

ART. XVII – *Whitehaven and its Jews 1774–1850*

By W.R. SELLICK

**I**N the period 1774–1850 most of Anglo-Jewry was in a state of flux, engaged mainly in itinerant occupations, with its more established members often having several different residences in their lifetime. It was quite common for people recorded in the South, within a few months or years, to reappear in the west, east or north of England. British Jews were spreading out from their traditional London base and testing the provinces for their livelihood. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, small Jewish communities formed in the north of Great Britain, for example, in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Kingston-upon-Hull, Manchester, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The Jews concentrated their energies in certain itinerant activities, although artistic, theatrical and even athletic occupations were proving successful for a growing minority. Even so, these latter alternatives were, by and large, itinerant in nature. There were those who wished for, or happened upon, assimilation, either by marrying gentiles or abandoning Judaism for Christianity, or both. Unfortunately, assimilation did not eradicate anti-semitism.

Some aspects of this formative period of Anglo-Jewry are demonstrated in the particular relationship Jews had with Whitehaven.

In 1725, Daniel Defoe remarked that Whitehaven had “grown up from a small place to be very considerable by the coal trade . . . that it is now the most eminent port of England for shipping of coals except Newcastle and Sunderland.”<sup>1</sup>

During the 1750s Whitehaven, by reason of its tonnage, was the second port of this country, surpassing Bristol and Liverpool. This exalted economic status lasted only for about a decade, but until the early 1800s Whitehaven was a major national port.<sup>2</sup> Even at the late date of 1816, it was acknowledged as “the largest town in the north of England ranking after Newcastle and York.”<sup>3</sup> Economically the town declined slowly during the first half of the 19th century but this condition accelerated as the century advanced.

During the period 1774–1850, Whitehaven was in a buoyant state, commercially and industrially. Local industries were booming, and included ship-building, coal mining, textiles, and ceramics. This prosperity was bolstered by an extremely active maritime trade that touched most parts of the world.

Whitehaven’s coal-mining expertise was probably the first to be exported to Russia, at the request of Emperor Alexander.<sup>4</sup> The Whitehaven mines were the first to extend under the sea, and also amongst the first to benefit from technological innovation, both in safety and production.<sup>5</sup> There was obvious affluence in the town, (still reflected today in some of its fine Georgian buildings), and this attracted immigrants from all over the British Isles, including itinerant Jews.

Why then did Whitehaven not have a substantial Jewish community? The synagogue in Liverpool is referred to as early as 1750, at a time when Whitehaven was producing more wealth than that city, yet there is no record of a Jewish settlement here. C. Roth in *The Rise of Provincial Jewry* says there was “a Scroll of

Esther written by a certain JACOB BEN SIMON at Whitehaven, [Cumberland] in 1776,” but the accuracy of Roth’s statement is in doubt.<sup>6</sup> Otherwise, throughout the period I have researched, i.e. 1774–1850, Whitehaven had only one resident Jewish family. There was one resident Jew married to a gentile with baptized offspring, and there was possibly another in the same circumstances. These are all the residents, over a period of seventy-six years, that I have discovered.

What Whitehaven did have was a continuous stream of Jewish itinerants throughout the whole of this period. Some of these itinerants would remain in town for up to two months. There were those amongst them who had high profiles in the formation of provincial Jewish communities, like Michael Hart Simonson of Manchester,<sup>7</sup> David Cohen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,<sup>8</sup> David Davis of Glasgow,<sup>9</sup> John Lizars and Herman Lion of Edinburgh,<sup>10</sup> a member of the Davidson family of Kingston-upon-Hull,<sup>11</sup> and Barnett Crawcour of Norwich.<sup>12</sup>

At the end of my article, I will try to offer some reasons why during the period 1774–1850 no Jewish community was formed in Whitehaven.

Whilst researching my genealogy, I discovered two invitation cards that had been sent to my great-grandfather, W.R. Kelly; one from the Earl and Countess of Lonsdale requesting him to dine at Whitehaven Castle; the other, far more interesting, from Mr and Mrs J. Cytzer requesting him to attend the circumcision of their infant son. As far as most West Cumbrians were aware, Jews settled in Whitehaven only during and after the Second World War, and greatly benefited local industry.<sup>13</sup> Now I had evidence of Jewish residence in the 1890s. This led me to ask: “How many Jews were involved in the history of Whitehaven? Who were they? When, how and why did they become involved?”

My main sources of information were local newspapers, either the commercial section in which advertisements appeared, or the columns concerned with civil and criminal cases.<sup>14</sup> An examination of the censuses from 1841 to 1881, proved valuable. Local directories were also useful occasionally.

Jews advertised themselves as dentists, chiropodists, opticians, doctors, silversmiths, stationers, glaziers, framemakers, watchmakers, fancy goods dealers and art dealers. The Theatre Royal accommodated Jewish actors, singers, magicians and lecturers.

Some Germanic names appeared in the 1762 census, which unfortunately contained no information about birth place or religion.<sup>15</sup> When people called John Hart, John Mayers and Samuel Hasselman are documented, one asks: “Were any of these Jewish?”

To date, the earliest known record of a possible Jewish resident in Whitehaven is December 1774, when a working silversmith, from London, Francis Salomon, advertised, “he has opened a shop on the South side of the Market Place.”<sup>16</sup> His surname, trade, and London origin suggest that he was Jewish, but do not offer proof. If he was Jewish, then certainly after his arrival, he was converted to Christianity, for seven of his children were baptized at both St James and St Nicholas churches in Whitehaven. Baptismal records show his surname spelt: Salomon, Solomon, or Sollomon. He was the only Solomon in local church records, and the only silversmith of that name.<sup>17</sup>

His eldest child, Robert, became one of the finest marine artists in the country, creating about 1,000 paintings, of which about 250 have been traced.<sup>18</sup> This

talented son changed "Salomon" to "Salmon" on the eve of his departure for New York, U.S.A.<sup>19</sup>

Isaac Marks, jeweller, silversmith, watchmaker, was first documented as a Whitehaven resident on 17 February 1811, when his first child, Henry, was baptized in St Nicholas Church.<sup>20</sup> It is because of Henry Marks love affair with Ann Raney, (whose journal refers to this romance), that we know Isaac Marks was a Jew, and his wife Ann a Protestant.<sup>21</sup> The romance between Henry Marks and Ann Raney, was strongly discouraged by her parents, and relatives, who would not tolerate her involvement with the "son of a Jew".<sup>22</sup> Ann Raney's uncle (Richard Barker), was known to despise Henry Marks, because of his father.<sup>23</sup> Apart from Henry, the remaining surviving children were Isaac, (whose baptism cannot be found), David, Sophia, Margaret Frances, Harriet and Jane who were baptized 1814-1827.<sup>24</sup>

Marks opened a shop in 1813 "at the lower end of Queen Street, near the New Fish Market".<sup>25</sup> A year later, 1814, "Isaac Marks Assignment" appeared in the press, indicating his grave financial difficulties, although he was never declared a bankrupt.<sup>26</sup> Then he resiliently "engaged the celebrated Sieur SANCHES (the Wonderful Antipodean) from the Surrey Theatre, London, who will perform at the Theatre in Roper Street, for two nights only" in 1815.<sup>27</sup>

In 1817 he diversified his business of jeweller/silversmith/watchmaker and advertised "to acquaint his friends and the Public in general, that he has regularly on sale at his shop in Whitehaven, a large stock of well assorted quills, ready-made pens, black lead pencils, &c."

His new business of stationery was a favourite trade with contemporary Anglo-Jewry. Marks was also itinerant, since "he travels through this and adjoining counties, and also through the southern counties of Scotland, twice in the year, in January and July".<sup>28</sup> Marks was listed in "the Principal Inhabitants of Cumberland and Westmoreland with Furness and Cartmel, 1829", where he appeared as "Mark, Isaac, traveller, 59 Church Street, Whitehaven".

The family were not wealthy, but were financially comfortable, for most of the time after 1814, and lived at socially elevated addresses like Hilton Row (Terrace).<sup>29</sup> About 1831, the whole family moved to Liverpool.<sup>30</sup>

Isaac Marks junior, reappears in Whitehaven in the 1840s, as assistant surgeon to Messrs. Mitchell and Fidler, of 30 Roper Street, for whom he often attended cases of physical assault, in conjunction with the Inspector of Police.<sup>31</sup> He integrated well socially, attended the Anniversary of the Mariner's Society, at the Black Lion Inn, Whitehaven, where in front of 220 people, including my own great-great grandfather, Capt. Thomas Kelly, he sang "with great effect".<sup>32</sup>

The bigotry that Henry Marks had confronted from Ann Raney's relatives, still dogged his brother Isaac, years afterwards. This bigotry is demonstrated in an incident which took place in Whitehaven in July 1845, when Charles Ponsonby of Keswick, was found guilty of assault, after which he returned to make a couple of complaints to the bench. The second complaint was that "he [the Inspector of Police] could not discharge his duty without bringing a dirty looking butcher of a Jew along with him".

Mr Fletcher (a court official) replied: "There he sits - he's a surgeon." Isn't it curious how Fletcher knew immediately who the Jew was?

Ponsonby: "He may practice as one, but he is not a duly qualified surgeon."<sup>33</sup>

The name of Isaac Marks does not appear anywhere in the report of the trial, but he was the only assistant surgeon ("not a duly qualified surgeon") in town. This fact substantiates that Isaac Marks was the object of Ponsonby's attack. Therefore Ponsonby, of a family long established in the Whitehaven area, perpetuated the bigotry towards the Marks family.

Isaac Marks died 10 January 1870, at 8 Sandhills Lane, Whitehaven. His obituary appeared in the *Whitehaven News* and the *Cumberland Pacquet*.<sup>34</sup>

The informant of his death was John Mann Wilson.<sup>35</sup> In the 1871 Census at 8 Sandhills Lane, Sophia Wilson, head, 46 years old, a mariner's wife, born Whitehaven, lived with her son Isaac S. Wilson, 11 years old, born in Liverpool. Sophia is an uncommon name in Whitehaven, but a Sophia Marks, baptized in 1818, daughter of Isaac Marks, silversmith, could well have been the Sophia Wilson of 8 Sandhills Lane, and therefore possibly sister to Isaac Marks, surgeon.<sup>36</sup> Her age in the Census could well be an error (such errors are not unknown). Her only child is named Isaac, which may have been a logical choice as a family name if her brother was indeed Isaac Marks, surgeon.

M. Simmons from Liverpool, silversmith/jeweller, first appeared in Whitehaven, January 1814.<sup>37</sup> Later, in December 1814, again in Whitehaven, he described himself as "a person who is declining this business", and stated that the whole of his stock was to be sold "without reserve".<sup>38</sup> Was this style of advertisement the forerunner of the modern "closing-down" sale? M. Simmons may possibly be identical with Mordecai Simmons, a member of the Liverpool Old Hebrew Congregation.

The first documented travelling Jewish optician to visit Whitehaven, was D. Cohen from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who opened a shop "for ten days only" in Roper Street in May 1820. He sold "optical and mathematical instruments . . . reading, opera, hand and Claude-Lorraine Glasses, Telescopes, Microscopes, Thermometers, etc."<sup>39</sup> In March, 1837,<sup>40</sup> and again in November 1838,<sup>41</sup> Cohen sent a partner, Lewis Simon, a licensed hawkker.

His successive advertisements clearly show the development of his business. His "Old Established Spectacle Manufactory", 5 Collingwood Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1837, had by 1838 moved to more prestigious city premises, 1 Gray Street. By this time he was "Optician to the Newcastle Infirmary and the Newcastle Eye Infirmary", and selling his very own "D. Cohen's Patent Periscopic Spectacles".

Other opticians who visited Whitehaven were, Abraham Solomons, based in London, who advertised in 1833<sup>42</sup> and H. Moore,<sup>43</sup> who advertised in 1841. Moore was based in Commercial Road, London, and he called himself an "aurist" as well as optician.

G. and D. Davis, working opticians from London, took John Swan's shop, Lowther Street, in March 1821, "for not more than nine days", and displayed an extensive and varied stock.<sup>44</sup> I assume G. and D. Davis were relatives, possibly brothers, and this was a family business. Their advertisements were informative and explicit, in contrast to others' advertisements, which were sometimes excessive and flamboyant.

D. Davis returned alone in January 1822, expressing "sentiments of gratitude for the many favours conferred upon him during his former visit". No reference was made to his town of residence.<sup>45</sup>

On returning in July 1824, D. Davis was "an Optical, Mathematical, and Philosophical Instrument Maker, from Glasgow, late of London".<sup>46</sup>

D. Davis was almost certainly David Davis, one of the earliest and most influential of Glaswegian Jewry, who according to A. Levy "settled in Glasgow in 1823, and led the small congregation as President for over twenty years".<sup>47</sup> A. Levy further says: "It is not until 1831 that this name is first found in the Glasgow Post Office Directory, where he is described as an Optical, Mathematical Instrument Maker". It is interesting that David Davis, upon his retirement in Glasgow, removed to London where he died.

In June 1826, a "J. Davis, working optician, from Glasgow, late of London", took a local draper's shop next to the Pack Horse, Lowther Street. His advertisements contained a section that was an exact copy of an advertisement of D. Davis.<sup>48</sup> In July 1827, he was still "a working optician, from Glasgow, late of London". He remained until 6 August, on an extended visit, and then spent eight days in Workington and twelve days in Maryport.<sup>49</sup>

Mr C. Davis, working optician, late of London, appeared in May 1829, about eighteen months after J. Davis's arrival, "with grateful acknowledgement for the favours conferred upon his brother at his former visit to Whitehaven".<sup>50</sup>

It seems likely that G., D., J., and C. Davis were brothers or relatives in one family firm, which moved from London to Glasgow.

During the summer of 1837, Messrs Davis and Sons arrived.<sup>51</sup> They could be related to, or be the Davises of the 1820s. Originating from St James Street, London, and "established 1783", "they were Opticians to the Royal Family". Mr Davis, jun. visited Workington and Cockermouth nearby.

Again, opticians "Davis & Sons, from Liverpool, patronized by the Royal Family" were in Whitehaven, May 1841, and were probably the same Davises who visited in the 1820s and 1837.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the advertisement in 1841 stated: "Mr D. will not be able to visit the neighbouring towns this journey as usual", which clearly shows that he had been there before.

Michael Hart Simonson, optician, stayed at the Globe Inn, King Street, Whitehaven in January 1836, having just "arrived from the Metropolis, [London] with a wide selection of goods, including his very own Simonson's Crystalline Spectacles". He had been several years assistant to the celebrated Mr Davis, in Leeds, and had much practice at Mr D's well known Mathematical, Philosophical, and Optical Instrument Establishment. Simonson, a licenced hawk, stayed most of January 1836.<sup>53</sup>

M.H. Simonson became prominent in Manchester's Jewish life. In 1844, he wrote a pamphlet defending Jewish Orthodoxy, and was appointed secretary of the Great Synagogue, Manchester. After a period as a Hebrew teacher in Birmingham's Jews School, he returned to Manchester as Minister of the Great Synagogue.<sup>54</sup>

An initial visit to Whitehaven was made in September 1843, by a Mr J. Lizars,<sup>55</sup> who on future visits called himself Mr I. Lazars.<sup>56</sup> The "J." stood for John, and I am satisfied Lazars and Lizars are only two different spellings of the same name. On his first visit and on his second visit (in May 1845)<sup>57</sup> he stayed at 49 Roper Street, Whitehaven, giving his business address as 89 George Street, Edinburgh.

Lizars later visited in August 1854, giving his business address as 10 St Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, and claiming to be "successor to Mr I. Davis".<sup>58</sup> Yet another Davis optician!

Although the name Lizars is not in the Edinburgh Jewish records, there can be little doubt that Lazars/Lizars was Jewish. The George Street, Edinburgh address was also that of J.W. Lyon, goldsmith, working jeweller and diamond setter, who in 1838 was Secretary of the Hebrew Congregation in Edinburgh.<sup>59</sup> Finally, the name J. Lizars, optician, is still the name of a shop owned by a descendant, Mr Ballantine, at 6 Shandwick Place, Edinburgh. Mr Ballantine, who is not Jewish, maintains that a family tradition (without documentary proof) claims his great-grandmother Julia Lizars, daughter of John Lizars, optician, was Jewish.<sup>60</sup> Lizars, lithographers of Edinburgh, who, Mrs Ballantine informs me, were another branch of the same family, had future connections with Whitehaven when they worked for Callender and Dixons, booksellers here.<sup>61</sup>

I shall refer later to Whitehaven's Jewish dentist, Joseph Levason. Levason's father-in-law was David Jones, optician, of 26 Great George Street, Liverpool.<sup>62</sup> David Jones was Jewish (the original family surname was Groomsfeldt).<sup>63</sup>

Robert Davidson Telford was an assistant to Jones, and made advertised visits in 1842, 1860 and 1861. The middle name Davidson suggests a possible Jewish origin.<sup>64</sup> Telford claimed in 1861 that this was his "Twenty Second Annual Visit To Whitehaven And Neighbourhood". Possibly on the earliest visits he had accompanied David Jones. A "D. Jones, mechanical and practical optician", visited Workington in January 1837, for one week,<sup>65</sup> and could possibly have been Levason's father-in-law.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the sea route between Whitehaven and Liverpool was regularly used, since it was more comfortable and took less time than precarious journeys on muddied, pot-holed roads. The sea route was probably the reason why many Liverpudlian dentists visited Whitehaven.

First of these itinerant dentists was Pascoe Aranson, who in December 1812, advertised in Whitehaven, claiming to be "Surgeon-Dentist to the University of Cambridge".<sup>66</sup> He stayed at Whitehaven at various times up to 1819 at least, and travelled to Maryport, Workington and Ulverston.<sup>67</sup> This peripatetic pattern was imitated by later dentists.

Aranson's Liverpool addresses were Duncan Street, (1817)<sup>68</sup> and 9 Duke Street, (1819).<sup>69</sup> His daughter married the Liverpudlian Jewish dentist, Samuel Berend.<sup>70</sup> By 1822, he had moved to Manchester with a surgery in Princess Street.<sup>71</sup>

His relative by marriage, Louis Berend, surgeon-dentist, was from an influential Liverpudlian family, served "the period of his apprenticeship, and was subsequently six years assistant to his brother, S. Berend, Liverpool". In June 1827, he stayed at 52 Upper Church Street, Whitehaven.<sup>72</sup>

Berend's intention initially was to establish a regional dental service, and "purposes visiting this town twice a year regularly." On 17 July 1827, Berend advertised that he would visit Ambleside, Keswick and the whole of the Lake District, before returning to Liverpool.<sup>73</sup> A month later, he advertised that he would go north to Workington for a week.<sup>74</sup>

We do not know if Berend carried out his intended twice yearly visit to Whitehaven after 1827. He made no further advertisements beyond this year, but we know from the newspapers that itinerant traders and professionals made annual visits without advertising on each occasion.

It appears from newspapers that certain dentists, during the late 18th and 19th

centuries, were really dentist-chiropodists. Four such visited Whitehaven: Charles Davidson, 1795,<sup>75</sup> Mr Braham 1798,<sup>76</sup> Mr E. Braham, 1817<sup>77</sup> and Herman Lion, 1797.<sup>78</sup> The latter two were from Edinburgh. Only of Herman Lion is there documentary proof of Jewishness.

Herman Lion stayed on a brief visit to Whitehaven, and did not advertise again; so it is unknown if he returned. The author of a scholarly work on corns, a copy of which is in Edinburgh University Library, he was a university qualified dentist.<sup>79</sup>

The first Mr Braham stayed a few days, being "compelled to fulfill his engagements in Edinburgh". He lodged in the Black Lion Inn, King Street, where "either he or his servant will receive [the Public's] commands".

Nineteen years later, possibly the same person or a relative, a Mr E. Braham of 2 South Saint David's Street, Edinburgh, was for a short time in Whitehaven. The name "Braham" does not occur in the earliest Jewish records.

A Jewish family, the Crawcours, introduced themselves in Whitehaven, 19 November 1833, as "Surgeon-Dentists to the Royal Family, and patronized by the Courts of Austria, France, Russia, Prussia, and Belgium".<sup>80</sup> Their advertisements always contained the Royal Arms, and their claims were excessive and contradictory. Whilst in Glasgow in 1831, the Crawcours claimed, "They have just completed a set of pearl teeth for the Emperor of Persia",<sup>81</sup> but in Whitehaven in 1833, the public were informed that they "have just completed a set of pearl teeth without springs or ligatures for the Emperor of China".<sup>82</sup>

They had good business addresses in London and Edinburgh, and in Glasgow stayed at 1 Saint Vincent Street.<sup>83</sup> They remained in Whitehaven until possibly early January 1834, but did not advertise again, although unadvertised visits may have been made.

According to C. Roth, a local family tradition in Jersey and the Channel Islands, credits a dentist, Crawcour, as the originator of the amalgam filling of teeth.<sup>84</sup> Roth also refers to a grave acquired in a cemetery, in 1813, at Norwich, in the names of Barnett Crawcour, and three others.<sup>85</sup> Barnett Crawcour visited Glasgow in 1831, and may be one of the Crawcours who visited Whitehaven in 1833.

The Crawcours and D. Jones of Liverpool, already mentioned, came from East Anglia, and the presence of both in West Cumberland suggests a camaraderie of the itinerants, who would exchange information about trade amongst themselves. This camaraderie is supported by the presence of Cheltenham in the round of many itinerants, such as Abraham Solomons,<sup>86</sup> Messrs Rosenberg,<sup>87</sup> Mier,<sup>88</sup> J. Levason<sup>89</sup> and L. Levason,<sup>90</sup> the latter two becoming residents.

Cheltenham was also the domicile of one Ephraim Mosely, who was *shochet* and *mohel* in 1834,<sup>91</sup> the Secretary of the Synagogue in 1844,<sup>92</sup> and by trade he was listed as a boot and shoe maker in 1839.<sup>93</sup> In spite of this last fact, he is possibly the Ephraim Mosely who first visited Whitehaven in 1861, and advertised that he was "of the firm of Ephraim Mosely & Sons, surgeons dentists, 9 Grosvenor Street, London and 10 Eldon Square, Newcastle-upon-Tyne".<sup>94</sup> His visit was in response to "numerous applications from the friends and patients of his late brother, Mr Charles Mosely . . . for continuing the practice". He offered a "great reduction in prices" and used "Vulcanite India Rubber" as a base for false teeth. E. Mosely made several visits to Whitehaven, in 1861 and 1862,<sup>95</sup> after which the town was no longer included in his itinerary.

Charles Mosely, who had two London professional residences according to his advertisement, came to Whitehaven by 7 March 1846, visited the town three times a year.<sup>96</sup> Slater's *Directory to the Northern Counties*, 1848, had: "Dentists, Mosely, Charles, 66 Castle Street, Carlisle, Cumberland". During 1850, advertisements quoted his residence as: "57 Fishergate, Preston",<sup>97</sup> but his visits stopped after 1850.

Monsieur Mallan, dentist, of the firm of Mons. Mallan and Sons, 9 Half-Moon Street, Picadilly, and 32 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London, was Jewish. He arrived in Whitehaven on 16 June 1835.<sup>98</sup> Mallan said he was the sole inventor of "his Mineral Succadaneum", (filling), and charged "as in Paris", whatever that implied. His name may appear a year later, in April 1836, on a visitor's list to Bell's Museum, Whitehaven as Mr I.H. Mallan.<sup>99</sup>

Mallan's real name was Marcus Woolfe, a great traveller, who finally settled in San Francisco.<sup>100</sup> False names like Mallan demonstrate that Jewish itinerants sometimes travelled under assumed names, thus creating problems of identification.

Joseph Levason was Whitehaven's second documented Jewish resident. He came from Gower Street, Bedford Square, London, although he was connected with Liverpool Jewry. He was a "surgical and mechanical dentist, having been requested to attend in the neighbourhood", and stayed at the Golden Lion, Whitehaven, in May 1833.<sup>101</sup>

Levason advertised his "PERMANENT RESIDENCE" as rented apartments in Whitehaven; his use of capitals stressed the unusual decision to become the resident dentist.<sup>102</sup> This decision was reaffirmed a week later on 4 June 1833.<sup>103</sup> In spite of his permanent residence, the peripatetic nature of his profession caused Levason to take many trips away from Whitehaven, and within a month of his arrival here, he visited the Isle of Man.<sup>104</sup> After his return, he stated that his "protracted absence from Whitehaven" was due to "a necessary visit to London to solve problems about his late residence there".<sup>105</sup> He did emphasise in a footnote to his usual advertisement on 15 October 1833 that Whitehaven was now his permanent residence.<sup>106</sup>

He regularly visited the main towns of Cumberland and Westmorland: Workington,<sup>107</sup> Cockermouth,<sup>108</sup> Maryport,<sup>109</sup> Wigton<sup>110</sup> and Kendal.<sup>111</sup> The continual stream of advertisements he had in the local press revealed his life and times almost like a diary. For instance, 11 March 1834, he "purposes leaving Whitehaven on Wednesday the 19th, instant, and will return on the 29th".<sup>112</sup> The reason is obvious, when the following marriage entry in Liverpool's Old Hebrew Congregation records is read:-

A.M.5594. 26 March 1834. Joseph Levason/parents: Samuel & Kate Levason/abode: Whitehaven/to Rebecca Jones/parents: David & Leah Jones./D.W. Marks, Secretary.<sup>113</sup>

By 1 April 1834, Levason made public his recent marriage and his change of address to 17 Howgill Street, Whitehaven.<sup>114</sup> In early February 1835 his address changed to 7 Scotch Street, and this was his final private home in Whitehaven.<sup>115</sup> It was here that on 27 December 1837 Rebecca Levason gave birth to their first child, Lewis Edward Levason.<sup>116</sup> Ann Jones, probably Rebecca's unmarried sister, was present at the birth.

A public "caution" was issued by Levason in September 1834 against slander

which accused him of exorbitant charges.<sup>117</sup> He insisted his charges were moderate, the same as all professional dentists. This "caution" was advertised until mid-October 1834. However, on Tuesday, 5 May 1835, Levason made a conciliatory statement. "In consequence of the advice of his friends, Mr L. has reduced his charge for the extraction of teeth (at his own residence) to two shillings and sixpence."<sup>118</sup> This reduction was advertised during May, June, and July 1835.<sup>119</sup>

In November 1837, the mud-slinging was renewed, with people maligning his character by spreading rumours of his high charges. He published a comprehensive list of his prices for filling, extracting, etc., (an advertisement of this kind I have not observed before or since) and he made no reductions this time.<sup>120</sup> His association with the area continued long after this unpleasantness.

Levason's dental practice suffered an upheaval in August 1835, when his work was divided between Whitehaven and Chester, about one hundred miles apart.<sup>121</sup> Rebecca Levason's brother, Grenville Jones, surgeon-dentist, of 22 White Friars, Chester, decided to employ Joseph Levason to run his practice. Again, the sea route between Liverpool and Whitehaven would facilitate a speedier journey to Chester, rather than the road. The crisis passed by December 1835, since Levason was back "home" at 7 Scotch Street, Whitehaven, and advertised only this address.<sup>122</sup>

Joseph Levason's permanent residence ceased sometime in the summer of 1838 since on 7th August this year he advertised that he "may be consulted at 17 Scotch Street, ten doors above his late residence, where he will remain fourteen days from the present date".<sup>123</sup> This address was Mrs Penniment's lodging house. He claimed that "owing to circumstances over which he had not control", his visits to Whitehaven would be every six weeks when he would "remain fourteen days at a time". He had been a permanent resident of Whitehaven for nearly five and a half years.

We do not know the reason for Levason's discontinuing his residence in Whitehaven, but his service to Whitehaven and the other towns of Cumberland and Westmorland was maintained well into the future although on an itinerant not on a residential basis. Whitehaven was still used as his base, his address being Mrs Penniment's lodging house.

His advertisements were greatly reduced, but were still consistent, and marked out changes in his career. Newspaper readers were informed that his Liverpool address (he moved back to Liverpool) was 6 Duncan Street, Great George Street, corner of Leveson Street.<sup>124</sup> Then, on 3 December 1839, he first advertised himself as being "of the firm of Levason and Alex, 90 High Street, Cheltenham".<sup>125</sup> He explained that he had entered into partnership with Mr Montague Alex, and due to increased pressure of business, Whitehaven would now receive visits only three or four times a year.

By October 1841, Levason had changed his address, and "the firm of Levason, Alex, & Co.", was at 18 Promenade Villas, Cheltenham.<sup>126</sup> In May 1842, the people of Whitehaven were informed that the firm of Levason, Alex, & Co., had expanded their business address to 18 Promenade Villas and 21 Rodney Street, Cheltenham, an expansion that heralded the final farewell to Whitehaven.<sup>127</sup>

The break came on 16 July 1844, when he "begs to inform the Gentry and Inhabitants of Whitehaven and its Vicinity, that during this, his LAST VISIT, he intends remaining at Mrs. Penniment's . . . for fourteen days."<sup>128</sup> He gave his most

grateful and sincere thanks for the patronage his clients had given him during an association with Whitehaven for twelve years, and recommended as his successor his brother-in-law, Mr Horatio Jones, “who will in future make Whitehaven his permanent residence”. Levason assured everyone that Jones was “eminently qualified to give the utmost satisfaction in every branch of the dental profession”.

Levason was the first dentist who unequivocally said that Whitehaven had become his permanent residence.<sup>129</sup> There were later resident dentists, but up to Levason’s arrival no contemporary or preceding dentist made such a declaration. If there was another dentist, almost certainly he would not remain silent, whilst Levason advertised constantly.

It is interesting to note that Montague Alex married Belinda Jones, 1837,<sup>130</sup> Lewis Levason, Joseph’s brother, married Catherine Jones, 1826,<sup>131</sup> Nathaniel Nelson (later of Nelson and Nathayne) married Ann Jones, 1838,<sup>132</sup> all at Liverpool. All these ladies were sisters of Rebecca Levason,<sup>133</sup> and Montague Alex<sup>134</sup> and Nathaniel Nelson were both dentists.<sup>135</sup>

Horatio Jones had already been in West Cumberland, perhaps as part of a contingency plan, three years before he became Levason’s successor. In an advertisement, 16 October 1841, Levason apologized for not attending in Cockermouth, but he had “made arrangements with his brother-in-law Mr Horatio Jones, who will be in attendance there from Monday morning next, the 18th, instant, until Saturday evening 23rd”.<sup>136</sup> Jones subsequently visited Workington and Maryport, becoming familiar with Levason’s itinerary.<sup>137</sup>

In August 1844, Jones advertised himself as “resident dentist, 17 Scotch Street, Whitehaven . . . brother-in-law and successor to Mr J. Levason”.<sup>138</sup> His residence was Mrs Penniment’s lodging house, and his practice went well, until 28 September 1844, when he was compelled by “important business” to go to the South of England.<sup>139</sup>

This unexpected absence is explained by the fact that the first death advertised in the *Jewish Chronicle*, on Friday 1 November 1844, was that of Grenville Jones of Shrewsbury.<sup>140</sup> Grenville was the brother of Horatio Jones.

Horatio Jones’s next advertisement in the Whitehaven press was June 1845, when he described himself “surgeon-dentist, 3 St John’s Hill, Shrewsbury, late of 17 Scotch Street, Whitehaven”.<sup>141</sup> He may have moved to Shrewsbury to take over his brother’s practice. Our second resident Jewish dentist thus ceased residence. He visited Whitehaven every three months or so, from 1845<sup>142</sup> to May 1850, after which he advertised no longer.<sup>143</sup> Throughout this period, his residence was given as the Shrewsbury address above.

Besides Horatio Jones, who was Levason’s successor, two other dentists appeared in town, just before and after Levason’s farewell visit in July 1844. The first, Charles Coppel, was Jewish and half-brother to Louis Berend. He advertised himself in July 1844 as a surgeon-dentist from Preston.<sup>144</sup> The other dentist, Nathan (Nathaniel) Nelson “from the firm of Nelson & Nathayne, 16 Newington, Liverpool”, was also Jewish, and brother-in-law to Horatio Jones.<sup>145</sup> Both Coppel and Nelson advertised only once.

The following itinerants I assume to be Jewish, because of their surnames, professions, and origins in large urban centres.

Messrs Morris and Solomons, from 41 Pell Street, London, staying in

Whitehaven, May 1846, sold both "spectacle lenses and invisible operative voice conductors", i.e. they were both opticians and "aurists".<sup>146</sup> Of this firm's name: "Morris & Solomons", only Solomons is given a forename in the advertisement, namely George. They never advertised again.

Mr A. Davidson, surgeon-chiropodist, resident at Hull, came from an urban circuit of Liverpool, Sunderland, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to reside in Whitehaven "for a short period", July 1833.<sup>147</sup> He also cured fistula and piles with ointments and pills.

Mr or Monsieur N. Levi, chiropodist from "Paris and 3 Conduit-street, Regent Street, London", initially visited Whitehaven in March 1843<sup>148</sup> for a few days, and returned August 1848<sup>149</sup> to stay for over a month.

The following "doctors" were probably both quacks, although only one has been proven as such. One is definitely a Jew, and the other I assume is a Jew, because of his personal details.

Dr Lamert, "son of Dr J. Lamert, from the Old Medical Establishment, 10 Church Street, Spitalfields, London", arrived Spring 1820 in Whitehaven.<sup>150</sup> He represented himself as "having been repeatedly solicited by letter and personal application from the afflicted . . . to extend his professional aid in Whitehaven". It appeared his services were greatly needed "as his numerous engagements in this County preclude the possibility of his longer attendance". This advertisement carried a long impressive list of marvellous cures and his signature. He stayed well into April 1820, and reappeared in October 1829, returning from Scotland on his way to Dublin.<sup>151</sup>

In reality, Dr Abraham Lamert was "a notorious quack of Bristol and Spitalfields".<sup>152</sup> In the Deaths Register of Liverpool's Old Hebrew Congregation we find: "5 March 1836/Abraham Lamert/50 years/parent: Isaac Lamert/residence: Duke Street".<sup>153</sup>

An itinerant Dr Davis, with high-flown claims like Dr Lamert, stayed at 52 High Church Street, Whitehaven, May 1825,<sup>154</sup> and Louis Berend stayed there in 1827. He was "son and 30 years assistant to his late father, Dr Emanuel Davis, member of the University of Leyden, institutor of the Medical Establishment, Ratcliffe Highway, London, where he resided upwards of 57 years". He was very possibly a Jewish quack doctor!

The fancy goods dealers, Messrs Rosenberg, brought variety to a remote town, with a "French Repository" of musical work, glove boxes, rosewood cabinets, dressing-cases, and Sèvres porcelain. They advertised two business addresses, Rue de Vendôme, Paris, and St Paul's Churchyard, London.<sup>155</sup> Their advertisement appeared 12 February 1833, but at the end of February they moved to Cockermouth.

In 1835, a Monsieur Rosenberg came with different business addresses, "Sackville Street, Dublin, & High Street, Cheltenham".<sup>156</sup> In the Market Place, Whitehaven, he had continental stock similar to that already described and genuine Eau de Cologne. The hours of business were from twelve noon to nine at night. The late opening and closing hours were not uncommon with itinerants, with Frederick Mier "from 11 o'clock in the morning until half-past nine at night",<sup>157</sup> and Morris & Solomons "ten til seven".<sup>158</sup>

A Mr Rosenberg is mentioned in a newspaper column (not an advertisement) in

November 1839.<sup>159</sup> He “in consequence of the great success met with during his short stay is determined to part with the remainder of his stock at great sacrifice”. This is the final notice of Rosenberg in the Whitehaven press.

Henry Leveaux, a fancy goods dealer, who lived in Preston and was a member of the Liverpool Hebrew Congregation, opened a bazaar, “The Brighton Lounge, and Temple of Fancy”, in Market Place, Whitehaven, in 1834.<sup>160</sup> His varied stock was very similar to that of Rosenberg, with a “splendid assortment of the very best manufactured jewellery . . . finest Parisian perfume, and a great number of other articles too numerous to mention”. His advertisement was never repeated, probably because in 1835 he moved to Manchester, where in the city centre he set up a shop called “French Bazaar & Temple of Fancy”.<sup>161</sup>

Marquis Mier and Co., had four different business addresses: 9 Palais Royal, Paris; Leamington; 412 High Street, Cheltenham; and 33 Picadilly, Manchester. Mier stayed at the Black Lion Hotel, Whitehaven, in April 1836.<sup>162</sup> His goods like Rosenberg’s and Leveaux’s were continental, but, unable to sell all his goods, Mier organized a “French Lottery”, whereby everyone got at least one prize.<sup>163</sup> By 10 May, with the lottery a great success, Mr Mier decided to stay in town a week longer, to give a special morning lottery to accommodate country folk.<sup>164</sup>

Four years later, a “Frederick Mier”, probably a relative of Marquis Mier, was lodged in the Market Place, Whitehaven, selling the same sort of exotic stock.<sup>165</sup> This time, however, the public were shown an Euterpeon, “a splendid self performing instrument”, which played not only operatic music, but Strauss waltzes as well.

A “French Bazaar from Picadilly, London and Rue d’Artois, Paris”, was opened to the public at “Mr Fearon’s large room, Market Place, Whitehaven”, in November 1838.<sup>166</sup> The “patron” was Henri Dessaix and Co., whose stock closely resembled that of our other fancy goods dealers, i.e. Sèvres and Dresden porcelain, jewellery and inlaid cabinets. The bazaar closed in mid December 1838, and Dessaix and Co., never reappeared.

Although only Leveaux is documented as being a Jew, the names Mier and Rosenberg, along with their itinerant trade, suggest they were Jewish too. Dessaix is similar in all respects of trade, and this suggests he was also Jewish.

Many itinerants advertised only once, and then disappeared for good. One adverse advertisement, informs us that one Moses Aaron absconded in March 1790, from lodgings in Chapel Street, Whitehaven, leaving his landlady unpaid.<sup>167</sup> She advertised her intention to sell Aaron’s “articles of wearing apparel” in order to “defray her claims”. Aaron was an itinerant, since he was in lodgings, and his “articles of wearing apparel” must be his stock-in-trade. Aaron shared the same financial difficulty as two other lodgers, whose names indicate they were gentiles.

Ahrenstein Wolff was only once in Whitehaven, December 1836, and sold textiles in the Market Place, such as: “broadcloths, cassimeres, and waistcoat pieces”.<sup>168</sup> Such was, Mr Freeman, “from London, a native of Germany”, who advertised in March 1831 as opening a shop at 14 King Street, Whitehaven, (the main shopping street).<sup>169</sup> He made repairs and sold “gold and silver watches, and a variety of fashionable jewellery”. He claimed that he had “served his apprenticeship with the celebrated Mr Crantz at Berlin, watchmaker to the King of Prussia”. The fact that this was his first and last advertisement indicates that his business soon failed.

It is almost certain from their names that Ahrenstein Wolff and Moses Aaron were Jewish, but of the three Mr Freeman is the least likely to be Jewish.

Three people who appeared in Whitehaven were connected with the fine arts, all having Jewish names, but only one undoubtedly Jewish. The first was Mr Cohen from Berlin, who stayed only two days in March 1777 at the Golden Lion Inn, Market Place, Whitehaven.<sup>170</sup> He was exhibiting a sculpture of a pregnant female "in supine posture" exposing nothing to "offend the sight of the most delicate". The public were charged one shilling each to view this statue.

The second and third were Mr Jacobson, Jun., and Mr Benjamin. Mr Jacobson, Jun., appeared to have been quite well known in Whitehaven, as he expressed the hope in his advertisement, 13 September 1836, that he would "meet the same liberal patronage and support as he has hitherto met in Whitehaven".<sup>171</sup> In the press, a week before the advertisement, the following remark appeared: "We have not yet had the opportunity of inspecting them [paintings], but Mr Jacobson's well-known taste and skill are a sufficient guarantee of their excellence".<sup>172</sup>

Jacobson Jun. sold his "paintings by the most celebrated artists" in the Black Lion Assembly Room, "from ten o'clock in the morning, until six o'clock in the evening". Mr Benjamin, staying for a short while in 1840, sold "a choice collection of gallery and cabinet oil paintings by the most eminent masters" at the Queen's Arms Inn, Whitehaven.<sup>173</sup>

I know of two instances where Jews married outside their faith, in Carlisle, Cumberland.<sup>174</sup> There were also two such possible marriages in Whitehaven. The first one took place at Holy Trinity Church, Whitehaven, 8 June 1831, the groom being Henry Oppenheim, junior, and the bride Frances Mosley; amongst the witnesses was her sister Susannah Mosley.<sup>175</sup> The groom Henry Oppenheim, junior, lived in Market Street, Whitechapel, London, and could well be the second Jew to marry outside his faith in Whitehaven.<sup>176</sup>

The couple do not appear to have settled in Whitehaven, after their marriage. However, Frances Oppenheim, of married status, along with her son, Henry S. Oppenheim, appeared in the 1871 Census of Whitehaven, living with her sister Susannah Oppenheim, widow.<sup>177</sup> I assume Susannah married a brother or male relative of Henry Oppenheim, her brother-in-law. Frances Oppenheim's son, Henry, was also resident with aunt Susannah Oppenheim in the 1861 Census of Whitehaven, his place of birth given as Plaistow, Essex.<sup>178</sup>

Another marriage, which is less likely to be of Jew and gentile was that of Dougal Meyers (who signed Dettmar Meyers) and Mary McDonald in 1805, at Holy Trinity, Whitehaven.<sup>179</sup> I must stress that the only evidence of Jewishness is the name of the husband.

One of the greatest Jewish boxers, Daniel Mendoza (1764-1836) exhibited "his whole system of self-defence" in the Assembly Rooms, Albion Street, Whitehaven, on the nights of 4 and 6 September 1799.<sup>180</sup> He was accompanied by his brother, and both had gained royal patronage. The performance started at eight o'clock, with "front seats, 2s. - back seats, 1s.". Daniel encouraged other young Jews of his time and origin, to adopt the sport too.

The Earl of Lonsdale, in late August 1815, patronised a Grand Musical Festival to be held in St Nicholas Chapel, and the Theatre Royal, Whitehaven.<sup>181</sup> The festival conductors, G. and C. Ashley, were managers of the oratorios at the Theatre

Royal, Covent Garden. "The most approved performers from London, York, Leeds and Manchester", came, including leading top names from the King's Concerts and the Bath Concerts. Amongst them was that legendary tenor, John Braham.

Braham was born in London 1774, dying there in 1856, and began singing as a meshorner (tenor singer) at the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place, London. He was later converted to Christianity.<sup>182</sup>

John Braham revisited Whitehaven's Theatre Royal, with two sons Charles and Hamilton, also singers, for "Two Grand Concerts", on 20 and 22 May 1845.<sup>183</sup> The Whitehaven audience was delighted with all three Brahams. According to the local press, the father sang "The Death of Nelson" and "Molly Bawn", whilst Charles delivered with "the most delicious tenor voice", Donizetti's "O Summer Night" and Balfe's "When Other Lips". Hamilton, his brother, who possessed "a magnificent bass voice at once full and sonorous", gave Handel's "Revenge Timotheus Cries", and Schubert's "Wanderer".

Performers with Jewish-sounding names appeared like: Mr Moritz in October 1818,<sup>184</sup> "the Emperor of Conjurers (after an absence of 17 years)", performing at the Concert Room, Irish Street, and "Mr Isaacs, the celebrated accordion player . . . engaged at great expense" at the Theatre Royal in February 1847.<sup>185</sup>

Signor and Signora Jacobowitch made their bow in Whitehaven. The Italian titles seemed incongruous with the Ashkenazi surname (if they were Jewish). He was described by the press as "the artiste singer" and "that wonderful vocalist", whilst she was a performer "on the harp and piano" and "unrivalled".

Their first performance was under the patronage of the Rev Dr Hudleston, incumbent of St Nicholas, Whitehaven, and was to take place on Saturday, 11 March 1848, in the Assembly Room, Black Lion, Whitehaven.<sup>186</sup> The press claimed Signor Jacobowitch's "fame is so extensive – so universal", and that he was a "prince of vocalists". Four days later, 15 March, Signor and Signora Jacobowitch appeared at the Theatre Royal, Whitehaven, sharing the bill with a Herr von Hartman, (in further reports the "von" was omitted).<sup>187</sup> Mr Hartman, who could also be Jewish, was reported to be "an exquisite violinist". They were still in Whitehaven on 22 March, giving a "private concert at Mr Henshaw's, organist, Hamilton Terrace, in this town".<sup>188</sup>

A performer at the Theatre Royal advertised himself locally in 1831 as "Signior Blitz, from Moravia, formerly pupil and assistant of the celebrated Philadelphia, Professor of Mechanism and Metamorphosis".<sup>189</sup> Philadelphia (Jacob Meyers) was an American Jew and renowned as a great magician.<sup>190</sup>

Signior Blitz had testimonials from the Marquess of Stafford and Sir Roger Greasley, Bart., M.P. He was given a lengthy report inside the paper, culminating in an equally lengthy poetic eulogy. The author was a local literary man, who signed himself "Marvel", and stated that Blitz dressed all in black and spoke broken English.<sup>191</sup>

Once again, we have an incongruous title "Signior" with a Germanic surname "Blitz", but his association with Philadelphia and his Moravian origin could imply he was Jewish.

Whitehaven's Theatre Royal was visited by a talented and famous Jewish magician, Professor Jacobs (Wizard Jacobs), who was born in Canterbury, 1813 and died at Sydenham Hill, 1870.<sup>192</sup>

His appearance in Whitehaven's Theatre Royal, July 1841, was advertised as "the arrival of the Royal Ventriloquist and Modern Magician, Mr Jacobs, from the Strand Theatre, London".<sup>193</sup> "As a magician his feats are astonishing and nearly all his own invention. He uses no covered tables, concealed confederates, or mechanical apparatus, but produces tricks, changes, and transformations in a manner that must be seen to be credited. As a ventriloquist he has no equal, being enabled to imitate an extraordinary number of persons in and about the Theatre".

The press's local intelligence mentioned "his second appearance in this town", indicating a visit prior to that of 1841.<sup>194</sup> His popularity necessitated an extension of his visit from 22 July to 28 July 1841.<sup>195</sup>

Jacobs was "greatly favoured by Royalty and Aristocracy, including Her Majesty and Prince Albert as audiences".<sup>196</sup> In 1861 he performed in Whitehaven, on a "farewell tour through England", after returning "in the Great Eastern Steamship, from a successful visit to Australia, California, New Zealand, United States of America, Canada, Nova Scotia, &c."<sup>197</sup> He was accompanied by the "original, comic, and eccentric goblin, Mr Sprightly", who was, in fact, Jacobs' brother.<sup>198</sup>

Rev Dr Joseph Wolff, D.D., LL.D., was engaged by Whitehaven Mechanics Institute to deliver a course of three lectures about his adventurous travels in the Far and Middle East, at the Theatre Royal, Whitehaven, for three evenings in June 1849.<sup>199</sup> He was then a celebrated traveller and philanthropist.

Wolff was born in Weilersbach, Bavaria, in 1796, to Jewish parents, his father being the local rabbi. He was educated at the Bamberg gymnasium, and there converted to Catholicism. As a consequence, he endured "much persecution from his relatives". He was baptized in Prague, 1812, and went on to the University of Vienna, and afterwards to Tubingen, Suabia.

He departed for Rome where the "acquaintance of some Englishmen" led him to become a Protestant, for which he was banished. He settled in Switzerland and in June 1819 arrived in England.

He met Lady Georgiana Mary Walpole, sister to the Earl of Orford (Horatio Walpole), and in February 1827 the couple married – a marriage greatly opposed by his brother-in-law, Lord Orford. He travelled to Bokhara in search of the missing Colonel Stoddart and Captain Connolly, to learn that the king of the country had killed them. Wolff was an extraordinary traveller and "the perfect master of many languages, ancient and modern". All this information appeared in an advertisement and article in the Whitehaven press.<sup>200</sup>

In June 1842, Rev Jacob Samuel, the first converted Jew to appear before Whitehaven's non-conformists, preached to large congregations at the Scotch Church and Wesleyan Methodists' Chapel.<sup>201</sup> He also lectured on his travels in the East.

At a crowded lecture on the evening of 5 July 1842, in the Methodists' Chapel, Samuel detailed "an interesting description of his passage through the Great Desert", after which there was a substantial collection.<sup>202</sup> He criticized the Church for its persecution which had affected himself, and jealousy between various denominations of Christian dissent. He related "a circumstance, connected with the case of a converted Jew, not over creditable to the Baptist denomination".<sup>203</sup> Whitehaven's Baptist Minister, Rev James Bilson, and Whitehaven's Minister of the Independent Congregation, Rev R.G. Milne, angrily confronted Rev Samuel in the

vestry-room afterwards. Milne objected to Samuel saying “that more missionaries died in the East in consequence of indolence rather than perished through over fatigue or laborious exertion”.

Bilson reviled Samuel, calling him various “opprobrious terms”, and demanded Samuel’s authority for collecting money. He ordered a policeman to arrest Samuel, which was prudently ignored; threatened to take Samuel to the “Public Office”, (i.e. before the magistrates), and unremittingly inflamed the collected crowd against him, by openly calling him an impostor. Samuel endured this harangue in dignity and silence, but time permitting, Bilson could have been charged with slander.<sup>204</sup>

This is the version of the incident that appeared in the *Cumberland Pacquet* – a version, however, that may be biased, since the *Pacquet* took the side of Rev Samuel in the dispute.

Clearly, as soon as Samuel criticized the Church, his fiscal honesty became questionable, exposing publicly the latent prejudice that Jews were untrustworthy and financially dishonest.

The ministers delivered a written attack on Mr Samuel in the *Herald*, “whose Editor” (according to the Editor of the *Cumberland Pacquet*) “knows as much about the matter, as Mr Bilson knows about religious toleration”, but aided “them in hunting down this persecuted stranger”.

Samuel defended himself in the press, supported by his own authentic credentials, the editor of the *Cumberland Pacquet*, and the ministers of the Maryport Presbyterian Church, who had witnessed his training and conversion. Then the affair faded out of sight!

Why did Whitehaven not have even a handful of long-term Jewish residents?

The answer does not lie in anti-semitism. What anti-semitism there was, came from a few socially privileged individuals – Charles Ponsonby and Richard Barker (wealthy uncle to Ann Raney) – and from middle-class non-conformists who “reviled” Rev Samuel. This last example, however, may be regarded as basically an inter-Christian squabble. The grievances against Levason’s dental charges may have been genuine or resentment against a newcomer. There may be an element of the Shylock myth, but it was not a strong element, for there is not a trace in the press that Levason was the object of sectarian insults.

Periodically there were articles in the press that might be labelled anti-semitic. These were concerned with non-local events. One such concerned a French Jew who was broken on the wheel for his crimes. His life was miraculously saved by a surgeon, presumably gentile, who was subsequently betrayed by the Jew to the authorities for aiding a criminal. The King hearing this, ordered that the Jew should die on the wheel for his “monstrous ingratitude”.<sup>205</sup> This incredible story is in the press because it is incredible, and therefore sensational, and therefore what the reading public wanted. The anti-semitism is but a spice in the stew.

The deep-rooted myths of Jewish financial greed and financial prowess existed in Whitehaven, but there is no reason to suppose that they meant more there than in any other town.

A “Masquerade and Fancy Ball” was held in 1825, in the Theatre Royal, with the masquers parading before mocking spectators, as various characters.<sup>206</sup> One of these was “Solomon Levi, a projecting Jew, just arrived from London . . . agent for Whitehaven and Neighbourhood . . . for the General Marriage Company . . . applications to Solomon Levi, at the Black Lion Inn.” (The last few words reinforce

my belief that this hostelry was popular during the 19th century with Jewish itinerants.) Other characters were "an Irish dealer in 'praties', a Highland Warrior and a bagpiper". The report has an element of xenophobia, but it is also light-hearted. Solomon Levi was seen as a figure of fun, a fast-talking trader with plenty of sales patter. There was nothing malicious in the depiction.

I conclude that there was not enough anti-semitism in Whitehaven to repulse Jews. Why then did they not settle here?

At one point, *c.* 1750, Whitehaven was as great a port as Liverpool. Jews established themselves in Liverpool at that date. They were attracted partly because they could trade, as in other ports, with the sailors. But they were also attracted because they could trade (mainly as pedlars) in Cheshire and Wales and Lancashire, with the towns of Chester and Manchester and even further afield in Yorkshire. The attractions of the port in Whitehaven were cancelled by Whitehaven's geography. It was remote from London and other centres, with a sparsely populated mountainous hinterland. Trading, in any real sense, was limited to small coastal towns like Workington and Maryport with an occasional excursion to Carlisle.

Furthermore – though this is not so important – there were old, well-established businesses in Whitehaven, run by nonconformists (usually Quakers), whose financial adroitness made them formidable competitors. Jews leaving London because of the heavy competition there, did not wish to face it in remote Whitehaven.

By the time Anglo-Jewry was spreading further north and taking up residence in northern towns, Whitehaven, while still prosperous, was slowly declining. Glasgow had taken Whitehaven's tobacco trade and was, along with Edinburgh, expanding rapidly in size and economy. Naturally, itinerants would be drawn to these and other towns like them, centres of high opportunity and urban facilities. Once there, there were plenty of inducements to cause them to settle and form communities.

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### Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> D. Hay, *Whitehaven – An Illustrated History* (Whitehaven, 1979), (hereafter W-IH), 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>4</sup> *The Cumberland Pacquet*, (hereafter *CP*), 14 October 1817, p. 2, col. e.
- <sup>5</sup> *W-IH*, 39–47.
- <sup>6</sup> C. Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry* (London, 1950), (hereafter *RPJ*), 20. Correspondence with Rabbi Jerry Schwarzbard, Librarian for Special Collections, The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, where the scroll is housed, who questions the veracity of this statement. Rabbi Schwarzbard writes in a letter dated 16 May 1990, addressed to myself, that he had “not found any reference to Jacob ben Simon” or, that the manuscript “had any connection to Whitehaven”.
- <sup>7</sup> *RPJ*, II. Expansion from London.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Glasgow.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Edinburgh.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Kingston-upon-Hull.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Norwich.
- <sup>13</sup> Some Jewish industrialists settled in Whitehaven during the Second World War, amongst the most prominent: *W-IH*, 128–30 – Sir Nicholas Sekers; 131–2, 137 – Schon, Frank; 137 – Secher, Otto; 140 – Edgard and Sons; 141 – Oppenheim, Kurt.
- <sup>14</sup> The local newspapers were: *The Cumberland Pacquet*, *The Whitehaven Herald*, *The Whitehaven Gazette*, *The Whitehaven News*.
- <sup>15</sup> The original 1762 census was unofficial, with no title. Its location is unknown. The Daniel Hay Library, Whitehaven, possess an early copy, written by a Richard William Moore, and Whitehaven Museum have made a transcript of this, executed in alphabetical order. It has a simple layout, as follows:- name of street, lane etc; number of house; name of proprietors of house; list of names of inhabitants of house; a list of the occupations of the inhabitants (sometimes).
- <sup>16</sup> *CP*, 1 December 1744, p. 4 col. c.
- <sup>17</sup> Francis Salomon was listed in Bailey’s, *Northern Directory of 1781 and 1784*, as:-“Solomon, J., silversmith” of Whitehaven, Cumberland, indicating, perhaps, that his real name was not Francis.
- <sup>18</sup> St James Baptismal Registers, Whitehaven:-“5 November 1775, Robert of Francis Salomon”.
- <sup>19</sup> Marshall Hall, *The Artists of Cumbria – an Illustrated Dictionary* (Marshall Hall Associates, 26 Jesmond Road, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, NE2 4QR, 1979), 73: “On the eve of his departure for New York in June 1828, Salomon changed his name to ‘Salmon’.” Robert Salmon’s paintings in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, are catalogued under the name of Robert Salomon.
- <sup>20</sup> St Nicholas Baptismal Registers, Whitehaven: “17 February 1811, Henry of Isaac Marks and Ann, watchmaker.”
- <sup>21</sup> C. Richard King (ed.), *Victorian Lady on the Texas Frontier, The Journal of Ann Raney Coleman of Whitehaven* (W. Foulsham & Co. Ltd., Yeovil Road, Slough, Buckinghamshire, England, 1972), Introduction, 10; First Book, 46.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>24</sup> St Nicholas Baptismal Registers, Whitehaven.
- <sup>25</sup> *CP*, 6 July 1813, p. 3 col. e.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 June 1814, p. 3 col. d.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 May 1815, p. 3 col. d.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 September 1817, p. 3 col. c.
- <sup>29</sup> St Nicholas Baptismal Registers, Whitehaven: Residences of the Marks family: College Street (1820), Lowther Street (1824), Hilton Row (1826), Church Street (1827).
- <sup>30</sup> C. Richard King (ed.), *op.cit.*, First Book, 38, 43.
- <sup>31</sup> Mannix and Whellan, *History, Gazeteer and Directory of Cumberland* (1847), 399– “Mark, Isaac, assistant-surgeon, 30 Roper Street, Whitehaven.” *The Whitehaven Herald*, (hereafter *WH*), 21 September 1844, p. 3 col. b. Public Office. *ibid.* 20 November 1850, p. 2 col. g, Local Police, and *ibid.* p. 3 col. a, and *ibid.* 26 July 1851, p. 2 col. f, and *ibid.* 9 October 1852, p. 2 col. e, Local and District News, Sudden Death, and *ibid.* 11 May 1861, p. 8 col. b, Justice Hall.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 October 1846, p. 4 col. b & c.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 July 1845, p. 3 col. a, Public Office.
- <sup>34</sup> *CP*, 18 January 1870, p. 5 col. f, deaths, and *The Whitehaven News*, 13 January 1870, p. 8 col. g, deaths.

- <sup>35</sup> Certified Copy of an Entry of Death. Pursuant to the Births and Deaths Registration Act 1953. HC 161546.
- <sup>36</sup> St Nicholas Baptismal Registers, Whitehaven: "26 May 1818, Sophia of Isaac & Ann Marks, Newtown, jeweller".
- <sup>37</sup> CP, 4 January 1814, p. 3 col. e.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 December 1814, p. 3 col. e.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 May 1820, p. 3 col. e.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 March 1837, p. 2 col. c.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 November 1838, p. 2 col. e.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 June 1833, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 November 1841, p. 1 col. c. "H. Moore" who appears in Whitehaven, was Jewish, if he is identical with Henry Moore, merchant, whose daughter Caroline married in Cheltenham Synagogue – 4 January 1843.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 March 1821, p. 3 col. d.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 January 1822, p. 3 col. b.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 July 1824, p. 3 col. d.
- <sup>47</sup> A. Levy, *The Origins of Glasgow Jewry, 1812-1895* (Glasgow, 1949), Chap. X, 54, 55. Some brief biographies. Davis Family. and Chap. II, 17-8 and Chap. V, 37.
- <sup>48</sup> CP, 20 June 1826, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 August 1827, p. 1 col. e, and *ibid.*, 25 September 1827, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 May 1829, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 June 1837, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 May 1841, p. 2 col. c.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 January 1836, p. 2 col. a, "Mr Davis, in Leeds" was probably Gabriel Davis, the most prominent Leeds Jew at this time.
- <sup>54</sup> Correspondence with Mr B. Williams, author of *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester, 1976).
- <sup>55</sup> CP, 26 September 1843, p. 2 col. e.
- <sup>56</sup> Israel Barned of Barned's Bank, Liverpool, appeared as John Barned in Gore's *Directory* of 1813-14, and 1816, and then was Israel Barned in 1818 and afterwards. The initials I. and J. during this century seemed to have been interchangeable.
- <sup>57</sup> WH, 17 May 1845, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 August 1854, p. 1 col. f.
- <sup>59</sup> Abel Phillips, *A History of the Origins of the First Jewish Community in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1816), 39: "J.W. Lyon traded as J.W. Lyon and Company, Bazaar . . . in 1840 the firm was at 89 George Street, [Edinburgh], and is there described as goldsmiths, working jewellers and diamond setters".
- <sup>60</sup> Communication with Mrs Ballantine of 44 Barnton Avenue, Edinburgh, and "J. Lizars, opticians, (since 1830)," 6 Shandwick Place, Edinburgh.
- <sup>61</sup> Mrs Ballantine informs me that the Lizars of Edinburgh, lithographers, were part of the same family.
- <sup>62</sup> CP, 11 January 1842, p. 2 col. c.
- <sup>63</sup> RPPJ, 78, 79: "Abraham Jones of Kings Lynn (1729-1811) (Abraham ben Isaiah), a native of Holland, whose father was called Isaiah Groomsfeldt. Among the graves are those of Abraham Moses Jones (1811) and his wife Dinah, but Aaron Hart Jones, silversmith, was a member of the Kings Lynn Synagogue 1930. Grenville Jones (1804-44) of Shrewsbury, surgeon dentist, and his brother Horatio Jones, surgeon dentist, of Shrewsbury, were grandsons of Moses Abraham Groomsfeldt of Kings Lynn". David Jones was father of both Grenville and Horatio Jones.
- <sup>64</sup> CP, 11 January 1842, p. 2 col. c, and *ibid.* 20 March 1860, p. 4 col. b & c, *ibid.* 5 February 1861, p. 4 col. a.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 January 1837, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 December 1812, p. 3 col. c.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, (Maryport), and *ibid.* 12 January 1813, p. 3 col. e (Ulverston): *The Whitehaven Gazette*, 7 June 1819, p. 1 col. b, ("as far as Workington").
- <sup>68</sup> *The Commercial Directory*, (Printed in Manchester by Wardle and Pratt, 1816-7). Liverpool Section. Surgeons: Aranson, Pascoe, dentist, Duncan Street.
- <sup>69</sup> *The Whitehaven Gazette*, 7 June 1819, p. 1 col. b.
- <sup>70</sup> Correspondence with Mr J. Wolfman, Merseyside Jewish Records.

- <sup>71</sup> B. Williams, *op.cit.*, 35 – “Most significant of all, perhaps, of Manchester’s advancing status in Anglo-Jewry were the handful of shopkeepers and professional men who came from Liverpool, where they had already created successful businesses . . . the dentist, Pascoe Aranson (1822) . . . the moving spirit of the Manchester community for over a quarter of a century; 38 – “Pascoe Aaronson’s surgery was in Princess Street, Manchester”.
- <sup>72</sup> *CP*, 3 July 1827, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 July 1827, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 August 1827, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 August 1795, p. 3 col. c.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 November 1798, p. 3 col. b.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 April 1817, p. 3 col. d.
- <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 March 1797, p. 3 col. a.
- <sup>79</sup> Dr K. Collins, *Go and Learn!* (Aberdeen, 1988), 192, Index. Lion Heyman, 41–3, 51, 172. Communication with Mr Ben Braber, archivist, Garnethill Synagogue, Glasgow.
- <sup>80</sup> *CP*, 19 November 1833, p. 1 col. c. & d.
- <sup>81</sup> A. Levy, *op.cit.*, 21.
- <sup>82</sup> *CP*, 10 December 1833, p. 2, Local Intelligence.
- <sup>83</sup> A. Levy, *op.cit.*, 21.
- <sup>84</sup> *RPJ*, The Channel Islands.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, Norwich.
- <sup>86</sup> *CP*, 11 June 1833, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 November 1835, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 April 1836, p. 2 col. a, & b.
- <sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 December 1839, p. 2 col. c.
- <sup>90</sup> Brian Torode, *The Hebrew Community of Cheltenham, Gloucester, and Stroud* (Cheltenham, 1989), 23, 28, & 67.
- <sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.
- <sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.
- <sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.
- <sup>94</sup> *CP*, 31 December 1861, p. 1 col. c.
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 June 1862, last advertisement.
- <sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 March 1847, p. 2 col. c.
- <sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 August 1849, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 June 1835, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 April 1836, p. 1 col. c.
- <sup>100</sup> Communications with B. Williams.
- <sup>101</sup> *CP*, 21 May 1833, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 May 1833, p. 1 col. e.
- <sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 June 1833, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 June 1833, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 August 1833, p. 2 col. c.
- <sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 October 1833, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 February 1836, p. 2 col. e.
- <sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 March 1835, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 October 1836, p. 2 col. b.
- <sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 March 1835, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 March 1834, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>113</sup> Liverpool Old Hebrew Congregation, (hereafter LOHC) – Marriage Register. The Synagogue’s Secretary David Woolf Marks later, was the first minister of the First Reformed Synagogue in Britain. (Communication with B. Williams).
- <sup>114</sup> *CP*, 1 April 1834, p. 2 col. a, and *ibid.* p. 3 col. d, Marriages, and *ibid.* 3 February 1835, p. 2 col. a.
- <sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>116</sup> Certified Copy of an Entry of Birth. (Pursuant to the Births and Deaths Registration Act 1953) CI 893113.
- <sup>117</sup> *CP*, 30 September 1834, p. 2 col. b.

- 118 *Ibid.*, 5 May 1835, p. 2 col. b.
- 119 *Ibid.*, 12, 19, 26 May; 2, 9, 23, 30 June; 7 July 1835.
- 120 *Ibid.*, 21 November 1837, p. 2 col. b.
- 121 *Ibid.*, 25 August 1835, p. 2 col. c.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 1 December 1835, p. 2 col. a.
- 123 *Ibid.*, 7 August 1838, p. 2 col. c.
- 124 *Ibid.*, 14 August 1838, p. 2 col. c, and *ibid.* 16 October 1838, p. 2 col. a.
- 125 *Ibid.*, 3 December 1839, p. 2 col. c.
- 126 *WH*, 9 October 1841.
- 127 *CP*, 10 May 1842.
- 128 *Ibid.*, 16 July 1844.
- 129 *Ibid.*, 28 May 1833, p. 1 col. e, and *ibid.* 4 June 1833, p. 2 col. b.
- 130 LOHC The Marriage Register, 25 October 1837.
- 131 *Ibid.*, 14 June 1826.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 13 June 1838.
- 133 *Ibid.*, The Birth Register, “Belinda Jones d. of David Jones, optician”; “Catherine d. of David and Leah Jones, Pool Lane”; “Ann Jones d. of David Jones, optician”; and “Rebecca Jones d. of David and Leah Jones”.
- 134 *Ibid.*, The Marriage Register, 25 October 1837.
- 135 *Ibid.*, 13 June 1838.
- 136 *WH*, 16 October 1841.
- 137 *CP*, 20 October 1841.
- 138 *WH*, 3 August 1844, p. 2 col. c.
- 139 *Ibid.*, 28 September 1844, p. 2 col. c.
- 140 *The Jewish Chronicle*, 1 November 1844, p. 16, Obituary.
- 141 *WH*, 14 June 1845, p. 2 col. d.
- 142 *Ibid.*, 28 June 1845, p. 2 col. b.
- 143 *Ibid.*, 18 May 1850.
- 144 *CP*, 30 July 1844.
- 145 *WH*, 4 May 1844, p. 2 col. c.
- 146 *Ibid.*, 30 May 1846, p. 2 col. c.
- 147 *Ibid.*, 9 July 1833, p. 2 col. a.
- 148 *CP*, 28 March 1843, p. 2 col. b.
- 149 *Ibid.*, 29 August 1848, p. 2 col. f.
- 150 *Ibid.*, 4 April 1820, p. 3.
- 151 *Ibid.*, 6 October 1829, p. 2 col. a.
- 152 B. Williams, *op.cit.*, 33 – “Consolidation 1815–26: ‘The publicity given to the illegal activities of Jewish travellers . . . Jewish professional men . . . Dr Lamert, a notorious quack of Bristol and Spitalfields, and many others . . .’”
- 153 LOHC The Death Register.
- 154 *CP* 17 May 1825, p. 2 col. d.
- 155 *Ibid.*, 12 February 1833, p. 2 col. a.
- 156 *WH* 3 November 1835, p. 2 col. a.
- 157 *CP* 18 August 1840, p. 2 col. a.
- 158 *WH* 30 May 1846, p. 2 col. c.
- 159 *CP* 5 November 1839, p. 2 col. b.
- 160 LOHC Births, March 1834, and *CP* 6 May 1834, p. 2 col. c.
- 161 B. Williams, *op.cit.*, 72 – “Henry Leveaux . . . arrived in March and soon afterwards set up a ‘French Bazaar and Temple of Fancy’ in the Town Hall Buildings, at the corner of Cross Street and King Street, in the city centre”, “this elegant lounge” sold a wide range of imported fancy goods from clocks and watches to perfumery and glassware.
- 162 *CP*, 19 April 1836, p. 2 col. a & b.
- 163 *Ibid.*, 3 May 1836, p. 3 col. e.
- 164 *Ibid.*, 10 May 1836, p. 3 col. a.
- 165 *Ibid.*, 18 August 1840, p. 2 col. a.
- 166 *Ibid.*, 20 November 1838, p. 2 col. a.

- 167 *Ibid.*, 17 March 1790, p. 2 col. a.
- 168 *Ibid.*, 6 December 1836, p. 2 col. b.
- 169 *Ibid.*, 8 March 1831, p. 2 col. b.
- 170 *Ibid.*, 25 March 1777, p. 3 col. c.
- 171 *Ibid.*, 13 September 1836, p. 2 col. b.
- 172 *Ibid.*, 6 September 1836, p. 2 col. e.
- 173 *Ibid.*, 5 May 1840, p. 2 col. b.
- 174 *The Carlisle Patriot*, 21 March 1840, p. 3 col. g. Married: "At Cuthbert's Church in this city, on Sunday last, Mr Henry Cohen to Miss Jane Howe", and *ibid.* 20 August 1842, p. 3 col. g. Married: "At St Mary's Church, on the 13th instant . . . and on the 15th, Mr Morris Davis, furrier, Castle Street, late Lieutenant in the Polish Army, to Miss Mary Ann Bell".
- 175 Holy Trinity Registers, Whitehaven. Marriages 1813-37.
- 176 *Ibid.*
- 177 1871 Census of Whitehaven. Preston Quarter. 50 (p. 33) Sea View, Bransty, Whitehaven.
- 178 1861 Census of Whitehaven. Sea View, Bransty, Whitehaven.
- 179 Holy Trinity Registers, Whitehaven. Marriages: 20 April 1805.
- 180 *CP*, 3 September 1799, p. 3 col. b.
- 181 *Ibid.*, 22 August 1815, p. 3 col. c.
- 182 Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980).
- 183 *WH*, 10 May 1845, p. 2 col. c.
- 184 *CP*, 20 October 1818, p. 3 col. d.
- 185 *Ibid.*, 9 February 1847, p. 2 col. e.
- 186 *Ibid.*, 7 March 1848, p. 3 col. a.
- 187 *Ibid.*, 14 March 1848, p. 2 col. f, and *ibid.*, p. 3 col. b.
- 188 *Ibid.*, 21 March 1848, p. 3 col. b.
- 189 *Ibid.*, 16 August 1831, p. 1 col. b.
- 190 T. Frost, *Lives of the Great Conjurors* (London, 1876).
- 191 *CP*, 16 August 1831, p. 3 col. c.
- 192 A. Reubens, "Jews and the English Stage 1667-1850", in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* (1970-3), vol. xxiv and Misc. Part IX.
- 193 *CP*, 20 July 1841, p. 2 col. c.
- 194 *Ibid.*, p. 2 col. g.
- 195 *Ibid.*, 27 July 1841, p. 2 col. c.
- 196 A. Reubens, *op.cit.*
- 197 *CP*, 26 February 1861, p. 4 col. a.
- 198 A. Reubens, *op.cit.*
- 199 *CP*, 26 June 1849, p. 2 col. e.
- 200 *Ibid.*, p.3.
- 201 *Ibid.*, 28 June 1842, p. 2 col. e.
- 202 *Ibid.*, 6 July 1842, p. 3 col. b.
- 203 *Ibid.*
- 204 *Ibid.*
- 205 *Ibid.*, 15 March 1785, p. 2 col. d.
- 206 *Ibid.*, 22 February 1825, p. 3 col. a.