of the Jewish magnates, such as Nathan Rothschild, Moses Montefiore, and Isaac L. Goldsmid now endorsed. None of these early, path-breaking attempts at Jewish emancipation succeeded, however (despite a supportive petition signed by 14,000 Londoners). Indeed, by 1848, Goldsmid grew weary of limiting efforts to behind-the-scenes lobbying and suggested to the Jewish Board of Deputies that they adopt the techniques of the earlier meetings and enter the public arena. The board nonetheless failed to pursue this idea.⁸⁷

In contrast, Levy's protégés centred their labours on providing basic religious and secular education to the poor and lower middle classes. The discussions held at Salvador House and the King's Head Tavern demonstrated, according to Levy, "the deficiency of many of my brethren in the learning with which they should be well acquainted".⁸⁸ "Following Levy's persuasive arguments, Selig Newman and others founded the Light of Torah Society, which initiated free adult schools as well as a weekly series of open religious lectures in London, and a newly organised religious tract society distributed an accessible adult Jewish catechism in pamphlet form."⁸⁹ These actions were especially valued since previous schools set up by the Philo-Judaeans Ladies Association to instruct Jewish women in basic literacy skills were condemned by the Chief Rabbi, Solomon Hirschell, who considered them conversionist fronts. Hirschell then threatened to

withhold Jewish burial to all who attended.⁹⁰ It was thereby incumbent upon Jews to carry out their own agenda. Levy⁹¹ went one step further by strongly advocating the novel scheme of forming a Jewish college in London, an innovation that would not see fruition until 1855. He also made special appeals for increased relief of the Jewish poor. The debates at King's Head continued to make progress and the *World* provided the requisite press coverage to each aspect of the coalition's activities. Lord Bexley remarked quite happily that "the Jews were more disposed to communication with Gentiles than they had ever been before".⁹²

After Levy's departure for the United States in late August 1828, however, his supporters gradually decreased their activities and by 1831, following the dissolution of the Philo-Judaeon Society (due to internal splintering), there was little evidence of the original protest movement that had spawned so much excitement a few years earlier.⁹³ Following the conceptual model of social movement analysts, one can more accurately assess this altered environment by noting that the one-time "extraordinary movement"—in essence, an *initiator* movement⁹⁴—had gone into abeyance, while a spin-off political movement, dominated by the Goldsmids and their allies in Parliament (including the original evangelical faction), continued with its campaign for political emancipation.⁹⁵ This coalition acquired its own organisational identity—the "Association for Obtaining for British Jews Civil Rights and Privileges"—chaired by I. L. Goldsmid.⁹⁶

Not long after Levy left the London scene, Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), an individual of vast wealth, began to establish himself as a distinct public personality. After an extended stay in the Holy Land, Montefiore returned to London in 1828 and began a prolonged effort to reconstruct the traditional role of the *shtadlan* or high-level intermediary.⁹⁷ In doing so he astutely reaffirmed the legitimacy of the communal elite, not through the standard displays of power and privilege, but by cultivating a unique position in society that stressed inter-faith cooperation, philanthropy, and, most especially, asserting the basic rights of foreign Jews.⁹⁸ Certainly, given the dynamics that were already set in motion, the actions of both Montefiore and Goldsmid can no longer be viewed in isolation from the Jewish rights movement and the previous public role of Moses Levy.

In the third and final published *Report of the Philo-Judaeon Society* (38), members were quick to laud Montefiore's entry into the Jewish rights arena when, in November 1828, he displayed a willingness to work with evangelicals to come to the aid of Palestinian Jews. The society also noted that their contributions toward the relief of London's Jewish poor induced a number of wealthy Jews in the West End to establish their own "Benevolent Society".⁹⁹ Ostensibly, Philo-Judaeans were pleased that their charitable efforts "provoked the Jews to jealousy", since this ultimately resulted in "a more powerful excitement of that national spirit, which, once aroused, will not fail to produce rich fruits".¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

Social movements rarely accomplish their goals immediately and are particularly liable to sudden changes and alterations. Success generally takes place only by passing through various active and inactive phases, sometimes, as with Catholic emancipation, lasting

decades. Jews, nevertheless, were permitted the freedom of the City in relatively short order. Following a tradition of economic exclusion, London Jews were left unfettered in the practice of their trades and were gradually allowed into the professions as well. Furthermore, the Cousinhood reacted swiftly and committed more educational and financial resources to the Jewish poor. In 1835 Parliament formally enfranchised Jews, provided they met the standard qualification as propertied males; a decade later, Jews could hold municipal offices without taking a Christian oath. As is well known, the complete removal of political disabilities took much longer. By 1858 Baron Lionel de Rothschild was finally allowed his seat in Parliament, ending a prolonged struggle to sit for the City of London. Thus a 35-year drive for emancipation, headed mostly by an acculturated and superiorly advantaged faction of Anglo-Jewry, drew to a close. Emancipation became, in a crucial respect, another manifestation of elite authority, although paradoxically, this democratic ideal was thoroughly separated from the egalitarian social movement process that had originally given rise to it. Nevertheless, by redefining the role of the Jewish upper class to include a far more visible and magnanimous public function, these men of property and distinction found themselves in a greatly enhanced position both as Englishmen and as communal leaders.¹⁰¹

As the majority of the press viewed the demands of the Jewish rights movement as legitimate and because the public meetings retained parliamentary order and otherwise appeared to be in accord with “the great Cause of Truth, Charity, and Religion”,¹⁰² it is hardly unexpected that the movement would have a broad and favourable impact. As has been stated, both the initiator movement and its spin-off successor influenced national political agendas, legislative reforms, unique religious coalitions and, in conjunction with other social and political factors, contributed to striking changes within the Anglo-Jewish establishment. The Russian protests may have had slight chance of altering tsarist policies, as Levy himself admitted,¹⁰³ but the larger issues were Jewish solidarity and the public expression of a heretofore suppressed political and national identity. Not only did this signal event take place in perhaps the least likely of locales (amid the supposed banality of the 19th-century Anglo-Jewish community), but the movement’s initial impetus did not exclusively stem from conventional notions of liberalism, but rather from a distinctive fundamentalist fervour.

The newly uncovered “extraordinary movement” presents an obvious challenge to the scholarly consensus of the period. A recent historian¹⁰⁴ has gone so far as to envision the formation of a modern Anglo-Jewish identity as a “gradual and unconscious absorption of thoughts and actions”, an exceedingly passive and disinterested stance that the author likens to “osmosis”. Todd Endelman¹⁰⁵ maintains a similar view and concludes that “no new ideological or cultural current in modern Jewish history was launched or found fertile ground in Britain”. Endelman further states that “the ideological shifts that reoriented modern Jewish consciousness” originated entirely in Eastern and Central Europe, where persecution “bred discontent with traditional norms and values”. The Jewish rights movement, as we have seen, stands at great odds with these suppositions. Despite England’s much vaunted tolerance of Jews, London activists underwent a dramatic cognitive liberation and cast off their “mask of quietism”.¹⁰⁶ Jews incorporated an insurgent reality, fashioned an autonomous expression of Jewish nationalism and utilised an array of injustice frames to forge a modern political consciousness—all during a far earlier date than scholars have deemed possible.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Moses Levy’s path-breaking speeches and writings combined with a charismatic leadership role

to form a potent political force. His persuasive contributions foreshadowed the achievements of a succeeding generation of Zionist pioneers. As a result, historians may have to reconsider a host of conventional assumptions and begin to look anew at the processes that led Jews into the modern world.

Notes

1. The *New York Observer*, the *Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser* and the *American Baptist Magazine*, among others, all observed “the extraordinary movement of the Jews of Great Britain.” For a listing of newspapers and periodicals that covered the movement see notes 16 and 17.
2. Levy’s London years have been previously examined in Monaco, 115–141, see notes 75 and 76; recently uncovered evidence, however, has allowed these events to be greatly expanded and reinterpreted here in a social movement framework.
3. For a comparison with other contentious events of the era, see Boyd et al. This particular study focused solely on 1828 and limited itself to a few select periodicals; hence the significance of the meetings of the Jews was entirely missed.
4. Endelman (*Jews*, 83–84) briefly mentions the Russian protests but suggests that these proceedings had scant impact and that Jews supposedly shunned Levy—an outsider from Florida. Earlier, historian Jacob Toury (23–33) attempted to deal with both Levy’s London years and his colonisation plans in Florida but, lacking essential details, Toury failed to reach any substantive conclusions.
5. Katz, “Marginalization”, 60–62; Hart, “The Unbearable Lightness of Britain: Anglo-Jewish Historiography and the Anxiety of Success”, 146–52; Endelman, “Writing”, 627.
6. Cannadine, “Cousinhood”, 10.
7. Endelman, “Writing”, 624.
8. Ruderman, *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key: Anglo-Jewry’s Construction of Modern Jewish Thought*, 3–20.
9. Author David Levi, for instance, drew a distinct line between his solitary polemical stance, a series of published arguments in defence of traditional Judaism, and the political realm: “We [the Jewish Nation] never enter the political disputes of the different nations among whom we dwell” (quoted in Ruderman 135).
10. Lederhendler, *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics: Political Tradition and Political Reconstruction in the Jewish Community of Tsarist Russia* 155; Frankel *Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism, and the Russian Jews, 1862–1917*, 49.
11. “Report”, 42.
12. “The Jews,” *World*, 6 June 1827.
13. “Meeting of the Jews”, *Times*, 5 December 1827.
14. See for example Katz, *Jewish*, 110–14; Lederhendler, *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics: Political Tradition and Political Reconstruction in the Jewish Community of Tsarist Russia* 3–4, 155; Biale *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History* 124–36.
15. Monaco, *Moses Levy of Florida: Jewish Utopian and Antebellum Reformer*, 95–114.
16. Levy, *Plan*.
17. Keough, *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, 7; Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England, 1787–1833*, 190.
18. *Jews*, 78.

19. These leaders included George Vernon, president; J. J. Strutt and Viscount Mandeville, co-vice presidents; Henry Drummond, treasurer; John Aq. Brown, secretary and Rev. Hugh McNeile (see *First Report*).
20. Social movements are relatively modern constructions; indeed, national social movements only emerged as a significant form of contention in Great Britain after 1815 (Tilly 371).
21. Tarrow, "States", 60.
22. Brown, *The Jew*.
23. Most Philo-Judaean officers attended the first Albury conference (for a list of attendees, see Flegg 37–38; see also, Carter 177–179).
24. The society, nevertheless, was not completely immune from the deeply ingrained conversionist culture (Scult 132–33). Perhaps the best way to distinguish between the Philo-Judaean and the Jews Society is to consider the usual definition of philo-Semitism. As Judith Page (167) has summarised it, "philo-Semitism promoted love of Jews not *as Jews* but as potential converts who might be redeemed from scorn by becoming Christians." In the case of the new premillennial (Philo-Judaean) standard, however, Jews were indeed esteemed *as Jews* (although not without ambivalence) and conversion was, in theory at least, left in God's hands.
25. Viscount Mandeville quoted in the *World*, 23 May 1827.
26. See for example McNeile.
27. Quoted by Hilton 405.
28. See Levy, *Letters*.
29. Morgenstern, "Dispersion and the Longing for Zion, 1240–1840", 110–15.
30. *World*, 2 July 1828; see also Monaco 129–30.
31. "Public Meeting of the Jews", *World*, 12 December 1827.
32. Monaco 95–114.
33. Monaco 41, 105–6.
34. Toury, "M. E. Levy's Plan for a Jewish Colony in Florida—1825."
35. Monaco 115–41.
36. Monaco 125.
37. These names are gleaned from news reports and transcripts of the proceedings of the Jews that appeared in newspapers and periodicals (all of them cited here). Isaac Vallentine later published the *Jewish Chronicle*, the earliest and longest-running Anglo-Jewish newspaper. The Johnson surname may be connected to a well-known Jewish family from Devon (Susser 60).
38. *World*, 26 December 1827.
39. Satlow, "'Try to Be a Man': The Rabbinic Construction of Masculinity".
40. *First Report*, 16.
41. *Morning Chronicle*, 21 December 1827.
42. *World*, 6 August 1828.
43. *World*, 12 December 1827.
44. Levy's appeal to middle-class Jews and his antipathy toward the communal elite is strikingly similar to the experience of Theodor Herzl some 70 years later. See, for example, Stein 61–62.
45. Rozin *The Rich and the Poor: Jewish Philanthropy and Social Control in Nineteenth-Century London*, 65–86.
46. Janowitz, "'Wild outcasts of Society: The Transit of the Gypsies in Romantic Period Poetry", 213–14, 222–23.
47. *First Report*, 42.

48. *Third Report*, 13.
49. Pugin and Britton, *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*, 246.
50. *First Report*, 35.
51. *World*, 20 June 1827.
52. "Continuation of Mr. Levy's Letter", *World*, 20 June 1827. Levy's address was subject to editing and serious misrepresentations when it first appeared in the *World* newspaper and later in the *First Report of the Philo-Judaean Society*. Levy succeeded, however, in having the *World* reprint his entire speech verbatim (based on his own manuscript). Therefore the only accurate version is to be found in the *World* in two parts, published on 6 and 20 June 1827.
53. Dale, *History of English Congregationalism*, 688, Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, 45.
54. See Higman, "To Begin the World Again", 295.
55. *World*, 19 May 1828.
56. Brown, "Letter".
57. "W. C.", letter to the editor, *World*, 6 August 1828.
58. *Morning Chronicle*, 19 January 1828.
59. See *Times*, 5, 24, and 31 December 1827.
60. See "Ukase".
61. This altruistic character, in addition to the movement's transnational concerns, identifies this enterprise as an early example of a solidarity movement (see Passy).
62. "Meeting of the Jews," *Times*, 5 December 1827.
63. Levy, "Jewish Community".
64. See LeDonne, *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700–1917*, 308–16; Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain*, 83.
65. "Report", 37.
66. "Report", 42.
67. "Report", 40.
68. See for example, "Public Meeting of the Jews Respecting the Russian Persecution," *Morning Chronicle*, 21 December 1827; "Public Meeting of the Jews," *World*, 26 December 1827; "Interesting Meeting of the Jews in London," *American Baptist Magazine* 7 (July 1828): 215; "Public Meeting of the Jews," *Baptist Magazine* (January 1828): 35; "Interesting Meeting of the Jews in London," *Christian Secretary* (Hartford, Conn.), 29 March 1828; *Christian Watchman* (Boston), 14 March 1828; *The Albion, A Journal of News, Politics, and Literature* (New York), 9 February 1828.
69. "Public Meeting of the Jews," *Baptist Magazine* (January 1828): 35.
70. "Meetings of the Jews," *World*, 26 December 1827.
71. Levy quoted in the *World*, 26 December 1828.
72. Lofland, *Social Movement Organizations*, 321.
73. "Diary", 81–82.
74. "Jews", 22.
75. Examples of the *Times*, *World*, and *Morning Chronicle* are found herein. In addition see "Jews," *New Times*, 7 December 1827. UK periodicals include: "Persecution of the Jews in Russia," *Monthly Repository and Review of Theology and General Literature* 11 (January 1828): 139–140; "Public Meeting of the Jews," *Baptist Magazine* (January 1828): 30–35; *Church of England Bulwark and Clergyman's Protector* (January 1828): 32–33; "Foreign, Religious and Literary Intelligence," *Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine* (April 1828): 307–8; "Jews," *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* (January 1828): 187. For the provincial press see: "Public Meeting of the Jews Respecting the Russian Persecution," *Bristol Mercury*, 24 December 1827; "London,"

- Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* (Portsmouth) 10 December 1827; “The Jews,” *Ipswich Journal*, 1 December 1827; *Leeds Mercury*, 1 December 1827; “The Russian Ukase,” *Hull Packet*, 6 November 1827; “Persecution of the Jews,” *North Wales Chronicle* (Bangor), 27 December 1827; “The Jews,” *Liverpool Mercury*, 11 January 1828. For German coverage see “Großbritannien,” *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 December 1827.
76. *Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 15 February 1828; “Interesting Meeting of the Jews in London,” *American Baptist Magazine* 7 (July 1828): 215. This last article was reprinted from *New York Observer*. See also “Interesting Meeting of the Jews in London,” *Christian Secretary* (Hartford, Conn.), 29 March 1828; *Christian Watchman* (Boston), 14 March 1828; *Albion, A Journal of News, Politics, and Literature* (New York), 9 February 1828. News of the movement reached as far as Australia; see, for example, “Meetings of the Jews,” *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 23 June 1828.
 77. Lofland 322–23.
 78. *Times and World*, 2 January 1828; *Morning Chronicle*, 3 January 1828.
 79. For background on how social movements adapt to changing and less receptive political environments, see Taylor, “Social Movement Continuity”, 761–775.
 80. Wellington, “The Jews have no Right to Civil Equality”.
 81. Foweraker 65; Lofland 310–15.
 82. Levy also published an influential anti-slavery pamphlet, *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery* and co-authored a book, *Letters Concerning the Present Condition of the Jews*.
 83. Levy’s stance against political rights, as well as the discord this engendered among some coalition members, is summarized in Levy, “State of the Jews,” *World*, 6 August 1828.
 84. Bexley quoted in *Second Report*, 13–14.
 85. *Second Report*, 14.
 86. Isaac L. Goldsmid to the Parnassim and Vestry of the Great Synagogue, 26 September 1836, Acc/3121/A/005/A (ff 33–45), Meetings of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, London Metropolitan Archives. I am grateful to Abigail Green for sharing her copy of this letter.
 87. Green, “Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore”, 651.
 88. “Jewish Community”.
 89. *Address*; see also Endelman, *Jews*, 244.
 90. Endelman, *Jews*, 244.
 91. “Jewish Community”.
 92. *World*, 14 May 1828.
 93. For reference to “the now defunct Philo-Judaeon Society,” see *Examiner* (London), 12 June 1831. After Drummond and others left the Church of England to form the Catholic Apostolic Church, loyal Anglicans, such as Rev. Hugh McNeile, maintained their distance from this rebellious faction (on this conflict, see Carter 185–86, Flegg 53).
 94. See McAdam, “‘Initiator’ and ‘Spin-Off’ Movements”, 217–36.
 95. Social theorists may well argue that the Jewish rights movement was itself a spin-off of other social movements of the era. For the purposes of this article and given that the Jewish rights movement was an unprecedented event in modern Jewish political history, I have elected to identify it here as an “initiator.”
 96. Gollancz, *Sermons and Addresses*, 598.
 97. Bartal, “The First Nationalist or a Belated Shtadlan”.
 98. Green, “Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore”.

99. *Third Report*, 16. Apparently this Jewish Benevolent Society referred to the Society for Relieving the Aged Needy of the Jewish Faith, founded in 1829 (see Henderson 662–63).
100. *Third Report*, 17.
101. Co-optation of social movement goals was and still remains a technique by which elites, consciously or otherwise, attempt to control movements by “manipulating the symbolic environment” in their favor without making any attempt to alter the basic hierarchical power structure (Lofland 310–11).
102. *World*, 4 May 1827.
103. See “Meeting of the Jews”, *Times*, 5 December 1827.
104. Clark, *Albion and Jerusalem*, 28.
105. “Writing”, 624–25.
106. Lederhendler, *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics*, 58.
107. Lederhendler, *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics* 3–4, 155; Katz, *Jewish*, 110–14; Biale, *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History*, 124–36.

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