Louis Hyman

THE JEWS OF IRELAND

From Earliest Times to the Year 1910

The Jewish Historical Society of England

Israel Universities Press

THE JEWS OF IRELAND

This fully documented history of the Jews of Ireland and their descendants abroad shows the antiquity of the Jewish connection with Ireland and traces the continuity of Jewish settlement there from the eleventh century to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Material for the book was gathered chiefly from the nineteenth-century minute books of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation and from old directories, newspapers and magazines, epitaphs and obituaries, wills and will abstracts in Somerset House in London and in the Genealogical Office in Dublin Castle, and from early printed sources and manuscripts in Dublin libraries.

In the chapter on *Ulysses* the author discusses James Joyce's early association with Jews in Dublin and the Jewish and Zionist themes in the novel. Joycean comment is woven in to illustrate the history of Dublin Jewry and originals are traced for many of the Jewish characters in *Ulysses*. The book is illustrated with plates of contemporary portraits, drawings and facsimiles of documents. Appendices on Irish scholars of Hebrew in the seventeenth century, a list of inscriptions on the tombstones in the Ballybough Jewish cemetery, a copy of the register of births and deaths of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation from 1820 to 1879 and a bibliography—with over four hundred references—are also included.

The foreword is by the Hon. Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh, Chief Justice of Ireland.

THE JEWS OF IRELAND

from Earliest Times to the Year 1910

By

LOUIS HYMAN

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and
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In grateful memory of

WILLIAM and RACHEL NUROCK
of Dublin
themselves in their lifetime a noble part of the
later history of Irish Jewry

and of

Professor LEONARD ABRAHAMSON
illustrious teacher and compassionate physician
and selfless servant of Dublin Jewry

THE PUBLICATION OF THIS VOLUME
HAS BEEN MADE POSSIBLE BY
THE DUBLIN LODGE OF B'NAI B'RITH

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FOREWORD

Have you not, at some time or other, when sitting in a theatre, eagerly awaiting the beginning of the play, felt a sense of annoyance as an uncostumed *non-actor* has stepped brashly through the curtains and begun to chatter about something or other? The writer of a foreword is just such an uncostumed *non-actor*, and is, equally, a source of annoyance: why should this fellow stand between us and the author's book? I feel the embarrassment of the situation as much as you do; but let me say, in my defence, it is the author, none other than Louis Hyman himself, who has pushed me, uncostumed, through the curtains. If I am to speak, then let me be brief: "*it is foolish to make a long foreword*" (2 Maccabees ii, 32).

סְכְלוּת הוּא לְהַרְבּוֹת דְּבָרִים לִפְנֵי הַהִסְטוֹרִיָה וְאֶת הַהִסְטוֹרִיָה [עַצְמָהּ] לְקַצֵּר.

Mr. Hyman's book is a valuable contribution to Irish history. Where others were content to scratch the surface, he has been prepared to dig patiently and sift carefully. In time, others will elaborate, but it will be upon the basis of his work: he is in no danger of being superseded. Hyman has added detail to minute detail with exemplary care; and when one stands back from the completed canvas the picture is firm, and clear, and convincing. Ireland is greatly in his debt, and not least the Jewish community: his candour and cool judgment are, even for a costumed judge, a matter of admiration and, I will admit, a little envy. It is a privilege to be permitted to share a little, however unworthily, in the permanence which, I don't doubt, Louis Hyman's book will achieve.

Dublin, 1971 — Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh

PREFACE

This work arose from a visit to the Jewish cemetery at Ballybough in Dublin, first taken into use in 1717. A register of the deaths of members of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation from 1842 to 1879 is extant, but no record had been made of the inscriptions on the tombstones still standing. Indeed, many tombstones were removed by people of the neighbourhood for building and like purposes; for the eighteenth century only one is left—of 1777—in a row by itself. The inscriptions on some are illegible, many could only be deciphered with great difficulty.

I found that, with rare exceptions, the names inscribed belonged to persons whose descendants no longer lived anywhere in Ireland. I then set out on a quest for information on the lives of the early Jewish settlers, but had not gone far when I made my home in Haifa. I did not expect to continue my inquiries so far from the sources but, spurred on by the encouragement and generous assistance of my friend the late Mr. Wilfred S. Samuel, I persevered.

There have been few workers in the field. The pioneer was Mr. Leon Huhner, once Curator of the American Jewish Historical Society, who read a paper on the Jews in Ireland before the counterpart Society of England on 28 March 1905. He was followed by Mr. John Wyse Power, civil servant, journalist, staunch Parnellite and a friend of James Joyce, who lectured before the Jewish Literary Club of Dublin, on 13 February 1909, on 'The Jews in Ireland in the Middle Ages'. Mr. Bernard Shillman read a paper on the Ballybough cemetery to the Jewish Historical Society of England on 6 July 1925, which was published with a postscript by Mr. Lucien Wolf on the early history of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation. This paper was incorporated with a second on 'The

Jews in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century' in Mr. Shillman's *Short History of the Jews in Ireland*, published in Dublin in 1945.

For the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no communal records survive, no diaries have come to light, and only a few personal letters have been preserved. For the nineteenth century, the manuscript minute-book of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation for the years 1841–1880, a manuscript ledger of the offerings given to the synagogue from 1841 to 1880 in the files of the Congregation, its ledger of births and deaths, now published for the first time as an appendix to this work, and the files of the *Jewish Chronicle*, the *Jewish World* and *Hayehudi* in the Jewish National and Hebrew University Library in Jerusalem were invaluable. Much of my material has been gathered from the byways of the past, from old directories, newspapers and magazines, epitaphs and obituaries, wills and will abstracts in Somerset House in London and in the Genealogical Office of Dublin Castle, from eighteenth-century Irish newspapers, and from early printed matter and manuscripts in the Dublin libraries.

From beginning to end the writing of this book involved the encouragement and forbearance of my wife, Shulamith, who also helped me in identifying Joyce's Jewish characters in *Ulysses*. I have to thank many friends and acquaintances who so kindly supplied me with supplementary data. In particular, my indebtedness is great to Dr. Richard Barnett, Mrs. Jessie S. Bloom, the late Sir Thomas Colyer-Fergusson, Bart., Mr. R. J. D'Arcy Hart, Mr. Sydney Green, Professor David Greene, the late Mr. A. M. Hyamson, Rabbi Theodore Lewis, Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Director of the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Mr. Harold Meek, Mr. Alfred Rubens, my aunt Mrs. Sophie Sacharow, Mrs. Hemda Sassover (née Dlugacz) and Mr. Joshua S. Steinberg.

I am also under deep obligation to the personnel of the British Museum, the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, the Genealogical Office (formerly Office of Arms) Dublin Castle, the Jewish National and Hebrew University Library in Jerusalem, the Library of Congress, Washington, Marsh's Library, Dublin, the National Library of Ireland, the National Museum of Ireland, the New York Public Library, Oifig an Ard-Chláraitheora (formerly General Register Office), Custom House, Dublin, the Public Record Office of Ireland, the

Public Record Office, London, the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and Trinity College Library, Dublin.

I am indebted to Mr. R. N. Carvalho, Mr. James A. Michener and the late Dr. Cecil Roth who read and commented on the manuscript as well as to Professor Richard Ellmann, Mrs. Maria Jolas, Mme. Paul Léon (Lucy Noël) and Dr. A. J. Leventhal who read the Joycean chapter and made many helpful suggestions.

I wish to express my profound gratitude to Mr. Max Nurock, O.B.E., who read the manuscript several times and suggested many improvements in style and contents. Mr. John M. Shaftesley, O.B.E., and Mr. Derek Orlans were most helpful in preparing the manuscript for the press. A number of illustrations were photographed especially for the book by my cousin Edmund Ross, to whom I wish to record my thanks.

For obtaining the financial support of the Dublin Lodge of B'nai B'rith and the Irish Institute Inc. of New York, for the publication of the manuscript, a most welcome and warmly appreciated support, my indebtedness is great to Mr. Maurice Abrahamson and to Mr. Graham M. Golding, who was extremely helpful in many other ways as well. I also wish to record my thanks to Dr. Leslie Citron and Mr. Israel Rosenfeld for generous gifts towards meeting other costs in the publication of this book.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to the Honourable Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh, Chief Justice of Ireland, who has written the foreword.

Mount Carmel, Haifa. Louis Hyman
July 1971

CHAPTER I

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF JEWS IN IRELAND

I

Irish sensitiveness to mythology has provided a wealth of legends associating Ireland with biblical tradition, and with the Jews, from ancient times. *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, 'The Book of the Taking of Ireland', a chronicle compiled in the tenth century, attempts to link the genealogy of the Book of Genesis with the native records; it begins with the Creation and proceeds to the story of Noah and the Flood, the dispersal of the nations and the descent of Gael from Japhet, son of Noah.[1]

One story tells that Cessair, daughter of Bith, an apocryphal son of Noah, was the first colonist to set foot on Irish soil, landing on the west coast of Munster in the barony of Corco Duibne. Forty days before the Flood, the story runs, she asked Noah to take her to the ark, but he would not, declaring that 'this is no ship for robbers and no den for thieves'. She consulted her lamh Dhia (hand-god), who advised her to build an ark of her own and set sail for Ireland. This she did, with fifty women and three men.

Another tale, found in *The Book of Druim Snechta*, a collection of sagas believed to be from the first half of the eighth century, claims that it was not Cessair but Banba, carried to Ireland by the fury of a tempest from the Mediterranean. Banba escaped the Flood on the mountain peak of Tul Tuinde, and lived to boast to the sons of Míl, legendary colonists of ancient Ireland, that 'she was older than Noah'.[2]

Folklorists trace the descent of the Irish people from Aithechda,[3] son of Magog and so grandson of Japhet and the remote ancestor of Tuatha Dé Danann. In seventh century poems, the pedigrees of Leinster and Cashel are carried back to Eremon and Eber, sons of

Mil, and through them in a great circuit to the Patriarchs.[4] An Irish scholar writes matter-of-factly: 'It is stated in very old copies of the Book of Invasions and other ancient documents, that it was the Mosaic law that the Milesians brought into Erinn at their coming; that it had been learned and received from Moses in Egypt by Cae Cain Breathach, who was himself an Israelite, who had been sent into Egypt to learn the language of that country by the great master Fenius Farsaidh, from whom the Milesian brothers, who conquered Erinn, are recorded to have been the twenty-second generation in descent; and it is stated in the preface to *Seanchas Mor* [The Great Tradition, the central compilation of the ancient Irish law] that this was the law of Erinn at the time of the coming of St. Patrick.[5]

Tradition has it that when Gathelus, son of Cecrops, King of Athens, wed Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, part of her dowry was the stone on which Jacob had pillowed his head at Bethel. Alarmed at the rising power of Moses, the couple fled by way of Spain to Ireland, where the stone, as 'Lia Fail', Stone of Destiny, adorned the Hill of Tara, eventually to be transported by Scota to Scone. There is a version that it was brought to Ireland by Tea Tephi, a scion of the dynasty of David, after the destruction of Jerusalem in the sixth century B. C. E.; that with her came her preceptor, the prophet Jeremiah, who helped to make the laws of Ireland according to the Ten Commandments; that, in 583 B. C. E., Tea Tephi married Eochaidh, King of Ulster; and that for over two centuries their descendants reigned at Tara in unbroken peace.[6] But the most popular account is that, about 580 B. C. E., Heremon, king of Ireland, married Tara, daughter of Zedekiah, last King of Judah, and the bride brought the Stone of Destiny with her to become the coronation stone of all the Irish kings until Fergus O'Moore carried it off to Scotland on becoming King of Argyle in 437 C. E.[7]

One Joseph ben Jacob published a curious book in London in 1816, *Precursory Proofs that Israelites came from Egypt to Ireland;* it is dedicated to 'Him who first influenced the Author's youthful heart with an immeasurable love for Israel and Erin', and prays for 'a hospitable protection to such of the Jews as may choose to settle in the island'.

II

The earliest mention of Jews in a document concerned with Irish history is in an epistle written by St. Columbanus to Pope Boniface IV in 613. 'None of us', he says, 'has been a heretic, none a Jew, none a schismatic'.[8] In all probability, the reference is to 'Judaisers' involved in the Paschal controversy, and can hardly point to the presence of Jews among the saint's countrymen.

A passage in *Hibernensis*, an assembly of canons compiled by an Irish monk in the eighth century for the guidance of the native Church, directs that 'causae', ecclesiastical disputes, are not to be brought before churches or provinces which practise a different custom or religion, or before Jews.[9] Again, this seems academic, for the particular canon is quoted as of Roman making.

The first authentic allusion to the coming of Jews to Ireland is in the Annals of Inisfallen. The curt entry in the native record, which points to a cold reception, reads in translation thus:

'Year 1079: Five Jews came over sea with gifts to Tairdelbach and they were sent back again over sea'.[10]

It is fair to assume that the five Jews, from England or Normandy perhaps, were a delegation that pleaded to secure for their co-religionists the right of entry. Tairdelbach is the Irish name of Turlough O'Brien (1009–1086), King of Munster and grandson of Brian Borumha, High King of Ireland.

Some Jews subsequently arrived as merchants or financiers and settled down, but they left no traces behind and nothing is known of their distribution in Ireland. Yet the community must have been substantial enough to warrant the appointment of a custodian of the Irish Jews.[11] On 28 July 1232, there appears among the Royal Letters, edited by W. W. Shirley[12] for the Master of the Rolls, a life grant by Henry III to Peter des Rivall (or des Rivaulx), a foreign favourite of the king, of the office of Treasurer and Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, the king's Ports and Coast, and also the Custody of the king's Judaism in Ireland, 'with the provision that all Jews in Ireland shall be intentive and respondent to Peter in all things touching the king'. On the same day were issued 'Letters to the Jews in Ireland to be intentive to Peter des Rivall', and on 2 September a confirmation of the original grant appears.

In a contemporary calendar of Irish documents,[13] Jews are

mentioned between 1171, when 'Joseph the Doctor' is named, and 1225, but they were most likely resident in England; the calendar affords no information of their places of domicile.

In the third quarter of the twelfth century, a Jew of England advanced money to two Anglo-Norman adventurers from the Welsh Marches who landed in Ireland in 1169. It happened that Dermot MacMurrough, deposed king of Leinster, sought aid in his struggle with Roderic O'Conor, the High King, and in 1168 fled to Henry II of England. While welcoming Dermot 'into the bosom of his grace and benevolence', Henry gave him no help save letters patent empowering his barons to assist him in the recovery of his lost possessions and, on the strength of these, Dermot made a pact in Bristol with Richard,[14] Earl of Striguil and Pembroke, commonly known as Strongbow. While the earl was still hesitating, judging it prudent to defer the Irish adventure until he had first obtained the king's plainer permission, Dermot succeeded in recruiting the half-brothers, Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitz Gerald, who landed near Wexford (the one on 1 May 1169, the other immediately afterwards). They had turned for aid to Josce,[15] a Jew of Gloucester, who underwrote the military venture and was subsequently fined £5 by the Sheriff of his county for lending money 'to those who against the King's prohibition went over to Ireland'.[16]

The Jews in mediaeval Ireland must have dwelt in Dublin or its environs. The prevailing embargo on transfer of land to them—'*in Judaismo ponere*'—appears in several assignments; there is an example for 1241, in the Dublin White Book, in a grant from Johannes La Ware, Mayor of the city, to Maurice Fitzgerald.[17] In 1244, when Henry III levied money for his Welsh war, deportation to Ireland was the penalty for any Jew that resisted the royal exactions.[18]

The only Irish Jew of the times of whom details are known was Aaron, son of Benjamin, of birth in Colchester but known in the records as Aaron de Hibernia, Judaeus. He was gaoled in Bristol Castle, and put on trial in 1283, for, *inter alia*, selling plate made of parings from coin of the realm.[19] The last citation of Jews in the Calendar of Documents is in about 1286, but it, too, in all likelihood, refers to English Jews involved in Irish affairs.[20]

CHAPTER II

THE MIDDLE PERIOD (1290–1659)

The Jews in Ireland doubtless shared the fate of their English coreligionists, who were expelled by royal decree on 18 July 1290. Of Irish Jews who escaped banishment nothing is known, but one of the survivors of the expulsion in England may have been Alexander le Convers, parson of Leatherhead, who, during the reign of Edward II, held a number of State offices, one of which was collector of Peter's Pence in Ireland.[1] In the two centuries that followed, few Jews seem to have trodden Irish soil, although names suggestive of Jewish origin, such as William Jew and David Abraham, appear in Ormond Deeds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But neither of the names belongs to Jews. Jew or Jewe was a family name common in Devonshire in those times. The name Abraham occurs frequently in civil and ecclesiastical records of different parts of Ireland from the thirteenth century to the present day, and was introduced by the Anglo-Normans.[2]

Ireland did, however, afford a refuge to some Jewish victims of the Spanish and Portuguese expulsions after 1492. It is unlikely that they ever attempted to establish a community or to celebrate their worship in public; their number must have been small and their residence of short duration, and it is not impossible that they subsequently removed to London or Bristol, where a little colony of Marranos or crypto-Jews from Spain and Portugal was already established at the close of the reign of Edward VI.

Our only authentic item of Marrano presence in Ireland in the fifteenth century is the birth of a son there to one Fernandes, about the year 1492. The boy became a physician and may be identified with Petrus Fernandes (*c.* 1492–1540), mentioned in a dialogue between Amatus Lusitanus (b. 1511), a leading practitioner and

medical botanist of his age, and his friend and academic colleague, Ludovicus Minius.[3] Dr. Fernandes practised with much success in London, moving afterwards to Antwerp and to Venice, where he also prospered. By 1540, he and his wife Agnes, a native of Guimaraes in Portugal, had died. There is a record of a trial held in Middelburg on 29 December 1540 of 'diverse persons accused of being New Christians and recently arrived there from Portugal'.[4] Middelburg was a thriving centre of Dutch commerce at that time. Among those indicted was Thomas Fernandes, of Viana in Portugal, who informed the authorities that he was the son of the late Master Fernandes, a physician, born in Ireland.[5]

Jorge Anes,[6] of Valladolid in Spain, was the head of a Marrano family that had settled in England at least as early as 1521; he was a London agent of the great Marrano mercantile and banking house of Francisco and Diego Mendes in Antwerp. Members of the family seem to have settled in Ireland. William Annyas, probably a brother of Jorge, was Mayor of Youghal in 1555.[7] Jorge's elder son, Francisco, now Francis, was appointed to the mayoralty in 1569, 1576, and 1581.[8] In the Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), there is a record—Cork, 19 October 1583—in which the Earl of Ormond, supporting the suits of the inhabitants of Youghal, commends to the Privy Council 'the bearer, Francis Anes, their Burgomaster and Agent'.[9] A soldier of fortune, Francis Anes held a command in the English garrison of the town and distinguished himself in its defence against the Irish rebels. A manuscript of 2 August 1584, in the British Museum, contains 'a warrant to the officers of the Ordnance stating that the town of Youghall in Ireland having requested one hundred Calivers, these are to be delivered to Francis Anes and James Gallwane, one hundred good and serviceable Calivers with their accustomed furniture'.[10] In 1585,[11] Francis acted as bailiff at Youghal and on 27 January of that year was one of Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners to take an inquisition into a local estate.[12] Francis may have professed Judaism, for one of his brothers was met by Coryat, the English traveller, as a professing Jew in Constantinople in 1612.[13]

Another defender of Youghal was William Anes, Francis's nephew, a merchant, and a juror in the said inquisition. The Earl of Ormond wrote of him to the Privy Council that 'he behaved himself like a tall and valiant man against the traitors at the last

attempt against the town'. Before joining his uncle in Youghal, William had gone to the Azores in 1582, with his brother Jacob, to spy out the islands in preparation for the raids of Sir Francis Drake, and the two had audience of Queen Elizabeth on their return to England. They were particularly active in financing the supplies for Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender, in his attempt, in 1589, to invade Portugal.[14] In a letter from Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish Ambassador in London and Paris successively, to King Philip of Spain, announcing William's departure for Portugal, there is this description: 'He is a young fellow of twenty, well built, with a fair and handsome face and a small beard'.[15]

Sara,[16] sister of William, who entertained Queen Elizabeth and Don Antonio in her home in Fenchurch Street, was the wife of Dr. Roderigo Lopez, appointed the Queen's chief physician in 1581. Patrick Cullen,[17] an Irishman, is cited as Lopez's accomplice in the alleged plot against Elizabeth's life in June 1594.

It is believed that the Princes of Ireland, in the sixteenth century, constrained to keep their own followers at home as garrison troops, encouraged Jewish merchants to bring them their wares and often sent them to Europe not only on commercial but also on delicate diplomatic errands.[18] For instance, the Earl of Desmond is said to have had dealings with Hector Nunez[19] (1521–91), a distinguished Marrano physician and overseas trader in London, and Hugh O'Neill,[20] Earl of Tyrone, is believed to have trusted Jews to negotiate for him with the King of Spain.

Apart from Marrano connections, it would appear that not many Jews came to Ireland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for the open profession of Judaism was forbidden. It was then a chronically restive place, impoverished and far from offering gainful scope even to ostensible Christians. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Paul Jacob was converted to Christianity by Dr. George Montgomery, Protestant Bishop of Londonderry (1605–10), but whether in England or Ireland is not clear. In 1623, Jacob wrote from London to James I of his conversion, soliciting the King's help 'to allow me ā small portion to refresh me and my family in our great necessities', on the plea that 'as the sceptre has departed from Judah, his Majesty is the true king of the Jews and he [the petitioner] is therefore his child and subject'.[21]

On 12 October 1621, Abraham de Leon,[22] of Eindhoven, in Brabant, was given a patent of denization in Ireland, which permitted him to carry on business anywhere in the British colonies. Marrano origin is indicated, and Abraham may be identified with a namesake who figures in the records of the period as a master mariner in England, profit-sharing with partners after a sea-going venture.

With the coming of the Reformation to Ireland, and the foundation of Trinity College by Queen Elizabeth in 1591, Dublin witnessed the birth of Hebrew studies. William Bedell (1571–1642), James Ussher (1581–1656) and his brother Ambrose (?1582–1629), Sir Maurice Eustace (?1590–1655) and Lady Dorothy Moore (born *c.* 1585), Dudley Loftus (1618–1695), and John Stearne (1624–1669) were prominent Hebrew scholars in the seventeenth century.[23]

Hebrew had an important place then in the College curriculum. On 21 August 1628, it was resolved 'that the Bachelors were to be auditors of the Hebrew lecture',[24] and a Statute of the College Discipline enjoined that the third and fourth Class were to attend the Hebrew lecture but 'the weight of business for all undergraduates is so heavy and increases so much with the third and fourth Class that it has not been usual to punish them for not attending it'. Dr. Samuel Winter, a Puritan, appointed Provost in 1652, made Greek and Hebrew compulsory for the Bachelors and Masters. Candidates had to know Hebrew grammar and to translate the first two Psalms from Hebrew into Latin; Hebrew was, also, mandatory for the Fellowship examination. In November 1656, Henry Cromwell, the Protector's son, Governor-General of Ireland in 1658, endowed the first lectureship in Hebrew, to which his friend, John Stearne, was appointed.[25]

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, religious refugees crossed over from England. They were members of a sect of Judaisers founded by John Traske,[26] a Puritan extremist who regarded the 'old' dispensation as binding and endeavoured to live according to the canons of Leviticus, even practising circumcision. One of his disciples was James Whitehall (born 1587), a native of Warwickshire and a Master of Arts of Christ Church, Oxford (1609). He was granted leave of absence to go beyond the seas with Sir Walter Raleigh on the ill-fated Orinoco expedition which left Plymouth

on 12 June 1617. On his return to England in the following year, Whitehall went back to Christ Church and publicly preached Judaism. He was imprisoned by the King's Commission which had authority to banish Jesuits and others holding subversive opinions. Escaping, he made his way to Ireland, where supervision of his religious activities was less easy; he even succeeded in obtaining a benefice at Ferns, in County Wexford, in 1623. Continuing to sponsor the doctrines of Judaism, he was gaoled in Dublin Castle, and, as he persisted in his heresy within the prison walls, the Archbishop of Canterbury asked, by order of the Privy Council, that 'he be sent far away into England and then be dealt with as the case may require.'[27]

Whitehall's fate is unknown, and evidence is wanting of his success or failure in gaining followers for his 'Judaistic' views. Except this. Sir John Bingley, Comptroller of the Musters and Cheques in Ireland, an office to which he was appointed on 8 January 1626/7, and Chief Secretary in Ireland from June 1603 to February 1605, recorded the following observation in his manuscript[28] 'The State of the Church in Ireland', dated 21 March 1628/9: 'They practise Judaisme, for every Easter day in the morning before sun rise, they eat a lamb roasted head and appurtenances, as was prescribed to the Jews in the Levitical Law; and the poorer sort make lamb pies and bring them to the priests, who sett them on the altar and sprinkle them with Holy Water, and these are called the Holy lamb, and are eaten on Easter day before sun rise, as the other roasted.' The polemical tone of his brief note on the state of the Church in Ireland does not convey the impression of an impartial observer.

On 30 April 1633, Bishop Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, writes to the Earl of Strafford, who was about to depart for Ireland as Lord Deputy: 'There is one Christopher Sands, who, as I am informed, dwells now in Londonderry, and teaches an English school there, and I do much fear he doth many things there to the Dishonour of God, and the endangering of many poor Souls. For the party is a Jew and denies both Christ and the Gospel, as I shall be able to prove, if I had him here. I humbly pray to your Lordship that he may be seized on by Authority, and sent over in Safe Custody, and delivered either to myself, or to Mr Mottershed,

the Register of the High Commission, that he may not live there to infect his Majesty's Subjects'.[29]

Sands was a disciple of Hamlet Jackson, a co-founder of Traske's sect. Jackson was circumcised and became a Jewish proselyte; Sands contented himself with becoming a demi-convert, 'a stranger within the gate', observing the seven precepts of Noah, but eschewing circumcision and Sabbath observance.[30] Another of the Judaisers in Ireland, or a Spanish Jew with an anglicised surname, may have been Manuel Lightfoot, described in a Belfast lease of 1652 as 'taylor and a Jew'.[31]

Philo-semitism was carried to extremes by Grey, an Irish fanatic, who in 1621 murdered his own child in Dublin with the idea of procuring the restoration of the Jews by shedding innocent blood. He laid a paper on the body challenging inquiries into the murder 'in order that on his trial he may expose the judges and plead the cause of the Jews'.[32] About the same time, an Englishman, Walter Gostellow, who lived in Youghal and Lismore in 1652–3, wrote to Menasseh Ben Israel, pleading that he undertake the task of winning for the Jews the right to resettle in England.[33]

CHAPTER III

READMISSION (1660–1689)

There is an undocumented claim that, about 1656, Cromwell invited Portuguese Jews to form an establishment in Dublin to act as a barrier against the Catholic population.[1] In the same year, James Harrington (1611–1677), scholar, gentleman-in-waiting to Charles I, and then an admirer of Cromwell, propounded a scheme for solving the Irish and Jewish problems by turning Ireland into a National Home for the Jews.[2] In his *Commonwealth of Oceana*, Harrington preached the return of the Jews to the soil as in Bible times and advocated the settlement in Ireland of distressed Jews, who would be attracted by the promise of civil freedom and the opportunity of living together, and could combine their present skill as merchants with their ancient skill as farmers. He proposed that Ireland be leased to the Jews,[3] 'allowing them their own rites and laws; for that would have brought them suddenly from all parts of the world and in sufficient numbers. And though the Jews be now altogether for merchandise, yet in the land of Canaan (except since their exile, from whence they have not been landlords) they were altogether for agriculture; and there is no cause why a man should doubt, but having a fruitful country, and excellent ports too, they would be good at both . . . Panopea [Ireland], well peopled, would be worth a matter of four million dry rents; that is, besides the advantage of the agriculture and trade, which, with a nation of that industry, comes at least to as much more. Wherefore Panopea, being farmed out to the Jews and their heirs for ever, for the pay of a provincial army to protect them during the term of seven years, and for two million annual revenue from that time forward, besides the customs, which would pay the provincial army, would have been a bargain of such advantage, both to them and this commonwealth, as is not to be found otherwise by either'.[4]

Harrington's plan died in the printing. An earlier and equally abortive attempt to further the re-establishment of Jews in Ireland, with the privilege of opening synagogues, had been made in 1607 by the Oriental traveller and adventurer Sir Thomas Shirley (1564–1630?) of Wiston, in Sussex. In financial straits and hoping to be rewarded, he petitioned James I that Jews 'may have free privilege to inhabit in Ireland because doubtless their being there would make that country very rich. They are willing to pay a yearly tribute of 2 ducats for every head and they would bring great store of bullion of gold and silver by issuing of Irish commodities into Spain, such as salted salmons, corn, hides, wool, and tallow'.[5]

Jews began to resettle in England in 1656. About five or six years afterwards, a handful came to Dublin, but as 'foreign Protestants'; they were Marranos, who could not trade as Jews, and to the citizens of Dublin were probably known as Portuguese merchants. To establish a synagogue or organise a community was impossible; even private devotions could only be indulged in under strictest secrecy. They must have lived, at least for the first decade of their settlement in Dublin, as titular Christians attending Christian services.

There is an old tradition that a synagogue was established by Portuguese Jews in Crane Lane, in Dublin, in 1660. This, however, can hardly be, since in 1663, after the Spanish and Portuguese community in London had been organised, membership fees to the Bevis Marks treasury were expected from the Irish Jews, whether domiciled or transient, the Elders of the London synagogue claiming exclusive jurisdiction over all Jews in Ireland as long as there was no community in existence.[6] What is certain is that three or four families of Spanish or Portuguese descent and two or three of Polish or German origin settled in Dublin in or about 1660.

Lucien Wolf discovered the names of two in the Records of the Canariote Inquisition. In the Register of Depositions, on 18 January 1664, the following appears[7]:

'I, Miguel de Collado Samartin, notary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of these islands, bear witness that in the audiences held during the criminal process by the Fiscal against Gaspar Perera alias Vitoria or Castro reconciled for the crime of Judaism the following evidence was given by him against various persons:

'On 8 March 1662 Gaspar Perera declared that his sister Gracia Perera and her husband Francisco de Medina, residing in Middelburg, are living openly as Jews, that his brother Manuel,[8] residing in Dublin, is also a Judaiser . . . '

Details of Manuel Pereira, and of the presence of a second Marrano in Dublin, are given in one of the 'spy' reports which the Holy Office of the Canariote Inquisition required all ships' captains and others to make whenever they called at foreign ports. In a report of 2 September 1665, which evidently refers to facts arising before 1662, Manuel Pereira and Jacome Faro are denounced as living in Dublin and there practising Jewish rites. The deposition runs[9]: 'Captain Juan Ramon, a merchant, appears upon summons and deposes that being in the town of Dublin, he heard it publicly stated that Jacques Vandenver [Vandepeere] of Portuguese nationality, with whom he had commercial transactions, was a Jew by origin and profession, although witness never saw him do or perform any action or ceremony of the Jewish creed. And the said Vendenver is tall, rather brown-skinned, has decayed teeth, and witness fancies he must have been about thirty-two or thirty-three. And he has heard from many persons, whose names he does not remember, that the aforesaid is brother of Gaspar de Vitoria, penanced by this Holy Office, and was unmarried. And witness also heard in the same town of Dublin at the same time that Jacome Faro was also a Portuguese and a Jew, which was publicly stated, although he never saw him, either, perform any Jewish rite. And he is short, brown-skinned, and about forty or fifty years of age. And both were merchants, although the first-named was richer than the second. And he heard that these men frequently change their names.'

Asked if he knows whether any of these persons hold correspondence or commerce with anyone in these islands, he replies that he does not and never has heard that any of them hold intercourse with these islands, with the exception of Jacques Vandenver, who held intercourse with the said Gaspar de Vitoria. And he understands that in the year 1661 a ship called the *Prophet Daniel* came to Teneriffe from Ireland consigned to the said Gaspar de Vitoria, which he supposes came from the said Jacques, his brother.

Manuel Lopes Pereira[10] was born in 1633 in Rouen, whither his father, David Lopes Pereira, had fled from Portugal early in the

century; David died in Bordeaux, and his wife, Abigail, was buried in the Middelburg Jewish cemetery in 1664.[11] Manuel passed his early years in Antwerp and Middelburg, but in 1655 he came to London[12] and was one of the local Marranos who, helped by Menasseh ben Israel, vindicated the Jewish right of resettlement. His manifold commercial contacts are suggested by his several aliases: in Holland and Ireland, he was Jacques Vandenver or Vandepeere, in transactions with Portugal and the Indies he passed as Manuel de Velasquez, both protective pseudonyms taken so as not to jeopardise himself or his kinsfolk in the Iberian Peninsula, and in the synagogue he was Isaac Raphael Haim Pereira.

It must have been about 1660 that the Pereira brothers removed to Dublin, for their denunciation to the Canariote Inquisition could not have been later than 1661. They were engaged in an extensive trade with the Canaries[13] and possibly also with Spain and Portugal. Manuel's imposta (income tax to the treasury of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in London) of approximately £4[14] yearly from 1669 to 1675 represents the buying or selling of goods in England 'on foreign account' to the annual extent of some £3,200. The brothers presumably founded a solid business in Dublin, seeing that Eliau Lopes Pereira, son of Abraham (?Francisco) Lopes Pereira, was still there in 1718. In the summer of 1669, Manuel was back in London.[15] Francisco apparently remained in Dublin and it would seem that, from 1673 to 1677, Manuel came over periodically, since his imposta was not paid in full during that period. Manuel was endenizened no fewer than three times: in 1662 in Ireland, and in 1679 and 1688 in England.[16]

When the brothers learnt in Dublin of the death of their mother, they must have been hard put to it to find a minyan—the synagogal quorum of ten Jewish men—for the recital of the mourner's prayer, unless, as well as by Jacome Faro, they were joined by Isaac Abrahamson, by one Solomon, by Michael Jacob and his son James, by David Sollom and by other Jews then dwelling in the city whose names are unknown to us. With the approach of the High Festivals it is possible that the three Portuguese Jews travelled to London to attend the services in the synagogue of the 'Nation'.

The names of two presumptive early members of the Jewish contingent in Dublin, Isaac Abrahamson and Solomon, point to

German or Polish provenance, but there is no other evidence that they were Jews. Abrahamson was a merchant and died, apparently unmarried, in 1669 or 1670. He left a will dated 3 January 1669; his sister Anne was the wife of John Abeals.[17] Of Solomon, all we know is that he died before 1687: in the Registers of St. John's of Dublin is the name of Widdw [Elizabeth] Sollamon (*sic*), of Winetavern Street Ward, who paid her cess of 1/6 'for the Poore of St. John's Parrish for one year ending att Easter 1687'.[18] Elizabeth Solomon left a will dated 1690.[19]

Michael Jacob, a merchant, was born in Ispahan and driven out of Persia, we may guess, by religious bigotry. He died in Dublin in or about 1685, leaving an only son, James. In his will of 11 October 1685,[20] he mentions Dudley Loftus, noted Orientalist, whom he conceivably aided in his Persian studies.

The first person of Jewish descent after the Resettlement to hold office under the English Crown was David Sollom (or Solome), of Dublin. As a parishioner of St. Michan's Church,[21] where he was buried 'in the south isle of his owne seate' in 1682, he was outwardly a Christian, but his Jewish antecedents and original Jewish faith were still so fresh in the minds of his fellow-burgesses that he is noted in the records as 'a quondam Jewish merchant'.[22] The date of his arrival in Ireland is unknown,[23] nor is there evidence of his association with the known Marranos of Dublin. He was probably himself of Marrano stock, discarding his Iberian surname in Ireland or Holland[24]; it is possible, too, that he came to Ireland with the Dutch merchants who traded in Dublin in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. By 1671, he had formally forsaken the ancestral faith, perhaps with an eye to marriage and to his becoming, as in fact he did, in March of that year, a Justice of the Peace for County Meath.[25] Continuing to take a prominent part in local affairs, he was appointed High Sheriff of Meath in December 1675.[26] It was, we may surmise, in the year of his appointment as a Justice of the Peace that he married in middle age Mary Yeates (d. 1683),[27] relict of Robert Yeates,[28] a Cromwellian soldier, who was a Dublin vintner and owned land in Meath. David's eldest child, Esther or Hester Sollom, as she is called in the Parish Register, was born in Dublin on 16 June 1672; a second daughter, Hannah, was born on 26 September 1675, but died in infancy.

On 16 May 1678,[29] he purchased from Thomas Crow of Dublin an estate of forty acres of Syddan and Woodstone, in the barony of Slane, County Meath, which, as recently as 1892, was still said to be in the possession of Esther's descendants.[30] As proof of his social eminence, David had a coat-of-arms, granted, the inference is, on his appointment to the shrievalty: it is recorded at the Genealogical Office of Dublin Castle. The blazon would appear to be argent two bend gules, in chief ermine a demi-lion rampant regaurdant sable. In Dublin, David resided in Capel Street, the contemporary address of people of fashion and wealthy merchants. Sir Arthur Vicars, in his *Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland 1536–1810*, mentions David's testament[31]: he must have left a large fortune and an extensive estate to Esther, who, in her fifteenth year, on 23 February 1687, married Richard Cromleholme Bury, son of Phineas, a grantee of land at Ballyncargy, in County Limerick, in 1666. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*,[32] Richard Cromleholme Bury left his wife a good jointure at his death on 23 November 1691.[33] There is no record of any issue of their union.

The widowed Esther returned to Dublin, worshipping at the Presbyterian Church in Wood Street, where Thomas Emlyn (1663–1741), the first Unitarian minister in England, was an officiant, and eventually marrying him on 10 July, 1694. They had two sons, of whom the elder died young, Esther herself dying about a month after him on 13 October 1701; the younger son, Sollom Emlyn (1697–1754), legal writer, inherited her fortune.[34] He had a son, also named Sollom, who died in 1744 at the age of eight. Dr. Williams' Library in London possesses a manuscript volume used by Thomas Emlyn and his son as a kind of commonplace book: in it are a poem and meditations on the boy's death. Thomas Emlyn, whose stepmother was sister of the poet Dryden, was dismissed from his post in 1697 for breaking with dogma and sentenced to a year's imprisonment in Dublin for publishing 'An Humble Inquiry into the Scripture Account of Christ'; it was alleged to be a blasphemous libel. He died in London on 3 July 1741.[35]

In 1660, when Jews returned to Ireland after a severance of over three and a half centuries, agriculture was thriving, a remunerative trade with England in live cattle and farm produce had been opened, traffic in manufactured wool held out even brighter prospects. There

were hopes of a far-flung connection with the English colonies, and so it was with overseas merchandising that the Marrano settlers in Dublin principally occupied themselves. But the English landowners had taken alarm and complained that Irish rivalry in the cattle market was reducing English rents. By an Act passed in 1663 and made perpetual in 1666, the importation of live cattle and farm produce into England was forbidden, and, moreover, a statute laid down that, with a minimum of exceptions, no European produce could be imported into the colonies except directly from England, in ships built in England, and manned chiefly by English sailors, nor could any but a few items be brought from the colonies to Europe without transshipment in England.

It is not surprising that the Jewish settlers of 1660 were not followed by many coreligionists; the perils of the sea voyage from England, as well as the circumscription of commerce, effectively deterred them. In a Report to Propaganda dated 18 June 1672, John Brenan, Archbishop of Cashel, wrote: 'Among the non-Catholics resident in Ireland: there are Protestants, Anabaptists, Quakers, Seekers and a few Jews'.[36]

With the departure of the Pereira brothers in 1677, the Dublin congregation was grievously weakened. Concerted activity in the next decade was negligible. Indeed, communal organisation in the third quarter of the century is practically unrecorded. It is possible that services were held on special occasions in a room in Crane Lane, a narrow passage, largely made up of warehouses belonging to the Custom House, which till 1781 stood on what is now Wellington Quay. Of any arrangements made at the time by the Jews to bury their dead or to provide themselves with ritually killed meat, nothing is known.

But, in the autumn of 1684, a London Jew, Benedix (Benedick) Markes, of Rose Alley, in the parish of St. James in Duke's Place, was sent to Ireland 'to kill beef for Samuel Docasirers [de Caceres], a Jew of Broad Court in London, Mr. Greenwood and others'. On 13 February 1685 he returned to London by way of Cork.[37] In the London Census List of 1695, Benedick Markes and his wife Rachel appear as residents of the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, lodging with the Willington family.[38] Samuel de Caceres (d. 1721), who returned to London soon after his visit to Ireland, was one of the

first Jewish sworn brokers on the Royal Exchange.[39] In partnership with certain London merchants, he seems to have formed a company to purvey for the English troops in Ireland, and engaged Markes to kill their cattle in Cork; towards the end of the century, ten thousand bullocks, at least, used to be killed in that city in a season.[40] No Jews are known to have been then living there, but the families in Dublin may well have availed themselves of Markes' services for their prescribed domestic needs.

CHAPTER IV

JEWS IN THE BOYNE CAMPAIGN

The stirring events of 1689–90 gave a considerable impetus to the settlement of Jews in Dublin, and the nucleus of a regular community gradually came into being. For the next three decades, it was to enjoy reasonable prosperity and to count wealthy Sephardi Jews from London in its membership.

In the autumn of 1689, the English Parliament voted £2,000,000 to finance the conquest of Ireland, which still held out for the Stuart king. Towards this, it was recommended that a tax of £1,000,000 be laid on the London Jews. They successfully petitioned against the exorbitant levy, but in the spring of 1690 the wealthy congregants were forced to make a loan: thirty of them advanced £45,000; Isaac Pereira, partner in the firm of Machado and Pereira, contractors, alone provided no less than £36,000[1] of the total, having been appointed 'Commissary-General of the bread for their Majesty's Forces in Ireland'.[2] Part of the bread contract was carried out in Waringstown, in County Down; ovens had been built for the purpose in the spring of 1690, when 28 bakers in Pereira's employ arrived from Bristol.[3] Pereira enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the General of William III's expeditionary force, the Duke of Schomberg, who depended to a large extent on him for the provisioning of his troops.[4] The assignment was not difficult. When the duke landed at Groomsport, or Bangor, in County Down, he found such huge quantities of food that he sent eighteen of Pereira's food-ships, laden with beef, cheese, and beer, back to England. Pereira could purchase a fine sheep for a few shillings, a good cow for sixteen, and the best country butter for twopence a pound; fresh herrings were sold at a hundred for twopence. Pereira and his brother[5] seem to have taken on a cadre of London Sephardi Jews, and

many rich members of Bevis Marks, including Sir Solomon de Medina and Alphonso Rodrigues, helped to finance them.[6] It may be conjectured that a number of London Sephardim settled in Dublin at this time and established a congregation.

One of the most distinguished was David Machado de Sequeira, a public-spirited Jew and a writer of some note. He was a kinsman of Pereira's partner, Moses Alvaro Machado, who rendered such important services to the Dutch army in Flanders that William wrote to him: 'Vous avez sauvé l'état'. David was in London in 1707–8, working on a plan to bring relief to the Marranos of Portugal by publishing Father Antonio Vieira's recent attacks on the Inquisition and distributing the book to them.[7] As a signatory to the deed of lease of a cemetery plot, he was a senior member of the Dublin community in 1718. Retiring from business there about 1730, he settled in Bordeaux to preach in the synagogue and write poetry.[8] Four years afterwards, we find him thanking the presidents of the Amsterdam community for electing him preacher and teacher at Surinam.[9] In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Dublin Jews were not always fortunate enough to have a salaried minister, and David may have volunteered as honorary rabbi.

Another migrant to Dublin during the Boyne campaign was Jacob do Porto, nephew of Alphonso Rodrigues, the richest man of his day in London Jewry, who was among the underwriters of the Commissary-General. Jacob was the second son of Antonio, alias Abraham, do Porto, who came to London from the Canary Islands as a Marrano about 1655 and testified in the Robles case, which first uncovered the existence of a Marrano community in London.[10] In 1660, Abraham still adhered to his Marranism, but in the end he professed Judaism openly and actively.[11] Jacob married Sarah Lobatto, of the Gideon family, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. One nephew was Sampson Gideon,[12] trusted financial adviser of the English Government and friend of Walpole, the Prime Minister. Gideon's eldest son, also called Sampson, was baptised in childhood, educated at Eton, and made a baronet while still at school; he married the daughter of Chief Justice Sir John Eardley Wilmot, taking that name, and, in 1789, was raised to the Irish peerage as Baron Eardley of Spalding. The title became extinct on his death in 1824, his two sons, William and Sampson,

having predeceased him, but from his daughters were descended the Rt. Hon. H.C.E. Childers, Gladstone's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Erskine Childers (1870–1922), the Irish patriot, Sir Culling Eardley, founder of the Protestant Alliance, Admiral Eardley Wilmot, Sir Francis Fremantle, physician and Member of Parliament, and the present Lord Auckland.

In 1718, Jacob do Porto's name appears on the lease of the Ballybough cemetery as the second of the four Jewish signatories.[13] It seems that for a time he resided in Cork and negotiated to acquire a cemetery for the Jews there. By 1729, he had returned to London, where we find him in 1747 disclaiming 'to the best of his knowledge' that he ever had anything to do with the burial-ground at Ballybough and declaring that he had only to do with that at Cork.[14]

Another Jew possibly employed by Pereira in his commissariat was a Sephardi who, in London or Dublin, had married a convert to Judaism. Of their sons, born in the last decade of the seventeenth century, several were circumcised in London and Dublin. In 1719, one of the daughters wedded Moseh Fincey (Finzi) Mantuano, to whom, in 1730, a son was born in a place where no mohel (circumciser) was available; the birth might have taken place in Dublin,[15] where it can be presumed that the marriage was solemnised and where, by 1730, no mohel was yet practising. On 5 Sivan (June) 1733, Finzi came to the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London and was given leave to have his son then circumcised.[16]

About 1705, the community in Dublin was strengthened by the arrival of David Penso, alias Alexander Felix, a member of a notable Marrano family. His father, Isaac Penso Felix, from Espejo, in the province of Cordova, escaped death in the Lisbon Inquisition and, after many changes of residence, settled as a Jew in Amsterdam. David's eldest brother, Joseph Penso (1650–92),[17] also called de la Vega after his mother's family, distinguished himself in Hebrew drama, Spanish poetry, and economics. In London, David[18] was a diamond merchant and had extensive business connections with Portugal and the Indies. He was an active member of the London Sephardi congregation, serving as Treasurer in 1690. As senior member of the Dublin congregation in 1718, David conducted the negotiations for the purchase of the Ballybough cemetery. On 26 February

of that year, his daughter Ester[19] was married in Dublin to Eliahu Lopes Pereira, son of Abraham Lopes Pereira (d. 1735), and grand-nephew of Manuel Lopes Pereira, one of the original settlers of 1660. David must have been one of the four Sephardi Jews registered as living in the parish of St. Mary's about 1710. With most of the other Sephardim in Dublin, David Penso left for London in 1730.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Dublin was the only city in Ireland that had an organised community. Single Jews appear, however, to have settled elsewhere. At the close of the seventeenth century, the Council of the Waterford Corporation encouraged the settlement of foreign merchants. This appears from an ancient manuscript quoted by an early historian[20] of the city and county of Waterford: 'In 1695, when Richard Christmas Esq. was mayor, he exerted himself very much, in conjunction with John Mason, Esq., in advancing the interest of the citizens. One measure was resorted to which had a very beneficial effect—admitting traders of all descriptions and from all parts to the city . . . In consequence of this encouragement, several merchants from Italy, Spain, France, Portugal and Holland, and elsewhere came and settled in Waterford: houses were repaired, ships built, trade began to flourish. These exertions were followed up by Mr. Mason, on his succeeding to the mayoralty, in 1696'. In the summer of 1701, Jacob Nunes applied for admission to the freedom of the city to exercise retail trade in it. At a meeting of the Corporation held on 4 August 1701,[21] it was decided that 'Jacob Nunnes [*sic*] shall be admitted to his freedom of this city provided he produce a certificate from London and Dublin that others of his persuasion are admitted: till then to stand charged for the city dutys'. On 9 June 1702, freedom of the city was accorded to Jacob Nunes, merchant, of the Jewish religion, upon the following certificate from London, dated 29 December 1701:

'To all to whom these presents shall come, we, Sir William Gore, knight, lord mayor, and the aldermen of the city of London, do hereby make known and certify that we have seen and perused letters patent granted under the Great Seal of England whereby persons of the Jewish nation are made denizens of the said kingdom and thereby have all the priviledges benefits and advantages granted to them as a free denizen of England to purchase land tenements

and other hereditaments as well within the kingdom of England as in other his majesty's dominions and to demand receive take hold possess and enjoy the same and the profits thereof to them and their heirs for ever and to give sell and dispose of the same as they shall think fit and to pay such duties of customs as other merchants denizens in as ample manner and form to all intents and purposes as any other his majesty's subjects as denizens may or could do'.[22]

The Waterford freeman was probably identical with the Jacob Nunes who, in 1693, married, in London, Sarah Coen Lobatto,[23] sister-in-law of Jacob do Porto, of Dublin.

A chance visitor to Ireland about this time was Jacob Myers, from Jamaica. He was one of three passengers on the *Laurell*, a barque of 150 tons bound from Jamaica to London, carrying ten guns and richly laden with sugar, logwood, fustic, lime juice, indigo, cotton, paint, pimento, Jamaica pepper and ginger, chocolate, and a 'great store of gold and silver, and divers ingots besides'. On 27 January 1693, so the story goes, the *Laurell* ran aground near Rossmore Point on the river of Kilmare in County Kerry. Four days later, she had to be abandoned, after part of the cargo had been brought ashore in chests and stored, about three miles from Cappanacossy, in the house of the Rev. Thomas Palmer, father-in-law of Richard Orpen, a captain in Pereira's commissariat at the Battle of the Boyne. On the following night, Tories and Rapparees of the neighbourhood set fire to the house and compelled crew and passengers to surrender and hand over the treasure-chests. Part of the cargo was salvaged by Orpen, but the master of the *Laurell* alleged that this was done without his consent, and Orpen was brought to trial; Myers was a principal witness against him. In his defence, Orpen published a pamphlet in Dublin in 1694 entitled 'The London Master; or, The Jew Detected':[24] his contention was that the master had asked him to salvage the ship, which had been wilfully wrecked 'for the lucre of the gold and silver'.

CHAPTER V

DUBLIN ASHKENAZIM DURING THE REIGNS OF WILLIAM AND ANNE

RABBI AARON SOPHER (d.*circa* 1715)

The upheavals and wars of Europe drove many poor Jews from Germany and Poland to England towards the end of the seventeenth century. So onerously did the burden of poor relief weigh on the London Sephardi community that it ordained that all indigent strangers should depart within five days, with a grant from the Poor Relief Fund to pay their passage. This hampered the development of the Ashkenazi community in London but it made for the formation of provincial congregations and it reinforced the little one in Dublin, then the only place, besides London, where enough Jews were to be found to establish and maintain a synagogue. The Ashkenazi newcomers, chiefly engaged in peddling and petty trade, were a striking contrast to the wealthy Sephardi merchants who once ran an army's commissariat; but at least it could be said for not a few of them that they were Hebrew scholars.

The character of the community, hitherto predominantly Sephardi, was now altered, although the rich Sephardim almost certainly continued to set the tone of organisation and to put their distinctive imprint on all communal activity.[1] In a group of twenty families at the outside, contact between the two elements could not have been other than close. A manuscript[2] in Marsh's Library in Dublin, registering Protestants and Catholics capable of bearing arms in the city of Dublin in about the year 1710, divulges the presence in the parish of St. Mary's of four Sephardi Jews and of their twenty-six, probably Negro, servants. In that and the following decade, the names of at least eight Ashkenazi and six Sephardi Jews appear in the records as resident in Dublin, and in 1723 a contemporary broadsheet[3] refers to 'a numerous audience of the Jewish nation both Men and Women' present at the trial of a coreligionist.

Ashkenazim and Sephardim worshipped together in the one synagogue in Crane Lane. There is an interesting relic of it in Marsh's Library[4]: a manuscript parchment, probably in the calligraphy of Rabbi Aaron ben Moses the Scribe,[5] with a prayer for the Royal Family as altered on the death of Queen Anne.[6] An Ashkenazi[7]—at a salary of £50 per annum, no mean sum then—was a kind of synagogue official during the years 1700–1705; no doubt he acted as Reader, shochet (ritual slaughterer), and secretary, rather like his counterpart in Bevis Marks in 1660.

By the year 1700, the Ashkenazi group comprised more than the eight recorded Jews and their families, who had so far developed as to attract a rabbi. This was the aforementioned Aaron ben Moses, afterwards to play a notable part in the English rabbinate. Born at Novogrodek,[8] in Poland, about 1635, Aaron had earned a reputation as an expert sopher, or scribe. In that capacity, he had worked at Lemberg when letters of divorce had to be engrossed, under the direction of the famous Rabbi David haLevi (d. 1667), author of *Ture Zahav*, 'Columns of Gold', and he lived for a time in Vilna. In 1695, he was living in Rose Alley (Mitre Street), near Duke's Place, in London, but in the first decade of the eighteenth century he is found resident in Dublin. There, he combined the vocations of teacher, marriage-broker, and scribe. He furnished the community with such requisites of public and private observance as Scrolls of the Law, phylacteries, and mezuzoth. A scholar, and of pure and pious character by the very nature of his works, he commanded great respect in the community and was its religious mentor. Rabbi Judah Leib of Lissa, in Poland, temporarily in London, solicits him, by letter of 13 Shevat (30 January) 1703, to arrange a match between Hena, a maiden of London, and Moses ben Feybush (Michael Phillips?),[9] a young Jew of Dublin. Since the young lady considers Rabbi Aaron her good friend, she will rely on him implicitly in this matter. Rabbi Judah Leib is most anxious to complete the match as soon as possible and therefore recommends Hena very warmly to him. Hena, though an orphan, is not without means; she has a dowry of over thirty pounds sterling, with much linen and clothing. This letter,[10] found among Rabbi Aaron's correspondence, once belonged to the manuscript collection of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. In September 1706,[11] Rabbi Aaron

was in London; for an old man of seventy, it was an arduous undertaking. He may have wished to assure himself burial in consecrated ground, for the Dublin community had no cemetery yet. In the end, he did not return to Dublin but stayed on in London as scribe of the German and Polish community. That the London community was nominally guided by Rabbi Aaron during a disagreeable interregnum due to ecclesiastical rivalries is suggested by the appearance of his name at the beginning of the memorial list of the Chief Rabbis of England which is recited by the congregation of the Great Synagogue and by many other Anglo-Jewish congregations on the solemn occasions of the Jewish calendar. In the Commemoration Book of the Chatham synagogue, he is designated as 'the Holy'; in that of Portsmouth, as one 'who fixed times for study and devoted his soul and spirit to the service of his Creator, and whose soul went forth in purity and holiness'.[12] Once the synagogal argument had been resolved, Aaron went on with his scrivening. For Humphrey Wanley, librarian to the Earl of Oxford, he compiled a handsome illuminated volume, dating from 1714, of selections from the prayer book, Tobit, and the Scroll of Antiochus, which is also preserved in the British Museum.[13] By 1715 he must have turned eighty and it is to that year or thereabouts that we may assign his death.

CHAPTER VI

CONVERSIONIST ACTIVITY (1700–1750)

Throughout the eighteenth century, there was much conversionist activity among the Jews of Dublin and, in the words of a convert,[1] 'the people of this Kingdom constantly rejoyce when they see a Jew converted'. Apostasy meant serious inroads into the exiguous Jewish ranks and was in part responsible for the community's total decline at the end of the century: its protagonist was William King (1650–1729), Archbishop of Dublin, of whom Abraham Jacobs, one of the first converts, was a personal acquaintance. As the 'converted Jewish priest of Dublin', Jacobs, or Abraham bar Jacob haLevi, as he had been called in the synagogue, became generally known to the Christian world through his endeavour to reach his former co-religionists by translating the Book of Common Prayer into Hebrew. He was born in Poland in 1656,[2] and, as a boy, was among the credulous audience of Sabbatai Raphael, an itinerant 'prophet' and impostor from the Peloponnesus who, touring Poland from 1668 to 1670, filled the ears of its Jews with prodigious accounts of the Pseudo-Messiah, Sabbatai Zevi.[3] After wandering through Western Europe, Jacobs settled in Dublin at the beginning of the century. He first served the congregation as an official of some sort, but was baptised in St. Peter's Church, in Aungier Street, on 2 June 1706, with the Rev. Deane March and Thomas Monck as witnesses.[4] There is a personal account of his conversion in a tract published in 1716:

'I durst not read a word of the New Testament before my family in my own house, for fear that they would tell it to the Jews . . . Every day afterwards I took my Dutch Bible and went out of town and hiding myself in secret places I used to read the New Testament . . . Then I went to Mr. Ratcliff, Curate of St. Peter's

Church, because he well understood the Hebrew tongue and that I could converse with him in Hebrew and on Wednesday in Easter week I began to discourse with Mr. Ratcliff out of the Old Testament which discourse we continued for fourteen days and afterwards we began to discourse out of the New Testament. At length, Mr. Ratcliff wondering at it said to me, What is it you mean by this dispute for the questions you propose belong to a Christian and not to a Jew? and he said, I believe you have a mind to be a Christian, and then I told him I was very desirous to be a Christian. Then Mr. Ratcliff gave me a note directed to His Grace, the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, who received me very kindly, and desired me to bring Mr. Ratcliff to him, which I did, and Mr. Ratcliff could better tell His Grace my business, than myself, as I had no good English. And though I went as privately as I could every Sunday to church to hear sermons and prayers, yet the Jews were told that some Jew went constantly every Sunday to St. Peter's Church to hear both sermons and prayers, but they little thought it was I, because I was their priest for many years. His Grace, the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, was pleased to give orders that I should be baptised at St. Peter's Church, the next Sunday following, being 2nd June, 1706. Then I joyfully published and declared my baptism through all the city of Dublin whereat the Jews were mightily incensed against me and finding they could not in any way injure and asperse me, they privately conveyed my wife and children and sent them overseas (notwithstanding all my endeavours to the contrary) because I would make them all Christians, for which I pray God to forgive them'.

Nothing further is heard of Jacobs until 1716. In the meantime, apparently, either his wife and family returned to him or he remarried and produced a new family. In any event, fortune had not smiled on him. In such straitened circumstances was he that he petitioned the city Council for succour on 19 October 1716, setting forth that he had been priest to the Jews for many years at fifty pounds per annum[5]; that he had quitted the same and embraced the Christian faith; that he had published a book showing his reasons for so doing, and, by reason of his old age, indisposition and poverty, he was not able to pay the printer or support himself and humbly prayed for his own support and that of his family. On the Lord Mayor's

warrant, the treasurer was ordered to pay him fifteen pounds, to be allowed on account.[6] Jacobs's penury may have prompted the Archbishop, sponsor of the tract, to commission him in the following year to translate the Book of Common Prayer into Hebrew as the most effective means of making the form and contents of Christian devotions familiar to the Jews of Dublin. The work was begun on 15 May and finished in two months. Jacobs presented the Archbishop with a copy of his manuscript, and this, bearing the faint signature of the Archbishop and dated 1717, is in the diocesan library of Cashel in County Tipperary.

According to Johannes de le Roi,[7] the text of Jacobs's Hebrew rendering, though never printed, was used among Jewish converts to Christianity, so that it is surprising that only three manuscripts of it should survive. Apart from the one in Cashel, there is the copy in the Library of Trinity College,[8] with faulty pointing, and another, unpointed, in Marsh's Library,[9] in Dublin, dated 1717 in Hebrew but 1727 in Arabic numerals that are written clearly at the end of the manuscript in the scribe's own hand.

The last mention of Jacobs[10] in the records is in 1725, referring to a will no longer extant.

On 25 October 1829, Miss Marianne Nevill, of 2 Mountjoy Square, using a copy of his manuscript, prepared a Hebrew edition of the Book of Common Prayer in lithographic ink for the use of Christian Israelites in Smyrna,[11] who 'being persuaded that Christianity was true . . . were inclined to leave Judaism to this extent, that they would admit Jesus as their Messiah, but keep to their national rites and customs'.[12] On the reverse of the title-page is the following: 'I certify that during the time I was translating and transcribing this Prayerbook for the use of the Christian Israelites that lest they should deem it an offence to use a book written by a Gentile, I abstained from eating anything forbidden by the Law of Moses, nor did I use any pens but new ones, that had not been used in any other writing'.[13] Miss Nevill has a prayer for the reigning monarch, but no name is mentioned, whereas Jacobs has prayers for George I, for the Lord Lieutenant (unnamed), and for the Royal Family, including the name of George Augustus, Prince of Wales.

The Dublin missionaries soon won two further converts: Juda Meirs and Judah Abrahams. In 1709, Juda ben 'Rabbi' Meirs,

subsequently known as John Meirs, was baptised in the church of St. Nicholas Without-the-Walls, St. Patrick's Close. The consideration that 'the Christians here in this city were in general a prudent, grave, wise, sober people and those of my own nation, a dispersed people, not subject to any peculiar government of their own and in a great measure hateful to others because of their obstinacy and unbelief,' led him, after he had recovered from a long and serious illness, to seek baptism. Once converted, he went publicly among the Jews of Dublin, exhorting them to follow his example, but they did not accept his change of faith so easily and, sceptical of his sincerity, spared no pains to show their contempt of him. In exact parallel to the case of Jacobs, a tract setting forth the reasons for Meirs's conversion was published in Dublin in 1709[14], again with the consent of the Archbishop, and reprinted in London in 1717. Meirs lived in Patrick Street, and on 17 July 1715 his daughter Ann, by his wife Margaret, was christened in the church of St. Nicholas.[15]

On 25 July 1712, the young Judah Abrahams was baptised in St. Michael's Church, High Street, and within two years had published a tract addressed to the unconverted Jews of Dublin.[16] In 1730, he married Elizabeth Lyon, but that is all we know of him. A Moses Jacob,[17] merchant, died intestate in Dublin in 1704. A John Hyam was resident in Dublin in 1694, and a John Jacobs[18] died intestate there in 1704; their names suggest Jewish descent and subsequent apostasy. Aaron Rhames[19], publisher of a periodical, *The Diverting Post*, in Dublin in 1709, is believed to have been a baptised Jew from London.

In the middle of the century, the champion of evangelism among the Jews of Ireland was Robert Clayton (1695–1758)[20], Bishop of Clogher, a freethinking prelate, host at gay parties in his house in St. Stephen's Green, and author of books on ecclesiastical history and chronology exhibiting Arian tendencies. In 1751, he produced 'An Impartial Enquiry into the Time of the Coming of the Messiah', which appeared as 'in two letters to an eminent Jew'. But only two Jews, Solomon Davis and Samuel Levy, are known to have abandoned their faith during this period. Davis, a fiddler and a dulcimer player, was about sixty years old when he was baptised on 25 January 1748 at St. Werburg's Church by the Christian name of Paul. It would have happened earlier 'had it not been for a dispute between

the Godmothers who could not agree to his being called Lewis, which one of them said was the name of the French king and consequently a Jacobite name'.[21] Levy was baptised by the Bishop of Cork in St. Peter's Church there on 18 August 1754.[22] One John Garzia,[23] a converted Catholic priest of reputed Jewish origin, was active as a 'priest catcher'[a] in Ireland from 1717 to 1723.

Marriages between Jews and non-Jews were not infrequent in mid-eighteenth-century Dublin, and it seems almost certain that Solomon Sampson, Jane Judah, and Lipman Levi, with Ann Moses, Philip Jacob, and Deborah Isaac, whose Jewishness, though not affirmed in the records, is implied by their names, were baptised on marrying out of the faith. Sampson[24] wed Margaret Pinkney on 24 August 1724, Jane Judah,[25] who wed William Bolton, coachmaker, at St. Catherine's Church, on 26 August 1749, may have been a daughter of Abraham Judah,[26] lecturer in Hebrew at Trinity College in the 1730s. Levi,[27] a dealer, who wed Jane Barber, widow, at St. Catherine's Church, on 31 October 1751, was probably a son of Isaac Levi,[28] a merchant, of Inns' Quay, who made a will in 1748. In 1753, Ann Moses[29] wed William Palmer. Jacob[30] wed Sarah Charters, of Swords, in County Dublin, on 8 March, 1757.[31] Deborah Isaac[32] became the wife of John Moore in 1761. A Miss Salomons,[33] of Somerstown in London married Edward Lysaght (1763-1810),[34] generally known as 'Pleasant Ned Lysaght', barrister, wit, poet, and song-writer, who is best known for such compositions as 'The Sprig of Shillelagh' and 'The Man who led the Van of the Irish Volunteers'.

[a] The second period of the penal laws in Ireland (1691–1773) was responsible for bringing into existence and conferring legal status on a class of degraded characters known as 'priest catchers', who spied upon Catholic clergymen and denounced them to the Government.

CHAPTER VII

THE IRISH JEWS DURING THE REIGNS OF GEORGE I (1714–1727) AND GEORGE II (1727–1760)

THE DE CASTRO FAMILY

I

A prominent Sephardi of Dublin in the third decade of the eighteenth century was Solomon de Castro, who had arrived in or about 1721. The family coat-of-arms points to an original grant to a physician or lawyer forebear in the service of the King of Leon or Castile. Solomon's father, David,[1] is believed to have died in Leghorn about the year 1700 on his way from India to England, and his grandfather may be identified with a Solomon Decastor (*sic*), widower, living in St. Katherine's Parish, Creechurch, in London, in 1695.[2] In September (7 Tishri) 1710,[3] our Solomon married Rachel, daughter of Abraham Bravo, a financier, in London. Bravo[4] was one of the first Anglo-Jewish poets and in 1720 wrote a poem commending Daniel Lopes Laguna's metrical translation of the Psalms, *Espejo Fiel de Vidas*, 'Faithful Mirror of Lives'. The Register[5] of the 'Bethahaim Velho', or Old Cemetery, of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of London records the burial of four of Solomon's infant children, poignantly called 'angelitos', 'little angels'. Seven sons survived, and one at least, Samuel, the fourth of them, was born in Dublin on 17 June 1725, in Capel Street, his birth being afterwards entered in the Register of Births at the Herald's Office in London.[6]

On 18 February 1723, David Cohen Henriks (that is, Henriques), junior, a servant in Solomon's household in Capel Street, was defendant in an action for £200 damages for assault.[7] The trial excited much attention and seems to have drawn the entire congregation to the Tholsel Court. 'There were present', we recall,[8] 'a numerous audience of the Jewish nation both Men and Women as well as Gentiles', and when the jury, after a short stay, found the Jew not guilty, the decision was received 'to the great mortification of the

poor dissatisfied Cuckold and the Strumpet his wife, but to the general satisfaction of the whole tribe of Swine-Haters that were present'. Henriques was, perhaps, a grandson of the Jacob Cohen Henriques who died in London in 1674, having been one of the first six Jews to reside in New York. Capel Street, as we have noted, was a fashionable thoroughfare, so that Solomon de Castro was presumably a merchant of affluence. It is plausible to hold that Swift had Solomon or some other Dublin Sephardi in mind in his oft-repeated phrase 'as rich as a Jew'. Solomon left for London in or about 1728, with a copy of Samuel's birth certificate, granted on 24 April of that year, and still in the possession of his descendants. He was, no doubt, the Solomon de Castro appointed Secretary of the London Sephardi community in 1732, who relinquished that office in 1740 owing to ill-health and died in the same year.

The careers of his sons are an interesting sidelight on eighteenth-century commercial co-operation. Six of them, working in family alliance, established themselves in various parts of the world. Isaac (born about 1726) moved in 1744 to Leghorn, headquarters of the coral trade, then largely in Jewish hands,[9] to purchase coral and export it to David (1714?–1761), of Bury Street, St. Mary Axe, in London. David shipped it to India, on 12 October 1744, £12,000 worth.[10] Samuel (1725-1799) sailed to Fort St. George (Madras) as a free merchant, arriving on 4 July 1749 by the ship *Britannia*,[11] to sell the consignments; on 12 July 1748, he had procured a certificate from the College of Arms in London of his British nationality by birth. Taking payment for the coral, for the most part in uncut diamonds from the mines in the Muslim kingdom of Gulconda [Golconda], Samuel transmitted the gems to brother Jacob (born about 1717) in Amsterdam, and Jacob superintended the cutting, polishing, and selling. In Madras, Samuel became a 'constant inhabitant' in the service of the East India Company. Daniel (1730?-1790) visited Fort St. George to gain experience from Samuel in the gem-market, stepping ashore on 6 September 1757 from the ship *Boscawen*. Samuel returned to England in 1759, and in 1761 married Sara Lara, with a dowry of £1,500. Sara's brother Aaron[12] was the husband of Rachel D'Israeli, Lord Beaconsfield's aunt. On 19 June 1766, Moses (born about 1729) arrived in India from Curacao, in the Dutch West Indies, by the ship *Lioness*,[13] as a 'Hebrew free

merchant', so that Daniel might hurry back to London to woo the fourteen-year-old Sarah Judith, the daughter of his departed brother, David. The marriage took place on 6 August 1766;[14] to the settlement, Daniel brought £12,000 and the bride £8,000. In 1768, Moses[15] built a new house in Fort St. George for the firm of Daniel and Moses de Castro; he is regularly listed in the records, like his brother, as a 'constant inhabitant' and mentioned as the leading Madras consignee of coral, having close business connections with the London firm of Israel Levin Salomons (d. 1783), a wealthy East India merchant. Eventually he became the senior partner of the London firm of De Castro, Pelling, and de Fries.

The third son, Abraham (1720–1779), also of Bury Street, St. Mary Axe, seems to have withheld himself from the family business. He was the Secretary of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation from 1740, when he succeeded his father, till 1779,[16] and he became as well the first Secretary of the Deputados, the present Board of Deputies of British Jews. Abraham had a son, Solomon, and a daughter, Hannah, who became the wife of Jacob Levi Bensusan.[17]

David de Castro, who married his cousin Judith, daughter of David Bravo, died in London on 4 October 1761;[18] it will be remembered that his only daughter, Sarah Judith (1752–1824),[19] an artist who painted flowers, married her uncle, Daniel. The family still possesses portraits of the couple by Tilly Kettle;[20] in view of the double consanguinity, it is curious that husband and wife should look so unlike. Brother Isaac, of Leghorn, who died in London, left two sons, called Solomon and Abraham, and two daughters.

The Dublin-born Samuel died in London in Islington High Street on 18 May 1779.[21] A miniature painting of him exists as a companion portrait to Daniel's: the originals were worn as a double brooch by Daniel's wife, who bequeathed them to a younger Daniel, Samuel's son. Samuel had two sons, Solomon (1763-1822) and Daniel (1775–1840). In March 1783, Solomon married Rachel, daughter of Emanuel Fernandez. She died in childbirth; her daughter, Sarah (1785-1858), married the Rev. Henry de la Fite in 1825, but there was no issue. Daniel, in 1799, married his first cousin Rebecca Lara, daughter of Joshua Lara (who took the name of Lopez), and Sarah

Ximenes. There were six children, two of them sons: Samuel (1804–1851) and Daniel (1806–1867). Samuel, whose descendants are all in New Zealand, was a founder in 1841, and an original member, of the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society. As an ardent Methodist, he may have prevailed upon his parents, who were 'buried at a chapel in Hammersmith',[22] to adopt Christianity. Daniel, who held a Royal Warrant at 65, Piccadilly, married Jane Roberts (1805-1853) in 1834; she was a kinswoman of Lord Roberts of Kandahar. Four sons and two daughters were born to them: among their children were Inez de Castro (d. 1946), a Lady Warden of Nottingham University, who owned a silver teapot with the cipher of her great-great-grandfather, Samuel de Castro, and John Paul de Castro (d. 1944), barrister and author, custodian of several family portraits.

II

For a quarter of a century after the reorganisation of the Dublin community in 1690, no steps were taken to acquire a burial-ground. The lack of interest was not due to shortage of money; it was rather that even the Sephardi Boyne campaigners, like the original settlers in 1660, had not come to Dublin to stay, and the Sephardim, members of Bevis Marks synagogue in London, would have wished to be buried among their own 'Nation' there. But as further settlers arrived from or through London about 1716, and doubtless in deference to the importuning of the Ashkenazi element. which had no ties elsewhere, a plot was rented to representatives of the Jews of Dublin for a term of forty years from 29 September 1717.[23] The choice of Ballybough, an outlying village, which until a hundred years ago was a graveyard of suicides, may hint at difficulty and delay in acquiring what was desired within the actual city boundaries. Alexander Felix (David Penso), Jacob do Porto, David Machado de Sequeira,[24] on behalf of the Sephardim, and Abraham Meirs, on behalf of the Ashkenazim, concluded the business with Chichester Philips, of Dublin, owner of the plot, and he granted them a lease on 28 October 1718.

The chronic distress of Ireland in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, with famine succeeding famine and the failure of the Irish banks in 1727, had its effect on the Jews of Dublin. In

1730 or thereabouts, most of the Sephardi Jews left for London. The community, now mainly Ashkenazi and acutely anaemic, was financially embarrassed. In 1746, its officials were threatened with prosecution for the recovery of £7 10s., rent of Ballybough.[25] They asked the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in London for help. If it seems strange at first sight that they did not apply to their Ashkenazi brethren there, we should not forget that the appeal was a very personal one: several prominent congregants of Bevis Marks had lived in Dublin only a score of years since and three of the four lessees of 1718 were Sephardi Jews. After all, the seventeenth-century Dublin community was founded by Sephardi Jews, virtually as an offshoot of the Sephardi community of London. There is pertinence, too, in the claim that the Scrolls of the Law presented to the Dublin community when it was revived in 1822 had originally belonged to a Portuguese community which existed in Dublin in the previous century.[26] The pleading correspondence from Dublin was addressed to Abraham de Castro,[27] of Bury Street, Secretary of the Bevis Marks synagogue, who had spent his early youth in Dublin, where, indeed, he may have been born. The Elders bade Jacob Phillips, lay head of the Dublin community, draw upon them for the amount due and the debt was duly discharged. The Spanish and Portuguese congregation now began, if without precipitancy, to consider the wisdom of purchasing the reversion of the lease, which had still eleven years to run. In May 1748, the issue was revived by Michael Phillips, of Dublin, Jacob having died a few months before. The Mahamad of the London congregation, replying on 12 May 1748, pressed Michael for more information of the annual payment and if 'our paying a pepper corn a year makes any alteration of our Injoying the said burriall Place for ever'. On 15 July 1748 the Mahamad wrote again to Michael instructing him to purchase the cemetery in his name as cheaply as possible, but for not more than £37 10s.[28] by fee simple, for one thousand years. They were to be sent an acknowledgment that it was bought 'with the money of the Portuguese Jews of London & Remains for there use &c '. The text that Michael dispatched was unsatisfactory, and the Mahamad found it necessary to draft one themselves. As William Philips, the freehold owner and grandson of Chichester Philips, who had signed the earlier lease, was only tenant-in-tail and could not

make a grant of the fee simple, the cemetery was bought on 17 August 1748 by the London congregation, acting through, and in the name of, Michael Phillips, of Crane Lane, Dublin, as a leasehold property for the term of one thousand years at the nominal rent of one peppercorn. The consideration was a payment of £34 10s. and the surrender of the 1718 lease.[29] From the Elders' minute of 9 Sivan 5509 (June 1749), it appears that Michael had arrived in London with the lease, which stood in his name. It was agreed that he should deposit it, with a blank signature, in the archives of Bevis Marks, so that the Mahamad might decide in due course in whose names it should stand. Michael reported that part of the wall of the cemetery had collapsed and £10 to £15 was needed for instant repair; it was during this period that a stone wall was built.[30] On 6 July 1753 the Mahamad wrote to Michael, acknowledging his letter of 25 May 1750 (?1753) and reminding him that their purpose in buying the cemetery was to secure its possession and not to incur additional charges for its repair.[31]

On 27 February 1788, the Dublin community appealed again for help in mending the wall; Israel Wolf,[32] 'an old resident in Dublin', sent the Mahamad a letter which Aaron de Abraham Nunes Martinez, who had probably been on a business visit to Dublin, delivered by hand. The Elders agreed to pay for the work, estimated at £32 16s. 4d, and invited a Mr. Thomas Kirwan, of London, to deal with the matter. As the Dublin community, or what was left of it, was then predominantly Ashkenazi, the London Ashkenazi congregations, to which former residents of Dublin belonged, were asked to share in the expenses: Mr. L.de. Symons offered £15 for the Great Synagogue, the Hambro Synagogue promised £10, and Solomon Leveen gave three guineas. The repairs were done and in July 1789 a bill for £78 2s. 9d. arrived in London; the Mahamad paid it, and in return had a letter of thanks from Wolf.[33]

Distressingly, the winter of 1748 saw much activity at the Ballybough cemetery. Disease stalked Ireland in the aftermath of hunger, grimly comparable at times to the Black Famine of 1849. The Dublin community lost four of its senior members within eighteen months. Jacob Phillips[34] died on 13 January, Moses Jacob Cowan[35] on 16 February. Abraham Levy's will,[36] made on 5 March 1748, was proved on 5 July 1749. Isaac Levi,[37] merchant, of Inns' Quay, made

a will in 1748, but the date of his death is unknown. Levi Wolfe,[38] whose will, dated 1 December 1748, was proved on 10 March 1749, had probably conformed to Anglicanism and was not buried at Ballybough.

Jacob Phillips, lay head of the community in 1746, was an early Ashkenazi settler at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He resided in Crane Lane, and his obituary in the local press describes him as 'a famous Chocolate Maker'. His wife may be the Judith Phillips who left a will dated 1746[39] and the grandmother or grand-aunt of Judith Phillips (1782-1857), who was born in Dublin.

Moses Jacob Cowan, born in Polish Prussia, was a dwarf, who died at the age of 65; he did not live permanently in Dublin but belonged to a travelling show,[40] and his funeral, with his fellow-performers and members of the Jewish community following the hearse on foot, is said to have attracted considerable attention.

Abraham Levy, formerly of London, was a merchant; dying unmarried, he left bequests to sister Minka (d.1754),[41] of Gravel Lane, Houndsditch, to sister Leah, of Poor Jewry Lane, to brother Mordecai, of Whitechapel, all of London, and to sister Judith, of The Hague.

Levy Wolfe was first registered with the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company as a Quarter Brother or Journeyman[a] in 1744; on 12 October 1742[42] he was fined £5 2s. 9d. for substandard workmanship in the making of buckles. His wife, Dorothy Jones, was sister of the Rev. Dr. John Jones, a Dublin schoolmaster and friend of Dean Swift.

There is reason to think that the first sexton of Ballybough was Mordecai ben Moses Nathan[43] (subsequently called Mordecai Irelander), of Hessian birth; in about 1730 he moved across to London, where he was a shochet, and it is likely that he fulfilled the same duty in Ireland.

Abraham Judah,[b] of Lwow, in Poland, may have been an officiant of the Dublin community in the 1730s. He claimed knowledge

[a] A member who had the right to practise the gild calling but none to participate in the gild elections and was not eligible for gild offices.

[b] In the Hebrew Union College Library in Cincinatti, Ohio, there is a Hebrew and Latin edition of the Tishbi by the famous grammarian, Rabbi Elijah Levita,

of the Talmud and rabbinical literature, and it appears that the young Jews of Dublin, as well as aspirant theologians of Trinity College, were his students in Hebrew grammar and language. Gentile students were given private tuition in the biblical commentaries of Rashi and Kimchi, of Ibn Ezra and Nachmanides. Judah appears to have added the style 'Diogenes' to his name, probably in or about 1730, on appointment as Lecturer in Hebrew at Trinity College, a post held a few years earlier by the great Bishop Berkeley. In the presence of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Sheridan, friend and mentor of Swift and grandfather of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the playwright, the Rev. John Alexander and other Hebrew scholars, Judah held a disputation in the public library of St. Sepulchre's in May 1733, with Christian Fandy, self-styled professor of Hebrew, who designed to publish a Hebrew grammar by subscription.[44] Judah surpassed his rival in knowledge of Hebrew and of rabbinical writings, and it was he, and not Fandy, who proceeded with the compilation of the grammar. His manuscript was only ready on 14 January 1736/1737, when he solicited subscriptions in Hamilton's *Dublin Advertiser*,[45] but not enough were forthcoming and the plan had to be abandoned. A second and similarly unsuccessful attempt to publish a Hebrew grammar by subscription at the price of three British half-crowns was made in Dublin in 1740 by Adam Joseph Rheimer, whose origin and identity are obscure but who was a teacher of 'the French, Italian, High and Low Dutch Languages, Book-Keeping and Arithmetick'.[46]

Another Ashkenazi member of the community in the 1730s was Joseph Jaim,[47] that is, Hyam, who sailed for England from Bordeaux on 3 Decenber 1726, returning to Dublin after a business trip to France. Jacob Mendes.[48] described in the records as a member of the 'Portuguese nation', a native and resident of Bordeaux, sailed thence on 12 January 1724, after applying for a passport to England

published at Isny, in Germany, in 1541, which came to it from the library of Rabbi Joseph Silverman, of Temple Emanuel, New York, and had formerly belonged to Abraham Judah, of Dublin. On the back of the title page there is a note written in poor Hebrew by Judah, in which he states that he bought the book in 1732 in Dublin, where he 'is keeping the charge of the Holy One, blessed be He' (*cf.* Gen. xxvi, 5). On the back of the last leaf of the book, the owner wrote his name, 'Abraham Judah', in Latin characters in an inexperienced hand.

that gave his destination as Dublin. Jacob, of a prominent Portuguese family, was sixty years old then and lived outwardly as a Catholic;[49] he might have been on his way to join kinsfolk in Dublin or to do business with Jews there.

A third Jewish resident of Dublin in the second quarter of the eighteenth century emerges from the following note on the front page of a set of the Talmud in Trinity College Library: '12 copies [i.e., volumes] of the Talmud deposited in Library, Trinity College, Dublin on February 9th, 1742, by David La Touche, Jr. Esq., on condition that if they are not claimed by their lawful owner they shall be restored to him'. Possibly the books were deposited by a Dublin Jew with La Touche, who was a banker, as security for a loan or for safety while the owner voyaged overseas.

More than one writer has been misled into regarding a certain Hirsch as the Rabbi of Dublin in 1722; he was, in fact, Hirsch ben Asriel, of Vilna, Rabbi in Polish Lublin[50] in the same year. Isaac Simon, a Huguenot, who arrived in Dublin in 1733 with his brother John but eventually settled in America, was not of Jewish origin, although Huhner and others claim it. There is a puzzling item in the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* of 26 January 1733, about the death at Castlepollard of Mr. William Shylock, 'an eminent Jew': was this an unpopular Christian moneylender under an obvious soubriquet? Josias Mears,[51] registered with the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company as a journeyman in the years 1732-3, and Daniel Benjamin in the years 1733-4, may have been Jewish.

On 24 January 1737, the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company fined Jacob Lyons, later known as Lyon Jacob or Jacobs, a Jew, neither a member nor a journeyman, 5s. 'for working up two small pear of Silver Buckles fourteen peny & a half worse than standard.'[52] Undismayed, Lyons persisted in his irregularity, and in the next year—on 27 June 1738—was fined 10s., which was later reduced to 2s. 6d.[53] While he was peddling in the countryside in May-June 1741, his lodgings in Crane Lane were broken into and the following articles—the catalogue in quality and diversity indicates a prosperous trade—stolen:[54] 4 Pistoles, 33 Portugal Pieces £1. 18. 8 each, 1 Portugal Piece, valued at £3. 17. 4., 6 small Pieces of Gold Coin, 18 small Silver Pocket-pieces of several kinds, 19 old Gold Rings with Stones, 19 old plain Gold Rings, several of which are very

remarkable, 1 small Ingot of Gold, Weight 4 ounces some Penny-weights, 1 Ounce weight of Gold Buttons and Ear-rings, 8 Silver Tea-spoons marked D., 1 Silver Snuff-box, English Touch, gilt Inside, 5 Ounces of broken Silver of various kinds, a pair of Women's blue Silk Stockings with white Clocks and a 'silk Veil belonging to the Jews Synagogue, enclosed in a Green Silk Bag with Gold Tassels.'[c] In the summer of 1742, Lyon Jacob moved to Cork. From a fund[55] set up under the will of Nathan Simson, of New York, dated 23 August 1725, to aid poor kin of his wife, Dyfie, and himself, a payment was made on 7 September 1742 to Lyon Jacobs (*sic*), of Cork, who married a sister-in-law[56] of one Isaac Levi, or more often Levy, son of Joseph Levy of London, and a nephew and executor of Nathan Simson and Samuel Levy,[57] of New York.

In September 1747 the press reported the arrival in Dublin of Jewish merchants of great wealth from Holland to settle there.[58] But, after that, all is silence, and it may be surmised that the group did not stay long.

A destitute Jewish family, the Mendoças, ten souls in all, formerly of Dublin or Cork, arrived in London in 1749, and were given a monthly dole by the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation;[59] perhaps one of the junior members was the father of the great pugilist, Daniel Mendoza (1763-1836).[60]

The social and religious life of the Jews of Dublin in the first half of the eighteenth century would be illuminated further were proof forthcoming that Gamaliel ben Pedahzur, alias Abraham Mears,[61] author of a tendentious translation of the Jewish daily prayers into English, which was published in London in 1738 and entitled *The Book of Religion, Ceremonies and Prayers of the Jews*, was identical with Abraham Meirs, a signatory of the Ballybough lease of 1718 and, possibly, the Abraham Meeres[62] who appears in the London Census List of 1695 as a resident of the parish of St. Michael Queenhithe. Few Ashkenazi Jews in England bore surnames in the early eighteenth century, and there can scarcely have been two different families of Meirs (or Mears or Meeres) each with a

[c] Probably a reference to a *tallith* (prayer shawl) and not really synagogue property.

scion named Abraham. Moreover, the infiltration of certain Sephardi customs into Ashkenazi ritual, such as that of the Etz Hayim,[63] or enlisting a boy for the synagogal ceremony of 'gelilah', of rolling up the Scroll of the Law, reflects a community where Ashkenazim and Sephardim worshipped together and that had only one synagogue; Mears treats the Sephardi and Ashkenazi customs as coeval. In the first half of the eighteenth century, Dublin[64] was the only place in the British Isles that saw Sephardim and Ashkenazim formed into a single unitary congregation. By 1738, Mears had left the fold, like his Dublin namesake, Juda Meirs (1709);[65] indeed, he may have been his elder brother, and the translation of the Hebrew prayer book into English is intriguingly evocative of the literary effort of a third Dublin apostate, Abraham Jacobs,[66] who rendered the English Book of Common Prayer into Hebrew (1717).

From Mears's book we learn much of interest. The congregation had a burial society called in Hebrew 'Kabronim Chebra'.[67] Shrouds were made by a group of Jewish women,[68] and earth from the Land of Israel was placed in the grave.[69] In the synagogue the white Holland 'surplus' was worn;[70] in town, the Jew, like his Christian neighbour, wore the 'perrywhig', which rabbinical dispensation allowed him to comb out even on the Sabbath. The combing of natural tresses was forbidden on that day, as was the 'smoaking' or the 'chawing' of tobacco.[71] Sabbath observance required that Gentile servants kindle the fire to warm the Sabbath dish.[72] A cane or walking-stick was not to be made use of: when the young men were enjoined to fix a wooden blade to the hilts of their habitual weekday swords on the Sabbath, most preferred to go without.[73] Sabbatical dancing and singing were allowed and the playing of 'drafts' or chess for no stakes, but not cards or dice. If the evil eye glared, certain old women made it their business to counteract it by a process of fumigation at a set tariff: the Spanish Jews paid more because the 'smoakers' were German Jewesses.[74] Marriages were arranged by brokers. Betrothals and marriages were celebrated lavishly, with junketing, music, and dancing; the menu included wine and drams, with coffee, chocolate, tea, sweetmeats, and cake.[75] For Passover, the festival drink was 'pair' water or home-made raisin wine or 'liquorish'.[76] The rich Jews had Jewish servants.[77]

CHAPTER VIII

JEWISH DISABILITIES AND NATURALISATION BILLS

The status of the first Jews to resettle in Ireland was uncertain. To own land and ships, and to trade with the colonies, they became denizens by the King's letters patent and thus held a middle place between aliens and natives. But in their Irish denizations they described themselves as 'foreign Protestants',[1] which very clearly marks their feeling of insecurity. When they went back to England, they found it necessary to be endenizened again, as the Irish process seemingly could not confer any rights there.[2]

Catholics and Jews were excluded from the freedom of the city of Dublin by a decree of its Council in January 1652, that 'none shal bee admitted unto the assemblies of any of the corporacions of this cittie unlesse hee bee a Protestant, and that noe freeman take any to bee an apprentise but such as are or wilbee and continue in the Protestant religion'. A further decree, of 1678, ordered that 'from henceforth noe person whatsoever be admitted and sworne a freeman of this cittie but who shall first take the oaths of allegeance and supremacy'.[3] The only known instance of a professing Jew[4]—Jacob Nunes—admitted to the freedom of an Irish city was in Waterford in 1702. For eighteenth-century Dublin, the Charter of the famous lying-in Rotunda Hospital has a surprisingly liberal provision making the position of Master open to doctors of all religions.[5] It was not until 1926 that Bethel Solomons[6] was appointed its first and, so far, its only Jewish Master.

In the seventeenth century, in requiring its members to attend Protestant worship, the Dublin Gild Merchant was only following the City Council. Catholic and Jewish apprentices might not be taken on, but, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the

gild did, nevertheless, accept a trickle of Catholics and Jews as journeymen; these became members, with the right of practising the gild calling but ineligible for office or for the franchise in gild elections. The freedom of a gild was a stepping-stone to municipal and parliamentary franchise, at all events until gilds lost their political importance with the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1840.[7]

A Catholic excluded from his gild proceeded to carry on his trade or exercise his craft outside it, and Jews appear to have defied the rules in the same way. Jacob Lyons,[8] also known as Lyon Jacob or Jacobs, though not recorded as a journeyman by the Goldsmiths' Company, plied his trade as a silversmith in Dublin in 1737-42. It was not until 1949 that a professing Jew and active communal worker, Reuben Segal (1876–1956), was appointed Master of the Company. If a Catholic or Jewish applicant for membership of the gild turned Protestant, he was accepted. Baptism also undid the restriction on holding office, and during Charles II's reign, as we saw, David Sollom,[9] a Jew who conformed to the religion of the Established Church, became a Justice of the Peace and a County High Sheriff. In the eighteenth century, as we also saw, many endeavours, if not specially successful, were made to attract the Jews of Ireland to Christianity. It is not to be wondered at if some Jews were won over: like Catholic landowners who turned Protestant out of an understandable desire to hold on to their estates, they were reluctant to sacrifice material welfare to what might be accounted a mere point of theology in an age in which the spirit of religious indifference was rife. But very few Jews sought escape by baptism from their civil and religious disabilities: the overwhelming majority would have none of it. A reference to the apparent conversion in 1766 of several Jews at Ringsend, a suburb of Dublin and a favourite summer seaside resort in the eighteenth century, is part of an ironic attack on the violation of the Sabbath. 'Last Sabbath Day there was a fine market, in the forenoon, at St. Patrick Street. . . In the evening, a great Hurling was done near Ringsend, at which Pious Duty, it is said, a certain Housekeeper of this City assisted. Several Jews that were present were converted on the Spot, being in Love with the Privileges enjoyed by the Christians; of slaving for the devil on Sabbath days. . .'[10]

It was an Irishman of Catholic parentage who made one of the earliest pleas for Jewish emancipation, and his arguments figure in Jewish apologias of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Precisely when Judah Abrahams wrote his tract in 1714 appealing to the Jews of Dublin to accept Christianity, John Toland (1670-1722), of Inishowen, in County Donegal, urged the right of the Jews to equality before the law in a pamphlet issued anonymously under the title '*Reasons for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland on the same foot with all other nations*' (London, 1714). Toland was chiefly interested in the naturalisation of English Jewry, but he must have had in mind as well the handful of Jews in Ireland. 'I am fully persuaded', he writes, 'that we shall get hands enow, not only for encreasing and improving all sorts of arts and manufactures; but for breaking up and cultivating those desert, yet not barren grounds, of which there is still but too great a quantity in Scotland and Ireland. . .'[11] The Jews are not a parasitic element in the state but rather, he says, 'as obedient, peaceable, useful, and advantageous as any; and even more so than many others.'[12] No religious group and no political party need fear them, since they have no ambitions to achieve power, and they will always support that party which 'patronizes Liberty of Conscience and the Naturalization, which will ever be the side of Liberty and the Constitution'.[13] Moreover, while among other peoples there are many who become naturalized in England only to gain commerical privileges and do not settle permanently in the country, the Jews, having no country of their own, 'are sure to be ours for ever'.[14]

The Jews everywhere engage in financial undertakings only, but this they do only because of restrictions imposed on them, excluding them from the trades and the service of the State. In the past, Jews were farmers, excellent soldiers, and seafarers, and there is no reason why they should not engage in such occupations again in the British Isles. As for their national characteristics, 'since their dispersion, they have no common or peculiar inclination distinguishing 'em from others; but visibly partake of the Nature of those nations among which they live, and where they were bred. The ordinary sentiments and manners of the Portuguese or Italian Jews, differ not from those of the other Portuguese or Italians. The Germans differ from the Polish Jews, as much as the Poles do from Germans;

and so do those of Ispahan or Constantinople, from such as are born at London or Amsterdam. Yet so strong is the force of prejudice, that I know a person, no fool in other instances, who labor'd to perswade me, contrary to the evidence of his own and my eyes (to mine I am sure) that every Jew in the world had one eye remarkably less than the other, which silly notion he took from the Mob'.[15]

The common people all over the world are opposed to the settlement of foreigners in their midst for fear of competition in trade or business, but the wise ruler understands the benefit the country derives from the coming of strangers.[16] Toland mentions Prague, where he was educated and where the Jews 'are infamously lock'd up every night, in a quarter by themselves, under a peculiar guard.' In Cologne, they are not permitted to reside within the city. In these cities, he believes, the residents did not understand their own interests and only harmed themselves. He names Leghorn as having benefited greatly from the admission of the Jews, and Lisbon as having lost much of its wealth after their expulsion.[17] In his opinion, if the Jews are granted the rights of naturalization, they should not be excluded from any public office. 'A General Naturalization and a Total Incapacity from Offices', he maintains, 'are perfect inconsistencies'. There is no reason why Jews should not be employed as directors of the Bank of England, the East India Company, and the like, or as Government officials in the Exchequer, Customs and Excise, but, of course, neither in the Church nor in Government posts which require a special oath.[18]

But Toland, spokesman of English Deism, who had to flee from his birthplace for his doctrines[19]—'Tolan who farshook our showrs,' as James Joyce[20] puts it—was hardly the man to gain the verdict for the 'abandon'd cause'[21] which he upheld.

After the passing of an Act of Parliament (13 Geo. II, cap. 7) on 1 June 1740, whereunder foreigners and others, including Jews, who had lived for seven years in the American colonies might be naturalised, Dublin was the next scene of the struggle for Jewish rights. Within five years, four Bills for naturalising the Jews of Ireland were introduced into the Irish Parliament, only to be blocked by the antagonism of the peers. The first was tabled on 21 November 1743, by Viscount Limerick, in the Irish House of Lords. After several debates, the matter was adjourned till 31 January

1743/4, and then a further adjournment was ordered 'till this fortnight'. But Parliament was prorogued on 9 February 1743/4,[22] and did not meet again until October 1745. Mr. Marcus Anthony Morgan, Member for Athy in County Kildare, introduced a Bill in the Irish House of Commons,[23] which passed within a week, but the illiberal peers threw it out. A third attempt was made on 18 March 1745/6, and it speaks for the determined spirit in which the Commons had set their hands to the task that they carried it without a division in three days. Once again the peers were recalcitrant, although only by two votes.[24]

From a minute dated 5 Heswan, 5507 (October 1746), in the Minutes Book of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London, it appears that, after the third Irish failure, the Elders felt that they had not done enough to secure the passage of the Bill: 'With much grief we remind your Worships of the unsuccessful issue of the Bill for the Naturalization of our Nation in Ireland: and when we consider that one [*sic*] vote only deprived us of so great a benefit we are left wondering what lack of application caused this great good to be defeated; and seeing the possibility of a similar Bill being brought to this Kingdom at some time, or some other place, we leave your Worships to consider what methods may be adopted to seize any opportunity which may offer in good time, to secure liberty for our Nation.'[25] The Mahamad thereupon bestirred themselves, and it was on their motion that the Elders appointed a 'Committee of Diligence' to consult 'the best legal authorities of the realm' or anyone else who could help them.[26] Out of this, in 1760, emerged a Committee of Deputados, to-day's Board of Deputies of British Jews.

There was a fourth trial on 4 December 1747, on the part of the indomitable Mr. Morgan, abetted by Sir Robert King, Baronet, Member for Boyle in County Roscommon; the Commons directed them to prepare and bring in heads of the desired Bill. On Saturday, 12 December, Mr.Morgan could report to the House that the committee had gone through the heads, paragraph by paragraph, and had agreed to them without amendment. He was then ordered to present them to the Lord Lieutenant for transmission to England.[27] Regrettably, the Primate of Ireland fulminated against the Bill in a letter dated 18 January 1747/8, to Lord George Sackville, so that

it was dropped quietly in Council and never vouchsafed Royal Assent.[28]

The sprinkling of Irish Jews, for the most part poor Ashkenazim, was not deeply affected by the failure of the Bills, which might, indeed, have been little more than a platonic demonstration in the name of religious liberty. Michael Davitt, the Irish Nationalist leader at the turn of the twentieth century, believed that the Bills were intended 'as a solemn and significant protest against the brutal and inhuman persecutions which were being practised at this period against the Jews on the Continent, and, in a somewhat less ferocious manner, in Great Britain too.'[29] There can be little substance in the view put forward by certain Irish historians that the real object was to induce Jews to settle in Ireland in replacement of Catholics who were emigrating on account of Protestant domination.[30] But it is not unlikely that the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese community in London had instigated the Bills, with the idea that, if the Dublin experiment succeeded, it would encourage the moving of a similar Bill in London.[31]

The arena of action was now London, and a Bill for naturalising Jews who had been resident in Great Britain or Ireland for three years was introduced in the House of Lords on 3 April 1753. After some hostility, it was given the Royal Assent and passed into law, but a country-wide agitation led to its repeal on 20 December. James Eyre Weekes, editor of the *Dublin Spy*, commented on fears that the Bill was a danger to the Established Church:[32] 'The Bill for naturalizing the Jews talked of.—The Bishops against it, together with all sober, well-disposed Christians, who know not, or care not to know, that their Money would enrich Ireland, when their Religion would not affect us a Bull-rush'. An attempt to revive the Bill in 1765 was unavailing, and the issue was not raised again until 1780, and then in the Irish House of Commons. In that year, Sir John Blaquiere (1728–1812), an inveterate Jew-hater, introduced a Bill in Dublin for the naturalisation of all foreign settlers—merchants, traders, artificers, workmen, seamen, farmers—excepting only Jews. Blaquiere, who had come to Ireland in 1772 as Chief Secretary to the new Lord Lieutenant, Lord Harcourt, accused the Jews of being 'a money dealing people whose devices of Lotteries, Stockjobbing,

etc. etc. etc. carry ruin whithersoever they go'; 'money does not follow the Jews', he went on, 'the Jews follow money'. An anonymous correspondent in the *Freeman's Journal* of 23 March 1780, took up the cudgels for the Irish Jews: they were, in his opinion, a thrifty and painstaking community deserving the friendship of Blaquiere, a foreigner himself after all and, as Chief Secretary for six years, virtual governor of Ireland and so responsible for the deplorable state of the Irish Parliament, poor mockery as it was of a free parliament and honeycombed by corruption. Blaquiere did not altogether have his way. In 1780, an Act of Parliament (19/20 Geo. III, cap. 29)[33] was passed to naturalise foreigners and did not expressly except Jews; it was, however, the precursor of the Irish Naturalization Act (23/24 Geo. III, cap. 38), which did exclude them. In the debate on the Bill on 22 March 1784, Blaquiere took his familiar line that 'the Jews were by a law in force entitled to an asylum in this Kingdom, yet few settled here. And this could easily be accounted for on the principle of the well-known disposition of the Jews, whose aims were directed to no country but where they could get money'. He wished, sententiously, to see men of property and ingenious manufacturers settle in Ireland. Blaquiere was seconded by Sir Lucius O'Brien (d. 1795), statesman and financier, grandfather of William Smith O'Brien, the Young Irelander; Sir Lucius observed that 'in England where there were many wealthy Jews, there might be some shew of political reason for giving them the rights of citizens, but here where there were no Jews, no such apologies existed'. The Jewish case was advocated by George Ponsonby (1755-1817), afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland and a vigorous supporter of Catholic rights: that the Jews then were in general odium not only in England but in all Europe should, he felt, furnish the greatest reasons for giving them an asylum.[34] Blaquiere, however, won the day.

On 11 August 1788, the following appeared in the *Dublin Evening Post:* 'A friend to the public thinks that, as the Jews are generally rich and industrious, with a great deal of the ready always lying by them, that [*sic*], while the liberal comprehensive fit is upon us, they ought to be naturalized in this kingdom. Their being admitted to partake of the full privileges of subjects would probably make

money plenty as well as promote trade and population'. The self-interested proposal had no response and it was only in 1816 that the Irish Naturalization Act of 1783 was repealed.

CHAPTER IX

MARLBOROUGH GREEN SYNAGOGUE

It was in 1767 that the Lord Lieutenants began to reside in Dublin throughout their term of office; till then they had crossed to Ireland for one or two brief visits each year. Dublin became the second city of the Empire, vying with London in the magnificence of its buildings and the brilliance of its society. Dublin Jewry had an influx of newcomers, mainly Ashkenazim, of German, Polish, and Dutch provenance, with individuals from Bohemian Prague, France, and Armenia. Like the few Sephardim in Dublin, they may have entered Ireland after some years of English domicile. It is, by the way, suggested that the earliest Jewish congregation in Liverpool,[1] which was in existence from 1750 to 1775, was partly constituted of Sephardi migrants from London who called a halt to their transit to Dublin in what was then the chief port of embarkation for the Irish capital.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, most of the Jews of Dublin were wholesale jewellers. Some, as we have noted, were accepted as journeymen by the Goldsmiths' Company; some, though registered with it, were only dealers in gold and silver ware. Pencil-making was the pursuit of several, and it is not improbable that the graphite pencils introduced into Ireland in 1795 were manufactured by a Jewish family of Dublin, which amassed a considerable fortune. Others, again, were merchants, general dealers, bill brokers, painters of miniatures and engravers, musicians, druggists, teachers of languages, and chocolate-makers, and there were, no doubt, among the poorer Jews many itinerant pedlars.

It has been noted that conversion and intermarriage were not uncommon. Jews were members of an Irish group at Westminster

Abbey for the coronation of George III; a Jew, who probably conformed to Anglicanism, became an Irish Privy Councillor; an Irish-born Jewess married a Neapolitan nobleman and claims to have been appointed maid-of-honour to Princesse de Lamballe, confidante of Marie Antoinette. Richer Jews were accepted in Christian society. Freemasonry was an important sphere of contact between Jew and Gentile, and eight out of a community of some forty householders belonged to Lodge 206 of the Irish Constitution in Dublin in 1770–1, one rising to the high office of Prince Mason.

It would appear that, in 1753, Dublin Jewry was plagued by communal strife and that a rival conventicle had sprung up. Isaac Phillips,[2] who probably lived in the building in Crane Lane[3] which housed the synagogue, would not let the defectors use its Scrolls of the Law. Peace was restored in the end, and it must have been in the 1760s that the synagogue was moved to new precincts near Marlborough Green, a shipping centre in the main, near where the Custom House was built in 1781.

The opening of the new synagogue has been variously dated to 1746 and 1762; the second dating is the more likely. One writer gives the following account of the building and district:[4] 'Lower Abbey Street, which was formerly called Ship Buildings, is a wide and much frequented avenue, and until the new Custom House was built, it was the direct road to the North Wall, the Lotts and the North Strand. On the north side of the street stood a large and lofty glass house, demolished in 1792 by the Commissioners for making wide and convenient streets. On the south-west corner of Lower Abbey Street, and extending thence into Marlborough Street, stood an ancient and massive building, built in the early days of Queen Anne by George Felster, a wealthy merchant, who on his retiring from business, converted the mansion into a club, not quite so bad as its successor, the Hell Fire Club, but evidently its precursor. Felster died in 1742, about which time the Government divided the parish of St. Mary, forming that of St. Thomas. This house was taken and used for the purpose of Divine service while the new Protestant Church in Marlborough Street was being built. This was consecrated in December 1762, and immediately afterwards the Felster building was converted into a Jewish Synagogue'.

There is, however, the contrary opinion of Father Ronan,[5]

who appears to have come across a reference to the fact that the Jews of Dublin were then under a cloud and therefore transferred their synagogue to a more secluded building. The preface to the 1839 edition of the Laws and Regulations of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation remarks that 'about half a century ago there was a place of worship, held at a rent, in the yard of the glass works, Marlborough Street'.[6] This scarcely squares with Collins's account. It points rather to a building shown in Rocque's Map of Dublin, 1765, as a Velvet Manufactory, between two glass houses and Marlborough Green, or a building adjoining the factory. For his identification of the site, Father Ronan finds support in the following statement by the Rev. Dillon Cosgrave:[7] 'Much of the site of [the projected] Blenheim Street [Northumberland Square in 1844] with the other places adjoining, like the Jewish Synagogue of 1746 in Marlborough Green, the Velvet Manufactory of a century ago near Trinity Church and Pugh's Glass Factory in Potter's Alley, has been absorbed by the large premises of Brooks Thomas & Co.'

The synagogue was visited in 1777 by Dr. Thomas Campbell, a North of Ireland clergyman and friend of Dr. Johnson; he found the attendance meagre and the services irregular, and considered the paucity of Jews in Dublin a sure sign of urban poverty.[8] From a manuscript written in 1785 by a converted Dublin Jew,[9] it appears that there were 'two rabbis' in Dublin at the time, but we do not know in what capacity they served. Myer Lyon,[10] professionally known as Leoni, opera singer and quondam Reader of the Great Synagogue in London, who performed in Dublin theatres during the period from 1781 to 1784, may have been persuaded to officiate in Marlborough Green, at least during the High Holydays. It is tempting to speculate whether he assisted in 1781 at the marriage of Isaac Franks,[11] of Manchester, who may have found the Jewish authorities in England, in their nervousness concerning the insidious perils of proselytising, unduly hesitant about accepting his fiancée, Miss Nash, daughter of a wealthy Quaker of Norfolk, as a convert to Judaism. Official Jewish circles in Dublin, like 'Rabbi' Phillips[12] in Birmingham, who, in 1787, saw to the circumcision of Lord George Gordon, had fewer qualms, and arranged for the lady's conversion and wedlock;[13] Franks had eloped with her to Ireland.

According to the Rev. Dillon Cosgrave,[14] the Jews of Dublin in the second half of the eighteenth century lived mainly in the suburb of Annadale, through which ran Ellis's Lane, now Philipsburg Avenue, near the Catholic church in Fairview. There, in many old houses in Richmond Road, the door did not face the street directly, and this is said to have been the usage of the Jews at that time.

We may safely infer that among the prime movers in this third rebirth of the Dublin congregation within a century were Jacob Wills (Weil), Isaac Isaacs, Samuel Davis, Jacob and Moses Hyams, Henry Jacobs, Mark Jacob, Israel Wolfe, and Phillip Phillips.

Jacob, son of Yochanan Weil, born in France in 1701, settled in Dublin about the year 1760, probably after a period of residence in London, for a man of that name was a privileged member of the Great Synagogue there in the mid-eighteenth century.[15] In the synagogue he was known as Jacob Frenchman, in secular life as Jacob Will or Wills. In 1761,[16] he was registered for the first time as a journeyman of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company and traded as a jeweller at Essex Quay from 1769 to 1772, when he announced his retirement in the Dublin press[17] and introduced his grandson, Isaac Isaacs, as his successor. He died on 17 Adar II (March) 1777 and was buried at Ballybough;[18] his tombstone is that still standing in a row by itself and the only one with an eighteenth-century date,[19] so that it may well be that the row was once lined with monuments to coreligionists of his time.[a]

[a] The following are names of professing Jews resident in Dublin in the eighteenth century, some of whom are known to have died there, and tombstones were probably erected to their memory in the same row as that of Jacob Wills: Judith Phillips (will dated 1746), Jacob Phillips, died 13 January 1748, Moses Jacob Cowan, died 16 February 1748, Isaac Levi (will dated 1748), Abraham Levy (will proved 5 July 1749), Michael Phillips, died *circa* 1760, Isaac Phillips, died *circa* 1780, Israel Wolf, died *circa* 1790, Joel Wolf, died *circa* 1791, Isaac Isaacs, died May 1791, Jacob Hyams and Henry Jacobs, resident in Dublin in the 'sixties, Israel Phillips, Abraham Elkin, Joseph Meyars, Isaac Levi, Lion Davis, and Solomon Israel, resident in Dublin in the 'seventies, Samuel Jacobs, resident in Dublin in the 'eighties, Abraham Lyons, resident in Dublin in the 'nineties, and Solomon Cohen, who died in Dublin before 1816 and whose tombstone was found by his son in a house near the cemetery:

Isaac Isaacs, from Germany, who kept on his grandfather's business from 1772 to 1778,[20] imported from London a large variety of jewellery made there under the supervision of his father, a prominent manufacturing jeweller. He purchased old gold and silver especially robes of gold and silver embroidery, for export. He passed away at Winetavern Street in May 1791, after a protracted illness, 'well-known to the pleasurable as one of the first dulcimer players in Europe'.[21] Mr. Isaacs,[22] of Dublin, who, accompanied by a daughter, joined William Hickey's party to the coronation of George III, and a Judith Isaacs,[23] wife of Moses Hyams, are recorded, but whether Isaac Isaacs was of that kin we cannot tell.

Samuel Davis arrived in Dublin about the year 1750. After some years, he went to Portsmouth, where he was familiarly known as 'Sam Irishman'; but soon after we discover him in London, and, as Samuel ben Phineas or Sam Irishman,[24] he became a member of the Great Synagogue in 1766/7. His son, Simeon,[25] is recorded in the Great Synagogue list of 1789/90 as Simeon ben Samuel Irishman. Simeon's daughter, Maria (Polly) (d.1853), married Hyman Collins and became the grandmother of Alderman Hyman Henry Collins, F.R.I.B.A., well known professionally in his day, and great-grandmother[26] of Arthur Pelham Collins (1863–1932), of Drury Lane renown. The ancestor of the Collins (= Kalisch) family was Zevi Hirsch Kalisch, secretary and personal attendant of 'Dr.' Samuel de Falk of London, notorious practising Cabbalist and 'master of the Divine Name'.

In 1752, the Dublin press announced that Jacob Hymes (Hyams) and Henry Jacobs had arrived from London, intending to settle as wholesale manufacturers of black and red pencils.[27] They first lodged at the Sign of the Bull's Head, on Bachelor's Walk, a tavern frequented by Freemasons. Jacob Hymes may have been brother or kinsman of Moses Hyams, of Vilna, who arrived in Dublin about 1750; the family legend that Moses was a soldier in the Polish army and fled to Ireland after banishment for his revolutionary activity in defence of Polish freedom is a romantic fiction.[28] Moses married Judith Isaacks (Isaacs),[29] of Germany. After some years in Dublin, in all likelihood being one of the defectors of 1753,[30] he left for London and there died in August 1796. According to

family memoranda,[31] he was a member of the minyan which met each Sabbath in Newgate to conduct public services for the proselyte Lord George Gordon, who served a term of imprisonment for libelling Marie Antoinette and the British Government.

Of his five children, four sons, Solomon (1753–1837), Samuel (1766-1843), Isaac, and David, settled in South Carolina. The oldest, Solomon,[32] born in Dublin, worked as a printer in London and in 1787 arrived in Charleston. A daughter, Catherine, born in Dublin in 1755 or 1756, showed early musical talent. Her parents placed her in a charitable boarding school, where, her story goes, she was befriended by Lady Mary Duncan, a patroness of music, who introduced her to a distinguished circle. Charles Howard, tenth Duke of Norfolk, who superintended her education, sent her to Paris about 1774 to finish her studies at the Irish convent in Rue du Bacq,[33] Faubourg St. Germain. There she had dancing lessons from Gaetan Vestris, *maître de ballet* at the French Court in 1770-75, music lessons from Sacchini, operatic composer and musical instructor of Marie Antoinette, and tuition in French, German, and Italian. Sacchini informed Marie Antoinette, who was interested in making proselytes, of Catherine's musical and linguistic talents, and of her deep knowledge of Catholicism, rare in one not born in the faith. Catherine had audience of the Queen, and claims to have been appointed in 1775 maid-of-honour to the Princesse de Lamballe[34] and it must have been then that she was converted to Catholicism. About 1780, she married her drawing and painting teacher, one G.A.Plomer,[35] an Englishman living in Paris, reputed to be particular friend and companion of Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Orleans, but in truth a disreputable adventurer, and the marriage was soon dissolved. When the Revolution broke out, Catherine fled to London disguised as a sailor. There, through Michael Leoni,[36] the opera singer, she met the manager of the Haymarket Theatre and is said to have embarked on a successful operatic career, including an appearance at the Crow Street Theatre in Dublin as Rosetta, the singing heroine in the operetta *Love in a Village*.

In 1792, she was back in France; she claims to have been sent to Spain on a secret mission for Marie Antoinette to win the support of her niece, Maria Christina of Naples, Queen of Spain. In Venice next, on 2 October 1799, she married Anthony Broglio Solari,

eventual heir to his father's marquisate and wealth, and for a time lived in aristocratic elegance accompanying her husband in his capacity as Venetian Ambassador and being presented at the great European Courts. In 1812, however, Napoleon deposed the marquis and confiscated his property, and Catherine was banished from Venetian territory for daring to express, as she puts it, 'a predilection for England' in the Imperial presence. After painful privations, she went back to London to eke out a livelihood by teaching music and languages once more, and to indulge voluminously, under her title of nobility or anonymously,[37] in writing lively personal memoirs, which were, however, in large part, apocryphal, and concocted of fantasy and imagination. With a numerous retinue, so goes the story,[38] she visited America in 1835, at the age of eighty, to see her brothers and their families in Charleston, but was so disconcerted by the primitive culture of the Americans that she returned home on the next boat. A kinswoman in New Orleans still possessed, a few years ago, a gold-mounted snuff-box given to Catherine by the Princesse de Lamballe, and Leon Labott owns, as a legacy from his grandfather, Judge Leon Labat, of New Orleans, who was Catherine's grandnephew, an autographed copy of her book *The Secret Memoirs of the Royal Family of France. . . now first published from the Journal, Letters and Conversations of the Princess Lamballe*, By a Lady of Rank (2 vols., London, 1826).[39] She died on 7 January 1844: her own words are a sad *envoi:* 'my eyesight failing me from age and close application, plunged me into the most frightful gulph of distress; and now at the very advanced period of my life, I present myself to public notice, widowed, friendless, moneyless'.

On the ship that brought Jacob Hyams to Dublin in 1752 there came Henry (Harry) Jacobs (Jacob), his partner in pencil-making. Jacobs traded independently at William Street from 1766 to 1781, then moved to 50 Golden Lane. He went in for the making of sword-canes also, doing business at 16 Temple Bar from 1787 to 1790, in which year he either died or left Ireland.[40]

Kinsmen of Jacobs may have been Emanuel, Mark, and Philip Jacob, resident in Dublin in the 1770s. Emanuel is recorded in the Leadbeater Papers, an account of the annals of Ballitore, in County Kildare, where a famous school was conducted by Richard Shackleton, the Yorkshire Quaker and father of the authoress, Mary Leadbeater;

Edmund Burke had his early education there. The reference reads: 'The summer of 1775 was remarkably fine and amidst the variety which marked it was the appearance of a Jew, the first of that nation that ever entered our village. He called himself Emanuel Jacob, and carried about as a show, enclosed in a glass case, that plant of ancient memory, the mandrake. It appeared to combine the animal and the vegetable in its formation, and this was really the case; for my father's housekeeper, impelled by curiosity, opened the case, and found the skeleton of a frog and fibres of the root of a plant. However, as it was not her wish to deprive the man of his livelihood, she carefully closed the case and permitted Emanuel to proceed on his way, unconscious of detection.'[41]

Mark was a tallow-chandler and mustard-maker trading at George's Lane, now South Great George's Street, from 1766 to 1770,[42] but it is not certain that he was a Jew.

Philip Jacob is recorded as a saddler for the year 1761 and from 1768 to 1783 as an upholder,[43] residing first in Marlborough Street and later in Great Britain Street.[44] He may have been born a Jew, becoming a convert on his marriage to Sarah Charters in 1757.[45] His son was an upholsterer, of Fleet Street, who married a Miss Purcell, of Athy, in County Kildare, in 1803.[46] There is no information that connects the pencil-maker, the showman, the tallow-chandler, or the saddler with Lyon Jacob,[47] the Dublin silversmith who moved to Cork in 1742, or with Isaac Jacob,[48] a Jew from Ireland who landed in Philadelphia in 1770.

A notice was inserted in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of 13–27 July 1772, by Messrs. Templeton and Stewart, Auctioneers, seeking information about the whereabouts of Isaac Jacob, a Jew from Ireland who had landed in Philadelphia two years before, so that a letter containing 'something to his advantage' might be delivered to him.[49] This could have been one announcing the death of Lyon Jacob, his next-of-kin.

Israel Wolf (variously spelt Wolfe, Wolffe, or Woolfe), registered with the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company first in 1761 and last in 1784, and went bankrupt in March 1777,[50] when he is said to be a dealer and chapman as well as jeweller. A meeting of his creditors was called for 13 October 1779, at Warren's, No.37 Big-Ship Street.[51] The Israel Wolf, 'one of the Jews', who set himself up in

trade in Belfast at the end of 1753 as 'a vendor of gold and silver plate and ornaments and picture frames in gold and pure gilt in plaster', [52] was doubtless the same man. He could be the brother of Joel Wolf (or Woolf), a Dublin merchant, naturalised by patent of denization on 1 November 1781, [53] who died in Dublin in or about 1792; Benjamin Coen, [54] of Dublin, was executor of Joel's will.

The earliest reference to Phillip (Uri) Phillips (1730–1815) occurs in 1769, when his eldest son, Reuben, was born in Dublin. Himself the son of Isaac Phillips, [55] he was probably a native of Dublin and a kinsman of Jacob Phillips, 'a famous Chocolate maker', [56] and of Michael Phillips, elders of the Dublin community in 1746. [57]

Freemasonry, as we have mentioned, with all its Hebraic and Templar evocativeness, bridged many a social gap for the Jews of Dublin. Excluded from the freedom of the city and the gilds, and from the benefits of naturalisation, the Irish Jew, like his coreligionist across the Channel, was bound to be taken by the notion of belonging to a non-sectarian organisation which forged a bond of brotherhood between him and men of a different creed and assured him of the knowledge that the right hand of good-fellowship would be held out to him by his brethren of the 'mystic tie', whatever was his creed. The principles and tenets of the craft are steeped in the spirit of the Hebrews, while its rituals stem from the great edifice of Solomon in Jerusalem, and there was not a Jew but offered thrice each day his supplication that it be restored. Masonic symbolism is peculiarly Jewish in character, and the terms spoken within the Lodge are borrowed from the ever-open Bible. Jews became prominent in the craft very soon after the so-called revival in 1717, but it is not until 1770 that Jewish names appear in Masonic records in Ireland. In that and the following year the membership of Lodge 206 of the Irish Constitution in Dublin included Israel de Lieban, Israel Phillips, Abraham Elkin, Joseph Meyars, Isaac Levi, Lion Davis, and Solomon Israel. [58] Israel de Lieban, variously recorded as Delieben, Delaben, and Lieben, emigrated to America and, apart from Lion Davis, the Dublin records of the period are silent as to the others; some may have done as de Lieban did. Israel Phillips could be the son of Isaac Phillips and the grandson of either Jacob or Michael Phillips, whom we found living in Dublin in the first half of the century, and identical with the Israel Phillips whom

American Masonic records give as resident in Philadelphia in 1779. Joseph Meyars could be a brother of Symon Myers, who died in London on 12 March 1821, having been known in his synagogue as Shimon ben Meir Irishman; he may be identical with a Joseph M. Myers noted in American Masonic records as of Philadelphia in 1781 or a Joseph A. Myers, of Richmond, in 1787-1799. Isaac Levi, probably a grandson of the Isaac Levi, merchant, of Inns' Quay, who left a will dated 1748, could be the Isaac H.Levy whom American Masonic records place in New York in 1790-1792.[59]

Israel de Lieben was born in Prague in 1740, probably the son of Wolf Kaufman Lieben,[60] and settled in Dublin about 1767. Rising meteorically in the craft, he became, on 11 January 1770, a Perfect Prince Mason of Ireland, 'duley authorized by the Most Puissant and Illustrious Grand Council of Dublin—under the immediate auspice of the Most Puissant and Illustrious Marquis of Kildare, now Duke of Linster [*sic*]. . .', and holding the degrees of Grand Elect, Perfect and Sublime Mason, Knight of the East, Prince of Jerusalem.[61] A shochet by ample rabbinical authority,[62] he practised as such in Amsterdam and in London and finally in Dublin, which he left for the New World in 1770. His name appears in American records in 1773[63] as the private shochet of Aaron Levy, who founded the town of Aaronsburg in 1786, and in 1774 as a witness[64] to the signing of a power of attorney granted by Levy to Henry Haines, in Northumberland, Pennsylvania. For two years he was communal shochet and synagogue factotum in Philadelphia,[65] where, at the time of the British occupation, he signed a petition favouring the continuance of colonial currency to ease the financial embarrassment of the garrison.[66] There is no truth in the claim[67] that he fought in the War of the Revolution in the rebel ranks, earning high preferment; he is not mentioned in the official records of revolutionary soldiers, and his visit to Lodge 211, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, whither the loyalists betook themselves after the Revolution, shows where his political sympathy lay. On 6 February 1781, he was a visitor to Lodge 169 in New York, of wholly loyalist membership; he is listed in the records as 'Lieben 206 Ireland'. After a visit to London in 1782, he returned to America, and in 1790 joined the newly reorganised congregation of Mikveh Israel in Savannah, Georgia. There he conferred[68] the 29th degree

(Scottish Rite) on Abraham Jacobs by the patent he gave him under date of 20 March 1792, and about a year later—on 20 February 1793—he married Hannah Levy (1761-1850), of Charleston. In the same year, he clarified a complicated question of the Law put to him by the elders of the Savannah congregation. He appears in Charleston in 1797, and with Solomon M. Hyams, senior, of Dublin, attended the Beth Elohim Synagogue, serving as Treasurer in 1800; in 1802 his wife and he presented the synagogue with an old brass candelabrum, which is still in use there. Israel died in Charleston on 28 January 1807, 'having always borne the character of an upright man, whose heart was truly generous, and in whom the needy ever found a friend'.[69] In view of speculation upon the influence of Irish Freemasonry in the degrees of the Rite, Masonic historians have been intrigued to note that, among the founders, only de Lieben is known to have been associated with Masonry during his stay in Ireland. The Register of 1802 lists 'Israel Delieben, native of Bohemia, Commission Merchant, aged 61 years . . . K.H.P.R.S. Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33d degree', a member of the Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection, Grand Treasurer of the Grand Council, Keeper of the Seals and Archives of the Consistory, and a Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the Supreme Council.[70]

Lion Davis, a jeweller, was still in Dublin in 1784. In that year, the Irish Government enacted a law forbidding any merchant, manufacturer or dealer in gold or silver wares to buy, sell, exchange or export any gold or silver wares or pearls without first registering his name and place of abode in the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, under penalty of £100.[71] Davis and four other Dublin Jews—Israel Wolf,[72] Samuel Jacobs, Jacob Jetz, and Moses Moses—hastened to comply. Davis was probably connected with the family of Samuel Davis (Sam Irishman), where the first name Lion reappears, and may also have been kin to the Isaac Davis registered with the Company in 1787 but trading later as a china merchant as well at 44 Fishamble Street, and as a watchmaker there, too, from 1789 to 1799.[73] The name of Samuel Jacobs is suggestive of relationship to Henry Jacobs[74] (Jacob), pencil-maker and sword-cane manufacturer, his contemporary in Dublin. Jacob Jetz[75] worked as an engraver at 31 Abbey Street in 1784, in partnership

with Solomon Polack. In 1785, he was working independently at 10 Fishamble Street,[76] and probably left Dublin soon after. Perhaps he was a brother of the engraver Benjamin Yates[77] (d. 1798) (Benjamin ben Eliakim Getz), of Liverpool, a forebear of Viscount (Herbert) Samuel, first High Commissioner of Palestine under the British Mandate. Polack, who painted a portrait of Lord George Gordon[78] in Newgate gaol, was born in The Hague in 1757 and emigrated to Dublin about 1780. There he practised successfully as an engraver and miniaturist, but in 1786 moved to London and designed and engraved the title-pages of David Levi's translation of the Pentateuch, published in 1787. Between 1790 and 1831, he exhibited 57 pictures[79] at the Royal Academy. He died in Chelsea on 30 August 1839, and was buried in the Brompton Road cemetery of the Western Synagogue.

Moses Moses, coming from England about 1775 with his parents and sisters, was twenty-two years old when he registered with the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1784. In the following year, the community was disturbed by his intention to relinquish Judaism, and sought, in formal deputation, to deflect him from that course, but unsuccessfully. On 23 February 1785, now John Moses, he was baptised by the Rev. J. Lyon in St. Bridget's Church, in Bride Street; he died some time before 1828 and, following the familiar pattern, left behind a pamphlet in manuscript vindicating his act. In 1786, his sister Phoebe, too, was converted. In April 1795, at St. Anne's Church, in Dawson Street, he married Catherine Knox,[80] eldest daughter of Mitchelbourne Knox, a Sligo merchant: in the marriage-licence bond the groom is also described as a merchant, but afterwards he kept a grocery at 32 South Great George's Street[81]; from family records, it appears that he taught Hebrew privately for a while before his marriage. His son, Marcus, born in Dublin in 1800, who entered Trinity College[82] on 28 October 1828, became a partner in Power's Musical Publishing House at 4-5 Westmoreland Street, which was taken over by Cramer and Company in 1867; his firm had bought the publishing rights of some of Thomas Moore's songs and in 1810 Moore presented his harp to Power, who, in turn, gave it to Marcus, and Marcus eventually gifted it John Glover,[83] a Dublin musician, who edited a volume of Moore's *Irish Melodies*. Marcus's first wife was

Martha Crosthwaite,[84] probably a sister of the Miss Crosthwaite,[85] of Dublin, who married Dr. Alexander McCaul, Hebrew scholar and missionary; his second wife was Fanny Maria Le Febure, descended from James Le Febure, a gunpowder-maker of Huguenot origin, who died intestate in Dublin in 1740. His son, John[86] (b. 1838), after graduating from Trinity College in 1860, was curate at Tuam and Ballinderry. His brother, also named John, was a 'Professor of Music' and had an academy at 10 Hume Street and at 2 Upper Pembroke Square,[87] successively. The professor's elder son, Marcus Tertius Moses, famed for his charity, was a wholesale tea merchant in Dublin in 1904,[88] living in Bray, in County Wicklow. A daughter of Marcus Tertius married William Kennedy, Fellow and Lecturer in Hebrew at Trinity College. The family had a coat-of-arms—gules on a chevron between three cocks or; the crest is a cock regaurdant proper and the motto, 'I crow till I die', was originally in Hebrew.The Genealogical Office of Dublin Castle has no evidence of the date of grant or the name of the grantee.[89]

Not long after the conversion of that Moses Moses, a Jew of German origin, known simply as Moses the Jew, was baptised in Dublin by a dissenting minister, who perfected him in English and rhetoric. Moses preached in Dublin, Glasgow and Edinburgh to crowded and enthusiastic churchgoers. He was born in Lower Germany; in his youth he had a strictly Orthodox upbringing, but after a conversation with a Catholic bishop he decided to become a Christian, and it was in Dublin, after a long European meander,[90] that he did.

A converted Jew, born Moses Levi[91] in 1775 but notorious as 'Don' Juan Josef Heydeck, lived briefly in Dublin. A native of Grodringhausen, near Cologne, he studied at Metz and at Prague, where he is said to have been ordained as a rabbi by the great talmudist, Rabbi Ezekiel Levi (Landau) in 1776. Engaged first by the Jewish community at Emmerich as 'Rabbi and teacher', he speedily moved to London and was baptised there, in 1779, into the Church of England. In 1783, he was back in Cologne for a second baptism, now as a Roman Catholic and assuming the name of John Joseph Heydeck, or Keydeck. In 1785, he is preaching, once more as a Protestant, in London. He seems to have lived in Dublin for a time, between 1779 and

1785, claiming to be a Professor of Oriental Languages, but hardly being more than a private tutor of Hebrew. In 1787, he arrived in Charleston, in South Carolina, in the guise of a missionary, to Christianise the Cherokees, in the conviction that the American Indians were the Lost Ten Tribes.[92] Little resulted, and in the summer of 1788 he was in Madrid, to be appointed, by royal command, assistant to the Professor of Hebrew at the Reales Estudios of San Isidro. In 1792, he published four quarto volumes entitled *Defensa de la Religión Christiana*, in the form of letters justifying his conversion. At the age of sixty, his adventurous career and literary output came to an end with the publication, in Madrid, of an account of the Napoleonic Sanhedrin in Paris, entitled '*La fé triunfante*. . .'. His works were by no means unscholarly but, in essence, he was a consummate charlatan.

Dublin Jewry in the second half of the eighteenth century was, as explained, predominantly Ashkenazi, and only five Sephardi Jews are found in the records after 1730. One, Jacob Henriques, claimed authorship of an almanack which seems never to have seen the light of day. Here is the text of his advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* of 18 April 1768:

> To the Committee for conducting the Free Press
> To the Public.
>
> In a short time will be published a new Book intituled, Jacob Henriques' Almanack, wherein besides the usual predictions, many other and curious matters are contained and such as neither Poor Robin's, Watson's or any other Almanack can pretend to: By this you will be informed of all the Changes that are to happen in your Island, with the true Causes of them. Henriques also foretells how Matters are planned and who and what Folks are to have Pensions, places of Employment in your Island, he will tell you everybody (and God knows there are a great many) who expects to be provided for, and the Quantum they insist upon for their Voice in the Vestry; he will exhibit the true Character of Chameleons and Weather cocks; his Stipticks for a wavering Heart are to be sold at the Sign of Justice in Terra Labrador, or at the Salmon Leap at Niagara.
>
> Herein may also be found many remarkable Observations

relating to the present Situation of Affairs in Europe by which any Person the least skilled in Politics may discover whether the present Peace we enjoy is likely to be converted into a perpetual Peace; there are also particular Directions whereby ignoble Families may be enobled,[93] and a few curious Receipts to save trading Cities from Decays. There will be given gratis to the Subscribers several Plans for new Bridges, on a different Scheme from the New Exchange, and Notes, shewing that it is of more general Utility to the Public, that a few people of Fortune should have Bridges at the end of each Street across the Water, than the Merchants and Traders should have the Ships come up to their Shops and Warehouses; with Observations (upon Owen Tyre's and St. Luke's former Plan) to prove that Ships can lie as secure upon the hard rocky Bottom below the old Ferry, as they can upon the soft ouzy Bottom near the Custom House.

Subscriptions will be taken by the Author near the lying-in Hospital'.

A month before, Henriques had a satirical poem[94] and a letter[95] on political matters published in the same newspaper. His acquaintance with political, social, and commercial affairs in Dublin points to fairly long residence there: he might be the Jacob Nunes Henriques who left a will in London dated 1771.[96]

The *Freeman's Journal* for 11-13 October 1770 prints a letter from a correspondent, 'M.Z.', asking Mr. Peckanello, the Jew of Cornmarket, and his building colleagues why they had blocked up a laneway at the rear of Spital-fields, causing many accidents. Peckanello was presumably of Sephardi Italian provenance.

A Sephardi of the same period was one Barrow, a bill-broker and chief witness in the trial of two Irishmen, Farrell and Flynn, who were charged with robbing the mail in January 1784; he was sworn on the Old Testament. The evidence suggests that his complicity was limited to issuing the bills, one of which he encashed, dividing the proceeds, less two guineas for himself, between the prisoners. It was clear that he was not involved in the mail-robbery and knew nothing of it until they told him.[97] In the eighteenth century, the name Barrow (Baruch) is generally an equivalent for Lousada, the name of a prominent Sephardi family, though there

was also a Baruch Henriques clan; it may be noted that the warden of Bevis Marks with whom Michael Phillips, of Dublin, corresponded in 1748 on the purchase of the plot at Ballybough was Jacob Baruch Lousada,[98] and we know of a Ralph Baruk (Baruch)[99] of Cork who migrated to South Africa in 1820.

Joseph Lopo (Lopez), a native of Oporto, was naturalised in Dublin on 6 March 1799, having previously resided in County Waterford[100]; he, too, sounds a Sephardi. There was a Ximenes family in Dublin throughout the eighteenth century but there is nothing to link it with the well-known London Sephardim of that name. The will, dated 1774, of John De Aguilar, also a familiar Sephardi patronymic, is given by Vicars[101] in his *Prerogative Wills of Ireland.*

Besides the Ashkenazim mentioned as founders, or prime movers in the founding, of the Marlborough Green synagogue, two members of a prominent London Ashkenazi family should be recorded as holding appointments in Ireland under the Lord Lieutenant. In 1767, the fourth Viscount (later the first Marquess), Townshend became Lord Lieutenant. Affairs were in a turmoil, so he dissolved Parliament in May 1768, and threw himself into the task of breaking 'the undertakers.'[102] To that end, he used their own methods, making new peers and lavishly scattering places and pensions around. Solomon Shombergh [*sic*], gentleman-at-large, was sworn in as a member of the Privy Council of Ireland in 1770,[103] an appointment for which membership of the Church of England (or Ireland) was almost certainly a prerequisite. A year late, Schomberg is back in London, and in a letter from Whalebone Court, in Lothbury, dated 11 September 1771, is constrained to address Townshend thus [104]:

'Allowing for human infirmities, my Conduct in a Period of upwards of three very expensive Years in your Excellency's Service, has, (unless indigence is criminal) been strictly irreproachable; What debts I have contracted, were created by Necessity, unavoidably incurr'd by my Situation, by Illness and other adventitious Circumstances, and not through Choice or Extravagance. . .'

At the age of sixteen, that is, in 1740, Solomon was granted a notarial faculty in London. In 1745, he deposed that he was well versed in 'the Jewish language', and again, in 1762, in a Chancery

case in which all the litigants were Jews, declared himself to be 'conversant in the Hebrew and Rabbinical Languages'. He is last heard of in 1793 as practising from Middle Temple Lane.[105] He was the son of Dr. Mayer Loew Schomberg, physician to the Great Synagogue, and half-brother to Captain Sir Alexander, of the Royal Navy, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Henry, ranked in the 1756 Army List as a Lieutenant in the 40th Foot Regiment as from 3 June 1755,[106] and believed to be the earliest traceable Anglo-Jewish officer.[107] Henry and Alexander probably conformed to Anglicanism before gaining their commissions.

A year after Solomon's appointment as an Irish Privy Councillor, Alexander was given command of the *Dorset*,[108] the yacht attached to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and for thirty years held it until his death at his home in Ely Place, Dublin, on 22 March 1804; he was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard[109] in Aungier Street. The *Freeman's Journal* obituary of 27 March eulogised him as 'an experienced officer adorned with manners much to be envied, but seldom equalled'. For distinguishing himself in action, he was knighted in 1776, and his portrait painted by Hogarth.[110] He had entered the Royal Navy in 1743, was promoted captain in 1756, and for the next six years served in Canada. In 1759, he took part in the occupation of Louisburg, and, at the capture of Quebec, his frigate, *Diana*, covered the landing of a naval party; his journal—containing four pages of notes and a plan in Wolfe's own hand—is extant. In 1760, his frigate, battling alone, worsted a French squadron off Point Levi. In the frigate *Essex*, fifty-four guns, he shared in engagements off Brest and the Bay of Biscay to prevent the union of France's Atlantic and Mediterranean fleets and the return of the American squadron to Brest. In 1763, he married Mary Arabella Chalmers (1748-1802), who lies buried by his side in St. Peter's Churchyard. Of their children, who were all baptised, Frederick was christened in St. Peter's Church on 9 April 1778. His elder son, Alexander Wilmot Schomberg (1774-1850), made Admiral in 1849, served gallantly in the French Revolutionary Wars and was the author of a standard work on shipbuilding; the younger, Captain Sir Charles Marsh Schomberg (1779-1835), was at the Battle of the Nile, and became Lieutenant-Governor of the island of Dominica. A third son, George-Hay Schomberg, was Rector of Kilmore. Of

the sons of Alexander Wilmot, Herbert and Charles Frederick attained the rank of Rear-Admiral; another was Sir George Schomberg, K.C.B. In the next generation there was the explorer, Lieutenant-General Herbert St. George Schomberg, C.B. (1845-1915), of the Royal Marines.[111]

Benjamin D'Israeli, public notary, born in 1766 and died on 9 August 1814,[112] was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, in Dublin, not far from the grave of Captain Sir Alexander Schomberg. Nothing is known for sure of the parentage or birthplace of Benjamin, who is described by a contemporary[113] as a 'large, dark-visaged and heavy-looking man', and pointed out at the turn of the nineteenth century as one of the two Jews of Dublin. An anonymous correspondent in the *Irish Times* of 9 September 1876, quoting the scurrilous magazine of Watty Cox for 1814, which lists licensed lottery-men, maintains that Benjamin turned Christian. It is suggested that Lord Beaconsfield's grandfather, Benjamin D'Israeli, who had established himself in London about 1760 as an importer of Italian merchandise and had close business connections with Dublin,[114] and whose son was Isaac D'Israeli, litterateur and Sephardi rebel, was the father of an illegitimate son who was given his full name and sent to Ireland with his mother and a bounty of £1,000. The suggestion appears in an account of Benjamin D'Israeli of Dublin in the report for the year 1890 of the Fund for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland; the author, J.G. Robertson, says that the 'late Lord Beaconsfield, I am told, mentioned much of the above to the gentleman to whom I am indebted for it'.[115] In his will, dated 4 August 1814, the Dublin D'Israeli, who had made a fortune early in life as public notary, lottery-office keeper, and member of the Dublin Stock Exchange, beqeathed most of his money to friends, the Hume family, of Humewood, in County Carlow receiving £5,000.[116] The story[117] goes that Lord Beaconsfield, on meeting Mr. Hume-Dick, a member of that family,would ask in jest when he intended to settle that little matter and restore to the D'Israeli family an estate that belonged to it. The Dublin D'Israeli, appointed by the Lord Lieutenant in 1810 to be High Sheriff of County Carlow, also left £539 7s. to the Female Orphan House in Dublin,[118] as well as £3,000 to build and maintain a free school at Rathvilly in

that country (now known as Scoil Náisiúnta D'Israeli, the D'Israeli national school), to be conducted 'on the most liberal and enlightened principles' under the direction of his heir-at-law, the Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns.[119]

Mystery no less surrounds the birth of George Francis Joseph, A.R.A., painter of the well-known portrait of Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse. He was born in Dublin on 26 November 1764,[120] and may have been the son of one Joseph, a fashionable juggler, who performed at the Stationer's Hall, Cork Hill, in 1762.[121] But the greater likelihood is that his father was Francis Joseph (d. 1815), of Fitzroy Square, in London, of a family descended from Jossele Hollander, of Amsterdam. Martha, wife of George Francis, died in 1833 and is believed to have had Jewish burial. In 1820, George Francis, then in Dublin, was commissioned by Trinity College to paint the portraits of Lord Avonmore, Lord Downes, Lord Kilwarden and Hussey Burgh which now hang in the dining-hall[122]; he was paid £346 18s. 9d. for his work. In the Fellows' Common Room hangs his excellent portrait of Jacky Barrett, an eccentric Vice-Provost.[123] He died in Cambridge on 4 September 1846, and was buried in St. Michael's Churchyard.[124]

To the list of professing Jews in Dublin in the second half of the century we must add Solomon Cohen and his family of three sons and a daughter, Joseph Leoni, Isaac Solomon, Joseph Elias, Symon Myers, Joseph Hart, John Lattes, Gaspard Molina, Abraham Lyons, and Nathan Solymans. Cohen came, about 1765, from Lissa, near the Silesian border in the duchy of Posen, and died in Dublin shortly before 1816; his occupation is not known, but his sons were successful manufacturers of lead pencils. A report appeared in the *Hibernian Journal* of 11 May 1772 that the house of Mr. John Cullen at the Moor's Head, Fownes' Street, was broken open and robbed by a Jew who called himself Joseph Leoni. Another Jew, whose name is unknown, was charged with breaking into Christ Church on the night of Friday, 14 February 1777, and stealing a great quantity of plate.[125] Isaac Solomon, druggist, was declared insolvent in March 1777; he was, possibly, an uncle of Samuel Solomon (1745?-1818), inventor of a patent medicine, who, in or about 1768, opened a depot in Fleet Street for the sale of his remedies,[126] and whose brother Isaac worked as a silversmith in Cork at the turn of

the century.[127] Both Joseph Elias and Symon Myers lived in Dublin in the 1780s, and then moved to London, Joseph dying in Church Street, in Little Minories, on 1 September 1814, Symon in Gravel Lane, Houndsditch, on 12 March 1821; in the Great Synagogue, London, they were known as Joseph ben Elias Irishman and Shimon ben Meir Irishman respectively. About 1780, Joseph Hart, passing through from Dublin on his way to London, was persuaded by Benjamin Yates,[128] president of the Liverpool community, to settle there;[129] he was still in Liverpool in 1790, trading in hardware at 12 Garden Street, Wapping.[130] He may have been a kinsman of Simon Hart, of Dublin, who left a will dated 30 December 1779, and proved 25 January 1780, mentioning a stepdaughter, Mary Anne Campbell, and a natural daughter, Ann.[131] Philip Hart, of 8 Portland Place,[132] Dublin, who flourished as a landscape painter from 1810 to 1816, may have been of Jewish origin. On 20 June 1782, John Lattes,[133] of London, was given a certificate by the Jewish community of Bordeaux to procure a passport to England in transit to Dublin. In 1792, Gaspard Molina[134] applied for a permit to sail from Bordeaux to Dublin. Abraham Lyons,[135] who lodged with a Mr. Saunders at Fishamble Street, opposite Christ Churchyard, had the two Scrolls of the Law with their adornments, of the Marlborough Green Synagogue, transferred to his home after the disintegration of the community and the closure of the synagogue in 1791. In 1793, a Dublin newspaper reported: 'A mendicant Armenian Jew paraded in the streets yesterday looking for alms, the novelty of whose dress and appearance, induced crowds of the nobility to accompany him on his walks'.[136] *Walkers' Hibernian Magazine* for the year 1802 gives a fairly detailed account of the marriage in London of Mrs. Joachim, relict of Mr. Moses Joachim, to one Nathan Solymans, of Dublin.[137]

We also catalogue, in Dublin, Abraham Jacobs, Philip-Levi Hodgson and Daniel Hodgson, Daniel Zeigler, David Beyendorff, Emanuel Zimmerman, Jacob Moss, Rebecca Abraham,—Braham, Joseph Levitt, Sarah Harris, Peter Levin and Rachel Levin, all, to judge from their names, of Jewish origin, although, save for Abraham Jacobs, known to be a convert, their Jewish identity is only inferential. Jacobs traded in cloth with Ireland in the 1760s; he was born in Frankfort-on-Main, baptised there on 22 May 1758, and

in the following year left for England. On 24 February 1766, on his sixth voyage to Ireland from Liverpool, he was among the ten survivors of the shipwreck *Fair Jenny*.[138] Philip-Levi and Daniel Hodgson worked as measurers, that is, quantity surveyors, at George's Quay, from 1763 to 1796.[139] Daniel Zeigler was a portrait painter and miniaturist in College Green in 1763-4; he had come to Dublin from Rome and Paris.[140] David Beyendorff, a watch-case maker, worked in Dublin in the 1760s.[141] Emanuel Zimmerman was a teacher of French there from 1781 to 1799, living first in Glover's Alley and later in Stephen's Street; he was naturalised on 19 December 1793.[142] On 24 June 1802, he established in Dublin the College of Philosophical Mason Knights, K .·. H .·. (which still works as such to this day).[143] Jacob Moss was a cabinet-maker and upholder in the 1780s and lived at 22 Grafton Street.[144] Rebecca Abraham married Bernard Custer in Dublin in 1788.[145] A Miss Braham married R.C. Mitchell there in 1798.[146] The *Freeman's Journal* of 26 February 1799 records a Mr. Braham of 88 Dame Street as a dentist and supplier of remedies for toothache and corns. Joseph Levitt married Sarah Harris in Dublin in 1802.[147] Peter Levin left a will dated 1803;[148] Rachel Levin, widow, of Beresford Street, left one dated 1812.[149]

CHAPTER X

IRISH PROVINCIAL JEWRY (1740–1800)

It is not surprising that most of the Jews who came to Ireland in the eighteenth century settled in Dublin, then the second city of the British Empire in size and population, seat of government, embellished with the handsome mansions of Irish nobility and gentry, its social efflorescence rivalling the heyday of Paris. One or two itinerant merchants, like Lyon Jacob[1] in 1741, or showmen, like Emanuel Jacob[2] in 1775, travelled the countryside, and some, naturally, made their homes there; so it was, for example, that a congregation came into existence in Cork[3] as an offshoot of the parent body in Dublin. The congregation during the eighteenth century must have been very tiny, without a synagogue building. A book about Cork, published in 1731, starts with these words:[4] 'Tho' the Jews appear by peculiar malediction to be dispersed into every flourishing sea port upon Earth; yet I can't find a Synagogue in this second City of the Kingdom'. This is not to say that a small group of Jews were not settled in the city, holding services in the house of one of their number. In the middle of the century, Cork certainly had an organised Jewish community: in July 1753, the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London informed its congregants visiting Cork and other parts of Ireland that Abraham Solomons was the only person in Cork qualified as a shochet.[5]

This was the period when Ireland did an impressive business in the export of preserved meat; according to a pamphlet of 1737, shipment of beef and provisions was the most considerable commerce of Cork, with local Jews engaged in it, supplying foreign clients, of whom several were English Jews, as well as Jews living in the far-away West Indies. To comply with the customers' ritual

specifications, cattle were killed in Cork, and later in Belfast, by the local shochet; the meat was prepared for shipment, as Jewish law prescribed, within three days after killing and dispatched overseas with a certificate from the shochet. Here is an illuminating passage from a letter, dated 12 October 1771, from Messrs. Hare, provision merchants, of Cork, to John Holmes, junior, of Belfast: 'I shall apply to your Jew butcher about the salmon but am certain he will not give a certificate. Indeed, I am somewhat doubtful if any certificate is necessary. I have shipped a trifle of salmon to a Jew in Jamaica and had no complaint'.[6] It would seem to follow that by 1771 no shochet was operating in Cork.

The opening of a Jewish cemetery in Cork in 1725[7] has been referred to. A plot on the south-east corner of White Street, now built over, was first thought to be the site.[8] But there is new evidence that it was in Kemp Street, outside the walls of the old town, and in 1796 the plot was in the possession of Messrs. Kenny and Barry, after the eighteenth-century congregation had been dissolved. The evidence is in an assignment of property (Beamish and Crawford to McMullen), dated 24 March 1871;

'And Whereas by one other Indenture of demise bearing date 22nd April 1796 and made between Joseph Reeves of the City of Cork Merchant of the one part and Charles Henry Leslie of the same City Esquire of the other part whereby the said Joseph Reeves demised to the said Charles Henry Leslie his executors administrators and assigns All That and Those a Lot of ground then an orchard in the possession of Alderman Baker bounded on the South by a Lot of Ground then a yard in Cove Lane in the possession of Isaac Morgan Esquire and on the west by a Lot of Ground in Kemp Street called the Jews Burying Ground and then in the possession of John Kenny Coach Maker and John Barry Carpenter both of said City'.[9]

In the assignment is a tracing in which an area is marked as follows:

'Formerly the Jews Burying Ground, now in possession of Messrs Lunham'.

A gradual decline in the size of the Cork congregation set in after 1770. By 1788, the synagogue and the cemetery were closed down, and we find a Cork Jewess in that year resorting to a Protestant church for her wedding to a County Limerick Jew, while

infant children of the union, who died in 1791 and 1792, were buried by the outer wall of the church graveyard. The register of the church at Ballingarry, in County Limerick, shows that Miss Fanney Levy (1765-1829), 'an Irish lady from Cork', was married on All Saints' Day, 1788, to 'Mr Jacob Schwetzer' (*sic*) (1759-1842), 'a German Jew from Braunsheim in Limburg', eldest son of Abraham Barnett Schwetzer (1735-1799), who, with C. Haim and Edward Atkinson, was a witness at the wedding. Fanney (Frances) Levy was the daughter of Rosetta Andrade and Pereira Levy, also known as Marco Levie Pereira, and M. Perreira, who traded in Main Street late in the eighteenth century as an exporter and importer of wines. In 1786, the Cork authorities granted him permission to trade with three ships between Cork and Cadiz; in 1787, he was authorised to import merchandise from Spain, Portugal, the kingdom of Sardinia, and the duchy of Tuscany. According to the *Cork Directory* for 1790, with the final entry of the family name, the business was then conducted by Maud Sandro Pereira Levie, presumably a daughter. From Irish Pleadings, it appears that Pereira died intestate on 12 October 1792, in Bari, where his niece, Abendana Fernandes, lived. In 1850, Marco Fernandes, born in Bari but resident in London, his great-grandnephew, and Henry Levin, of Whitechapel, his uncle by marriage, preferred a claim to property in Lime Street in Cork, consisting of one dwelling-house, messuage, and tenements, which were left unadministered when his widow, Rosetta, died.

The Schweitzers, as they were generally known at Ballingarry, had a flour mill, now owned by one O'Grady but still called Schweitzer's Mill. The family then moved to Ballymoney, in County Cork, and eventually to Sheffield. When he died on 5 December 1799, Abraham Barnett Schwyzer, as the inscription on his headstone reads, was interred in unconsecrated ground outside the gate of the Ballymoney Protestant burial-ground. Fourteen years afterwards, on 20 June 1813, his wife, now Catharine Switzer, who seems to have been a native of Sheffield, and the daughter of the Rev. Joseph Levy, died in Sheffield aged 78 and was buried at his side. Their son, Jacob, who died on 17 June 1842, apparently in Sheffield, was buried in Ballymoney next to his own son, Pereira, who had died a bachelor a fortnight before, to his wife, Fanney (Frances), who had predeceas-

ed him on 29 October 1829, and to his brother, Isaac, who had died in Sheffield on 1 March 1826. The authorisation to the church authorities to arrange for the burial of Jacob Schweitzer was given by his sole surviving son, Abraham Herman Schweitzer, of Sheffield.[10]

Apart from the Schweitzers, there is no knowledge of other Jews settled in County Limerick in the eighteenth century. C. Haim, a witness at the Levy-Schweitzer wedding, was in all probability a resident of Cork and founder of the Hymes (Hyams) family which first appears in the Cork records in 1810.[11] C.T.Bowden, in his *Tour through Ireland* in 1790, found seven Jews in the city of Limerick but no synagogue.[12]

In the middle of the century a Jewish family of Bohemian or Central European stock lived in County Cork. Michael Prager, afterwards a business pioneer in America and an original director of the Insurance Company of North America, in Philadelphia, was born in County Cork in 1740. With his brother, Mark jun., he settled in Philadelphia[13] in the 1770s and is listed there as a merchant, under the firm name of Pragers and Co., at 216 South Front Street, but neither belonged to the local synagogue. A follower of George Washington and a staunch supporter of the Federalist Party, he died at Germantown, near Philadelphia, in 1793 during an epidemic of yellow fever. In the Library Company of Philadelphia there is a manuscript letter, dated 1793, sent by Mark Prager, a friend of GeorgeWashington, to Dr. Benjamin Rush, a distinguished American physician, begging him to come, or to send some other physician, to treat his cousin, Michael Prager, stricken by the plague. Michael left half of his estate to his wife, Isabella, and the greater part of the residue to his sister, then resident in Cork. Of two portraits of him in the possession of the Insurance Company of North America, one came direct from Ireland to the family in America.[14]

In the will of Michael Salomons (d. 1769),[15] a London shipowner, of Gould Square, Crutched Friars, and Hatton Court, Threadneedle Street, there is a legacy to Philip Levy,[16] of Cork, who may have been his agent there. On 18 August 1754, Samuel Levy,[17] a Jew, was baptised in St. Peter's Church by the Bishop of Cork.

Abraham Solomon, merchant, became a naturalised subject by patent of denization dated 17 March 1769, and may be identified

with the Cork shochet, Abraham Solomons, of 1753.[18] He had a daughter, Rachel, and two sons, Isaac and Samuel. Isaac (d. 1845), a silversmith, is first mentioned in the Cork records for 1801[19] and last in 1820 (?1840). In Holden's *Triennial Directory for Cork*, he figures in 1805 and 1809 as a silversmith and jeweller, of Patrick Street. Three marks are given for him; one, I. Solomon, in capitals, followed by the usual Cork mark sterling, a second in capitals direct on the metal, and a third identical with the second but enclosed in an oblong escutcheon.[20] Isaac was chiefly associated with spoons, though some cream jugs survive; the rarity of his pieces, taken with his three marks, suggests a specialisation in small items.

Samuel, born in Cork about 1745, was to be widely known as the inventor of a patent medicine, 'The Balm of Gilead', which brought him a fortune. In or about 1768, he moved to Dublin and opened a depot in Fleet Street for the sale of his remedies, which in due time were advertised and sold throughout the British Isles and America. An early advertisement in the Dublin press reads:[21] 'Dr. Solomon in Fleet Street, Having performed many Cures on Persons With inveterate Scurvies, Cancers and Evils, thinks it his Duty to inform the Public thereof that his Medicines may become more useful by being more generally known for which purpose it will be sufficient to name a few Instances[22] only, as the Degree of Credit due to the Persons whose cases he shall quote and whose Certificates are in his Possession can leave no Room to doubt their Veracity and Efficacy of his Medicines'. He is heard of next in 1789, when he married Elizabeth Aaron (1760–1815), of Birmingham, third child and eldest daughter of Moses Aaron (1718–1812), pencil-maker, himself born in Birmingham of parents believed to have come from Hungary;[23] Samuel had by then moved to Liverpool, where he continued his 'medical career' in a very modest way in Marybone, Tithebarn Street.

He professed to have a medical degree from Aberdeen, but was as little entitled to the letters M.D. after his name as to the arms beneath his portrait:[24] the pierced hearts and the motto 'Mens sana in corpore sano' were evidently adopted to forward the sales of his nostrum. He was an ingenious and prolific publicist, using books, the news-sheets, and the mails to popularise the 'Balm'. 'Dr. Solomon', he would blandly advertise, 'expects when consulted by

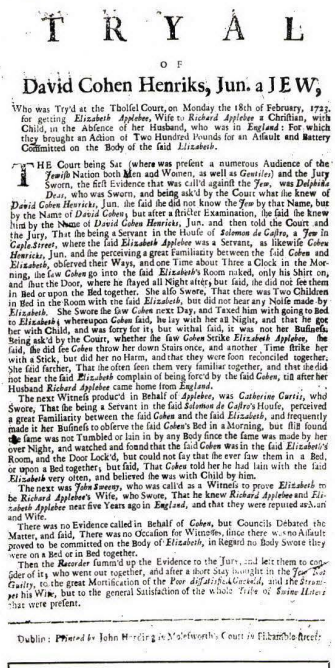


Fig. 1 'Prayer for the Royal Family' in the Dublin synagogue, 1714 (p. 25)



Fig. 2 General view of the Ballybough cemetery (Acquired 1718) (p. 35)
Photo: Edmund Ross

PLATE II



TRYAL

OF

David Cohen Henriks, Jun. a JEW,

Who was Try'd at the Tholsel Court, on Monday the 18th of February, 1723. for getting *Elizabeth Applebee*, Wife to *Richard Applebee* a Chriſtian, with Child, in the Abſence of her Husband, who was in *England*: For which they brought an Action of Two Hundred Pounds for an Aſſault and Battery Committed on the Body of the ſaid *Elizabeth*.

THE Court being Sat (where was preſent a numerous Audience of the *Jewiſh* Nation both Men and Women, as well as *Gentiles*) and the Jury Sworn, the firſt Evidence that was call'd againſt the *Jew*, was *Dolphika Dean*, who was Sworn, and being ask'd by the Court what ſhe knew of *David Cohen Henricks*, Jun. ſhe ſaid ſhe did not know the *Jew* by that Name, but by the Name of *David Cohen*; but after a ſtrict Examination, ſhe ſaid ſhe knew him by the Name of *David Cohen Henricks*, Jun. and then told the Court and the Jury, That ſhe being a Servant in the Houſe of *Solomon de Caſtro*, a *Jew* in *Caple-Street*, where the ſaid *Elizabeth Applebee* was a Servant, as likewiſe *Cohen Henricks*, Jun. and ſhe perceiving a great Familiarity between the ſaid *Cohen* and *Elizabeth*, obſerved their Ways, and one Time about Three a Clock in the Morning, the ſaw *Cohen* go into the ſaid *Elizabeth*'s Room naked, only his Shirt on, and ſhut the Door, where he ſtayed all Night after, but ſaid, ſhe did not ſee them in Bed or upon the Bed together. She alſo Swore, That there was Two Children in Bed in the Room with the ſaid *Elizabeth*, but did not hear any Noiſe made by *Elizabeth*. She Swore the ſaw *Cohen* next Day, and Taxed him with going to Bed to *Elizabeth*; whereupon *Cohen* ſaid, he lay with her all Night, and that he got her with Child, and was ſorry for it; but withal ſaid, it was not her Buſineſs. Being ask'd by the Court, whether ſhe ſaw *Cohen* Strike *Elizabeth Applebee*, ſhe ſaid, ſhe did ſee *Cohen* throw her down Stairs once, and another Time ſtrike her with a Stick, but did her no Harm, and that they were ſoon reconciled together. She ſaid farther, That ſhe often ſeen them very familiar together, and that ſhe did not hear the ſaid *Elizabeth* complain of being forc'd by the ſaid *Cohen*, till after her Husband *Richard Applebee* came home from *England*.

The next Witneſs produc'd in Behalf of *Applebee*, was *Catherine Curtis*, who Swore, That ſhe being a Servant in the ſaid *Solomon de Caſtro*'s Houſe, perceived a great Familiarity between the ſaid *Cohen* and the ſaid *Elizabeth*, and frequently made it her Buſineſs to obſerve the ſaid *Cohen*'s Bed in a Morning, but ſtill found the ſame was not Tumbled or lain in by any Body ſince the ſame was made by her over Night, and watched and found that the ſaid *Cohen* was in the ſaid *Elizabeth*'s Room, and the Door Lock'd, but could not ſay that the ever ſaw them in a Bed, or upon a Bed together; but ſaid, That *Cohen* told her he had lain with the ſaid *Elizabeth* very often, and believed ſhe was with Child by him.

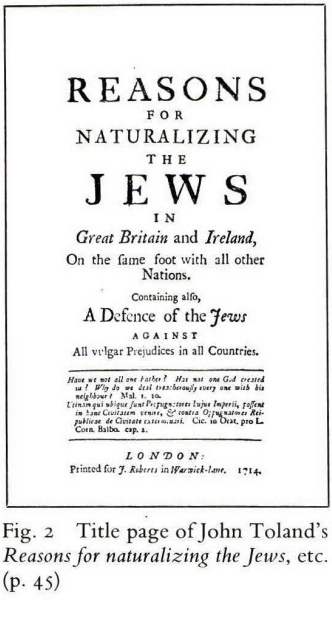
The next was *John Sweeny*, who was call'd as a Witneſs to prove *Elizabeth* to be *Richard Applebee*'s Wife, who Swore, That he knew *Richard Applebee* and *Elizabeth Applebee* near five Years ago in *England*, and that they were repuied and taken and Wife.

There was no Evidence called in Behalf of *Cohen*, but Councils Debated the Matter, and ſaid, There was no Occaſion for Witneſſes, ſince there was no Aſſault proved to be committed on the Body of *Elizabeth*, in Regard no Body Swore they were on a Bed or in Bed together.

Then the *Recorder* ſumm'd up the Evidence to the Jury, and left them to conſider of it; who went out together, and after a ſhort Stay brought in the *Jew Not Guilty*, to the great Mortification of the *Poor diſtreſſed Gentlewife*, and the *Steamſters* his Wife, but to the general Satisfaction of the whole *Train of Swine Haters* that were preſent.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworths Court in Fishamble Street.

Fig. 1 Dublin broadsheet, 1723, reporting *Tryal of David Cohen Henriks* (p.32)



REASONS

FOR

NATURALIZING

THE

JEWS

IN

Great Britain and *Ireland*,

On the ſame foot with all other Nations.

Containing alſo,

A Defence of the *Jews*

AGAINST

All vulgar Prejudices in all Countries.

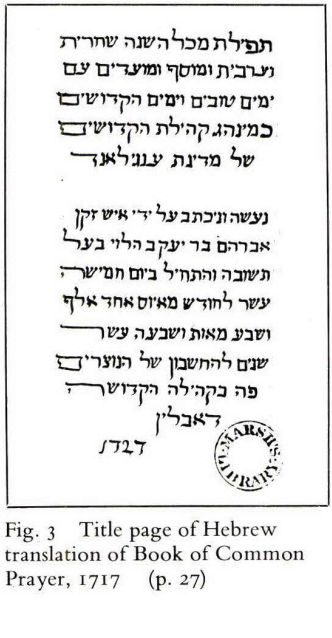
Have we not all one Father? Has not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherouſly every one with his neighbour? Mal. 2. 10.

Unumquodque ubique ſunt Propugnatores hujus Imperii, ſtatent in hanc Civitatem venire, & contra Oppugnatores Reipublicæ de Civitate ejus mauri. Cic. in Orat. pro L. Corn. Balbo. cap. 2.

LONDON:

Printed for *J. Roberts* in *Warwick-lane*, 1714.

Fig. 2 Title page of John Toland's *Reasons for naturalizing the Jews*, etc. (p. 45)



תפילת מכל השנה שחרית
ערבית ומוסף ומעריב עם
ימים טובים וימים הקדושים
כמנהג קהילת הקדושים
של מדינת ענגלאנד

נעשה ונכתב על ידי איש זקן
אברהם בר יעקב הלוי בערל
תשובה והתחיל ביום חמישי
עשר לחודש מאיום אחד אלף
ושבע מאות ושבעה עשרים
שנים להחשבון של הנוצרים
פה בקהלה הקדושה
דאבלין
דבדן

MARSH'S LIBRARY

Fig. 3 Title page of Hebrew translation of Book of Common Prayer, 1717 (p. 27)



Fig. 1 Tombstone of Jacob Wills (1701–77) (p. 54)
Photo: Edmund Ross



Fig. 2 Tombstone of Jacob Wills in a row by itself in Ballybough (p. 54)
Photo: Edmund Ross

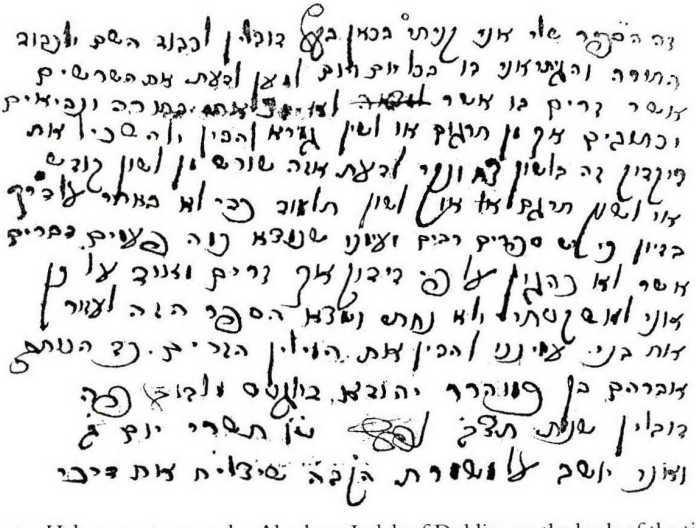


Fig. 3 Hebrew note, 1732 by Abraham Judah of Dublin, on the back of the title page of the Latin edition of the *Tishbi* (p. 39)



Fig. 1 Samuel Solomon, M.D. (1745?–1819) From an engraving (p. 76)



Fig. 2 Jacob de Castro (1758–1824) From an engraving (p. 88)



Fig. 3 Maria Theresa Bland (1769–1838) *as SALLY SHAMROCK* From an engraving (p. 86)



Fig. 1 Catherine Hyde, Marchioness Govion Broglio Solari (1755(?6)–1844) From a lithograph (p. 56)



Fig. 2 Captain Sir Alexander Schomberg (1720(?16)–1804) From a mezzotint engraving (p. 67)

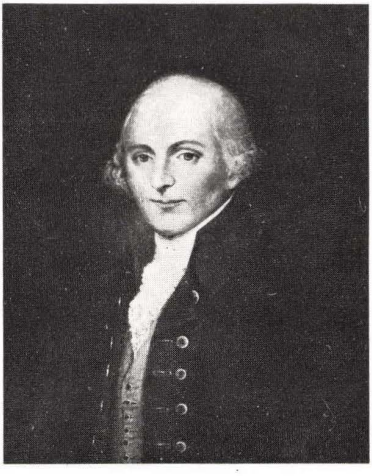


Fig. 3 Michael Prager (1740–93) From an oil painting (p. 75)

Fig. 1 Frontispiece to *Hebrew Grammar, University of Dublin*, by the Rev. Gerald Fitz-Gerald, D.D. (Dublin, 1799)

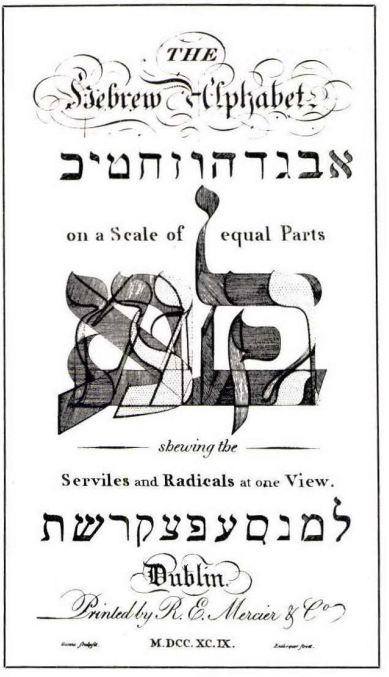
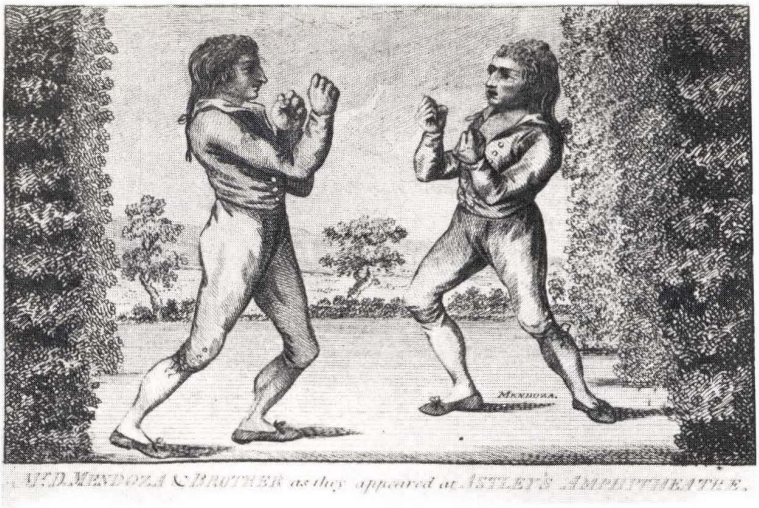




Fig. 2 Samuel de Castro (1725–99) From a miniature (p. 34)



Fig. 3 Crest of the Moses family of Dublin with Hebrew motto אֶקְרָאֶה בְּחַיַּי, literally 'I shall crow while I live' (p.63)



Daniel Mendoza (1763–1836) and brother at Astley's Amphitheatre, Dublin, 1792 From an engraving (p.87)

E X S H A W's

GENTLEMAN's and LONDON

M A G A Z I N E,

For FEBRUARY, 1792.

Scientific Character of Mr. Daniel Mendoza.

(Ornamented with a ſtriking Likeneſs, and habited as he **appeared** *at Aſtley's Amphitheatre.)*

MR. DANIEL MENDOZA is, in our opinion, an excellent boxer, and in his attitudes is very great indeed; but in his engaging attitudes falls ſhort of upper guards, by which he leaves his covering open to the oppoſer. But without depreciating any thing from this champion's merit, we pronounce him to be a very good boxer, and with ſome improvement, to be adequate to riſk a trial with any we know of. We think it neceſſary to hint to him, that was he leſs afraid of blows than he ſeems to be, he would fight much better, as any flinching of bottom ſubjects a champion to be vanquiſhed, while reſolution and a ſkilful arm can enſure any man of ſucceſs.



Fig. 1 Alderman Lewis Harris (1812–76) From an oil painting (p. 108)



Fig. 2 Baron Albert Grant, M.P. (1831–99) by 'Ape' (from *Vanity Fair*) (p. 103)



R—ph—l.—Give me back mine monish; you have clearly taken me in, you Irish Paddy. Did not you shell me this vile rascall coat, for a goot one midout preak or plemish, and say it was of de pesht Carlow make; and ven I get home to exhamine it, tinking I had a shlap up bargain, it turned out dis tam rag, take it back, I say, and give me my monish again, or I vill publish to de world every thing between us, and how I was taken in Rob me of mine life, but don't rob me of mine monish.

O'C—nn—l. Och, murther! be cool my jewel, be cool, and just tell me how you make it out aither a robbery or a bad bargain. Now wasn't it yourself, you spalpeen, that was for ever trotting here to ax me for any ould clothes, and tipping me your blarney about fair dealing, and all that sort o'thing! —and it was then, to be sure, that I exchanged that ould coat there, with you, for a few thirteners, wid your very eyes open; och! go to the devil, and take my best wishes wid ye,—and I don't ax ye for the change!

Fig. 3 *Paddy and the Jew:* Daniel O'Connell with a Jewish old-clothes dealer From an engraving Above: text at top left of cartoon

letter the usual compliment of £1 note to be included'. His book[25] canvassing the 'Balm',[26] playing on the sexual fears of young people, is well written and vigorously defends the author against attacks by qualified practitioners, for he had a ready pen and a wide knowledge of human foibles, wedded to a keen sense of showmanship. After a lucrative trip to America[27] at the turn of the nineteenth century, he returned to Liverpool in 1803, residing in Brownlow Street; an adjoining street was named Solomon's Place after him. In 1804, he built himself a mansion at Kensington, outside Liverpool, and called it 'Gilead House'; there he lived the rest of his life.[28]

Solomon was married three times and had ten children. He died on 21 May 1819, and is buried in a mausoleum which he had constructed on his estate. He does not seem to have identified himself with the Liverpool community, for a document dated 7 February 1797, in the archives of the Manchester community, promises the right of burial in its cemetery to him and to his wife and children. Among the descendants were Henry J. Byron (1834–1884), dramatist and kinsman of Lord Byron, Sir Henry Newbolt (1862–1938), poet, and Sir Francis George Newbolt (1863-1940), art historian and poet. One of Samuel's great-granddaughters, Elizabeth Lily Warner, married on 14 July 1877 Pilgrim Ralph Plunkett, the fourteenth Lord Louth (d. 1883), and, secondly, on 12 August 1886, Richard Muldowney. Her sister, Harriet Amelia, married first Joseph Kirkwood and, secondly, on 22 August 1874, General the Hon. Charles Dawson Plunkett (1813-1886), son of the eleventh Lord Louth.[29]

Isaac Solomon, the silversmith, is the only Jew known to have stayed on in Cork in the nineteenth century. Sir John Carr, the English traveller, found a few Jews there in 1805.[30] West's *Directory of Cork and its Environment* (1810) mentions Solomon Hymes (Hyams), umbrella maker, of Broad Lane. Solomon's son, Joseph, was carrying on the family business in Broad Lane in 1845,[31] but by 1870 had transferred it to 64 North Main Street, opposite Castle Street. The name of Jacob Hymes, umbrella maker, of 21 Grand Parade, occurs in the Cork section of the *Dublin Directory* for 1824, and a Jacob E. Hymes lived in Blarney, County Cork, in 1870.[32] The *Cork Mercantile Directory* for 1842-3 gives Soloman Hynes (*sic*), ladies' shoemaker, of 1 Royal Arcade, and Mrs. Eliza Hynes

(*sic*), of 61 Douglas Street. In or about 1840, three sisters, Sarah, Eliza, and Esther Hyams, arrived in Sydney from Cork and were soon married, Sarah to Lewis, son of Barnett Cohen, of London, Eliza to Samuel, son of Henry and Caroline Cohen of Plymouth, and Esther to one Aarons.[33] Before 1835, a Michael (?) Hyams performed the duty of mohel in Sydney.

The *Dublin Evening Post* of 5 June 1781 reports the arrival in Galway of 30 Jewish families from Gibraltar with intent to stay, and observes that the settlement of Jews in Galway must be a lucky circumstance for that impoverished town, which had gradually sunk into neglect and poverty for a century past. James Picciotto[34] in his *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* substantiates the story in part. The families were, in fact, in flight from Gilbraltar, which, since 1779, had been under siege by the land and naval forces of Spain and France, and were shipwrecked off the west coast of Ireland. The Roman Catholics of the locality, themselves victimised socially and in matters of religion, gave them a warm welcome and provided them with all they needed; the Catholic priests furnished food and clothing and helped them to make their way to Portsmouth, where coreligionists gave them enough money to get to London. One, Jacob Levy Bensusan,[35] sent a letter from Ireland on 17 May 1781 to his son in London: there had been widespread pillage (in Gibraltar), he wrote, but the synagogue and the Scrolls of the Law were miraculously saved.[36] In 1783, when the siege was lifted the refugees, including their Chief Rabbi, Haham Isaac Almosnino, returned home.

The north of Ireland seems to have attracted only a few Jews in the eighteenth century. On 30 August 1763, Abraham Jacob, a former member of Lodge 27 (Antients) London, appealed to Lodge 394 Lurgan in County Armagh for financial aid and was given a grant of 5s. 5d. after he had been examined and found to be 'in distress'.[37] In the second half of the century, some Jewish families and a 'Jew butcher' lived in Belfast, second city in the kingdom in number and population and first in manufacture, trade and commerce, but whether there was an organised community is questionable. It is certain that Jews traded in Belfast in the 1750s, but only one, Israel Wolf, is known by name. He settled there in 1753 as a dealer in gold and silver wares and is described as 'one of the Jews', next

appearing in Dublin in 1761. That Belfast had a 'Jew butcher' in 1771 might suggest a Jewish community, although he may have butchered for a few dispersed families or, indeed, may have been the only Jew in Belfast; he was employed by a local exporter of beef to kill cattle for Jewish clients abroad.[38] The Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Ireland of 7 December 1786 report the visit to Belfast of Abraham Gattogno of Lodge 7 Constantinople, who sent a petition for charity which was referred to the Committee of Lodge 257.[39] In 1805, Sir John Carr found a few Jews in the city;[40] one was possibly Simon Sampson, traveller, of 34 Ledger Street, off Miller Street.

Individual Jews resided in Waterford in the eighteenth century, and some were there in 1805, one of them, surely, Josias Jacob,[41] registered with the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1809. About the middle of the nineteenth century, the grandparents of the late Professor James Desmond Bernal settled in the town.

Sir John Carr met no Jews in the Irish countryside, but it is hard to believe that there were not a few marooned in townlets and villages which he by-passed. In 1803 and 1804, Philip Aron practised as a dentist in Dublin, Athlone, Galway, Tuam, Castlebar and Sligo under the alias of Philip Feely 'for his Better Accommodation'. This journeyman dentist traversed England, Scotland and Ireland bearing a Danish passport styling him Philip Aron, a native of Copenhagen, by religion a Jew. Though he first arrived in Ireland at the beginning of 1802, he first appears in the Irish records in an informer's report dated Athlone, 15 April 1803, sent by Mr. L.G.M. Parker to the Government authorities at Dublin Castle and preserved among the Rebellion Papers 1790–1807 in the State Paper Office in the Castle. He is described as a strong-built man about fifty years of age, five feet seven in height, of dark complexion and hair, his head trimmed quite close, usually dressed in a blue coat and blue pantaloons, though he is said to have had four or five different suits of clothes. He had appeared in Athlone three weeks before, professing to be a Frenchman working as a surgeon-dentist and trading as a retailer of tinder boxes of his own construction, 'where the match being dipt in the oil and rubbed a little, blazes'. He studiously avoided speaking a word of French but expressed himself clearly in broken English and understood very quickly

what was said to him. He claimed to have been a surgeon in the French force which landed at Killala Bay on 22 August 1798 under General Humbert, who, it is said, was so elated at the prospect of the adventure that he wrote to a friend: 'The Jews did not await the Messiah with so much impatience as I awaited the order to depart.'[42] Feely described in detail the events of the French expedition to Ireland and professed to have been taken prisoner with General Humbert when his small band surrendered at Ballinamuck, in County Longford, on 8 September. When called upon to produce a pass, he was unable to. He aroused the suspicions of the Athlone authorities by attaching himself closely to the officers of the garrison and being constantly seen circling the barracks. He frequently said that he had abilities for spying which required very great talents, but seemed to be very simple and honest and rather prepossessing. When asked his opinion, he made very light of the Castle and the situation of Athlone as a place of defence against the French. Parker reported that Feely had left his lodgings through the window two nights before, when the family had retired, and was observed on the road to Tuam and Castlebar, although he had spoken of travelling next to Galway.[43] He was, it appears, apprehended by the authorities soon after and committed to the Marshalsea at the Four Courts, Dublin, and, two weeks later, a letter dated 29 April 1803 was sent from the debtors' prison by William Barber to the Castle authorities charging him with drinking a seditious toast and warning them that 'so open a disaffected person is dangerous in this little community.' Barber reported that Feely, imbibing with George Richardson, a fellow-prisoner, demonstrated his sympathy with the United Irishmen by saluting the memory of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which Richardson countered with a draught to His Majesty's health. This angered Feely so much that he rose from his seat and 'took off his coat to box him'.[44]

How long he languished in the Marshalsea we do not know, but he was soon out again on his rounds practising as a dentist in several provincial towns until he was arrested a second time, in Galway, and thrown into gaol on 7 August 1803, on suspicion of being a spy or French emissary 'on account of some unguarded expressions by him to avoid proclaiming himself a Jew'.[45] On 12 August, he had the following petition sent from his cell:[46]

'To the Honourable The Judges of Assize
Now Sitting at Galway.
The Petition of Philip Aron states
'That your Lordships' Petitioner is a native of Denmark and a subject of that Crown. That he is a Jew and has followed the profession of Dentist for several years last past in various parts of his Brittanic [*sic*] Majesty's Dominions.
'That in August 1799 he went to England and according to the Act of Parliament procured his Majesty's Licence to reside in London and its Neighbourhood as by the proper Instrument in the Hands of his Worship the Mayor will more fully appear.
'That he is in possession of Two other papers attending this Petition each of them recognising him under the Name of Philip Aron.
'That Your Lordships' Petitioner after residing a year in London went to practise his profession in Edinburgh, Glasgow and other towns of Scotland, where he also resided sixteen months and then came over to Ireland. That he practised in Dublin, Athlone and Galway during the period of one year and eight months and that he can refer to all the respectable persons in this town, for his peaceable, inoffensive, and upright Conduct.
'That your Lordships' Petitioner has had the Misfortune to be suspected of being a Frenchman, and Emissary or Spy from the French Government, to which he confesses some unguarded and Idle Answers to Questions proposed to him by various people have given some degree of Colour. But those expressions were uttered with the sole intention of being (as he expected) Better received than by avowing himself a Jew he would otherwise have been, And thinking himself justified in so doing, Peace being then established between the Two Countries of England and France.
'That your Lordships' Petitioner is ready to swear upon the Old Testament to the truth of the whole of this Deposition and that he is in no way Concerned with, employ'd by, or abetting any of the Enemies of this Country foreign or Domestic.
'That in Consequence of Cruel and Injurious Reports against your Petitioner (He having used the Surname of Feely for his Better Accommodation the Name of Aron being a Jewish Name).

And stating him to the Magistrates as a Frenchman and Suspicious Character, Your Lordships' Petitioner was on Saturday the 6th. of this instant August Arrested by the Right Worshipfull the Mayor and by him Committed to the Goal [*sic*] of the County of this Town.

'That on Sunday the 7th. His Worship in presence of divers Magistrates did unlock your petitioner's effects and did Seriatim Examine his Apartments and that no paper or other Document or any matter of Suspicious or doubtfull Appearance was found. That he has No Accuser to confront with him. That he humbly refers your Lordships to his Worship for his Opinion of his Entire Innocence.

'That his unmerited Imprisonment is injurious and prejudicial to him in his profession on which his very Bread depends. That he Humbly hopes your Lordships will take the Hardness of his Case into Consideration and that Your Lordships will be pleased to give Order for his Discharge out of his Confinement, That he may be enabled to pursue his Profession to the Honest Support of himself and Your Lordships' Petitioner as in all Duty bound will ever Pray.

Philip Aron.

Galway
Town Goal [*sic*] Aug: 12th. 1803.'

At the Galway Assizes held soon after, Feely was released from custody upon giving bail for his future good conduct and being ordered not to leave the county.[47] Charles Bingham, the Galway magistrate and one of his sureties, provided him on 8 December 1803 with a pass to proceed for a few days to Tuam to attend to patients.[48] On the strength of this document, another pass was procured by Feely from James E.Burton, magistrate at Tuam, on 10 January 1804, so that he might visit Castlebar in County Mayo on 'his lawful business' as dentist,[49] and on 16 January a third pass—this time to Sligo—was issued to him by the Rev. Thomas Ellison.[50] Feely aroused the suspicions of this cleric, an agent to the Earl of Lucan at Castlebar, and, as magistrate, unscrupulous in hunting down and gaoling United Irishmen. Ever energetic as a spy for the English forces during the Insurrection, Ellison wrote to Charles

Bingham about the sinister movements of Feely, who seemed to be going over the same ground as the French had covered in their passage through the country.[51] Feely was consequently arrested—a third time!—at Castlebar by the English military on 8 February and sent by Brigadier-General S.P. Dalrymple to Ballinasloe for interrogation by Major-General Trench on a charge of 'going from bail' and obtaining papers improperly, and because Dalrymple judged it 'improper for foreigners of his description to be at large in the present circumstances of the country'.[52] From Ballinasloe he was sent under escort at 6 o'clock in the morning of 10 February to the Royal Hospital in Dublin to appear before the Commander of the English forces in Ireland.[53] As Philip Aaron [*sic*], he was committed to Kilmainham Gaol on 22 March 1804, with other State Prisoners, under a warrant from the Chief Secretary of State, charged with treasonable practices. His name appears as No. 211 in the Kilmainham Gaol Register: 1798-1814, in a list of State Prisoners including Robert Emmet[54] and James Napper Tandy,[55] but, as the page referring to the verdicts of the trials of State Prisoners Nos. 206-223 is missing from the Register, nothing is known of his subsequent career.[56] Moreover, as the records of the Court of King's Bench did not survive the destruction of the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1922, it is impossible to ascertain the results of his trial.

The Rebellion Papers 1790-1807 in the State Paper Office also contain a letter dated 25 May 1797, from William Maxwell, of London, a Government informer, reporting to the Earl of Camden the presence in Dublin of one Dehane, a Jew of Dutch or German origin, who, in 1795 or 1794, was expelled from England for sedition under the Alien Bill by order of the Duke of Rutland. Dehane was said to be lodging in Dublin at the Mary Street Chop or Eating House of William Meadows, formerly proprietor of the St. Alban's Coffee House, St Alban's Street, London. Maxwell advised the Government authorities that Dehane should be prevented from propagating his seditious principles, which, in all probability, had not altered with change of residence.[57]

CHAPTER XI

ANGLO-JEWISH NOTABILITIES IN DUBLIN (1740–1804)

As the fifth city in Europe in the eighteenth century, Dublin attracted many English and Continental visitors, of whom some published accounts of their visits. As the second capital of the British dominions, it drew starring vocalists, musicians, and actors, who, on the termination of their London engagements, would naturally book themselves to appear in Dublin. Among them were Anglo-Jewish celebrities.

In 1744, Moses Mendes,[1] banker, poet, and dramatist, visited Ireland and described what he saw in a poetical epistle to a fellow-poet, John Ellis. Moses was the son of James, a stockbroker, and grandson of Dr. Fernando Mendes,[2] who held a Court appointment in England as Physician-in-Ordinary to Queen Catherine, consort of Charles II.

In 1773, Thomas Pinto,[3] a talented violinist, said to be of Jewish origin, fled to Ireland to escape imprisonment for debt, and in September of that year was appointed to conduct the Smock Alley Theatre Orchestra in Dublin, an appointment which he held until 1779. His second wife was Charlotte Brent (d. 1802), who sang at Covent Garden. In 1773, the opera 'Artaxerxes' was revived in Dublin to introduce her, Pinto leading the orchestra. The *Gentleman's Magazine*[4] records his death in Dublin in 1782: 'a figure well-known in the musical world'; a work of his was published in London about 1770, with six solos for the violin and a figured bass for the harpsichord or violincello.[5]

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Italian music was highly popular in Dublin, and in 1762 Tommaso Giordani, the Neapolitan composer, brought over an opera company which performed with much success in Smock Alley. In the summer of

1783,[6] he was in Dublin again to take part in a series of concerts at the Rotunda by Meir Lyon, better known as Michael Leoni, a Jewish tenor and former assistant to the cantor of the Great Synagogue in London. In November 1781, Leoni had appeared in Dublin in John O'Keefe's comic opera 'The Banditti' or 'Love's Labyrinth', with music by Turlough O'Carolan. O'Keefe bewails the poor reception: 'The superb scenery and decorations, sweet songs and duets[7] by Mrs. Kennedy and Leoni, the fine Italian [*sic*] Jew singer [he was a native of Frankfort-on-Main] were of no saving effect'.[8]

A notice in the *Freeman's Journal* of 2–5 August 1783 proclaims: 'Tomorrow evening Mr. Leoni will sing some favourite songs[9] accompanied on the Pianoforte by Sig. Giordani, being his first performance in this Kingdome for twelve years past'. One of Leoni's most applauded songs in Dublin was an Italian version of 'Eileen Aruin'.[10] Emboldened by the success of their summer concerts, Leoni and Giordani, with a third partner, took over the New Theatre in Capel Street, to be devoted exclusively 'to the Exhibition of English Opera'.[11] The opera house opened its doors on 15 December 1783, with new pieces, by Dublin authors, entitled 'Gibraltar' and 'The Haunted Castle'; Giordani wrote the scores. Favourable impressions of a visit to the opera house during its first week are given in a letter from Lord Carlow to his wife:[12] 'I went this evening to a little theatre in Capel Street that is opened for English operas under the direction of Giordani. Leonie sings there, and a Miss Wheeler, who has studied at Venice and sings with some taste but with a weak voice. The music is pretty'. But at the end of seven months, the venture collapsed for lack of capital, and Leoni returned to England. For all that, the brief spell lives on, in the words of a musical historian,[13] as 'the greatest period of native creative energy and accomplishment experienced throughout the entire eighteenth century'. Leoni, all his life, was a professing Jew, and it may safely be surmised that, during his stay in Dublin, he officiated as cantor, at least for the High Holydays, in the Marlborough Green synagogue.[14]

The famous tenor John Abraham,[15] better known as Braham (1774–1856), was his pupil. In 1809, Braham sang at the Theatre Royal in Dublin for fifteen nights for a fee of two thousand

guineas.[16] On 16 June 1823, he again appeared in Dublin, in 'The Devil's Bridge',[17] of his own composition, and as Rodolph in 'Der Freischuetz'[18] at the same theatre, on 27 October 1825. One of his daughters, Frances[19] (1821–79), married as her fourth husband the statesman Samuel Chichester (Parkinson-) Fortescue (1823–98), who was returned to Parliament in 1847 as Liberal candidate for County Louth. A few months later, he made his maiden speech in support of Lord John Russell's Bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities, and soon after published a pamphlet, 'Christian Profession not the Test of Citizenship', which was well received. Chichester Fortescue was Chief Secretary of Ireland in 1865–6 and 1868–70 and shared with Gladstone the burden and credit of the Irish Church Disestablishment and Land Acts of 1870. He was raised to the peerage in 1874 as Lord Carlingford and helped to draft Gladstone's second Irish Land Act and pilot it through the House of Lords. In January 1866, Bernal Osborne (1808–82), politician and wit, had written to J.T. Delane of *The Times*, 'The astonished inhabitants exclaim "There is but one Lady Waldegrave [Frances' second husband had been Lord Waldegrave] and Chichester Fortescue is her Secretary"'.[20] Ralph Bernal Osborne, formerly Ralph Bernal the younger,[21] was the son of Ralph Bernal the elder, Chairman of the Committees of the House of Commons for twenty years, a famous art collector and grandson of a Sephardi Jew who had withdrawn from the community following a dispute with the synagogue authorities. On his marriage in 1844 to Catherine Isabella, only child and heiress of Sir Thomas Osborne, an Irish baronet from County Tipperary, he added Osborne to his surname. He became an extra aide-de-camp to Lord Mulgrave, afterwards Earl of Normanby, when the latter became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was a Justice of the Peace for County Tipperary, where he had a country seat at Newton Anner, near Clonmel.

Another Anglo-Jewish artiste who graced the Dublin stage was the vocalist 'Little Miss Romanzini' (1769–1838)[22], a daughter of Italian Jews, who in 1790 married the Irish actor George Bland, brother of Dorothy Jordan (1762–1816), the actress, of Drury Lane. Miss Romanzini's talent was precocious and she was soon engaged by Richard Daly for his Crow Street Theatre in Dublin, where she sang with great success;[23] on 27 January 1785 she appeared as the

'Genius of Ireland' in Messink's Pantomime Masque *The Island of Saints, or the Institution of the Shamrock*.[24] She was at great pains, while in Dublin, to hide her Jewishness, and frequented Catholic chapels.[25]

In 1789, Philip Astley (1742–1814), the great London equestrian and circus owner, built a circus-playhouse amphitheatre at the angle of Bride and Peter Streets in Dublin, afterwards the site of the Chapel of Molyneux Asylum. For the opening, he engaged Daniel Mendoza (1763–1836),[26] the celebrated Anglo-Jewish boxer, whose exhibition bouts against a younger brother drew capacity audiences, despite the counter-attraction of the singer, Elizabeth Billington, at Smock Alley. When, for one night,[27] he was left out of the programme so that Astley might give a benefit performance for his son, a riot threatened and Mendoza was hurriedly reinstated after the Duke of Leinster had come behind the scenes and warned Astley that, if not, the theatre would be torn down. In 1791, Astley engaged the brothers for a long and triumphant tour in England, Scotland and Ireland.[28]

On his second visit,[29] Mendoza dealt severely with a well-known local amateur, Squire Fitzgerald, who vowed to administer a proper thrashing to the Jewish 'trickster' on the right occasion. The squire was persuaded that one Irishman was the superior of any number of Jews, be they champions all. 'With animus ill-concealed', as a contemporary puts it, he asked the pugilist to set-to with him. 'Why, sir,' asked the Jew with mock innocence, 'do you wish to take lessons from me?' The squire turned purple: 'Nay, I wish to fight with you'. Mendoza insisted on fighting with gloves, until Lord Westmeath offered fifty guineas to the winner. Mendoza promptly doffed the gloves but made no attempt to hurt the squire, contenting himself with eluding his blows and occasionally delivering an admonitory tap. Fitzgerald, enraged, called out: 'You damned Jew! Don't stand there grinning with your cursed Jew tricks!' Mendoza, his spirited racial pride stung, changed colour and began to hit out in earnest. In the inevitable end, the squire gamely declared amid wild applause: 'Ireland has seen no finer knucklework; you have licked me fairly and I may tell you that you are only one who has ever beat me. If, in the heat of the moment, I used any expression that was insulting, I apologise to you'. From then on, the tour became a popular triumph.

Mendoza was warmly welcomed by the Dubliners and pays them tribute: 'No peoples are more hospitable and generous than the respectable part of the Irish nation; their liberality and kind attention to strangers are well-known and universally acknowledged. I should feel the greatest regret, if in mentioning the instances of ill-conduct of some of the vilest part of the community, I should be supposed to be casting any illiberal reflections on the Irish in general; on the contrary, I am happy to avail myself of this opportunity of declaring that, during my residence with them, the generous reception I experienced from numerous persons of all ranks demands my most grateful acknowledgements, and will never be forgotten by me'.[30]

Relying only on his name, Lucien Wolf[31] was misled into believing the Jewishness of the pugilist Cohen of Kilkenny. In the pages of *Boxiana or Sketches of Modern Pugilism*,[32] where he appears, Pierce Egan, the editor, who always identifies Jewish boxers by their faith, refers to him as Paddy Cohen, an Irishman, more than six feet in height, boxing with the warm heart and characteristic temperament of the Irish.

But chief of Astley's Jews was Jacob de Castro (1758–1824), son of the headmaster of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' school in London, where Daniel Mendoza was a class-mate. He was meant to take up a post in Madras with the firm of Moses de Castro, Pelling and de Fries, gem merchants; Moses de Castro,[33] sixth son of the Solomon de Castro who had lived in Dublin in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, was his cousin. But Jacob resolved to go on the stage, and made his first public appearance in the Purim plays which were a regular feature in the life of the London ghetto. Lee Lewis, the comedian, was so struck by his talent as a burletta singer, comedian and mimic, that he prevailed on him to take the part of Tom in Sheridan's *The Duenna* at Drury Lane, and, thereafter, he frequently appeared in the Dublin amphitheatre.[34] From a playbill of 25 January 1793 we learn that de Castro[35] appeared in Dublin in 'a superb grand pantomime' entitled *Death of Captain Cook*, acting a Lieutenant of Marines; admission to the boxes cost 3s.3d., to the pit 2s.2d., and to the gallery 1s.1d. In the winter of 1804, he was again in Dublin with a company under Astley's son.

CHAPTER XII

INTERREGNUM (1791–1821)

A variety of reasons led to the almost complete disintegration of the Dublin community towards the close of the eighteenth century. Political unrest, trade depression, disabilities, intermarriage and conversion, all contributed to this decline and to the departure of most of the congregation. They could hardly be blamed for alarm at the doings of the Peep-of-Day Boys and the Nocturnal Carders. In May 1790, factions fought in the streets of Dublin with a fury that almost equalled the Gordon Riots in London. The decay of Irish industry, largely due to discrimination by England, provided a further incentive to quit, on top of the abysmal poverty that was rife. Exclusion from the benefits of the Naturalization Act of 1783 must have led some despairing Jews to baptism and others to emigration. The majority returned to England; a few made their way back to the Continent; there were those who travelled on, ever westward, to the New World.

In 1790, for dearth of worshippers, the synagogue in Marlborough Green had to close its doors, its appurtenances being installed, it seems, in the lodgings of Abraham Lyons (or Lyon)[1] in Fishamble Street. But soon there were not enough Jews left to justify even that conventicle and on 22 November 1791 the London Mahamad wrote to Lyons asking him to return the two Scrolls of the Law with their adornments which they had once presented to the community. No reply was forthcoming and Lyons disappears from the scene, but on 3 September 1792 the Mahamad had what was evidently an unpleasant and insulting letter from Benjamin Coen of Dublin, which it was decided to ignore. In 1793, Mrs. Sarah Saunders, of Fishamble Street, who had probably sequestered the Scrolls and appurtenances for non-payment of rent, appeared before the

Mahamad and averred that Tudescos (Ashkenazim) of Dublin had taken away the Scrolls, which she had meant to return to London in view of the Mahamad's letter to Lyons.[2]

A more colourful story is told by Myer Nerwich in his preface to the 1839 edition of the Laws and Regulations of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation:[3] 'About half a century ago, there was a place of worship, held at a rent, in the yard of the glass works, Marlborough Street, but the community gradually declining and dispersing, it fell into decay, and the effects, at last, were seized and sold for the arrears of rent; when one woman got possession of some of these sacred effects, they [the brothers Cohen] went in pursuit of her on board a vessel, with which she intended going to England, and succeeded in rescuing from her a box containing Siphré Toroth [*sic*], which they kept in possession for many years'. Nerwich[4] mentions that the brothers Cohen duly presented the Scrolls as 'a relic' from the extinct congregation to the new synagogue which was opened at 40 Stafford Street in 1822.[5] The sale of effects is likely to have included the parchment roll in Hebrew with the alteration in the prayer for the Royal Family occasioned by the death of Queen Anne; it was either purchased by or given to Marsh's Library[6] in Dublin. Another item, perhaps, was a pewter laver of mid-eighteenth century German or East European workmanship, which was acquired from a scrap-dealer in Ireland a few years ago and presented to the Jewish Museum in London.[7]

The Cohen brothers were sons of Solomon Cohen, from Lissa, in the duchy of Posen, who settled in Dublin about 1770. By his wife Rosetta (1729–1810), who died in Dublin, he had four children, Barnard (1766–1844), Jacob (1771–1833), Abraham (1776–1854), and Sarah (1767–1846), who all died in Dublin and were buried at Ballybough. Solomon died some time before 1816 and was also laid to rest there. In the anonymous *Excursions through Ireland*, printed in or about 1816, we read: 'Here [Ballybough Jews' Cemetery] appear a few tombstones inscribed with Hebrew characters; and they were formerly much more numerous[8] until stolen to be converted into hearthstones and to other purposes; the people of the neighbourhood not appearing to consider it any species of sacrilege to plunder the grave of a Jew, although they would be scrupulous in violating that of a Christian. A curious anecdote of this nature is

told. A Jew, paying a visit a short time ago to a Christian friend in the vicinity of Ballybough Bridge, found him in the act of repairing his house. Examining the improvements, he perceived near the fireplace a stone with a Hebrew inscription intimating to the astonished Israelite that the body of his father was buried in the chimney'.

Seven tombstones stood at Ballybough in 1821.[9] To-day there are still five of earlier dates and two with indecipherable inscriptions. In 1798, a temporary hut was put up by the Cohen family at the entrance; it was pulled down and replaced by the present caretaker's cottage, built in the year 1858.

Barnard appears for the first time in the *Dublin Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack* for 1790 as Barnaby Cohen, Black-lead-pencil maker, of 5, Pembroke-court. He was popularly known as 'Pencil' Cohen, and, although it would be wrong to regard him as the inventor of lead-pencils, it is probable that he was the pioneer in introducing the graphite pencil into Ireland in 1795; it retailed at a halfpenny. He married late in life, and had a son, Samuel (1834–79), at the age of 72. His brother Abraham died at his residence in Charlemont Street at the age of 78.[10] He affected an appearance of pauperdom and was notorious for parsimony, so that everybody knew him as 'Miser Cohen'. But he left a fortune of £45,000 and, and, save for trifling annuities to poor English relations and a bequest of £3,333 6s. 8d. to the Dublin congregation to produce an annuity of £100, which comes in to this very day, everything was demised to Jewish charities in London.[11] In a codicil, Abraham emphasised that the bequest would be forfeit if at any time the Dublin liturgy deviated from the ritual of the Great Synagogue in London. The executors of the will were Sir Anthony de Rothschild, of Grosvenor Square, Aaron Joseph, of Fitzroy Square, and Samuel Cohen, of Hyde Park Street, all of London.

The Cohens and the Phillips, the only Jewish families in Dublin in 1818, are thus described by contemporaries:[12] 'Their features and persons bear the indelible marks of their nation. Several efforts have been made to convert them without success; they are honest, harmless people'.

The Phillips were, at this time, the oldest Jewish family in Ireland, resident in Dublin for over a century and a half. They were con-

nected with Michael Phillips,[13] who is thought to have been resident there in 1703, and with Jacob Phillips,[14] 'a famous Chocolate Maker', who died in Dublin in 1748. Reuben Isaac Phillips (1769–1831), born in Dublin, was the son of Phillip Phillips (1730–1815) and his wife Malkah (d. 1810) and grandson of the Isaac Phillips, in all likelihood the lay leader of Dublin Jewry in 1753[15] and withholder of the use of the Scrolls of the Law from those members of the community who had, probably, broken away to form their own group. In 1818, Reuben resided at Aston's Quay, and in the *Dublin Directory* of that year is described as a refined liquorice and chocolate manufacturer. In 1840, members of the family, trading under his name, are described as spice merchants at the same address.[16] He had a brother and four sisters, who, like himself, were born in Dublin and died there unmarried: L. Phillips (1774–1865), Leah (d. 1825), Fayar (d. 1826), Esther (d. 1835), and Judith (1782–1857).[17]

Yet another Dublin Jew in the first decade of the nineteenth century may have been Robert Furman;[18] his wife, Catherine, gave birth to a daughter, Mary, in Ireland on 3 January 1810. Robert and his family emigrated to America, where Mary (d. 1895) married Abraham Goodman[19] in New York.

Visiting Dublin in 1805, Sir John Carr reported:[20] 'It is a singular circumstance, that in Dublin there are only three Jewish families, and it is believed that they have not at any period been more numerous, nor as far as I could learn have they ever had a synagogue . . . Last year a foreign Jew from Konigsburg, upon his conforming, was baptised'. The third family was probably that of Solomon Davis, whose wife, Sophia (1779–1818), was buried at Ballybough. Davis must have left soon after her death, for, according to Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh in their *History of the City of Dublin*, there were only two Jewish families in 1818, nine souls in all; two other families did live in Dublin then, 'but they have mixed with the Christian community and are disowned by those orthodox Jews'. So, for three whole decades (1791–1821), there was lacking the minyan to warrant the reopening of a public place of worship and, as a contemporary put it in 1821,[21] the—then—twelve Jewish souls in Dublin 'read their Talmud in private'.

CHAPTER XIII

RESETTLEMENT (1822–1835): STAFFORD STREET SYNAGOGUE

The year 1816 witnessed the repeal of the Irish Naturalization Act of 1783, from whose provisions the Jews had been excluded.[1] By virtue of the new Irish Statute (56 Geo. III, c. 48), Jews could now be naturalised in Ireland and this indulgence may have encouraged the rebirth of the Dublin community in 1822 with the arrival of Polish and German Jews, of whom most had till then lived in England. Divine prayers were conducted by Myer Nerwich at 40 Stafford Street, now Wolfe Tone Street, home of Joseph Wolfe Cohen, who had adapted part of it for the purpose. He offered it to the worshippers free of charge and lent them a small Scroll of the Law. In 1829, on his removal to 14 Ormond Quay, the committee of the congregation rented from Messrs. Williams and Gibton the upper storey of 40 Stafford Street, which they had 'enlarged in proportion as the increased population seemed to require it'.[2] On that occasion, the Cohen brothers made the congregation a gift of the two Scrolls of the Law in their possession, which had belonged to the congregation in Dublin in the early part of the eighteenth century.[3] The Scrolls, together with an old prayer book and a third Scroll presented by Reuben Isaac Phillips, were in use until recently. Those who attended the first public synagogal service to be held in Dublin for over thirty years must have included Reuben and L. Phillips, Barnard, Jacob, and Abraham Cohen, of the old settlers, and Henry Nerwich, Lawrence Isaacs, Barnett Barnett, Solomon Cohen, and Isaac Joel, of the new contingent. Myer Nerwich and Joseph Wolfe Cohen were clearly the principals of Stafford Street.

Myer Nerwich, said to have arrived from Posen in 1810,[4] was Vice-President and Treasurer of the community for many years, as well as honorary Reader, or 'High Priest', as he is described in the

Dublin Directory of 1836, and not seldom was circumciser, too.[5] A Hebrew scholar and a senior congregant, he published a fine compilation[6] of a new code of rules for the congregation in 1839; those in force were few and detached. In August 1845,[7] he travelled to London on behalf of the congregation and presented the new Chief Rabbi, Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler, with an address in Hebrew of his own composition. He was a watchmaker and jeweller at 12 Crow Street, and also had a wholesale French and English warehouse there.[8] After the death of his wife, Theresa, on 8 December 1856, he moved to Birmingham, where his brother, Abraham, lived, and there, shortly after, he died. Abraham Nerwich (1795–1875) was married to a daughter of David Aaron (1772-1842), pencil-maker and pawnbroker, of Birmingham, and nephew of Samuel ('Balm of Gilead') Solomon,[9] of Cork. Of Myer's three daughters, one married Lewis Solomon, of Clifton. Another, Harriett (d. 1850), married her kinsman, John Aaron (1814–86), of Birmingham. Matilda, who died in Dublin on 17 October 1832, married Isaac Levy, of that city. In 1833, now a widower, Isaac married Maria, daughter of Lewis Israel, of London, and first cousin of Mrs. Sophia Solomons, of Chatham and Dublin. John and George Levy, living in Dublin in the middle of the century, were probably Isaac's kinsmen. John traded as a jeweller and goldsmith, first at 22 King Street North and next in Grafton Street;[10] George was living at 126 Capel Street in 1857. Rebecca Levy, a sister of one of the three, was a convert to Christianity. Another kinsman may have been Lewis Levy,[11] a hatter in Dublin in 1840, but in the following year he returned to London, the family's passage being paid for out of congregational funds.

Henry Nerwich, son of Myer, was born in the city of Posen in 1804. He was a prominent communal worker in Dublin, serving as Vice-President and Treasurer of the congregation in 1853–4 and President in 1864. He traded first at Crow Street, and then at 52 William Street, as a wholesale jeweller;[12] his private home was at Upper Leeson Street. He died in London on 27 February 1883. By his wife, Jane, he had three sons and four daughters, all born in Dublin.

Also born in Posen, in 1780, Joseph Wolfe Cohen, one of the principal founders[13] of the revived congregation and its President

from 1835 to 1840, settled in Dublin in or about 1819, by way of Birmingham. He was a prominent silversmith and jeweller and first registered with the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1827 under the name of J. & W. Cohen.[14] Then he traded in partnership with his brother Solomon under the style of J. W. & S. Cohen as wholesale jewellers at 14 Ormond Quay, with a fancy warehouse attached.[15] On his sixtieth birthday, in September, 1840, he was presented with a silver salver on which the following names were inscribed:[16] J. Ashenheim, B. Crabb, M. Salaman, J. Ely,—Rubinstein, L. Solomon and J. Phillips. He married Rebecca Lazarus (1798–1844), of Birmingham, and there were three sons and six daughters, all born in Dublin. One daughter, Abigail, was the wife of Benjamin Ralph Isaac (1817–81), of Liverpool, a son of Ralph Isaac (1772–1840), also of Liverpool, and a grandnephew of our spectacular Corkman, Samuel Solomon.

Esther, eldest daughter of Joseph Wolfe Cohen, born in Dublin on 20 February 1820, married Maurice Salaman, jeweller, of 16 Ellis's Quay, and afterwards of Gloucester Street;[17] Maurice was the son of Solomon Salaman (formerly Vorwath), a native of Forchheim, in Bavaria, who was President of the Dublin congregation in 1844–5. Of the ten children of Maurice and Esther, the eldest son, Selim, born in Dublin in 1843, was the very first Jew to qualify in medicine at Trinity College and among the first Jews to join, in 1869, the Indian Medical Service.[18] Eveline (1833–58), the youngest daughter of Joseph Wolfe Cohen, was the wife of Joseph Isaacs, Vice-President of the Dublin congregation in 1861 and probably a son of Lawrence and Eliza Isaacs, who were already in Dublin in 1822. Joseph Isaacs resided first in Eustace Street and afterwards in 15 Nassau Street,[19] where he made and dealt in articles of bog oak; in 1867, he moved to Newport, in Wales, taking with him his father-in-law, who died there on 7 August 1869, aged 90.[20]

Of the other founding members of the Stafford Street synagogue, all that is known of Lawrence Isaacs is registration with the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1822,[21] that he traded as a wholesale sponge merchant and jeweller at 19 Capel Street, and subsequently at 33 Stafford Street,[22] and bequeathed a velvet curtain for the Ark in the synagogue. His wife, Eliza, died in Dublin in 1865 at the age of 70.

In the second quarter of the century three other Jewish families named Isaacs (Isaac) lived in Dublin, but there is nothing to show what, if any, was their relationship. A Solomon Isaacs, of Liverpool, was living in Dublin in the 1840s;[23] his wife, Louise, died there on 29 April 1844, and was buried at Ballybough. Isaac Isaacs, of Falmouth, died in Dublin on 22 January 1847, presumably the Isaac Isaac (b. 1786) who is recorded in the Census of Falmouth, in 1841, as a Navy Agent at the Barbican. He left a widow, Judith (b. 1796), and five children, one of them named Abraham (b. 1828), in all likelihood the Abraham Isaacs, of New York, whose child, dying in Preston, Lancashire, was buried at Ballybough in 1876.

In 1849, Miss Harriet Isaac (Isaacs) had a cigar divan, that is, a tobacconist's shop, at 55 Grafton Street.[24] Her brother, Bernard, was an importer of cigars, trading at 26 Nassau Street. He was married to Mary McLaughlin, a Protestant, and on 29 January 1858 their daughters, Eliza, aged eight, and Mary Anne, aged three, were, at parental instance, converted to Catholicism in the church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, in Whitefriar Street; a son, Bernard, aged five, was baptised in the church of St. Nicholas Without, in Francis Street, and, on 30 January, a second son, John. The family moved to England soon after.[25] On 24 June 1852, there is a record of the conversion of Rebecca Johanna Moses McDormon, of Falmouth, by the chaplain to the South Dublin Workhouse; she is reported as saying: 'When I was a Jewess I thought I was wrong and turned Protestant; I was then worse and unsettled in mind; I then tried the Methodists and my mind was still more unsettled. Now that I am a Catholic I am all right'.[26]

Barnett Barnett died in Dublin on 20 June 1824, at the age of 50; by his side at Ballybough his son, Joseph, who died on 23 December 1849, lies beneath a tombstone set by his 'sole surviving' brother, John Barnett, and his sister, Hannah Harris.

Solomon Cohen, brother of Joseph Wolfe Cohen, had two sons born in Dublin. In 1830, as we saw, he was in partnership with his brother, but seems also to have had a wholesale clothing warehouse of his own at 10 New Row West, and in 1840 he appears in partnership with Lewis Cohen as tobacconists at 86 Dame Street, besides conducting a wholesale clothing warehouse at 12 New Row under the style of S. & L. Cohen. In the same year, this versatile man was a

watchmaker and jeweller at 17 Middle Gloucester Street, where he resided.[27] His wife, Ellen, died in Dublin on 28 June 1843, and he must have left Dublin shortly after, for the communal records and the *Dublin Directories* are silent about him after 1845. He may have been a relative of Lewis Cohen, tobacconist, whose father, Isaac, was an Elder of the community in 1839. Jacob, Philip and H. Cohen were members of the congregation in 1841, but there is nothing to show what, if any, their relationship was to Joseph Wolfe, Solomon or Lewis Cohen. Lewis (1802–67), Vice-President and Treasurer of the congregation in 1844, dealt in snuff and tobacco for almost thirty years at 67 Grafton Street.[28] In 1851, he left for New York, but was constrained to write to the congregation for help. A sum of £10[29] from the congregational funds, as well as private subscriptions, was sent to him, but he was back in Dublin the following year. By his wife, Jane (1824–1877), he had five daughters, some of whom stayed on in America. On 14 August 1856, Elizabeth Lucas, wife of Solomon Lucas (d. 1851),[30] a licensed Navy Agent in Chatham in 1816, died at Finglas, in County Dublin, aged 74. Her father, Naphtali Cohen, a member of the eighteenth-century Chatham community, may have belonged to one of the many Cohen families of Dublin in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1850,[31] a Joseph Cohen worked as a watch and clock maker at 14 Queen's Street West. An E. Cohen and his family emigrated to New York in 1865.[32] A Marcus Cohen, son of Judah Cohen, died at 73 Capel Street on 27 June 1867, aged 39. Altogether unrelated to these Cohens was the Otto Cohen who kept a trimming shop at 53 Henry Street in 1839;[33] in 1843, now William Otto Cohen and probably converted, he married Dorothea Westropp Johnson[34] and thereafter was a goldsmith and silversmith at 30 Nassau Street, with his home in Temple Road, Rathmines.[35]

Isaac Joel came to Dublin from Bristol in or about 1823, and traded as a tobacconist, jeweller, and importer of liqueurs under the name of S. Joel at 5 Parliament Street,[36] where he also kept a glove and stock warehouse. In 1851, he emigrated to America, and died in New York on 22 March 1861, aged 75.[37] He was the son of Pessa (1765–1848) and of Isaiah Joel, a native of Krotoschin, in the duchy of Posen, who, following forty years of residence in Bristol, died in Dublin in July 1840. His son, Lewis, who, after an early chequered

career, became distinguished in the British Diplomatic Service, was born in Dublin in 1824.

Lewis Joel was educated in Bristol and there married Sophia Levy (1825–1911) on 1 March 1848; he had meantime returned to Dublin to follow the occupation of jeweller at 55 Dame Street. On 11 January 1850 he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment at the Central Criminal Court in London for feloniously uttering an acceptance to a bill of exchange for £1,000 dated 5 August 1847, with intent to defraud John Marcus Clements, a lieutenant in the 13th Light Dragoons, then stationed in Dublin. He spent seventeen months in prison and was then granted a royal pardon on evidence that the acceptance was in the genuine handwriting of Clements and no forgery.[38]

He appears then to have emigrated to South America, where he prospered in commerce. One of his first diplomatic appointments was as honorary British Vice-Consul at Cobija, in Chile, in 1861; he acted there as French Consul from September 1863 to June 1866. In 1867, he was briefly British Chargé d'Affaires at Caracas, capital of Venezuela, and in the next year was named Commissioner in the mixed British and Venezuelan Commission for the settlement of British claims. In 1869, he was again British Chargé d'Affaires, as well as Consul General, at Caracas, and, in 1870, was appointed Consul at Rosario in Argentina, a post which he held for seven years. Then, in succession, he became Consul in Brindisi and Cadiz and was promoted to the rank of Consul General for Panama and Bolivar with jurisdiction in Magdalena and Cauca. During his term in Cadiz, in 1886, he was publicly thanked on behalf of the Protestant congregation at Puerto Santa Maria for restoring its worship, which had been disturbed by local bigots. In Panama, at the time of the collapse of the first Canal scheme, he secured food for clamouring Negro workers and induced the authorities to repatriate them to the West Indies. Finally, he became Her Majesty's Consul General to Chile and had charge of the Legation in Santiago. Shortly after his retirement on pension in January 1894, he was appointed British member of the Tribunal of Arbitration constituted by the Convention between Great Britain and Chile of September 1893, to settle claims arising out of the Civil War of 1891. At the age of 70, he disembarked in Valparaiso once more, as an adjudicator, but a

serious accident, in August 1895, obliged him to return to England before the arbitration ended. He was the author of an important contribution to consular literature entitled *A Consul's Manual* (London, 1879). He died in London on 28 February 1899 and was buried at the Willesden Jewish cemetery.[39]

John Nathan (1794–1864) settled in Dublin in the 1820s; he was a watchmaker and jeweller at 44 Nassau Street,[40] and lived afterwards at 30 Lower Gloucester Street. In 1819, he married Frances Samuel (1792–1841), daughter of Emanuel Samuel, who came to England from Kempen, near Posen, in 1775;[41] Frances was the sister of Nathan Meyer, Moses and Louis Samuel, of Liverpool, aunt of the first Baron Swaythling (1832–1911) and grand-aunt of the first Viscount Samuel.[42] Husband and wife died in Dublin, leaving a son and two daughters. The son, Edward William Parker,[43] was converted to Catholicism in St. Andrew's Church, in Westland Row, on 29 July 1842; one daughter, Mary Ann, married Adam Harpur in 1851.[44] John Nathan bequeathed £10 to the congregation.

In 1829, Frances' niece, Mary, daughter of Nathan Meyer Samuel (d. 1835), married Charles Harris (1802–53),[45] watch and clock maker at 41 Nassau Street.[46] Like John Nathan, he was a member of the committee which, in 1839, revised the rules and constitution of the congregation. Mary's brother, Saul Samuel (1807–81), watchmaker, jeweller and bog-oak ornamentalist at 29 Nassau Street,[47] was honoured by the patronage of Queen Victoria. At the same address there was a firm of opticians and mathematical instrument makers, trading as Samuels & Co.[48] Saul retired to Liverpool after the death of his only child, a daughter, Evelina Miriam, in 1871; prayers had been offered not in the synagogue alone but also in Dublin's chapels.[49] She, like her grand-uncle by marriage, bequeathed £10 to the congregation. Mary's sister became the aunt by marriage of Michael Henry, who edited the *Jewish Chronicle* from 1869 to 1875.

Not long after the opening of the Stafford Street synagogue, Elias Solomons and Jacob Phillips, English by birth, settled in Dublin. Elias Solomons, born in London on 22 December 1799, was the son of Morris Solomons, who had lived in Hull, in Yorkshire, and in Boston, in Lincolnshire, in the 1790s[50] before moving to

London, where he became a member of the Hambro' Synagogue. Elias arrived in Dublin in 1824 and established himself as an optician. In 1831, he married Sophia Solomon (formerly Neuberg), of Chatham; Sophia's sister, Rosetta, had married his brother, George, in 1828, and her cousin Maria Israel had married Isaac Levy, of Dublin, in 1833.[51] Elias had three sons and a daughter. The eldest, Maurice Elias, was born on 15 September 1832 at Bedford Square,[52] Bloomsbury, in London; his mother had gone there for the birth. Elias Solomons, whose descendants, until well into the second half of the twentieth century, were directive members of the Dublin congregation, does not seem to have held communal office, but lived mostly in London, where he partnered his brother in an optician's establishment at 105 New Bond Street. He died in Dublin on 11 March 1876, at 19 Nassau Street, the home of his son, Maurice Elias.

Jacob Phillips, born in Birmingham on 13 November 1803, followed Elias Solomons to Dublin in or about 1827. Grandson of the 'Rabbi' Phillips who is said to have been the minister of the Birmingham community at the time of Lord George Gordon's conversion[53] in that city, Jacob, in his youth, was apprenticed to a manufacturing jeweller, but in Dublin he started a business as factor and merchant and was registered with the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company under the firm name of Phillips & Cohen.[54] In 1840, he was a watchmaker and jeweller at 39 Ormond Quay, under the same style.[55] In 1843, he went to Hong Kong, establishing the great firm of Moore, Phillips & Co., with houses in Shanghai, Tientsin and Manila, and returned to Birmingham in 1851, devoting himself thereafter to public and communal life; there is a portrait of him in the Free Library. He was actively interested in Jewish charities and was a founder of the Singer Street synagogue. He died a bachelor, in his hundredth year.[56]

In 1824, the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company accepted Michael Myers,[57] perhaps a son of the Symon Myers (Shimon ben Meir Irishman) who died in London in 1821, and possibly also a member of the Birmingham family Myers which was related to Jacob Phillips. In 1850, a Morris Myers lived in Abbey Street in Dublin; in 1870, a Henry Myers died at 27 Lower Abbey Street; in 1871, a Charles Myers lived in Camden Street.

Henry Rosenthal (1798–1873), a native of Hanover, arrived in Dublin in or about 1828,[58] with his brother David (1791–1869) and his kinsmen, George (1803–1854) and Louis, who taught French and German at 4 South Cumberland Street.[59] One of them had a son, Henry, who lived in Gloucester Street in 1850 and from 1854 in Blackrock, in County Dublin.[60] In 1830, Henry Rosenthal, senior, had a jewellery, perfumery, and fancy warehouse at 19 Royal Arcade, but became an importer of fancy snuffs, meerschaum pipes and Havana cigars, opening a tobacconist's shop first at 38 and then at 23 Nassau Street.[61] He was an Elder of the community in 1839 and presented the synagogue with a satin curtain, trimmed and embroidered in gold, for the Ark. One of his four children, John David, born at 38 Nassau Street on 20 May, 1833, had a distinguished legal career.[62]

Isaac Marcus (1800–64), a native of Danzig, came to Dublin about 1829, trading as a general dealer at 24 Capel Street and becoming a prominent member of the congregation, Vice-President in 1852 and President in 1853. By his wife, Julia (1805–81), he had four children; his daughter, Matilda (1837–1911), married Hyman Henry Collins (1833–1905), a noted London architect and great-grandson of Samuel Davis, popularly known as Sam Irishman.[63] A second daughter, Priscilla, was married at Dover in 1872 to Alphonse Mayer, of Brussels. Mark Marcus, whose wife, Sophia, formerly of Leeds, died in Dublin in 1849, shortly after the birth of her son, Charles, may have been of the family. In 1837, Benjamin Marcus, a native of Russian Poland, settled in Ireland; he was converted to Christianity in 1840, and, in 1841, the Dublin University Press published a Hebrew book written by him, entitled in English *Skill and Understanding* and discoursing Christologically on prophetical passages in the Old Testament. In 1854, he published, also in Dublin, a work entitled *Mekor Hayyim. Mistranslations and difficult Passages of the Old Testament Corrected and Explained.*

There was a Bernard Spiers, who had a daughter, Miriam, born in Dublin in 1830,[64] and a son, Solomon, born in 1832; his brother Henry had a son, Abraham, born there in 1832. They could be the sons of Phineas Moses Spiers,[65] who died in Gosport, in Hampshire, on 23 October 1799, and of Mariam Moses Spiers, who also died in Gosport on 2 July 1807, and the brothers of Benjamin Phineas Moses

Spiers, who, in 1830, moved his fruit-importing business from Portsmouth to Rotterdam, where he married in the same year. Benjamin was the grandfather of the Shakespearean scholar, Frederick Samuel Boas,[66] born in Belfast on 24 July 1862.

Henry Braham (1789–1869), settling in Dublin in 1829, was beadle of the synagogue for 24 years at an annual salary of £42, succeeding Samuel Tobias, who had retired four years before his death in 1848. Braham had a stationery shop at 12 Crow Street, and his wife, Eve (1794–1869), attended the families of the community in sickness. In 1855, he presented the congregation with a silver spice-box; the accompanying letter was entered in the minutes:[67]

'Dear Friends,

I have for some time past had it in my heart to present for the acceptance of my Brethren some small though useful Memorial of their Kindness and my Gratitude which, associating itself with the practice of some of our religious ceremonies, might at the same time, serve to recall the name of a humble donor, when he is perhaps long gone, for after this the heart yearns; and the object that I have for this purpose selected is a small silver Spice-repository, which I now, with real pleasure, formally present to the Congregation and by their willing acceptance of it reminding them by way of plea for its trifling value that, in the bygone days of our greatness, when the "Glory" tabernacled among us—even then the "*freewill offerings*" of the *lowly ones* of the flock, took their place *side by side with those of the loftiest of the nobles of Israel.*

'It was then **ויבאו כל איש אשר נשאו לבו וכל אשר נדבה רוחו אתו הביאו את תרומת ד' – כל מרים תרומת כסף ונחשת הביאו את תרומת ד' – והנשאם הביאו את אבני השהם.**

Ex.XXXV. verses 21, 24, 27.

To the President and Members
of the Hebrew Congregation Dublin.

I am, Dr friends,
Yours truly,
Henry Braham'.

Jacob Abecasis, who arrived in Ireland in 1830, was a native of Morocco. He appears in the communal records as the son of Haham Shalem, who could be the Solomon Abecasis[68] of 21 Leman Street, in Aldgate, practising as a mohel in London in the 1820s. In Dublin, Jacob dealt at 34 Grafton Street[69] in snuff and tobacco, which he

imported. In about 1840, he presented the synagogue with a small Scroll of the Law,[70] which he had repaired in London at his own expense. Two daughters and two sons were born to him in Dublin:[71] Diane, on 22 August 1831, Dabby, 26 Iyyar (May) 1836, Solomon, 3 Elul (August) 1838, and a second son, born in 1842, whose birth is not recorded in the register of births of the congregation. On 25 May of that year,[72] Isaac Davidson,[73] Minister of the congregation, was reprimanded by the President and committee for circumcising the son of Jacob Abecasis in contravention of their explicit orders that no son of his be circumcised until he apologised for using abusive language in the synagogue. When Jacob left Dublin in 1846, his shop was taken over by a fellow-Sephardi, Solomon Genese,[74] whose daughters were still running the business in 1885. Bobby Genese,[75] his brother, died in Limerick in 1847.

Bernard Gotheimer, from Central Europe, eked out a precarious livelihood as a pedlar in Dublin. When his son, Abraham Zachariah, was born in Dublin in a lane off Fleet Street on 18 November 1831, he was so poor that neighbours had to provide the swaddling clothes. Abraham began as a humble clerk in Dublin but became a traveller in wines and then rose meteorically to be styled Baron Albert Grant, 'the pioneer of modern mammoth company promoting', a Member of Parliament, and a public benefactor known throughout the British Isles. But nearly all his ventures were fraudulent, such as the Belgian Public Works, Cadiz Waterworks, Central Uruguay Railway, Labuan Coal Company, Imperial Bank of China, Imperial Land Company of Marseilles, Lima Railways, Odessa Waterworks, and Russia Copper Company. Still, he found the money to build the famous Milan arcade; it was for that service that the title of Baron was conferred on him by King Victor Emmanuel in 1868.[76] His most notorious flotation was the worthless Emma Silver Mine: his unfortunate dupes only got back a shilling for every £20, while he pocketed £100,000 for himself, whereupon a lampoonist wrote:[77]

'Kings bestow title, honour they can't.
Title without honour is a Baron grant'.

with the rider:

'That's very true, but how greater the dilemma
To be without a title like the Emma'.

He was one of the men principally involved in the promotion of the ill-fated Lisbon-Berlyn Gold Mining Company in the Pilgrim's Rest district of the Transvaal in the mid-1880s; the company was the first to introduce hydraulic mining on a large scale in South Africa.[78]

He is generally regarded as the model for the charlatan, Augustus Melmotte, in Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (1875). Grant's one redeeming feature was liberal charity; the noblest of his benefactions was the gift of Leicester Square to the Metropolitan Works in 1874. Known as Leicester Fields, it had been a dumping-ground for dead cats and dogs. Grant bought the land for £30,000, made it into a public garden, with a statue of Shakespeare by Fontana, a replica of that in Westminster Abbey; at the four corners were busts of former residents: Sir Joshua Reynolds, Newton, Hogarth, and John Hunter. But the satirists[79] were not to be mollified:

'What! Flowers in Leicester Square? These flowers of Grants
Are but the products of his City plants.
The shade by which he hopes to gain our praise
Reveals, alas, the donor's shady ways.
What can he hope to gain from this affair
Save to connect his name with something square?'

At Christie's, Grant bought Landseer's celebrated portrait of Sir Walter Scott for 800 guineas, and presented it to the National Portrait Gallery, at a time when the Government confessed it had no funds available. In 1874, he bought the *Echo* newspaper for £20,000; it is said that he was the first to persuade the morning papers to break their columns for advertisements. In 1873, at the zenith of his financial wizardry, with offices at 24 and 25 Lombard Street, Grant acquired a large slum area south of Kensington Gardens and built Kensington House upon it; the cost is put at over a million pounds. But the palatial mansion, with its landscaped grounds and ornamental lake, was only occupied on the occasion of a bachelors' ball on 22 July 1880. In 1883, it was pulled down, the site seized by Grant's creditors, and the grand marble staircase with its splendid bronze handrails removed to Madame Tussaud's.

Grant died in Bognor, on 3 August 1899, almost a pauper.[80]

CHAPTER XIV

MARY'S ABBEY SYNAGOGUE

In 1836, the Dublin congregation, for unknown reasons, had to quit the premises in Stafford Street. In the same year, negotiations were set on foot to buy, at 12 Mary's Abbey, a building which had once been a meeting-house for the Seceders or Anti-Burghers, a sect of the Kirk of Scotland. Mary's Abbey, a short and narrow street off Capel Street, is the site of St. Mary's Abbey, where, as Ned Lambert told the Rev. Hugh C. Love in the *Wandering Rocks* episode in *Ulysses*,[1] 'silken Thomas proclaimed himself a rebel in 1534 . . . The old bank of Ireland was over the way till the time of the union and the original jews' temple was here too before they built their synagogue over in Adelaide road.' The building, which was acquired by the congregation for £300 from the trustees of the Seceders, had a seating capacity of 90. Assignment of the leasehold interest was only executed on 15 January 1836, the trustees of the congregation being Alexander Lazarus Benmohel, Joseph Wolfe Cohen, and Simon Rosenstein. The purchase price was raised, not without difficulty, through loans and donations, and a further £500 was expended to equip the synagogue with an Ark, a Reader's desk, and new flooring. That the money was found speaks highly for the religious fervour of the Jews of Dublin, who then numbered not more than 18 families. Benmohel[2] went to London and appeared before the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation to ask that they take the new building under their aegis by becoming trustees for the property. On 14 December 1840, the London congregation gave £20 towards the expenses of equipment. In its letter of thanks, the Dublin congregation proposed, in token of gratitude, to consider itself a branch synagogue of Bevis Marks, 'that we may under every vicissitude of our affairs, claim the privilege of

being under your fostering and beneficent protection.[3] Nothing seems to have come of this proposal, but it is relevant that the annuity of £100 bequeathed to the Dublin congregation in 1854 by Abraham Cohen was given 'during so long as they shall conform to the form and service observed in the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place, London'.[4] A circular letter of appeal from Dublin to the Jews of Great Britain did not meet with success. By 12 January 1853, however, the congregation had managed to collect enough to purchase the freehold from the Bank of Ireland, and on that day the premises were conveyed by the Bank in consideration of £350 to Joseph Wolfe Cohen, Simon Rosenstein, Henry Lazarus, Henry Nerwich, and Lewis Harris in trust for the congregation.

Of the signatories to the 1836 and 1853 deeds, we may now consider Rosenstein, Benmohel, Lazarus, and Harris. Like Joseph Wolfe Cohen, Simon Rosenstein (1794–1862) signed both deeds. A native of Germany, he came to Dublin in 1825, trading as a jeweller, watchmaker, and seal engraver, at 22 Nassau Street, subsequently moving to 21 Parliament Street, and then to 24 Usher's Island. Under the style of Rosenstein and Son, he had a fancy jewellery shop at 16 Lower Sackville Street, where he also did business as a commission agent and bog-oak carver.[5] He was appointed silversmith to the Right Hon. Sir Edward Blakeney, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, and for thirty years supplied the Dublin garrison with London and Sheffield plated goods and with jewellery. In 1840, he was President of the congregation, to which he presented a white satin curtain for the Ark. By his wife, Phoebe, he had two sons and a daughter.

Alexander Lazarus Benmohel, first to sign the 1836 deed, settled in Dublin in or about 1827, accompanied by his brother, Nathan Lazarus, and his wife, Rosa Hyams, born in Louth, in Lincolnshire. Alexander Lazarus, whose surname is acrostically derived from the initials *Ben Mo*renu *Ha* Rav *La*zi, was born in Berlin in 1788, the eldest son of Rabbi Eliezer Lazi (1741–1841), presiding judge of the ecclesiastical court of the united congregation of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck,[6] and formerly Dayan of Posen; his mother was a daughter of Rabbi Todros Munk, of Posen. Before settling in Dublin, Benmohel, being then known as Lazarus, had been shochet, secretary and preacher in Portsmouth from 1814 to 1824. In

Dublin, he traded as an exporter of coney fur to the felt-hat factories in the North of England; in 1831, residing at 13 New Row West, near the present New Street, he is recorded in the *Dublin Directory* as a furrier and commission warehouseman. In the 1830s he served the congregation in the dual capacity of President and honorary Reader, and on four occasions performed the pious duty of circumciser; one of his initiates was Baron Albert Grant, formerly Abraham Zachariah Gotheimer.[7] He died at Blackrock on 5 March 1839,[8] and was buried at Ballybough; his business[9] was carried on by his wife at the same address under the style of Benmohel & Co., Manchester warehouse.

Nathan Lazarus Benmohel, born in Hamburg in 1803, entered Trinity College on 6 February 1832, after private tuition, and became a Bachelor of Arts in 1836, the first Jew to graduate at an Anglican university.[10] In June 1846, he took his Master of Arts degree. He died in Sandycove on 22 December 1869, and was buried at Ballybough. He was deputy Professor of French and German at Trinity College from 1839 to 1842 and appears also to have taught Hebrew there. In 1851, he read a paper on 'Etymological Criticism' to the members of the Royal Irish Academy, which was published in the Proceedings of the Academy[11] under the name of J. W. Benmohel (*sic*).[12] The exhibits[13] at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in London in 1887 included his certificate of entry into Trinity College, his Master's diploma, and two letters written by him on his graduation as Master and on the waiver of the Thirty-Nine Articles on that occasion.

Though sprung from a family of rabbinical and communal leaders, he held no office in the Dublin congregation. On the contrary, he had the reputation of unorthodoxy and of being very lax in his observances, and seems to have cut himself off completely from his coreligionists. John Salmon, in an article on the Jews of Ireland, says that he had 'conformed' some time after entering Trinity College.[14] Certainly the Jews of Dublin must have entertained doubt as to the faith, if any, professed by him at the time of his death, for they allowed him to be buried only on the periphery at Ballybough, out of respect for his sister-in-law, Rosa Benmohel, to whom he had frequently expressed the wish that he be buried there[15].

Henry Lazarus (1808–68), the third signatory of the 1853 deed, had been President of the congregation in the previous year; the members entertained him at a dinner in acknowledgment of their appreciation of his part in the transaction.[16] A native of Portsmouth, he settled with his parents in Dublin, by way of Bath, about the year 1830. His mother, Elizabeth (1774–1849) (Beilah bat Isaac of Portsmouth), was the daughter either of Isaac Standel, teacher of the Portsmouth congregation in 1764,[17] or of Isaac Zekhariah, a member of that congregation in 1778.[18] His father, Lewis Lazarus (1771?–1852) (Eleazar ben Shimon), also born in Portsmouth, was President of the Dublin congregation in 1841–3; he was a silversmith and watch and clock maker, at 9 Parliament Street, from 1838 onwards.[19] In 1850, he was in partnership with his son or brother, Benjamin L. Lazarus, who in 1840 dealt in feathers and furs at 79 Grafton Street.[20] A Jacob Lazarus, son of Eleazar ha-Levi, of Fordon, in the duchy of Posen, died in Dublin in 1833.

Henry Lazarus was a goldsmith and silversmith,[21] first at 22 and 36 Parkgate Street, and then at 86 Marlborough Street,[22] residing at 83 Pembroke Road, Ballsbridge. On his death, he left £100 to the congregation.[23] By his first wife, Frances Barnett, probably a daughter of Barnard Barnett, a freeman of the congregation in 1841,[24] he had seven sons and six daughters. His eldest son, Louis Barnett Lazarus (1843–1902), who adopted the name of Laurence,[25] resided at 12 Herbert Place before moving to London. He was a graduate of Trinity College (1866), and practised as a solicitor in the Supreme Court of Judicature of England. He left £10 to the congregation; he had been elected a free member in 1869[26] without applying in writing, a tribute to the high esteem in which his father's memory was held. Of his daughters, Julia (b. 1842), the eldest, married Julius Calischer, probably a son of S. Callischer, trading as a merchant at 6 Queen's Square in 1866.[27] The third, Nellie (b. 1848), married Lesser Lesser (1839–1911), a native of Birmingham and a noted London picture-dealer. The second, Miriam (b. 1844), married Alfred Wormser Harris, eldest son of Lewis Harris, last of the signatories of the 1853 deed.

Born in Stuttgart, Lewis Harris (1812–76), originally known as Samuel Wormser, settled in Dublin in 1833 and lodged with Charles Harris,[28] whose surname he adopted; his grandfather,

also Samuel Wormser, had taken the family name from his birthplace, Worms.[29] In Dublin, Lewis traded first as a cloth merchant[30] and afterwards in watches and jewellery, and acted as a general agent to officers in the Army and Navy.[31] Before long, he was a merchant of note, in business as bill-broker and jeweller at 19 Suffolk Street, residing at 124 Lower Baggot Street, and with a country house in Woodpark, in County Meath. In 1852, by royal patent, he was granted all the rights and privileges of a natural-born British subject. He served the community well: an Elder of the congregation in 1839 and President in 1847, and again in 1851 and 1860. But he did not confine himself to communal activity, and was one of the handful of Jews to enter public life. In 1874, he offered himself as a candidate for the aldermanship, only to encounter antagonism because of his religion. The following letter to the citizens of Dublin shows how he defended the good name of Jewry:[32]

124, Lower Baggot Street,
Dublin
23 November, 1874.

'Dear Sir,

As a last desperate resort, an attempt has been made to prejudice you against me, as a candidate for your suffrages, on the ground of my religion. I am happy that is the only point exception can be taken to by my opponents, and I trust that the bigotry thus exhibited will recoil on those from whom it emanated, as a result of their intolerance.

I have the honour to belong to the Jewish Religion—the oldest in the world; and from which has sprung every form of Christianity, the true doctines of which are toleration and charity to "all". The gentleman who, I am assured represents himself as an ultra-conservative in one portion of the ward, and in another, a thorough Radical, seems to forget that many of the master minds of the age are "Jews"—statesmen, philosophers, authors and musicians, merchant princes and philanthropists, that the great leader of the Conservative party, and to whom he professes to bow, is by blood and birth a "Jew", that Sir George Jessel, that eminent jurist, the Master of the Rolls, holding the highest permanent judicial post in England, is a professing "Jew"; that when the Irish people were famishing, the "Jew" Rothschild

alone sent Ten Thousand Pounds to their relief; and that no less than eight Jewish gentlemen represented important constituencies in the Imperial Parliament; and that two Jews have held the high position of Lord Mayor of London—surely, then, my religion ought not to be used as an election cry to prevent my obtaining a seat in the Dublin Corporation?

'As a man, as a citizen, as an employer, and as a landlord, I trust in the verdict of my fellow-citizens, between my opponent and myself, after a residence among them of fully forty years; and I confidently rely that they will exhibit their tolerance and their independence by giving me their support to repel the insult which has been attempted collectively on their understanding, as well upon myself individually.

'If elected, I shall be no Place Hunter. I shall devote myself to your services; and as far as in my power lies, endeavour to improve the city, and keep down the ever-increasing taxation, in which we all are mutually interested.

I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient servant,
Lewis Harris'.

His election by a large majority was proof that religious prejudices were dying down and that liberalism and toleration were happily supplanting them. A year later, Harris was a member of the Financial Committee of the O'Connell Centenary, appointed to organise the celebration of the hundredth birthday of 'The Liberator' in 1875.[33] He had presented £500 to the congregation as a nucleus of the fund to build a new synagogue, which he did not live to enter: on 1 August 1876, just before he was to be made Lord Mayor, he died at 1 Royal Marine Terrace, Bray, in County Wicklow, and was buried at Ballybough. It was not until Robert Briscoe[34] (1895–1969) was appointed Lord Mayor of Dublin first in 1956 and again in 1961 that a Jew achieved this high distinction. Lewis Harris's funeral was attended by the Lord Mayor, by aldermen, physicians and lawyers, clergymen of the Irish Church, and every single Jew of Dublin. He had been married twice, first to Caroline (Ellen) Picard (1817–55), a native of France, who predeceased him by 21 years. They had three children: Alfred (1837–1921),[35] Morris, who died in child-

hood, and Hannah (1838–73)[36], married to Henry Simmons, of Manchester. By his second wife, Juliette Joseph (1821–1908), Lewis had five sons:[37] Herbert Wormser (1858–80), Ernest Wormser (1859–1946), Lionel Simon Wormser (b. 1861), Arthur Wormser (1863–1903), and Walter Wormser (1865–1934). Juliette died in Brighton, but, at her express wish, was buried beside her husband at Ballybough;[38] she was the eldest daughter of Aaron Joseph (1790–1875), of London, for many years Warden of the Great Synagogue and Treasurer of the Jews' Hospital, and so was the aunt of Mrs. Hermann Adler and of Nathan Solomon Joseph (1834–1909), architect of the Belfast synagogue in Victoria Street. Lewis Harris's will and two codicils were proved on 5 September 1876, in the Dublin Court of Probate;[39] the property was sworn under £160,000, exclusive of freehold estates. He asked that his widow should not break up his establishment in Dublin for at least three years after his death and that, if possible, his children settle in Dublin. On the last Sabbath of his life, he had presented the congregation with a Scroll of the Law and its appurtenances.

Anticipating the resettlers of 1822, there came to Ireland in 1819 a young Jew named John Michaelis Bernardi. Born in Hamburg in 1800,[40] he was of Sephardi origin and could trace his ancestry back in clear lines for more than three hundred and fifty years. But in Dublin he lost all connection with his dozen or less fellow-Jews, and was naturalised as a British subject, changing his name to Barnardo. He traded successively at 7 Castle Street, 4 Dame Street, and 36 Mary Street,[41] as a furrier and importer of foreign skins, and was furrier to the Irish Court; his home was at 5 Upper Gardiner Street. By his wife, a member of a noted Quaker family, the Drinkwaters, he had a son, Thomas John, born in Dublin in 1845, the philanthropist who, in 1867, founded Dr. Barnardo's Homes. Though baptised in infancy in St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, Thomas John Barnardo is classed in Lord Melchett's book *Thy Neighbour* (London, 1936) as one of the greatest Jews that Britain has yet produced.[42]

In 1825, a converted Jew, Michael Solomon Alexander, arrived in Dublin with his wife, whom he had married according to the Jewish rite in Devonshire the year before.[43] Born on 1 May 1799, in Schonlanke, in the duchy of Posen, he emigrated to England about 1823 and became the Reader and shochet of the Plymouth Jewish

congregation, after a brief term as such in Norwich. He was baptised on 22 June 1825, in St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth. In Dublin, he was appointed a teacher of Hebrew and secretary to the Church of Ireland Jews' Society.[44] Alexander intended to study for entrance to Trinity College, but Dr. William Magee, Archbishop of Dublin, offered to ordain him and six months' preparation sufficed; with him a second convert, J. M. Mayers,[45] was ordained. Dublin Jewry consisted of only about ten families in 1827, which gave little scope for conversionist activity, so Alexander was sent to Danzig by the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews to proselytise in West Prussia and Posen; in May 1830 he returned to England. For nine years he held the appointment of Professor of Hebrew and Rabbinic Literature at King's College in London; the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him—it is believed—by Trinity College in Dublin.[46] He was associated with Dr. Alexander McCaul,[47] a graduate of Trinity, and one-time Professor of Hebrew at King's, in preparing a revised edition of the New Testament in Hebrew, besides being prominent in a translation of the Anglican liturgy into Hebrew. When, in 1840,[48] a charge of ritual murder was brought against the Jews of Damascus, he joined Dr. McCaul in summoning a protest meeting of Jewish converts in England. On 7 November 1841, he became the first incumbent of the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem and was consecrated by Archbishop Howley and the Bishops of London, Rochester, and New Zealand in Lambeth Palace Chapel, in the presence of representatives of the British and Prussian Governments. Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador to England, wrote to his wife: 'The successor of St. James . . . is by race an Israelite, born a Prussian, in confession belonging to the Church of England, ripened (by hard work) in Ireland, twenty years Professor of Hebrew and Arabic in England. So the beginning is made, please God, for the restoration of Israel'. After three years' work in Jerusalem, Bishop Alexander began a return journey by way of Cairo, but on 23 November 1845 succumbed to a heart attack in the Sinai desert; he was buried on Mount Zion.[49]

Moses Margoliouth, also a convert, arrived in Dublin about 1839.[50] He was born in Suwalki, Poland, 1820, and studied Talmud in Grodno; in 1837, he moved to Liverpool and was baptised the

following year into the Church of England. In 1840, he entered Trinity College, Dublin,[51] to prepare for ordination, and during vacations attended the Hebrew College in London. In September 1844, he was appointed to the incumbency of Glasnevin by the Bishop of Kildare. He was married to Haya Goldberg, who bore him a daughter, Fanny, on 24 March 1846; a convert, too, Haya returned to the Jewish faith and was no longer living with him when the child was born.[52] The birth is recorded in the register of the Dublin congregation, the father being described as Moses Epstein Margoliouth, a converted Jew, clergyman at Glasnevin, near Dublin. Margoliouth had much time for proselytising and study. He converted one Henry Marsh Friedeberg in 1845; it was a conversion undergone in 'an hour of despondency', as Friedeberg notes in a pamphlet entitled 'Remarks on the condition of the London Society for promoting Christianity among Jews', which he published in 1851 on reverting to Judaism.[53] Margoliouth launched a monthly magazine, *The Star of Jacob*, of which six issues appeared (January-June, 1847), and tried to establish a Philo-Hebraic Society for promoting the study of Hebrew literature and reprinting rare Hebrew works. In 1847, he visited Palestine and in 1850 published in London an account entitled '*A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers*'. One of the revisers of the English version of the Old Testament, he was also the author of *Modern Judaism* (1843), *The History of the Jews of Great Britain* (1851), *The Spirit of Prophecy* (1864), *Vestiges of the Historic Anglo-Hebrews in East Anglia* (1870) and *The Poetry of the Hebrew Pentateuch* (1871). He died in London in 1881.[54]

CHAPTER XV

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE IRISH AND THE JEWS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In their struggle for political emancipation, the Jews of England found many a champion in Ireland. Daniel O'Connell, the 'Liberator', father of Catholic emancipation, Richard Whately, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, and Isaac Butt, the first 'Home Ruler', are names that come to mind. Irish and Jewish leaders often met in London to discuss ways and means to remove the disabilities which they shared. In 1829, for instance, at the house of John M. Pearce in St. Swithin's Lane, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid and Moses Montefiore met Daniel O'Connell and his son, Morgan, the O'Gorman Mahon, his young and dare-devil lieutenant, Charles Pearce, Pearce Mahony, and John Wyse.[1] It was John Pearce whom the Board of Deputies invited to prepare the Jewish petition to Parliament.

On 11 September 1829, O'Connell thanked Goldsmid for his congratulations on the Catholic victory.[2] 'Ireland', he said, 'has claims on your ancient race, as it is the only country that I know of unsullied by any one act of persecution of the Jews. I entirely agree with you on the principle of freedom of conscience, and no man can admit the sacred principle without extending it to the Jew as to the Christian . . . With these sentiments you will always find me the constant and active friend to every measure which tends to give the Jews an equality of civil rights with all the King's subjects—a perfect unconditional equality. I think every day a day of injustice until that civil equality is attained by the Jews. Command my unequivocal and energetic exertions in Parliament to do away with the legal forms and the laws which now ensnare or impede the conscientious Jew in seeking for those stations to which other subjects are entitled . . . ' A contemporary cartoon[3] shows the Duke

of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel blocking the entrance of the Jew to the House, while O'Connell and Baron Broughton, Chief Secretary for Ireland in March-April 1833, express their sympathy with him. O'Connell, in the centre of the picture says: 'Agitate, friend Moses, Agitate! That's the way I got in'.

O'Connell, with John Dillon, Dr. Alexander McCaul, and the poet Campbell, attended a non-denominational mass meeting at the London Mansion House on 3 July 1840 to protest against the Damascus blood libel.[4] O'Connell spoke passionately: 'Is not a Jew in every relation of life an example? Is he not a good father? a good son? Are they not true friends? Are they not honest, industrious? I appeal to all Englishmen to raise their voices in defence of the victims of that shameful oppression. May the appeal go from one end of the British Isles to the other, and if the concurrence of an Irishman be wanting, here am I to testify it!'

Archbishop Whately was one of the outstanding Protestant clerics to favour Catholic emancipation and, characteristically, when Jewish emancipation was hardly popular, he made an eloquent speech in the House of Lords in favour of the Jews' Relief Bill on 1 August 1833;[5] a reprint of his speech appeared in 1848 during the progress of Lord John Russell's Bill for the annulment of residual Jewish disabilities.

In 1848, the Jews of Dublin appealed to their fellow-citizens to sign a petition for Jewish emancipation to both Houses of Parliament: it lay for signature at the Chamber of Commerce in College Green and at the Dublin Library in D'Olier Street, with what result is not known.[6] Fifteen years before, over two hundred citizens of Waterford had presented a petition to the English Parliament in favour of the Bill to remove the civil disabilities of British Jewry.[7]

Isaac Butt, afterwards leader of the Irish Parliamentary party, speaking on the Jewish Disabilities Bill in the House of Commons on 10 December 1857, said: 'So long as we followed the principles of Christianity in our conduct towards our fellow-men, we should better uphold our national character and set a better example to other nations than by the retention of a useless phrase ['the true faith of a Christian' in the Parliamentary oath] which a man who had no Christianity would use, but from the adoption of which a man of sensitive conscience would shrink'. Butt once compared

the Irish race, which kept its own distinctive character in every portion of the globe, to 'God's chosen people of old, who remained separate and distinct among the nations'.

The editor of a Dublin paper, *The Inspector*,[8] in its issue of 14 September 1850, under the caption 'Jewish Antiquity in Ireland', pleaded for civil and religious liberty throughout the world, terming the parliamentary rejection of Baron Lionel de Rothschild, twice chosen by the electors of the City of London, 'a shabby technicality'.[9] Here was a man of 'first-rate standing in society, of great intelligence and excellent personal character, who, with his family, had contributed, during the Irish famine of 1847, £10,000, a sum far beyond the joint contributions of the Devonshires, and Herefords, Lansdownes, Fitzwilliams and Herberts, who annually drew so many times that amount from their Irish estates.'

Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), the great German Jewish poet, living in voluntary exile in Paris, became a fervent protagonist of the independence of Ireland; perhaps his interest had been aroused by the memory of 'La Belle Irlandaise' whom he once met at Lucca.[10]

In his remarkable Journal, probably modelled on Swift's *Journal to Stella*, Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763–1798), a leading member of the Society of United Irishmen, comments on the expedition of Napoleon to conquer Palestine and on the opinion of his friend, Whitley Stokes (1763–1845)[11], physician and distinguished Fellow of Trinity College, concerning the restoration of the Jews to their native land. Wolfe Tone records:[12]

'The last Paris papers mention that Buonaparte is decidedly set off to take the command of the expedition which is preparing in the Mediterranean. It is, I learn, to consist of three divisions, one to embark at Toulon, commanded by Buonaparte in person; another at Genoa by Kleber; and the third, at Civita Vecchia, by Desaix. The object declared is Egypt and Syria. With regard to this last country, in which Palestine is included, I see to-day an article in the 'Telegraph' which has struck me very much. It is a proposal to invite the Jews from all quarters of the world to return to their parent country and restore their ancient temple; it has not struck me so much in a political, as in a far different point of view. I remember Whitley Stokes, more than once, mentioned to me an opinion of his, founded on an attentive study and meditation of the

Old and New Testament, that he did not despair, even in his own lifetime and mine, of seeing this great event take place; and I remember I laughed at him heartily for his opinion, which, however, seems this day far less visionary than it was at that time, in 1793. It is now not only possible, but highly probable, that the Jews may be once more collected and the temple restored. The French will naturally take care to stipulate for advantages in return, and there is a giant's stride made at once into Asia, the extent and consequences of which I am at this moment utterly unable to calculate or perhaps to comprehend. I see every day more and more, that after ten years of war and the defeat of all the despots of Europe united, the French Revolution is but yet begun; the Hercules is yet in swaddling bands. What a people! Combining this intended measure with the downfall of the Pope, already accomplished, I have no doubt but a person who had made the prophecies and revelations his study (Stokes, for example), might build very extraordinary systems. For my part, I happily know nothing of Daniel and his seventy weeks, nor of St. John in his island of Patmos. I leave divinity to those who have a turn that way, and confine my humbler speculations to the state of this world. I do not see the prodigious good sense of the Great Turk in abetting and encouraging, as he seems to do, this grand operation. I do not think the neighbourhood of the French will be wholesome for the crescent; but that is his affair. Moreover, if the Jews are restored, their wealth is immense in Europe and in Asia incalculable, the Republic will of course exact "shekels of gold" before they consent to the elevation of the Tabernacle, which will be convenient. I would I had a good map of Asia to see how far it is from Jerusalem to Madras, for I have a great eye upon the Carnatic. Once again I lose myself utterly in the contemplation of the present position of the Republic. What miserable pigmies we unfortunate Irish are! But that is no fault of ours; we may be better yet. It is a great consolation to me, the assurance of Merlin and Barras with regard to our independence—I count upon it firmly'.

When the rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1798, Napoleon had started for the East, having decided that Egypt and not Ireland was to be the destination of that great army from which Ireland had hoped so much. All that the Directory could promise Wolfe Tone was a number of small raids to descend simultaneously on different points

of the Irish coast. To support General Humbert's force in Ireland, of whose defeat the Directory had not yet been informed,[13] an expedition was sent on 20 September under Admiral Bompard—Wolfe Tone[14] was on board the Admiral's vessel, the *Hoche*—with General Hardy in command of a force of about 3,000 men in eight frigates. On board one of these was Thomas Corbet,[15] a United Irishman, who escaped after the French squadron was forced to surrender when it encountered an English squadron near Lough Swilly on 12 Octover 1798. About four months later —on 17 February 1799, a week after Napoleon had marched north from Egypt to conquer Palestine and before the news could have reached France—a letter[16] was sent from Lorient in Brittany by Thomas Corbet to Paul Barras, the most powerful member of the Directory. Corbet recommended that Napoleon plant a Jewish settlement in Egypt near the isthmus of the Suez Canal 'which will be one step toward Palestine', the formation of a Jewish army in Syria under Napoleon's banner 'to open the route to Palestine', and to re-establish the old Jewish State in the conquered territory. He thought that, by appealing, on the one hand, to the humiliated and persecuted people, 'who bear their sufferings with pride but cherish the hope of eventual redemption', and, on the other, to the wealthy Jews, 'who possess the most of Europe's wealth,' the scheme would materialise for the benefit of the Jewish people and to the advantage of the Jewish nation. He believed that the Jews would organise themselves into secret societies similar to those of the United Irishmen, with whose fight for freedom the Jews had sympathised. It is held that Corbet's letter inspired Napoleon to issue his historic proclamation of 4 April 1799 to the Jews of Asia and Africa to range themselves under his banners and re-establish old Jerusalem. Corbet, who first taught English at Pyrtanée, later joined the French army with the rank of captain but was killed in a duel with a fellow-Irishman, Captain Sweeny, at Lesneven in May 1804.[17]

In February 1841, public meetings were held in Dublin and Carlow under distinguished Protestant auspices, in favour of restoring the Jews to Palestine. On 2 March 1841, a memorial signed by more than three hundred residents of County Carlow was sent to Lord Palmerston, Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, praying for official intervention on behalf of the Jews who were

settled in Palestine or might desire to return there. The memorial, a unanimous expression of Protestant feeling in the neighbourhood, spoke for all ranks and parties and denominations, and many Roman Catholics, clergy and laity, had signed it. It was acknowledged by Lord Palmerston, who assured the petitioners that 'the most interesting subject which it relates has not escaped the attention of Her Majesty's Government, who have made and are still making endeavours which they trust will not be altogether without success, to obtain for such Jews as may wish to settle in Palestine, full security for their persons and property'.[18] Conversely, two Jewish pleaders of the cause of Home Rule were Sir Bernard Samuelson (1820–1905), ironmaster, educationist, and Member of Parliament, and Sir John Simon (1810–97),[19] personal friend of many of the Irish leaders. Among the measures which, as an advanced Liberal, Sir John supported in Parliament were the Irish Land Acts and the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. Jewish opinion in England was in full support of establishing equal rights for the Catholic Church in Ireland and this was strongly pleaded in the Anglo-Jewish press. In the *Jewish Chronicle* of 3 July 1868, the editor, writing on 'Irish Church Disestablishment', comments: 'Some persons have endeavoured to raise a religious cry, and to get up the old extinct cry of "No Popery." . . . Ireland is not a country or a province that can be trampled upon; she is not a community of serfs; she is a nation containing 6 million of brave, stalwart, chivalrous, honorable men; and has furnished no small part of the glory of this country; . . . I think it a necessity that we should give the Irish people the equality they ask with reference to the church question . . . '. In a later comment on 20 November 1868, the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* states: 'In itself the measure is a great act of justice, calculated to pacify an oppressed nationality, and setting one more example of tolerance to the world at large . . .'

In the winter of 1845–6, Ireland was stricken by a potato famine which left it a giant graveyard. The relief measures taken by an unprepared Government were almost useless and outside aid, in which British and American Jews were prominent, was the sole salvation. An Irish Famine Loan of £8,000,000 was negotiated by Baron Lionel de Rothschild, who waived all commission.[20] It was

British Association for the relief of the extreme distress in the remote parishes of Ireland and Scotland' was formed to be jokingly but justly described as 'Rothschild, Kinnaird, and some dozen other merchant princes meeting every day and working hard'. The aim of 'the British Association', as it was popularly known, was to relieve the 'very numerous class of the sufferers . . . who are beyond the reach of the Government . . . by the distribution of Food, Clothing and Fuel; but in no cases shall money be given to the parties relieved'.[21] The Association collected over £470,000, of which £391,000 was expended in Ireland;[22] in the original subscription list, preserved in the National Library in Dublin, Queen Victoria heads the list with a gift of £2,000, followed by 'Rothschild's, £1,000'.[23] Throughout the period of extreme pressure, Baron Lionel was indefatigable, especially in regulating the purchase and shipment of provisions to Ireland and in the interior; once, a vessel having arrived in the Thames laden with wheat consigned to his firm, he gave orders for her to sail to Cork forthwith.[24]

Henry Russell (1812–1900), the well-known Jewish song-writer, gave charitable performances in Ireland which brought in £7,000 for the Famine Relief Fund, and set aside a fund of his own to lend money to poor families wishing to emigrate; the Irish people were so grateful that a penny subscription was started that produced £80 to buy him a gift of a tea and coffee service.[25] On the general day of fasting, 24 March 1847, Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler, the Chief Rabbi, delivered a sermon in the Great Synagogue on the famine that raged in Ireland and in the Scottish Highlands; the text, in Hebrew and English, was published for the benefit of the afflicted.[26]

In America, the first organised appeal for aid was issued in New York on 12 February 1847, by 62 leading citizens, including the Jewish banker August Belmont, who contributed $500.[27] The trustees of the Shearith Israel congregation responded at once, and a meeting took place at the synagogue in Crosby Street on 8 March 'for the purpose of taking measures for the relief of the famishing thousands of their fellow-mortals in that unfortunate and destitute country, Ireland'. The Rev. Jacques Judah Lyons (1813–71) spoke movingly: 'We are told that we have a large number of our own poor and destitute to take care of, that the charity we dispense should be bestowed in this quarter, that the peculiar position of

ourselves and our co-religionists demands it at our hands, that justice is a higher virtue than generosity, that self-preservation is a law and principle of our nature . . . Ask yourselves if the contribution you are requested to make will diminish in the smallest degree the other calls which you admit are imperative and binding . . . It is true that there is but one connecting link between us and the sufferers; that while most others know only a political and geographical separation from them, we alone realise that formidable and eternal one which the hand of man made not . . . Forged as it was, by religion, virtue and charity it is indestructible, it is all-powerful. That link, my brethren, is Humanity!' Uriah H. Judah, a New York merchant, the next speaker, used these words: 'And for whom do I plead? for Ireland, unhappy Ireland! the birthplace of that Emmet, who stood unrivalled for the splendour of his talents and the brilliancy of his legal attainments; for the land of that departed martyr, who, in the last moments of existence—ay, when his grave was opening to receive him—promulgated the noblest sentiments of the human heart, in accents soul-stirring and eloquent, in language beautiful and sublime. As American citizens, are we not under great and lasting obligations to the people of Ireland? On the bloody field of battle, during our struggles for liberty, were there no Irishmen engaged in the contest? no generous and daring son of the Emerald Isle, that nobly and bravely stepped forward to the rescue? He who fell at Quebec, while leading on your troops, and urging them to victory, drew the first breath of life in Ireland's persecuted clime; and he, whose tomb has been bedewed with the tears of his mourning countrymen, that illustrious soldier and conquering general, who for two successive terms filled the highest office within your gift, was born of Irish parents. And now, let me ask you if Ireland has no claims upon our sympathy, no demands upon our friendship, for services rendered in the darkest hours of adversity, in our conflict for liberty, in our struggle for equal rights? But, admitting that we act up to the principle that individuals as well as nations are ungrateful, has she then no claims upon us on the broad ground of charity, and of its heavenly attribute, brotherly love?'[28] A few days afterwards, the Rev. Samuel Meyer Isaacs,[29] cantor and preacher of the Shaarei Tefilah congregation, held a similar meeting. On 22 February, at the laying of the corner-

stone of the Shearith Israel synagogue in Charleston, South Carolina, a collection was made for the relief of the Irish.[30] On 20 February, Captain Uriah Phillips Levy, of the United States Navy, asked the Secretary of the Navy, J. Y. Mason, for the command of the frigate *Macedonian*, due to carry provisions for the starving Irish, offering to give all his pay and rations, during that service, to the Irish Relief Fund;[31] his petition was not granted. In 1880, when a new appeal for help to Ireland was directed to America, the Irish Relief Fund and the Fenian Famine Fund were liberally supported by American Jews.[32]

There is a tradition in the O'Farrelly family, of Cornaglea, in the parish of Mullagh, County Cavan, that the Jews of Dublin, who numbered about twenty-five families in 1845–7, gave practical assistance in relieving famine distress; it is a tradition handed down by the Rev. P. E. O'Farrelly (1794–1873), assistant at St. Andrew's Church, Westland Row, from 1837 to 1847, and friendly with many Dublin Jews.[33]

Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849), the Irish novelist, also laboured then to succour the Irish peasantry. She was one of the few writers of her day to try to enhance public appreciation of Jewry. Her novel *Harrington* (1816) describes how a young Christian, imbued in youth with anti-Jewish prejudices, gradually overcame them by experience; it also deals with Jewish life in the second half of the eighteenth century, telling how poor, helpless, and wretched were the Jews, abused, insulted, and mocked at by servants and children. Her father, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, in his prefatory remarks to *Harrington and Ormond* says:[34] 'The first of these tales was occasioned by a well-written letter, which Miss Edgeworth received from America, from a Jewess, complaining of the illiberality with which the Jewish nation had been treated in some of Miss Edgeworth's works'. That Jewess was Rachel Mordecai (Mrs. Aaron Lazarus).[35]

Ernest Abraham Hart (1835–98),[36] Anglo-Jewish medical writer, who took a leading part in the exposures which led to the reform of the treatment of sick poor throughout England, also proposed provisions for helping the peasants of Galway, Donegal, and Mayo, and the reclamation of waste land, afterwards included in the 'migration clauses' of the Tramways Act of Ireland. With his wife (Alice Marion Rowland), he established the Donegal Industrial Fund.

On the occasion of the centenary of his birth, Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885),[37] freeman of Londonderry, member of the Board of the Irish Manufactory Company in London, an original promoter and director of the Provincial Bank of Ireland, which had been founded as a Catholic bank in opposition to the National Bank of Ireland, sent a message full of affection to the Irish people, who had always been the friends and protectors of his race.

CHAPTER XVI

SPIRITUAL LEADERS OF DUBLIN HEBREW CONGREGATION (1820–1880)

With the exception of Rabbi Aaron the Scribe,[1] of Dublin (fl.1700–1706), few details, as we have seen, survive of ministrants of Irish Jewry in the eighteenth century. After the reorganisation of the community in 1822, worship was led at the Stafford Street synagogue by a layman, Myer Nerwich.[2] In 1829, the eleven families of the congregation appointed the Rev. Isaac Davidson to be Reader, shochet, and mohel. Davidson was born in Fordon, in the duchy of Posen, settled in England about the year 1820, and was for some time reader and shochet in Sunderland and Brighton, apart from an interval as private secretary[3] to Solomon Herschell (1761–1842), the Chief Rabbi of England. He was the first minister of the Mary's Abbey synagogue, and also acted as shochet to the handful of Jews in Cork, besides trading as a commission agent at 12 Jervis Street, opposite the Stafford Street synagogue, to supplement his congregational earnings. A dispute with Solomon Cohen,[4] a member of the congregation, about the payment of commission for a deal in October 1840, between one Cohen, of Bristol, who lodged in Davidson's house, and Joseph Wolfe Cohen, of Dublin, led the committee of the congregation to lay down that Isaac Davidson and any other paid officials of the congregation should 'under no circumstance or pretence follow or transact any business or trading nor deal in contraband goods or in such goods that are subject to pay the King's duties and are smuggled'.[5] But Davidson went on operating as a commission agent and, in August 1843, decided to resign his clerical post. In December 1844, he died suddenly; over £200[6] was collected by Jewish and Gentile friends in Dublin, Cork, and London for his widow and nine children, of whom six were born in Dublin. The widow stayed on in Dublin. Born in Ipswich,

Catherine Davidson (1797–1868) was the daughter of Asher Ansell (1758–1835), a native of Holland, who married a granddaughter of Sarah Lyon (1703–1808), of Ipswich; Constable painted Sarah's portrait in her 101st year.[7] Meir Ansell,[8] Catherine's brother, lived in Dublin in the 1840s; a second brother, Moses (Moss) (1795–1837)[9], who had served as secretary of the Great Synagogue in London from 1816 until a short time before his death, died in Dublin and was buried at Ballybough.

Fortune did not smile on Catherine. A year after her widowhood, her youngest son, Asher, was burnt to death at the age of three through the negligence of a servant; her fifth child, Solomon (1831–48), was drowned in the Liffey. She was granted a weekly pension of ten shillings by the congregation in February 1857,[10] and in the same year wrote to the President giving up her seat in the front row of the ladies' gallery for the benefit of the second wife of a prominent member:[11]

23, Fleet Street. Sept 11th, 1857.

'Sir,

'I have been given to understand that some unpleasantness has occurred between one of your members and the Congregation respecting a seat in the Ladies' Gallery.

'The seat I occupy was given to me in my late lamented husband's time when first the name of our God was proclaimed in that place of worship, even before those at the time here had succeeded in forming it into a synagogue, I must say, for many years the only place of comfort I had in my troubled and anxious life. However, sensible of my position as an unprotected widow for the benefit and harmony of the Congregation do I hereby resign that seat to you for your disposal.

I remain, Sir,
Yours respectfully,
Catherine Davidson'.

In 1853[12] her eighth child, Joseph, aged 17, emigrated to Australia, aided by a grant of £10 from communal funds. Her sixth child, Wolfe, a manufacturer of steel pens and trading also as a tobacconist at 3 Great Brunswick Street, died in 1876 at the age of 43. Another

son, who settled in America, appears in San Francisco in 1880 as a dealer in spectacles and, as a native of Cork(?), the only Irish Jew in the city. He is reported in the American Jewish press as a suicide presumptive,[13] having left 'the bed and board of his young wife and a letter stating that he is tired of life, advising her to return to Germany to her father and that he would go to a country from which we have never yet received a message either for good or for evil'.

In September 1843, Julius Sandheim, who had served the congregation since 1839 as secretary and Reader for £20 per annum, married Miriam, the eldest Davidson daughter, as a condition precedent to his succession to Isaac's former post. His salary was fixed at £120 a year and his duties were set out as follows: (a) that he faithfully binds himself not to engage himself in any way of dealing, (b) that he slaughters all meat and poultry for the use of the Congregation, (c) that he attends at the butcher's the following day after slaughtering for the purpose of porging from the hours of nine until twelve o'clock, (d) that he also kills any poultry sent to his house by a resident, (e) that he performs the duties of Reader and Baal Koreh in the Synagogue, (f) that he acts as Secretary to the Congregation, (g) that he teaches the children in the Hebrew language, for which each parent must pay according to agreement made between him and them, and that he attends the sick and adheres to all the other duties as laid down by the Law Book of the Congregation.[14]

In 1855, a Reader, teacher and preacher was appointed, and from that time Sandheim served only as shochet and mohel. In August 1882, after a term of 43 years, he left for London, and there, shortly afterwards, he died. On his departure, an address and a purse of £125 were presented to him by Jewish and Gentile friends; the address made reference to his success in the Abraham Cohen bequest in 1854, 'sufficient to ensure the celebration of Jewish worship in this portion of the Empire for all time'.[15]

In 1847, the Rev. Meyer Mensor, who professed to have the degree of Doctor of Divinity of the University of Berlin,[16] arrived in Dublin and, it seems, taught Hebrew, French and German privately in Trinity College.[17] He had no official post with the Dublin congregation but preached occasionally on the High Festivals,[18] and his reputation as a speaker brought about the disqualification of a

candidate for the post of teacher and preacher to the congregation in December 1854,[19] for soliciting him to prepare a vicarious sermon.

The *Voice of Jacob* of 4 April 1851, in editorial comment entitled 'Priestly Slander' on an anti-Jewish outburst in Dublin, wrote: 'It has ever been the boast of Hibernia's sons that . . . Ireland has ever provided them a home and a shelter. But we fear a change has come . . . These sad reflections have been forced upon us by reading the report of a discourse delivered by the Reverend Dr. Cahill in St. Michan's Church in Dublin . . . ' In Dublin, Mensor took up the cudgels against Dr. Cahill, editor of the *Daily Telegraph* and formerly Professor of Natural Philosophy at Carlow College, who had said that 'the Jew bears on his forehead the red mark of deicide'.[20] It was, indeed, not until 15 October 1965 that the Vatican Ecumenical Council ruled that the Jews could not be held collectively responsible for the death of Jesus.

In December 1857,[21] Mensor left to take up an appointment as Minister to the Kehillath Anshé Ma'arab (Congregation of Men of the West) in Chicago; a leading member there was Isaac Wormser, brother of Lewis Harris,[22] of Dublin. Mensor had come well recommended as 'a man of extensive learning and decided principles, a moderate reformer of the legal school, and a man who has acquired a fine reputation among our literary people'. But he did not live up to expectations and attempted to introduce unpopular changes in the ritual. Finally, in the blunt language of the historian of the Congregation: 'In November 1858, he was paid for 9 months' salary in advance, given travelling expenses, and this German-Irish gentleman, with his high-priest cap, his Hibernian wife and his plagerized [*sic*] stock of sermons, was sent back to the Emerald Isle, and nothing more has ever been heard of him in a Jewish pulpit'.[23] Mensor did not return to Ireland. He is next heard of in England, advertising in the *Sheffield Independent* of September 1859 for German, French and Hebrew lessons. He appeared in the pulpit of the Sheffield synagogue[24] on 24 September 1859, when he delivered 'a very good lecture' on the occasion of its reconsecration. In March 1861,[25] he was baptised in the parish church of Sheffield. He is recorded in *White's Directory* of 1862 as a Professor of Hebrew and French; in the following year he was a curate of Christ's Church,

Pitsmoor,[26] and then, from 1880 to 1907, vicar of the parish of Stoke Mandeville, in Aylesbury, continuing to write letters to the Anglo-Jewish press.[27]

In 1848, a refugee rabbi, Solomon Mayer Schiller-Szinessy (1820–90), Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Jena and Professor of the Hebrew Language and Antiquities in Hungary, preached at the Mary's Abbey synagogue in Dublin and was presented with a gold watch for his scholarship and eloquence. In the Hungarian rebellion of 1848, he had been a member of the Jewish regiment commanded by his friend Kossuth, and he carried out the orders of General Torok to blow up the bridge at Szegedin and so check the Austrian advance. Wounded, taken prisoner, and condemned to death, he contrived to escape, eventually making his way to Cork and thence to Dublin. In the summer of 1853, he was in Dublin again: in his sermon in Mary's Abbey, he exhorted the congregation to establish a public school.[28]

In 1845,[29] the synagogue committee had first considered opening a school for the English and Hebrew education of the community's children. In 1846,[30] it decided to appoint a separate official as Reader, preacher, and teacher. Jacob D. Davis, of Portsmouth, was selected on 18 February 1855, at an annual salary of £120. His letter to Mr. John Davis, Chairman of the City of Dublin Education Committee for Jewish Youth, is worth reproducing:[31]

'27, Mount Street,
New Road, Whitechapel,
London.
January 4th, 5615, 1855.

'Sir,

The unsettled state of my affairs prevented me from addressing you before. I hasten now to do so and excuse myself to those members of your Committee with whom in consequence of my limited stay in your city I had no opportunity of conferring, while my short interview with you being of a non-official character, I proceed pro forma to announce myself a candidate for the vacant office of Teacher and Lecturer to your Congregation. As, however, it is necessary that you should be satisfied with

my qualifications to carry out those duties, I am desirous of calling your attention to the fact that the testimonials already submitted and deposited in your hands, are selected from numerous others in my possession, and are valuable as emanating from gentlemen each holding high and distinguished positions in the Corporation of the Borough of Portsmouth and will, I believe, satisfy you of my proficiency as a Hebrew Teacher, which profession I followed to the day of my leaving home.

'The qualifications necessary for a Lecturer appear to me to be of a twofold character, first, that he should have a sound and perfect understanding of the text propounded and second, that he should possess full confidence in addressing an audience. Of the former I have no fears, as may be seen from the enclosed "Jewish Chronicle" wherein notice is taken of my former lectures, while the Rev. Mr. [Phillips (?)] of Liverpool, formerly Secretary to the Portsea Jewish Literary Society, has favoured me with the enclosed card, and will upon application give you his opinion of the probable progress I may make as a Lecturer provided six months or so be allowed for improvement, as also to give me an opportunity of attaining the several qualifications, namely, viz., a full confidence in and a proper knowledge of the Community I am called to address.

'These preliminaries I submit for your consideration and proceed to the mode of carrying out these duties. From information obtained I understand the time required to be devoted to instruction will range from about 4 hours per day, the division of this time might remain in abeyance until the more weighty matters are disposed of and might then be arranged to suit the convenience of all parties. In the interim, I have visited the Jewish educational establishments in Liverpool and shall devote some time in attaining a knowledge of the organisation and the best and most approved methods of instruction adopted by other institutions in England. As, however, I conceive it to be necessary that religious instruction should be diffused to the members of our Body, I am prepared with a substitute for lectures for the time being and propose devoting a portion of the Sabbath morning to the formation of a Scripture Reading Class, whereon the Lesson of the Day might be read in alternate verses of Hebr. and

English to this class. As a portion of the salary would be voted from the congregational funds, it would be just that all the children of the Congregation with their parents should be united in a suitable room prepared for the occasion. This course, I believe, to be the best to advance and promote religious feelings, as it affords opportunities of obtaining a sound knowledge of the Bible, the want of which is now much to be deplored. It will give me more time to prepare improving my lectures and will be a change upon the monotony of continuous lectures from one person, as we as Nation are not quite prepared for weekly lectures. For the further advancement and to promote a taste for literary pursuits, I shall recommend, while you have the formation of a school under consideration, to devote a portion of the funds to the purchase of books and to establish a library. This will encourage a taste for Jewish literature and will add to our knowledge of Judaism. Of course, nothing shall be wanting on my side to carry out such plans as may conduce to the benefit of your Congregation generally. From a business point of view, allow me to suggest as a suitable remuneration the salary of £150 per annum with a written agreement for a term, say, first 12 months to be renewed for 3 or 5 years, with six months' notice on either side, while the reasonable expenses of travelling and removal of family be allowed. Thus far, Sir, I have given you as desired my opinion upon the nature, duties and salary of the vacant office of which you are at liberty to make the best use. I have allowed all the other arrangements to remain in abeyance until I shall get your reply, so will feel obliged in knowing your determination as soon as convenient to yourself. Meanwhile, believe me, to remain Your most obed. Servt.

J. D. Davis'.

Davis[32] served the Dublin congregation for five years and seven months, dying of a heart attack on Saturday, 16 November 1861.

The vacancy was filled at a yearly stipend of £130[33] by the Rev. Philipp Bender, who arrived in Dublin in March 1862. A native of Germany, he settled in Hull in 1851 at the age of 20 and within a year was appointed Minister to the community, serving as such for eleven years. A noted Hebrew and secular scholar, he reorganised

the Jewish school and did much to improve its educational standards. He resided first at 100 Middle Abbey Street, but in 1870 moved to 73 Lower Mount Street, where he conducted a private school attended by Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish boys; he gained renown by its many successes in University and comparable examinations. Moreover, Protestant and Catholic priests were his students in Hebrew and rabbinic literature.[34]

In November 1878, he was a candidate for the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at Trinity College. Feeling in University circles was strongly in his favour and his claims were generally admitted. The *Irish Times*, in an editorial on 12 December 1878, wrote: 'On the score of fitness, it is evident that no "stranger" can at all possess the same claims to being able to teach Hebrew as a Jewish clergyman. The Rev. Philipp Bender, the head of the Jewish faith in Dublin, is a candidate for the vacant Professorship in Hebrew at the University of Dublin; and when, in addition to what we may call his prima facie qualities, we may add the fact that he is one of the most extensive linguists in the City, that he has been engaged for years in the work of practical teaching and has consequently great experience; and, finally, that it is shown that his pupils have over and over again—quite a long list of them—carried the Hebrew prizes before them in Trinity College, enough has been indicated to point out the peculiar qualifications he possesses for filling the post with efficiency, which few, even of his own creed, can claim to. It cannot be possible at this time of the world, when toleration and perfect liberty of thought are characteristic of the nations that any objection will be raised to a candidate upon the question of race or religion and, failing such objections, there is no one, we believe, available for the office who can produce such claims of merit as the Rev. Mr. Bender'. Some of the most influential men of Dublin, including Lord O'Hagan, a descendant of Countess Waldegrave,[35] Lord Plunkett, Sir Philip Crampton Smyly, and the Hon. J. P. Vereker, also exerted themselves on his behalf. Nevertheless, an ancient statute prescribing that none but a Fellow[36] of the University could hold a Professorship stood in the way, and the appointment went to the incumbent Professor of Biblical Greek.

At the Lord Mayor's annual banquet, Bender, an eloquent speaker and born wit, was an honoured guest and responded to the

toast of the Irish clergy, with whom his name was always coupled. In April 1881, he resigned office as Minister of the congregation— a position he had held for almost twenty years—to devote himself to teaching. He left for England, where he became Principal of Beaufort College, St. Leonard's-on-Sea, and conducted it successfully for over fifteen years. Before his departure, the community presented him with an illuminated address and a testimonial; a handsome clock and ornaments were the gift of many Christian friends. Bender died at Hove on 31 March 1901, leaving three sons and two daughters.[37]

CHAPTER XVII

DUBLIN JEWISH FAMILIES (1836–1866)

With the opening of the Mary's Abbey synagogue in 1836, a number of Jewish families and individuals settled in Dublin, coming mainly—as had been the invariable pattern—from Germany and England. From Altona came the Rothschilds, Tobias, an Elder of the congregation in 1839, and Mark, Vice-President and Treasurer in 1846–8; in 1848, Flora,[1] Mark's sister, married John Smithson in Dublin. All the Rothschilds were engaged in rolling cigars, at that time a Jewish speciality throughout Europe. Mark, who had two sons and a daughter born in Dublin, resided in Trinity Square. His daughter Hannah, born in 1846, may be identified with the Harriet who married Frederick Archer (1838–1909), an organist of note. Mark's brothers, Fritz, Robert, and Joseph, were all tobacco dealers. Fritz[2] settled first in Kingstown (now Dun Laoghaire) as a snuff and tobacco dealer, then transferred himself to 76 Dame Street[3] as cigar-importer and manager of billiard rooms. His home was at 72 Stephen's Green, where he died in 1876; he was buried at Ballybough. In 1840,[4] he had married Maria Labat, alias Kavanagh, in Dublin. Robert dealt in snuff and tobacco, with his son as partner, at 30 Upper Abbey Street. Joseph, a cigar manufacturer, traded at South Great George's Street and afterwards at 89 Grafton Street. He died at 3 Hawkins Street in 1863. By his wife, Pauline, he had a son, born in Dublin in 1840; Pauline[5] was a native of Paris and became a convert to Judaism on her marriage to Joseph there in 1839. She died in Dublin in 1847 and was buried at Ballybough. Rebecca, wife of Bernard Rothschild and mother of Flora, Fritz, Robert, and Joseph, died in Dublin on 4 March 1849.

A newcomer of the 1830s was Samuel Joseph Rubinstein (1817–1901), arriving from Glasgow in 1838; he was a native of Mitau, in

Russian Courland. In Glasgow he found work with an optician, David Davis, brother of John I. Davis,[6] of Dublin: he travelled the countryside during the weekdays, selling spectacles and steel pens, and would return each Friday to spend the Sabbath in his employer's home. From 1838 to 1843 he lived at 9 Parliament Street with Lewis Lazarus,[7] silversmith and jeweller, becoming his apprentice. It must have been the association with the Dublin Lazarus that led to Rubinstein's marriage in London, in 1848, to Sophia Dyte (1817–1903), for her mother, Hannah (1777–1866), was sister to Lewis Henry Lazarus, the pencil-maker of Bury Street, and possibly a kinswoman of Rebecca Lazarus (1798–1844), of Birmingham, wife of Joseph Wolfe Cohen,[8] of Dublin. Sophia was the daughter of David Moses Dyte (d.1830),[9] who is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October 1830 as 'the person who prevented the death of George III by seizing the pistol from Hadfield in Drury Lane Theatre'. Rubinstein, soon a silversmith and jeweller in his own right at 17 Ellis's Quay,[10] was busy in communal affairs, being Vice-President and Treasurer of the congregation in 1849–50 and President in 1854–55. He left Dublin for London in 1859. A grandson, Harold F. Rubinstein, has written plays of Jewish interest.

In 1849, Hyman Davis arrived in Dublin from London with his wife and four children, and practised dentistry at 48 and 109 Grafton Street. In 1850, he advertised as follows:[11] 'Ingenious adaptation of Artificial Teeth by a method which involves no painful operation nor injurious fastening. They adhere securely to the gums, are of a natural appearance, and in utility are invaluable to those who, having lost their teeth, find difficulty in mastication, or whose utterance is imperfect. A single tooth from five shillings—a complete set from five guineas. The Liquid Enamel, for stopping decayed teeth, is a combination of the substances of which natural teeth are composed, and is infallible in preventing toothache'. In 1863, he returned to London, where he died about 1871. His wife, Bella, died in or about 1898. Of their nine children, all brought up strictly in the Jewish faith, four distinguished themselves in the literary and musical world.

The eldest son, James, was born in London in 1848. Having practised as a solicitor for twelve years, he turned to dramatic criticism, and, being challenged by George Edwardes, a librettist,

with whom he had found fault, to write a better piece, he produced *A Gaiety Girl* which, staged in 1893, was practically the pioneer of modern musical comedy. A series of equally successful librettos followed.[12] Professionally, he was known as Owen Hall, a name he had adopted because he was owin' money to all and sundry. He is believed to have later changed his name to Payne Nunn. He contested Dundalk unavailingly in the Conservative interest in 1880 against Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England. His wife, Esther Josephine, only daughter of James and Rebecca Andrade, bore two daughters, Isabelle and Dorothy; in 1912, the elder married Gerald, son of Sir Benjamin Benjamin, twice Lord Mayor of Melbourne. James died in Harrogate in 1907,[13] Esther in Monte Carlo in 1946.

In 1883, James's sister, Julia, born in Stephen's Green, Dublin, on 30 July 1859,[14] married Arthur Frankau (d.1904), a well-to-do merchant, of London. As 'Frank Danby', she wrote several novels of middle-class Jewish life, not without a suggestion of personal dislike for her milieu. Israel Zangwill called her book *Pigs in Clover* (1901) the most uncompromisingly honest presentation of Jewish life in England; it deals with the problem of the modern Jew to be admitted on a footing of social equality, and analyses the English variety with a frankness that verges on malice. From 1889 to 1891, she edited a periodical called *Jewish Weekly*. She died on 17 March 1916:[15] her will stipulated that any child of hers who married a Catholic should be disinherited from what was at the time a large fortune.[16] Both Julia Frankau and her husband recognised themselves as Jews, but Arthur Frankau, owing to a dispute with the management of his synagogue, would not have his sons circumcised and left instructions in his will that he was not to be buried in a Jewish cemetery.

Julia's sister, Florrie, 'the beauty of the family', married Marcus E. Collins, a well-known architect and designer of many fine banking houses; he was the son of Matilda Marcus, of Dublin, and Hyman Henry Collins,[17] and brother of Arthur Collins (1863–1932), a famous manager of Drury Lane.

In the 1860s, young Samuel Lewis, hawking steel pens, watch materials and cheap jewellery, came from Birmingham to Dublin, where he married Ada Davis, a woman of great beauty, daughter of

the dentist David M. Davis (1808–83), of York Street. After his marriage, he set up as a moneylender in London, and, when he died in 1901, his estate was valued at more than two and a half million pounds. He left the interest on £15,000 of East India stock[18] for twenty years for the relief of the Jewish poor in Dublin; in 1922, the capital was made over to the Dublin Jewish Board of Guardians. His widow, afterwards Mrs. Lewis-Hill, left £10,000 to the Lord Mayor of Dublin to found an Ada Lewis Winter Distress Fund which gives aid still to the city's poor without distinction of creed. Lady Randolph Churchill, in her *Reminiscences* (London, 1908), writes that Ada Lewis-Hill was an excellent musician and a godsend to innumerable artists.

Ada's sister, Alice Maud (Dotie) Davis (Davies), professionally known as Hope Temple, was a well-known singer of the mid-Victorian era. She was born in Baggot Street, Dublin, on 27 December 1858, and studied in Paris with André Charles Messager (1853–1929),[19] conductor and composer of light operas and operettas, to whom she was married for some years. She herself composed an operetta, *The Wooden Spoon*, and many songs. She died at Folkestone on 10 May 1938.[20]

Samuel Lewis's man in Dublin was Abraham M. Cohen (1828–1904),[21] a German Jew, who settled there, after an interval in Birmingham, in 1855, and traded as a fent and rabbit furrier. As an agent, Cohen was hardly a success: a bogus prince made friends with him, extracted a loan of £20,000, and disappeared. In 1886, Fanny, one of Cohen's twelve daughters, married Rudolph Burack, who arrived in Dublin as a youth in 1871. Five years later, another daughter, Hanchen (d.1945), married Louis Wine (d. 1946), a young Lithuanian immigrant, who kept a second-hand jewellery shop in Camden Street. Wine prospered as a dealer in antique furniture and by 1904 had moved his antique shop to 33 Wellington Quay.[22] He eventually bought out the establishment of Michael Falk, art dealer, of Grafton Street.

Falk was the son of Henry Falk (1816–1912),[23] a Dublin settler of 1855, who was a jeweller, silversmith and goldsmith. By his wife, Elizabeth (1829–1916), Henry had three sons and four daughters, all born in Dublin; in 1883, the youngest daughter, Leah, an honorary teacher of the Sabbath school at the Mary's Abbey synagogue,

married Alexander Zusman Clarke, a Vice-President of the Belfast congregation. In 1880, Falk moved to Newcastle upon Tyne; he died in London.

The President of the Dublin congregation in 1859, and again in 1865, was Elias Samuelson, who came from Breslau in 1841; he had eight daughters and two sons, all born in Dublin. He carried on business at 56 Dawson Street, as a military and merchant tailor, enjoying the patronage of the Duke of Connaught, Prince Christian, and the Lord Lieutenant. In 1874, he established himself in the exclusive Savile Row area of London, and used to tailor the stage clothes of Vesta Tilley, the famous male impersonator and herself a Jewess.

Also in the Dublin clothing trade in the 1840s was Phineas Jacobs (1807–81), manager for 35 years of the firm of Benjamin Hyam and Co., of 30 Dame Street, which was the first British firm to cut by machinery. Jane Jacobs,[24] who married William Brian in Dublin in 1847, David Jacobs, of Dame Street in 1860, Samuel Jacobs, living in Dublin in the 1860s, and Harry B. Jacobs, member of the congregation in 1880, were probably relations of Phineas. He married Clara Samuel,[25] granddaughter of Schreiner Wolfe, the first Mayor of Kimberley.

These were by no means the only Dublin Jews in the tailoring and allied trades in the middle of the century: we know of Michael Lee, the Solomon brothers, Isaac Marks, Isaac Gold, and Moritz Altman, for example. In 1839, Lee was a merchant tailor at 3 Church Lane, South East, and in 1848[26] at 10 Trinity Street. In the 1840s and 1850s, Henry and Saul Solomon[27] were tailors and had clothing warehouses at 136 and 163 Capel Street and in Upper George's Street, Kingstown; they were the sons of Raphael Solomon (d.1848), who in 1840 presented a blue damask curtain, trimmed with lace, for the Ark of the Mary's Abbey synagogue, and of Elizabeth (1782–1866), who bequeathed £5 to the congregation. It is likely that George Solomon, a clothier at 59 Mary Street, who left a will dated 1848,[28] was a brother of Raphael. Abraham Solomon(s),[29] resident in Dublin in the 1840s, might also have been a relative.

Marks was a dealer and hat manufacturer at 159 New Street in 1848; perhaps he was a kinsman of D. Marks, of London, who attended the services in Mary's Abbey in 1843.

In 1855, Gold lived in Irishtown, County Dublin, but moved afterwards to the city and traded at 11 Eustace Street;[30] in 1866,[31] the family was granted £5 from communal funds to pay its passage to America.

Altman, a cap-manufacturer at 57 Mary Street, in 1855, was elected a free member of the congregation in 1878,[32] as was his brother Albert, but Albert's name was expunged from the roll 'for having married out of the pale of Judaism'.[33]

Other early seatholders in Mary's Abbey were Moses Angel, Benjamin Crabb, Solomon Barnard, Morris Myers, Louis Gorer, and Samuel Gross. Angel (1819–98), headmaster of the Jews' Free School in London, and, in 1841, first editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, was a clerk in the Provincial Bank of Ireland in Dublin in 1838 and 1839;[34] Sir Moses Montefiore had been among the founders and original directors of the Bank. In 1854,[35] Angel recommended a member of his staff for appointment as teacher and lecturer to the Dublin congregation.

The name of Benjamin Crabb (Crabbe), known in the synagogue as Aaron Benjamin ben Uri Shraga, appears on the silver salver presented to Joseph Wolfe Cohen in 1840.[36] He died in Kilkee, County Clare, in 1856, and was buried at Ballybough. He had traded as a wholesale stationer at 44 Lower Ormond Quay, and could be the father of Philip (Uri Shraga) Crabb, resident in Sydney before 1834, and of Emanuel Crabb, secretary to the synagogue there in 1845.[37] Elisha Crabbe (d.1809), one of the many Jewish boxers in London at the end of the eighteenth century, may have been a kinsman of theirs.

Solomon Barnard (1811–86) was first a snuff and tobacco dealer at 39 Grafton Street, in 1840,[38] then a manufacturer of brushes, fancy sticks, umbrellas, and japanned cloth at No. 51.

Morris Myers (Meyers), who arrived in Dublin in 1844 from London, traded as a cigar manufacturer at 6 D'Olier Street in 1848,[39] then moved to Abbey Street, where a daughter, Ernestine, was born on 18 November 1850. In 1864, his son, Henry, of 24 Marlborough Street, applied to Dr. Nathan Adler, Chief Rabbi of the United Kingdom, to convert his non-Jewish wife; when his mother died in November of that year, Henry was permitted by the Chief Rabbi to say the mourner's prayer in synagogue with other

mourners, but not alone.[40] A Jacob Meyers, a visitor to Mary's Abbey in October 1843, may have been related to Morris Myers and identical with John Meyers, a woollen draper and clothier at 20 Anglesea Street in 1848.[41]

Louis Gorer and Samuel Gross arrived in Dublin in the same year as Morris Myers, Gorer trading as a general dealer at 34 Jervis Street in 1845; a year later, he found himself in gaol in Monaghan for selling cigars without a licence. He seems to have been a commercial traveller for Robert Rothschild,[42] who was lent £5 out of communal funds to visit him in gaol and to see what could be done to have him set free.[43] Samuel Gross traded as a vestment and church ornament manufacturer at 19 Lower Sackville Street.[44]

From 1840 to 1867, Joseph and Robert (Ephraim) Blum, sons of Morris Blum (d. *circa* 1845), had a toy warehouse in Nassau Street, importing from France and Germany;[45] they were commission agents, too, Joseph at 71 and Robert at 18 Lower Mount Street, A Mr. Blum, of Birmingham, a visitor to Mary's Abbey in December 1852, may have been their kinsman. Robert, who had five children born in Dublin, served on the school committee of the congregation in 1862.[46] Of Joseph's seven children, Morris, born in 1846, was probably the Mark J. Bloom who practised as a surgeon dentist at 24 Clare Street in 1866,[47] a foundation member of the Dublin Dental Hospital, and one of the five dental surgeons appointed at its opening on 25 October 1876.[48] He became a Catholic on marriage; his son, Joseph, a renowned wit, practised dentistry, like his father, at 2 Clare Street, in 1903 and 1904. It was before Joseph's dental windows in the *Wandering Rocks* episode in *Ulysses*[49] that the blind stripling was jostled by the Dublin eccentric Cashel Boyle O'Connor FitzMaurice Tisdale Farrell, nicknamed 'Endymion', who used to carry two swords, a fishing rod, and an umbrella, wore a red rose in his buttonhole, and had upon his head a great bowler hat with large holes for ventilation.[50] Francis Joseph Blum, who married Mary Anne O'Neill in 1853,[51] must have been a brother of Joseph and Robert.

A German Jew, Samuel Stavenhagen (1809–89), was a cigar importer at 70 Dame Street;[52] he later had a toy and fancy warehouse at 15 Capel Street.[53] Six doors away, at No. 21, another German Jew, Julius Ahlborn, had a fancy goods warehouse.[54] In

1847, soon after the birth of his daughter, Jane, he arrived in Dublin from Manchester and in 1863 emigrated to America, settling in St. Louis. Two years later, shortly before her marriage to Moses Friedenwald (1834–99), Jane (1847–1923), who is described as pretty, well-groomed and slightly haughty, wrote to Bertha Friedenwald, her fiance's sister-in-law: 'Are you all not surprised that Mose was caught at last after having kept 'Bachelor's Hall for so long a time? Indeed, when I first knew him he was an invincible piece of humanity, but you see my arrows seem to have pierced him for he was conquered at last'.[55]

An exhibitor at the Industrial Exhibition held in Dublin in 1853 was Joseph Jacob Humphreys (1814–92), of Holland, first cousin of Sir George Jessel, Master of the Rolls. He had been invited to Dublin by Rosa Benmohel,[56] and in the end made Dublin his home. Originally a cigar importer, he achieved local fame as inventor and patentee of brass, glass, and transparent letters. A son, Henry Jacob (1852–1911), husband of Sara Levenston,[57] of Dublin, died in Glasgow; Lewis J. Humphreys, a last surviving member of the family in Dublin, died in poor circumstances in 1946.

Michael Herman (1780–1853) was given a weekly allowance of 4s. 6d. from communal funds in 1851;[58] in 1840, he had presented the congregation with a Scroll of the Law which he had brought from his German birthplace. Samuel Nuel (1794–1869) came to Liverpool from Poland in about 1840 and afterwards settled in Dublin, where his daughter, Harriett, married George Alexander Figgis;[59] his son, E. Nuel, was a mathematical instrument maker, chronometer-watchmaker, and optician at 39 Eden Quay. Samuel Lawrence (Lorincz) (1791–1855), son of Myer, came to Dublin from London in 1842; he may have been kinsman to John Lawrence, proprietor of a civet-cat bazaar and photographic gallery at 39 Grafton Street in 1866.

Levy Metzenberg, of Lissa, in the duchy of Posen, settled in Dublin about 1840. For years he was at loggerheads with the officers of the congregation: in 1842[60] he was fined five guineas for shameful conduct in synagogue, and sentenced to be expelled from the congregation until the fine was paid and a public apology made to the President; in 1843,[61] he was censured for bringing unsubstantiated charges against the Minister; in 1845,[62] he was warned

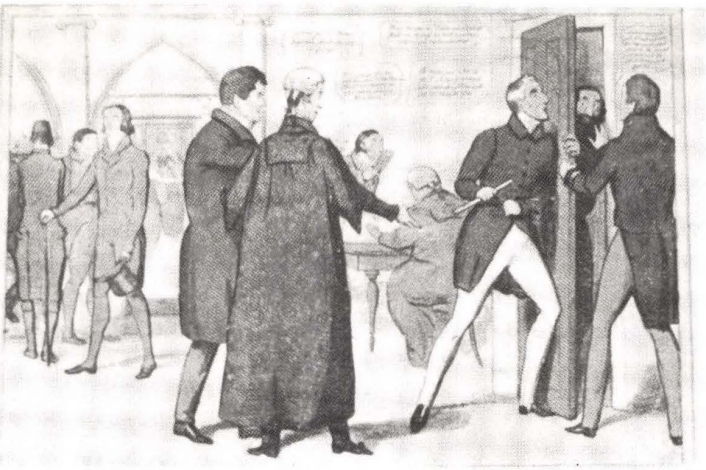
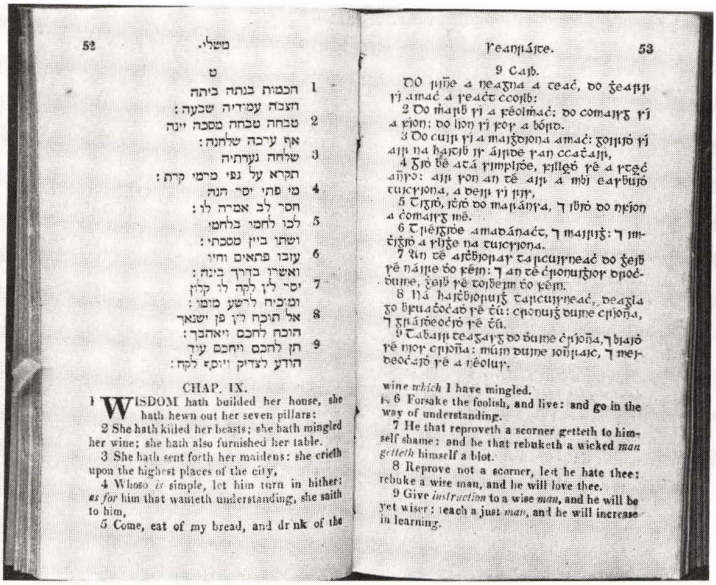


Fig. 1 Caricature dated 1830 of proposal to admit Jews to Parliament. Daniel O'Connell tells the Jew who is trying to enter the House, 'Agitate, friend Moses, agitate! that's the way I got in'. From a lithograph (p. 115)



52 משלי.

ט

1 חכמות בנתה ביתה
חצבה עמודיה שבעה׃
2 טבחה טבחה מסכה יינה
אף ערכה שלחנה׃
3 שלחה נערתיה
תקרא על גפי מרומי קרת׃
4 מי פתי יסר הנה
חסר לב אמרה לו׃
5 לכו לחמו בלחמי
ושתו ביין מסכתי׃
6 עזבו פתאים וחיו
ואשרו בדרך בינה׃
7 יסר לץ לקח לו קלון
ומוכיח לרשע מומו׃
8 אל תוכח לץ פן ישנאך
הוכח לחכם ויאהבך׃
9 תן לחכם ויחכם עוד
הודע לצדיק ויוסף לקח׃

CHAP. IX.

1 WISDOM hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars:
2 She hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine; she hath also furnished her table.
3 She hath sent forth her maidens: she crieth upon the highest places of the city,
4 Whoso *is* simple, let him turn in hither: *as for* him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him,
5 Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the

Seanmóire. 53

9 Caib.

DO ṁúṫe a neagna a ceaċ, do ẋeabṗ ṕí amaċ a ṫeaċt ccoṁḃ:
2 Do ṁarḃ ṕí a ṕéolmaċ: do comaiṫ ṕí a ṗíon: do ṡon ṕí ṗoṗ a bóṁd.
3 Do cuiṗ ṕí a maiẋdíona amaċ: ẋoṁṗo ṕí aiṗi na haiṫib ṁ' áiṁde ṗan ccaċaiṗ,
4 Ẋó bé acá ṁmṁíde, ṫiġeó ṕé a ṫeaċ aiṁo: aiṗi ṗon an té aṗi a ṁbí eaṗbúiṡ cuiṫṗíona, a deiṗ ṕí ṗiṁ,
5 Ciġó, ẋéṁ do maṗáṁṫa, ᵀ ibó do ṁẏíon a ċomaiṫ ṁé.
6 Ṫ'ṗéẋṁe aṁaḋáṁaċt, ᵀ maiṁiṫ: ᵀ imṫéṁ a ṁíṫe na cuiṫṗíona.
7 Ṡin té aṡéḃṁaṁ ṫaṁcuiṁneaċ do ẋeiṁ ṗé náṁe do ṗém: ᵀ an cé ċṁoṁuiġeaṁ ḃṁóḋuṁe, ẋeiṁ ṗé toiḃeṁ do ṗém.
8 Ná haṡéḃṁoṁiṁ ṫaṁcuiṁneaċ, deaṡla go ḃṗuaċóċaṁ ṗé ċú: cṁoṁuiġ duṁe cṁíoṁa, ᵀ gṡáṫóeóċó ṗé ċú.
9 Tabaiṁ teagaiṡ do duṁe ċṁíoṁa, ᵀ biaiḋ ṗé ṁóṗ cṁíoṁa: múiṁ duṁe ioṁṁaiċ, ᵀ meḋeóċaiṁ ṗé a ṫéoluiṡ.

wine *which* I have mingled.
6 Forsake the foolish, and live: and go in the way of understanding.
7 He that reproveth a scorner getteth to himself shame: and he that rebuketh a wicked *man getteth* himself a blot.
8 Reprove not a scorner, lest he hate thee: rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee.
9 Give *instruction* to a wise *man*, and he will be yet wiser: teach a just *man*, and he will increase in learning.

Fig. 2 Pages from *The Proverbs of Solomon, in Hebrew, in Irish, and in English* (Dublin, 1823)

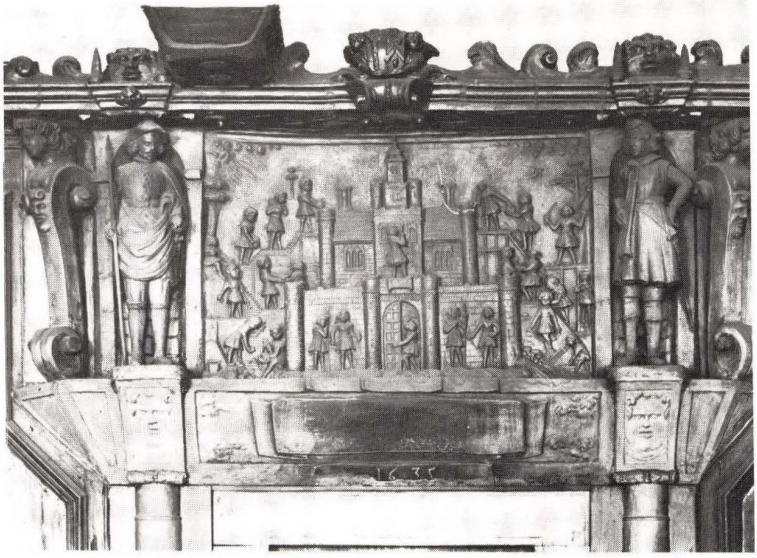


Fig. 1 Mantelpiece from Old Bawn House, Tallaght, County Dublin, built in 1635. Subject thought to be the building of the walls of Jerusalem referred to in Nehemiah, IV.



Fig. 2 Caretaker's cottage in Ballybough cemetery (Built in 1858) (p. 91) Photo: Edmund Ross

M. De Groot, Esq., Warden, in Account with the Dublin Hebrew Congregation,

From OCTOBER 27th, 1879 (5640), to OCTOBER 16th, 1880 (5641).

Dr RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.	Cr.
To Cash from late Treasurer, ...	233	9	3	By Chief Rabbi's Fund, ...	10	0	0	
Late Mr. Cohen's Bequest, ...	100	0	0	Rev. P. Bender, ...	80	0	0	
Weekly Collection, ...	146	2	0	Rev. J. Sandheim, ...	138	15	0	
Accounts Paid, ...	174	7	6	„ „ Life Insurance,	15	0	0	
Strangers' Offerings and Seats,	11	6	6	Special Grant Voted ...	15	0	0	
Dividend on Railway Share,...	4	17	9	Mr. Mauerberger ...	65	15	0	
Collected at Breakfasts, ...	1	0	6	Mrs. Wynne, ...	14	18	0	
Mr. Rosenberg paid on Loan...	6	0	0	Mr. Rosenberg, ...	48	9	9	
Wedding Fee, ...	2	10	0	Mr. Cassidy, ...	2	0	0	
				Fire Insurance, ...	1	3	0	
				Synagogue Expenses, ...	10	0	9½	
				Burial Ground Expenses, ...	2	12	8	
				„ „ Repairs ...	8	17	5	
				Gas and Coal ...	7	12	7	
				Poor Relief, ...	39	14	8	
				Mrs. Rosenstein ...	26	0	0	
				Carpet for Reading Desk and Ark	2	18	5	
				Balance in Hands, ...	190	16	11½	
	£679	13	6		£679	13	6	

We have examined the foregoing Account, compared same with Vouchers, and found them correct.

J. D. ROSENTHAL.
JOHN J. DAVIS. } Auditors

Fig. 1 Balance-sheet 1879–80, Dublin Hebrew Congregation

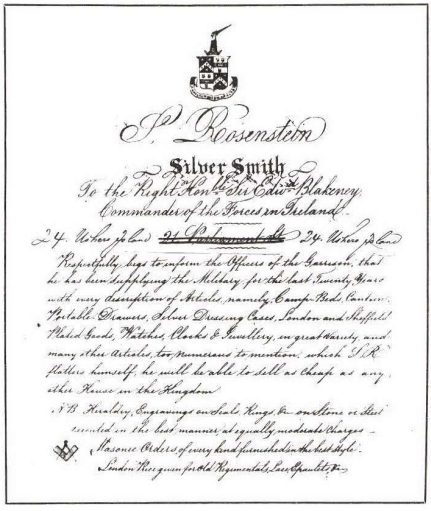


Fig. 2 Trade Card of Simon Rosenstein (1794–1862) (p. 106)

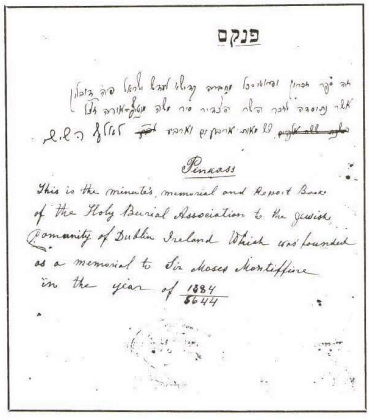


Fig. 1 Title page of Pinkas (Minute Book) of the Dublin Hebrew Burial Association (p. 166)
Photo: Edmund Ross



Fig. 2 Rev. Israel Leventon (1836–99) (p. 199)
From a photograph
Photo: Edmund Ross



Fig. 3 Rev. Abraham Gudansky (1873–1945) (p. 200)
From an oil painting
Photo: Edmund Ross



The Solomons family of Dublin (pp. 196–197) From left to right (standing): Maurice (1832–1922); Edwin (1879–1964); Rosa (1842–1926) (sitting): Bethel (1885–1965); Sophie (1887–), married Bethel Jacobs; Estella (1882–1968) married Seumas O'Sullivan From a photograph taken in 1903

Photo: Edmund Ross

PLATE XIII

1

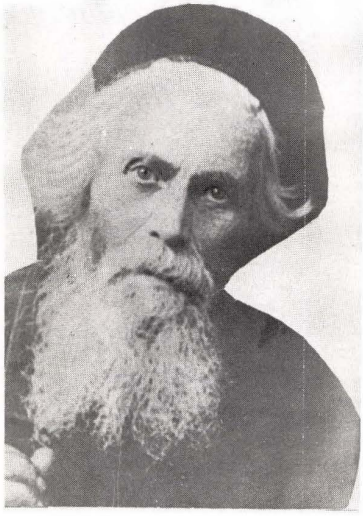


Fig. 1 Myer Yoel Wigoder (1856–1933) Early Lithuanian Jewish settler in Dublin (p. 166)

Fig. 2 Hillel Marks (1835–1917) Author's great-grandfather Early Lithuanian Jewish settler in Dublin Photo: Edmund Ross

Fig. 3 Rabbi Isaac Meyer Yosselson (1849–1914) (p. 166) Religious head of Lithuanian Jews of Ireland Photo: Edmund Ross

2



3



Fig. 1 Adelaide Road Synagogue, exterior (p. 196)
From a pen and ink sketch by Liam C. Martin, May–June 1968
Photo: Edmund Ross

Fig. 2 Mary's Abbey Synagogue, exterior in 1967 (p. 105)
Photo: Edmund Ross

Fig. 3 St. Kevin's Parade Synagogue, exterior in 1967 (p. 165)
Photo: Edmund Ross



1



2



3

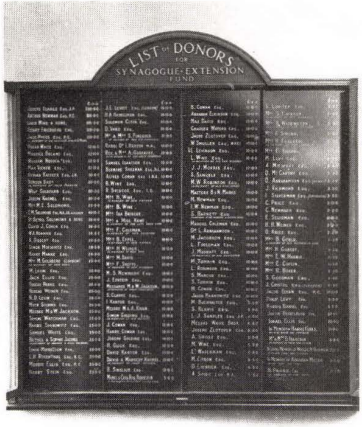
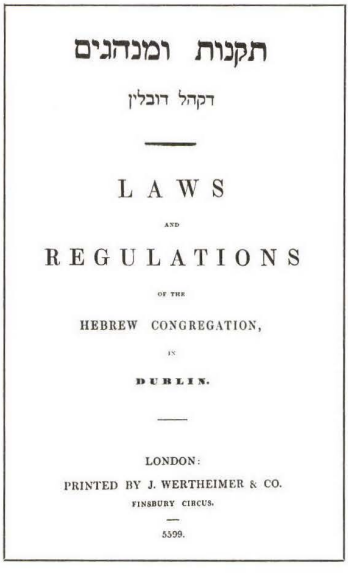


Fig. 1 Tablet listing donors to the Adelaide Road Synagogue-Extension Fund, 1925 Photo: Edmund Ross


תקנות ומנהגים

דקהל דובלין

LAWS

AND

REGULATIONS

OF THE

HEBREW CONGREGATION,

IN

DUBLIN.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. WERTHEIMER & CO.

FINSBURY CIRCUS.

5599.

Fig. 2 Title page of *Takkanoth u-Minhagim*—Laws and Regulations of the Hebrew Congregation in Dublin (London, 1839) (pp. 274–278)



Fig. 3 Illuminated address presented to Myer Golding (1879–1943) by the Dublin Board of Guardians
Photo: Edmund Ross

that he would be expelled again if he insulted or annoyed any honorary or paid officer; in 1845, too, permission was withheld to bury his child at Ballybough until part of his communal debt was repaid, and the Liverpool congregation was to be so informed 'to prevent any misstatement being made to our prejudice should he take his child there',[63] and finally, on 8 September 1845, all his rights in the synagogue were cancelled for his defaults in payments and especially because of his deplorable behaviour there on the previous Sabbath.[64] His death on 27 January 1862 is recorded in the congregation's register, but there is no tombstone to him at Ballybough.

Joseph Levi Harris (1817–52), of Exin, in the duchy of Posen, was a jeweller at 54 Mary Street; he died in Irishtown, whereafter his widow and his children, David, Henry, and Rose, who was born in Dublin, went back to Posen.[65] Joseph Levi Harris was a brother of Abram Harris,[66] wholesale watch manufacturer and President of the Glasgow congregation in 1859–60. Henry Kaplan (1800–58), also of Posen, died in Capel Street; in 1834, he was still a lace manufacturer and a vendor of tickets in the Prussian State Lottery in Posen.

Other Dublin Jews of the 1860s were Jaques Polak (1832–64), of Holland, who died at 96 Stephen's Green, Julius Moseley, jeweller, of 9 Molesworth Street, and William, who traded under the firm name of Moseley & Co., jewellers, at 46 Wicklow Street, and Abraham Leischman, copper merchant, of Bow Street. Nathan S. Symons (1806–45),[67] born in Amsterdam and resident of Hamburg, died suddenly at sea, crossing from Liverpool to Dublin, and was buried at Ballybough; so was Levin Benjamin Lasch (1783–1866), of Schonlanke, in the duchy of Posen, who died in Holyhead.

CHAPTER XVIII

DUBLIN JEWS IN LIBERAL PROFESSIONS (1830–1900)

When N.L.Benmohel graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1836,[1] he was not, as had long been maintained,[2] the first conforming Jew to be given a degree at a British university. Already in 1779, professing Jews could graduate at Edinburgh, and the second to do so was Abraham, son of that Samuel Solomon, self-styled medico, of Cork. In 1826, Jews were admitted to University College in London, with full privileges, but Trinity College was the first Anglican university in the British Isles to admit them to graduation. At the two old English universities, a declaration of belief in the articles of the Church of England was required of candidates for the degrees. Unlike Oxford, which excluded Jews and nonconformists from matriculation, Cambridge required that the University Tests had only to be taken on proceeding to a degree. Hence, professing Jews were to be found only at Cambridge, though well aware of their inability to graduate. Among these was James Joseph Sylvester (1814–97), of St. John's College, announced Second Wrangler in 1837 and incapacitated from taking his degree. It is, however, not generally known that Sylvester, who was one of the most brilliant and original workers in the field of pure mathematics, passed *ad eundem* into Dublin University, where the degrees of B.A. and M.A. were conferred upon him in 1841 in virtue of his Cambridge credentials. Trinity College[3] had long had reciprocal arrangements with Oxford and Cambridge for the granting of *ad eundem* degrees to men. In 1865,[4] the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on Sylvester by Trinity, and in 1885 he was elected an Honorary Member of the Royal Irish Academy.

Of the Dublin Jews who so graduated, one of the most distin-

guished was John David Rosenthal (1833–1907),[5] first Irish-born Jew to take his LL.D. there, and for over 50 years a luminary in his profession, a member of the Council of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland, and a Director of the Solicitors' Benevolent Association. In communal life, he served as Solicitor and Honorary Secretary to the congregation for 30 years,[6] and represented it at the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

A contemporary of his at Trinity College was Selim M. Salaman, Master of Arts and of Medicine in 1869, who joined the Indian Medical Service, an overseas career which naturally attracted local graduates in medicine, including several Dublin Jews. Selim was born in Dublin, eldest son of Maurice Salaman,[7] jeweller, of Ellis's Quay, and grandson of Joseph Wolfe Cohen.[8]

In 1895,[9] Asher Leventon, son of Israel Leventon, Minister of the congregation, was commissioned as Surgeon-Lieutenant in the Indian Medical Service, rising to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and becoming a Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire. As a young man, he taught at the Sabbath school of the Mary's Abbey synagogue and, all through his life, preserved his interest in the affairs of the community, a generous supporter of its charities and for many years host for the annual Hannukah treat of Dublin's Hebrew and religion classes, an entertainment first provided by Sir H. Cochrane, Deputy Lieutenant, a good friend of the community. Leventon died in 1938 at Godalming, Surrey.

Hyman Phineas Marks, a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland and of the Apothecaries' Hall of Dublin, practised as an apothecary at 53 Lower Camden Street[10] until his death in 1877. A Dutch Jew, he was the son of Myer and Rachel Marks (1803-79), of 18 Lower Gloucester Street, and probably kinsman to Morris Haagman Marks (1829-98), of 1 Aston's Quay, to Marks Marks, of the same address, husband of Esther Stibbe (d. 1907), daughter of David Stibbe (1806-90), also born in Holland, to Simon Marks of 26 Wellington Quay, all citizens of Dublin in the 1850s. In 1896, Rosetta, second daughter of Marks Marks, married Bernard Wine (d. 1945), brother of Louis Wine, antique dealer. Another daughter, Lillie,[11] married John (Jacob) Michael Higgins (1874–1916),[12] jeweller, who became a convert to Judaism. In 1904, Lionel Marks,[13] a son of Marks, kept an antique furniture

shop at 16 Upper Ormond Quay. In the *Ithaca* episode in *Ulysses*, the financial success which Ephraim Marks achieved by his penny bazaar at 42 George's Street, South, stimulated Bloom in his cogitations.[14] Ephraim, who was not kin to the Dutch Marks, was the uncle of the first Lord Marks, of Marks and Spencer fame.

Abraham Cohen, born in 1851, was the son of Wolf and Jette Cohen. Wolf came to Dublin after some residence in Liverpool; he was the Vice-President of the congregation from 1870 to 1874 and President from 1874 to 1876. Jette (1825-77) was the daughter of Reb Shlomoh Levin, well known in his day as the cantor of Rogasen. Their son, Abraham, took his degree in medicine at Trinity College in 1879; he held appointments as Resident Physician at the Royal United Hospitals in Bath and as Senior House Surgeon and Physician to the Metropolitan Free Hospital in Dalston, and was honorary medical officer to the Jewish Convalescent Houses at Brighton and Norwood and to Jews' College in London. His publications include papers on 'The Influence of Circumcision on the Prevention of Certain Diseases' and 'The Vitality of the Jews'. He died in London in 1936.

Myer Akiba Dutch (1854-1922)[15] was the son of Samuel Lewis Dutch (d. 1875),[16] tobacconist and cigar manufacturer at 103 St. Stephen's Green, Vice-President of the congregation in 1851 and President in 1856-8. He graduated from Trinity College in 1884, with top marks in the final M.B. examination, afterwards gaining the M.D. of Durham University and the D.P.H. of Cambridge; activity in its work earned him the life membership of the British Red Cross Society. His grandfather was Lewis Lesser Dutch (1808-62), President of the congregation in 1849, his grand-uncle, Asher Dutch, goldsmith and jeweller, of 45 Mary Street, Vice-President in 1855. Henry Asher Dutch, who was born in Martello Avenue, Sandymount, in 1861, served for twenty years in the Royal Army Medical Corps; he organised the ambulance section of the Jewish Lads' Brigade, and was the Brigade's principal medical officer. His brother, Louis (Lesser), born in Dublin in 1850, was also a graduate of Trinity College (1869); he practised as a solicitor at 55 Lower Ormond Quay.

Solomon Alexander Levenston (1830-87) was a native of Glasgow who moved to Dublin from Edinburgh in 1859, residing at 42

Kildare Street, where his wife dealt in second-hand clothes. He gave private tuition in physiology and other medical subjects and afterwards ran a dispensary in High Street, with the repute of holding a patent for the cure of venereal diseases. A brother of his, Samuel (1821-1914),[17] practised as a physician in Glasgow; another brother taught the violin to 'Stanelli' (Stanley Cowan), a youthful prodigy, and grandson of Marinus de Groot,[18] of Dublin. Solomon, in 1855, married Kate Lipman, of London, said to have been of the family of Sir Joseph Lyons (1848-1917), a founder of the great catering firm.

Musical talent was ingrained in the Levenstons. Solomon's eldest son, Philip Michael (1856–1913), led the orchestra at the old Theatre Royal of Dublin at the age of twelve. In 1873, he won a scholarship for violin at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, and eventually became Professor of Music there. For many years he led the vice-regal orchestra and the Dublin Philharmonic Orchestra, as well as conducting the orchestra at the old Queen's Theatre in Brunswick, now Pearse, Street. He provided bands for military and hunt balls, the Irish nobility patronised his classes, and he taught at several convents. One pupil was his own kinsman, Henry Franklin (1876–1948). Henry's father, H. Frankel, a Polish Jew, came to Dublin in 1877 and worked as a tailor. In 1898, Henry settled in Sligo, and in the following year married the daughter of a local banker. He was famed throughout Ireland as a violin teacher, and both his sons are outstanding musicians. In 1942, he asked the trustees of the Ballybough cemetery to allow him to be buried by the side of his sister, Minna (1859–77), but permission was not granted.[19]

Philip Michael Levenston was a devotee of Irish music and wrote many musical and dramatic scores for local groups; he taught violin, without fee, to boys in the Marlborough Street training college, and for a short time conducted a choir at the Adelaide Road synagogue. Two Levenston brothers, Joseph and Samuel, were hardly less active in the musical world. When he was only 14, Joseph (1857–1927) played the 'cello before Queen Victoria; as a man, he taught music in Dublin and played in the orchestras of local, and also of London, theatres. He was the first President of the Montefiore Musical and Dramatic Club, founded by the young Jews of Dublin in 1889.[20] Samuel (1876–1945?) was a violinist

in the orchestras of the Queen's and the Gaiety. Members of the family ran a dancing academy at 35 Frederick Street, to which Bloom, in the episode of the *Lestrygonians* in *Ulysses*, thinks the blind stripling, who doubtlessly tunes pianos, is making his way:[21] 'There he goes into Frederick street. Perhaps to Levenston's dancing academy piano'.

There was a second Dublin family of musicians, the Rosenbergs.[22] In 1873, Levin Rosenberg arrived from Edinburgh; he was a native of Tels, Lithuania, and had married Rosa Lipman (1844-1907), of Edinburgh birth. He traded in Dublin as a furrier and dyer of ostrich feathers. In 1878, his younger brother, David (1844-1901), followed him, and opened a greengrocer's shop in Charlemont Street, besides acting as beadle of the Mary's Abbey synagogue, and afterwards, in 1892, of the new synagogue in Adelaide Road, at a weekly wage of 12s. The story goes that, as he lay dying, he begged one of his sons, who were all talented musicians, to play Kol Nidre, the opening chant of the eve of the Day of Atonement. He left seven daughters and five sons, and a Rosenberg String Band used to play at the principal dances of Ireland.

CHAPTER XIX

DUBLIN COMMUNAL LEADERS (1860–1900)

The President of the congregation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century for 26 unbroken years (1876-1901) was Marinus de Groot (1829-1901),[1] a native of Rotterdam, son of Hartog Gompel de Groot and his wife, Sara Salomon Litt (1790-1871). Marinus settled in Dublin in 1856, and prospered as a cork merchant. He was a Justice of the Peace of the city, and Town Commissioner for Bray. His sisters, Marianne (1825-1908) and Adéle, lived in Dublin; Adéle, a public worker, was made a Life Governor of the Royal City of Dublin Hospital in 1903. His daughter, Sara (1868-1942),[2] was a gifted elocutionist and actress, equally at home in English and French and with remarkable powers as a whistler. Her last appearance in public was at a matinée under the patronage of the Duke of Connaught and the Duchess of Norfolk, just before the outbreak of the First World War, at the home of Sir Philip Sassoon.

The first chairman of the Educational Board[3] of the congregation, and prominent in the Hebrew Philanthropic Society of Ireland (Hebrath Meshivath Nephesh), founded in 1846, was John I. Davis (1803-82), the surgeon-dentist, and its treasurer for 20 years (1861-81); he was the eldest son of Ann Aaron, of Birmingham, and Samuel Davis,[4] optician of Leeds. Adolphe (1841–1915), John's second son, who took the name of Davies, followed his father's profession. He held the office of Vice-President from 1886 to 1906.

From 1856 to 1858, and from 1862 to 1863, the Vice-President and Treasurer was Morris Cohen, of Fownes' Street, who settled in Dublin in 1853. Morris was President of the Hebrew Philanthropic Society from 1866 to 1869, Treasurer of the Society for Relieving the Indigent in the Holy Land, and a member of the Educational Board of the congregation.

The Vice-President of the congregation from 1866 to 1869 was Myer Erlich (1827-76), who had arrived in Dublin in 1853 and traded as a jeweller and silversmith,[5] specialising in the output of the spice boxes used in the Sabbath evening service. When he left for Birmingham in June 1876, three months before he died, the congregation's address spoke of him as one 'who by his religious conduct and honourable mercantile career has won the respect not only of his coreligionists but also of his Christian fellow-citizens'.[6]

From 1876 to 1878, the Vice-President and Treasurer was Morris (Moses) Harris, Justice of the Peace, who presented a Scroll of the Law and other ritual appurtenances to the synagogue in 1864.[7] Arriving in Dublin from Portsmouth in about 1860, he first kept a marine store at 43 Upper Kevin Street, but became an antique dealer and jeweller at 30 Nassau Street; Earl Cowper (1834-1905), Lord Lieutenant from 1880 to 1882, was one of his customers. His first wife was Hannah (1828-63), daughter of Abraham White, of London; his secretary, Kathleen Hynes, much younger than himself, was the second, and had been married to him by a priest. In 1906, Kathleen petitioned for a divorce, alleging that her husband had been having an affair with his housekeeper and sister-in-law, Sarah White; it was believed that he had cut Kathleen out of his will and left the bulk of his estate to his grandchildren. James Joyce,[8] being acquainted with the grandchildren, followed the suit closely;[9] in it, Morris Harris had been charged with as many sins as are levelled against Leopold Bloom in *Ulysses* and against Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker in *Finnegans Wake*. Harris died at Windsor House, Palmerston Park, in 1909, aged 86, and was buried at the Jewish cemetery at Dolphin's Barn.

One of his daughters married John Sinclair, a Protestant, who was a painting contractor; her twin sons, William and Henry Morris (Harry), were brought up as Jews on the grandfather's insistence. They inherited the antique shop at 47 Nassau Street, and it was to them, in 1903, that their friend Padraic Colum, the Irish writer, brought Joyce to discuss his project of establishing a weekly newspaper in Dublin.[9a] In the *Lestrygonians* episode in *Ulysses*, Bloom, crossing at Nassau Street [10] corner and standing before the window of Yeates and Son, pricing the field glasses, remarks: 'Or I will drop into old Harris's and have a chat with young Sinclair?

Wellmannered fellow. Probably at his lunch'.[11] Joyce's kind mention of young Sinclair is probably to be ascribed to the circumstance that one of the twin brothers gave him ten shillings[12] at the time of his 'hegira' from Dublin to Pola, as he self-mockingly describes his elopement with Nora Barnacle. William (1882–1938), who married Cissie Beckett, fellow art-student and friend of Estella Solomons[13] and of Beatrice Elvery (originally Alvarez), who became Lady Glenavy, lived on the Hill of Howth and kept open house for all the poets, writers and painters of Dublin. He was very friendly with Sir William Orpen, the portrait-painter, who, in his *Stories of Old Ireland and Myself*, writes of him: 'During the day he spent his time in Nassau Street dealing in antiques—and hating the job like poison. At heart 'the Boss' or 'the Beard' or 'Sink', as we used to call him, was an artist. He hated things so much that he hated people buying them, and he loved things so much that he hated to let them go—so as a dealer he was a failure. But as a friend he was a glorious success'.[14]

In February 1937, Henry Morris sued Oliver St. John Gogarty, well-known Dublin surgeon and author and the 'Buck Mulligan' of *Ulysses*, for publishing a libel against his grandfather, his twin brother, and himself. Fashionable Dublin filled the court on the first day of the trial. 'Only the Pickwick Papers rewritten by James Joyce', wrote a London journalist, 'could really recapture the atmosphere. . .' The jury found in favour of the plaintiff, awarding £900 damages and costs.[15] A witness for the plaintiff was his sister-in-law's nephew, Samuel Beckett, playwright and novelist, Nobel Prize Laureate in 1969, and friend of Joyce.

Morris Harris's sister, Catherine, married a Gentile, Dr. Robert Wade, a city councillor of Dublin, but remained a member of the community. She was buried at Dolphin's Barn and left her library to the synagogue's girls' club.

In 1881, Ellen Odette, eldest daughter of Henry Bischoffsheim, a London banker, married Ulick O'Connor, the fourth Earl of Desart (d. 1898), with a seat in Kilkenny. Many years afterwards, in a letter to the editor of the *Jewish Guardian* of 12 September 1930, she wrote emphatically resenting 'the unwarrantable assumption in your issue of 5 September that I have 'deserted the faith' of my fathers. Will you please contradict that unfounded statement

in your next issue? I am, as I have been all my life, a staunch and practising Jewess, far too proud of my faith and race not to feel extremely indignant at the slur you have tried to cast on me'.[16] The Countess divided her public work between the Jewish and general communities. In England, returning to her country seat at Ascot, Berkshire, after the death of her husband, she devoted much of her time to social and charitable work in the London Jewish community. Among the people of Kilkenny, where, in 1912, she took up residence again at Aut Even, Talbot's Inch, she was spoken of with reverent admiration as the 'Jewish Lady'. When, in 1910, the freedom of the city of Kilkenny was conferred on her, she claimed to be the only woman in Ireland thus honoured and the only Jewess in the world—till then—to be made an honorary citizen. For her services to the cultural and economic welfare of Ireland she was, on the nomination of President Cosgrave, made a Senator of the Irish Free State in December 1922. When she died in 1933, she was buried beside her husband in Falmouth cemetery, but the funeral service was, at her request, conducted according to Jewish rites.[17] Her sister, Amelia,[18] who, in 1882, married Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, Bart., twentieth Knight of Kerry and equerry to the Duke of Connaught, also kept up her membership in the community and actively supported the Jewish National Fund.

From 1881 to 1886, the congregation's Vice-President was Charles Lionel Reis (1849-1927),[19] jeweller, eldest son of Jonas Reis, of Liverpool; in 1872, he married his cousin, Elizabeth Woodburn (1853-1915), of Liverpool, a cousin of Edwin Louis Samuel, father of the first Viscount Samuel, and of Mrs. Charles Harris.[20]

For over twelve decades the Wormser Harris family was closely identified with Dublin Jewry. When Lewis Harris died in 1876, his five sons upheld the family tradition of communal and public service. The eldest, Alfred, born at 19 Suffolk Street in 1837, was President of the congregation from 1867 to 1873, Vice-President and Treasurer in 1878, and a member of the Dublin Port and Docks Board and, as Chairman, on the Board of Superintending Dublin Hospitals. When his father[21] died on the eve of appointment as Lord Mayor, Alfred was elected to the aldermanship for the South Dock Ward, but declined the offer to stand for the mayoralty. At the general election in 1880, he unsuccessfully contested a Kildare

constituency as a Home Ruler, one of the few Jews of Ireland to try for Westminster; in 1882, he was the first Irish Jew to be appointed to the Commission of the Peace for Dublin. By his wife, Miriam Lazarus, born in Parkgate Street in 1844, he had a son, Percival Charles, a Doctor of Laws of Trinity College in 1891 and afterwards a member of the London Stock Exchange. Alfred left his premises in South Great George's Street to the congregation for the upkeep of Ballybough and, through the Dublin Jewish Board of Guardians, for relief of the Jewish poor; he also bequeathed his gold aldermanic chain, to be worn by each President during his term of office.

The Honorary Secretary of the congregation in 1880 was Herbert Wormser Harris (1858-80), third son of Lewis and the first by his second wife, Juliette Joseph.[22] Herbert did brilliantly at Trinity College, graduating in October 1878, after election to a Foundation Scholarship in Science and Senior Moderatorship in Mathematics and Mathematical Physics; he had his early education at the school of the Rev. Philipp Bender.[23] One of his major examinations was held on a Sabbath, and he would not sit until the Junior Fellows agreed to take his answers orally and commit them to writing for him. Just before his untimely death, he was engaged on a work on the Theory of Equations and had come first in an examination in International Law.[24]

The President of the congregation from 1901 to 1912 was Ernest Wormser Harris, the second son of Juliette. He was born in Dublin in 1859 and, in 1919, married Maud Jeanette (d. 1958), daughter of Herman Boas,[25] of Belfast, and sister of Professor F.S.Boas, the Shakespearean scholar. At Trinity College, which he entered in 1877, he took his Master of Arts degree, and in 1885 was awarded the gold medal for oratory by the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland. In the following year, on the results of the final examination for solicitors, he gained a special certificate for 'distinguished answering', and in 1886[26] the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him. A noted antiquary, he was a member of the Royal Dublin Society and, like his brother Herbert, had a term as Secretary of the Dublin University Philosophical Society. He played a prominent part in communal life, and, even on his retirement in 1912, continued to serve the congregation as Honorary Solicitor and member of the Council. From his earliest days, he was particularly

conscious of the Jewish problem and supported the Zionist movement always, being the first Commander[27] of the local Chovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) in 1893, and for many years Honorary Vice-President of the Jewish National Fund in Dublin; he was also the first President of the Dublin Jewish Literary Society, founded in 1904. He died on 26 April 1946, and was buried at Ballybough by the side of his father. He left £500 to the Dublin Talmud Torah (religion classes) on condition that a framed photograph of him, as the last survivor of the Wormser Harris family, be hung in one of the classrooms, and sums of £500 and £300 to be invested in the Jewish National Fund for the purchase of land in Palestine, the income to go to congregational and charitable purposes of the Dublin community. His brothers, Lionel, Arthur, and Walter, all three of Dublin birth and graduates of Trinity College, were members of the London Stock Exchange. Lionel, who represented the Dublin congregation at the Board of Deputies of British Jews for many years, unsuccessfully contested South Islington as a Unionist in the Parliamentary elections of 1910.

Lionel H.Rosenthal, born in 1856 in Harcourt Street, eldest son of John D.Rosenthal,[28] was the first Jew to be granted silk by the Irish Lord Chancellor. He, too, was a pupil of the Bender school, going on to Trinity College, where he won first Mathematical Scholarship in 1875, the Lloyd Exhibition in 1876, and Senior Moderatorships in Logics and Ethics and in Mathematics in 1877.[29] In 1909, the Attorney-General for Ireland appointed him Senior Crown Prosecutor for the County of Wexford; while still a junior, he became Deputy Recorder of Galway, and in 1923 was Deputy County Court and Circuit Judge for County Cork, an appointment which he had to relinquish in 1925, on reaching the age limit. In 1909, he married Ida Frances, daughter of Isaac M. Marsden, of London. From 1923 to 1925 he was President of the congregation and for many years also of the Dublin Jewish Literary and Social Club, which he had helped to found. He died in Dublin in 1932 and was buried in Dolphin's Barn.

Of the sons of the Rev. Philipp Bender, Alfred Philipp, the eldest, was born at 100 Middle Abbey Street in 1863; he studied at Trinity College and at St. John's, Cambridge, where he was Foundation Scholar and Hutchinson Student, graduating with first-class honours,

and becoming senior Tyrwhitt Scholar and Mason Hebrew Prizeman. He was largely instrumental in founding the Cambridge Hebrew congregation and for many years conducted its services. His appointment in 1895 as Minister to the Cape Town congregation heralded a brilliant new period in the chronicles of that community, characterised by communal interests on the pattern of the Dublin congregation in his father's day. A born organiser, he catered for the cultural and spiritual needs of all ages and classes of the community. The Dublin Mutual Benefit Society of Cape Town, formed by young Lithuanian Jews who had made their way there via Dublin, must have been especially close to his heart. He was both an eloquent preacher and an able scholar, with much valuable original work to his credit published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. A selection of his sermons was published in Cape Town in 1953, sixteen years after his death. Being a competent teacher of Hebrew, he was appointed the first Lecturer, and in due course Professor of Hebrew at the South African College, now the University of Cape Town, and examined in Hebrew at the Cape Town and Witwatersrand Universities. Through his efforts, Hebrew was recognised as a subject for all South African university examinations. The author of some beautiful poems giving expression to the longing of the Jews for the Land of Israel,[30] he supported to the full every campaign in South Africa on behalf of the Jewish national movement. He was Honorary Secretary-General of the South African Council of St. John's Ambulance Association, permanent member of the Council of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, and a Justice of the Peace.

The second son, Albert Maurice, was born at 86 Marlborough Street in 1866, and, at the age of 16, left for San Francisco. For three years he ran errands for his uncle, William H. Bremer, an insurance broker, eventually becoming director of the firm. It is, however, as a patron of the arts that his name became known not only in the west of America but also in Europe. His home was the centre of art and literature, and no celebrity visiting San Francisco left without calling on him. Visitors from Ireland were especially welcome. When George Russell ('A.E.'),[31] the poet, visited San Francisco, Albert Bender arranged many of his lectures. On one of the visits of the Abbey Theatre players, it was he who organised the civic

reception for the company. The Trinity College Library received from him a number of books consisting of specimens of the very latest fine printing, woodcuts and illustrations, to be known as the 'Philipp Bender Collection'. The National Museum in Dublin was presented with a collection of objects of art from the Far East as a memorial to his mother, Augusta Bremer Bender. He died in 1941, noted as 'one of San Francisco's First Citizens'.

CHAPTER XX

THE JEWS OF DUBLIN (1820–1880): IN RETROSPECT

From 1820 to 1880, the Jews of Dublin were divided into three distinct classes. First, 'the natives', a nucleus of two families of Polish or German origin, remnants of the eighteenth-century community, which had stayed on after the Marlborough Green synagogue expired for lack of members. Next, Jews from England, Holland, and France, from Germany, Poland, and Galicia, from Russia, Lithuania, and Morocco, who settled in the period 1820-75. As already noted, it was newcomers from the city of Posen that led the congregational revival, but it was not long before recruits arrived from Bath, Birmingham, and Bristol, Chatham, Falmouth, and Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, and London, Manchester, Plymouth, and Portsmouth, Glasgow and Edinburgh, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, Altona, Breslau, and Danzig, Forchheim, Hamburg, and Hanover, Pfungstadt (near Darmstadt) and Stavenhagen, Stuttgart and Wertheim, from Exin, Fordon, Kalisch, and Krotoschin, Lissa, Rogasen, and Schonlanke, in the duchy of Posen (now Western Poland), Brody in Galicia and Mitau in Russian Courland; lastly, a group of 25 young Jews from that part of Russia which is to-day Lithuania, who arrived in the concluding years of the 1870s.

At no time during the sixty years did the count of Jews in Dublin exceed 350. Exact data in respect of the number and distribution of Jews in Ireland are not available until 1861, when the census that year for the first time gave denominational statistics. Before that year, Dublin alone of the cities or towns of Ireland had an organised community.

In 1843,[1] the congregation comprised 19 heads of family and 21 seatholders in Mary's Abbey, 150 souls in all; other sources give the number of full or 'privileged' members in 1845[2] as 19, the

synagogue attendance on a specified day in 1851[3] as 42, the number of appropriated seats in the same year as 35, and the number of seatholders in 1852[4] as 21. In 1854, the congregation comprised 27 heads of family.[5]

In the third quarter of the century, the Jews of Ireland, in the census years of 1861 and 1871, were numbered as follows:

Year	1861		1871	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	166	175	117	113
Twenty-six Counties (now Republic of Ireland)	341		230	
Six Counties (now Northern Ireland)	52		55	
Total	393		285	

Of the 341 Jews in the twenty-six counties in 1861, the Dublin county borough had 324 and the rest of Leinster 14; Munster had two, one each in Limerick and Waterford County; and Connaught one, at Loughrea, County Galway.

The province of Leinster had 218 Jews in 1871: 189 lived in the borough and 26 in the county of Dublin, one in County Meath and two in County Wicklow. That part of the province of Ulster which fell within the twenty-six counties had three Jews, two in County Donegal and one in County Monaghan. Munster had nine, all in county boroughs—six of them living in Cork, two in Limerick, and one in Waterford. By 1871 the solitary Jew of Connaught had vanished.[6]

In the sixty years, the Jews of Dublin dwelt, and traded, mainly in the heart of the city, in streets off either bank of the River Liffey. After the middle of the century, some of the more prosperous went to live away from the business centre in Stephen's Green, in York or Harcourt Street, in Adelaide Road or Baggot Street, while a select few migrated still farther, to the suburbs of Rathmines, Sandymount, and Blackrock, Kingstown, Sandycove, and Bray. In the 1861 urban census, we find the distribution by parishes: St. Andrew's 49, St. Anne's 44, St. Bridget's 3, St. Mary's 100, St. Catherine's (part) 5, St. Mark's 13, St. Peter's (part) 50, St. Thomas's 56, and St. Werburg's one only. In fourteen other parishes there were no Jews, in public and charitable institutions there were three.

Of Dublin's Jewry of five years and upwards 11.8% could neither read nor write; the percentage was 6.4 in the Established Church and 25.1 in the Roman Catholic.[7]

The congregation's register of births, faithfully kept by the Rev. Julius Sandheim for over forty years, is almost complete from 25 November 1838 to 7 May 1879.[8] It records 308 births; 31 others, which took place before his arrival, from 20 February 1820 to 11 July 1838, were also traced and duly entered, and births in Belfast during the years 1849–78 likewise.

The register of deaths begins on 5 January 1842 and ends on 8 February 1879; it records 140 deaths. In the cemetery at Ballybough there stand 148 tombstones, 13 of them marking graves that were dug between the years 1820 and 1841. But burials at Ballybough were not confined to the Jews of Dublin: the cemetery was, in the words of the original 1718 lease, 'for the sole use and benefitt of the Congregation of Jews inhabitting and which shall during the said term inhabitt reside or be in the Kingdom of Ireland',[9] and so it might be the last resting-place of Jews who died in Belfast and Newry, in Limerick and Kilkee. Nor did it deny interment to Jews dying in Philadelphia, in Holyhead and Preston, in Brighton and Manchester. About the year 1885, the Spanish and Portuguese Consul in Holyhead—a Roman Catholic by outward faith and a citizen of Portugal—asked in his will that he be buried among Jews, and his wish was piously discharged by burial at Ballybough.[10]

The Jews of Dublin had the large families of the time, but, as with the rest of the population in the nineteenth century, infant and child mortality was high. Forty-nine such deaths, almost a third of the registration, took place during the years 1842–79, the chief causes being given as teething, croup, and scarlatina. Adult deaths were ascribed to heart disease, cancer, apoplexy, childbirth, insanity, consumption, typhoid fever, typhus, sciatica, and dysentery; the record shows a nonagenarian, five octogenarians, and 17 septuagenarians.

It will have been seen that the men of the community included a surprising ratio of goldsmiths, silversmiths, and watchmakers, and of cigar manufacturers and snuff and tobacco dealers. Of the 85 goldsmiths, silversmiths, and jewellers listed in the *Dublin Directory* of 1845, nine belonged to the little congregation of about 25 house-

holders. In 1850, eight were tobacconists; within a decade, eight others were clothiers and we also enumerate opticians, bog-oak ornamentalists, makers of mathematical instruments, pencils, umbrellas and parasols, of brushes and picture frames. There were furriers, dyers of feathers, marine dealers, and art dealers, there were chocolate makers, grocers and spice merchants, and teachers of languages, music, and physiology. There were bill-brokers, cork and copper merchants, toy importers, stationers, and photographers. There were commission agents and warehousemen, itinerant salesmen and common-or-garden pedlars. A few practised as dentists, but it was only towards the middle of the century that Dublin-born Jews began to enter Trinity College and to qualify in the medical and legal professions.

The restrictions[11] laid on the Jews of Ireland by the Irish Naturalization Act of 1783 were eased by the general terms of the Statute (36 Geo. III. cap. 48) passed in 1816. Then, by virtue of the second section of Statute 9/10 Victoria, cap. 59, of 1846, Jews of the British Empire came under the same laws as Protestant dissenters as regards schools, places of worship, education, and charity. Also in 1846, the obsolete Statute 'de Judaismo', which prescribed a special dress for Jews, was formally repealed at the instance of Daniel O'Connell himself.[12] In 1844, an Act for Marriages in Ireland was passed, whereunder Jews might contract marriages according to their usages, subject to prior notice to a Registrar and his certificate. Jewish Registrars were to be certified by the President of the Jewish Board of Deputies (7/8 Victoria, cap. 81, sec. 12, 13). An Act of 1847 declared that all marriages among Jews solemnised in Ireland before 1 April 1845, according to their usages, were good in law, if both parties were Jews (10 and 11 Victoria, cap. 58). The Report of the Registrar-General of Marriages in Ireland for 1859[13] indicates that, during the years 1844–59, Jewish marriages barely averaged one a year. In the Jewish Relief Act of 1858, which gave Jews freedom to hold office under the Crown by allowing them to omit the final words of the qualifying oath, certain high offices, among them the Lord Chancellorship and the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, were excepted, as they were, too, in the Catholic Relief Act of 1829. But after the Office and Oath Act, 1867, had opened the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland to every subject of the Queen, the excep-

tions were withdrawn unreservedly by the Promissory Oaths Act of 1871.[14]

There was friendliness with Protestant and Catholic neighbours. Prominent Christians would attend Jewish communal gatherings, prominent Jews were invited to receptions given by the Lord Lieutenant and the Lord Mayor. At the annual mayoral banquet, the Jewish Minister would respond to the toast to the clergy of Ireland, with whom his name was always coupled.[15] The Jews of Dublin contributed handsomely to appeals by Sir Moses Montefiore for the Jews of Palestine,[16] and in 1862 founded a society to further the resettlement of Jews in the Holy Land and to succour its indigent. They rendered practical help during the great famine.[17] A Jew was among the large donors to a fund for the rebuilding of St. Andrew's Church in 1865.[18] Many non-Jews were associated with a memorial fund to assist the wife and children of the Minister of the congregation who died in 1844,[19] and in 1860 the Dublin daily and weekly papers raised £230 towards a fund for the relief of the refugee Jews of Tangiers in Gibraltar.[20] We have seen that one of the congregation's clergy served for many years on the Council of the Dublin Hospital Fund, a member of it presided over the Board of Superintending Dublin Hospitals, a Jewish lady became a Life Governor of the Royal City of Dublin Hospital, which she had served with distinction.[21] In what high regard the community was held was evidenced when, in 1871,[22] prayers were offered in Dublin churches for the recovery of a dying Jewess. In 1874,[23] a Jew was voted alderman of the city Council and, if his sudden death had not intervened, would surely have been Lord Mayor.

But, by and large, the congregation was preoccupied with domestic concerns. The Hebrew Philanthropic Society of Ireland was founded in 1846,[24] and six years afterwards could deal with over a hundred and fifty supplicants, both itinerant and resident. There was none of the communal bickering that was to characterise the conduct of the congregation towards the end of the century.[25] Each congregational year was usually wound up by a 'sumptuous dinner' to the outgoing President.[26]

CHAPTER XXI

THE EAST EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION (1881–1901)

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the census of Jews in Ireland was successively as follows:[1]

Year	1881		1891		1901	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Twenty-six Counties (now Republic of Ireland)	215	179	854	652	1,577	1,429
	394		1,506		3,006	
Dublin County Borough	(283)		(971)		(2,048)	
Cork County Borough	(10)		(155)		(359)	
Six Counties (now Northern Ireland)	78		273		763	
			Males	Females		
Belfast			(115)	(90)		
			(205)			
Ireland	472		1,779		3,769	

Thus, whereas the number had fallen away by almost a third in 1861-71, it had risen again, almost tenfold, by 1901, mainly in the aftermath of the May Laws promulgated in Russia in 1881, which induced an exodus of Jews to the British Isles. It was not, then, a gradual growth and a normal development but a sudden and radical change that profoundly touched and basically altered communal life. Without this influx, the Mary's Abbey synagogue of 1891 might have suffered the fate of Marlborough Green a century before. An English Jew trading in Ireland during the years 1873-5 recalls that the Dublin congregation was hard put to it to assemble a minyan on Sabbath mornings, and the minister's son often called for him at his hotel to complete the synagogal quorum of ten Jewish men.[2] In 1890, only a dozen or so families of the original

congregation survived; there were over seven hundred newcomers. Of the Jewish population of Dublin today, a bare handful are of the stock of Mary's Abbey. The new arrivals from the Lithuanian provinces of Russia quickly anglicised themselves, wrested communal hegemony by degrees from the 'English' element, and took control of the 'English' synagogue. They helped, moreover, to strengthen the Belfast community and founded new congregations in Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, Londonderry, Dundalk, and Lurgan. Knowing no trade but peddling, most of them began by hawking bundles or trays of goods through the streets of Dublin and the outlying districts, usually allowing their customers to pay by weekly instalments. Soon the enterprising ones learned the sources of their wares and supplied the next contingent of settlers with stock-in-trade, and in the course of time many became wholesale merchants and manufacturers. Among the Jews of foreign birth listed in Dublin in the census of 1901 there were 261 drapers, 223 pedlars and hawkers, 200 students and scholars, 88 commercial travellers, 72 tailors, 66 domestic servants, and 64 general dealers. Certain shopkeepers regarded all this as serious competition and in October 1886 posters were placarded all over Dublin calling upon the citizens to have no truck with the foreign Jews of recent arrival. Rancorous letters appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Evening Telegraph*; some of the 'greenhorns' were assaulted on their rounds. Whereupon the *Freeman's Journal* wrote:[3] 'So long as our local imitators of continental tyranny confined their operations to 'letters to the editor' and sensational placards, they were within their rights. They become dangerous, however, when they try to organise bodies of men to carry out their threats. A rumour to this effect has reached us and, while we are confident that the good sense and intelligence of the people at large will speedily suppress any attempt to molest a 'hard-working and inoffensive section of the population', we expect the authorities to be on the alert to anticipate the rowdies. This sudden antipathy to the Jewish community in the city is either the product of some hare-brained fanatic, or, what is more likely, the project of a set of ruffians having some ulterior object in view. In either case we may promise that the movement, if it should come to a head, will enjoy a brief existence. The soil of Ireland does not take kindly to religious persecution. It has had too

bitter an experience of that evil to enjoy it, and those who were its victims, having now received their freedom, will not pause to throttle its attempted revival in any form, and will not be over particular in their method of dealing with the promoters'.

The *Evening Telegraph* commented[4] in a leading article: 'To reasonable men we shall not appeal in vain. The Jews have had a hard lot in the world's history. There is only one other people on the face of the earth which has suffered persecution approaching theirs, and that other people is the Irish. To our credit history must so far record that Ireland stands alone among nations in freedom from the odium of having outraged and persecuted the Jews, who as a nation have been exiled from their native country. The Irish have sought refuge in many lands, driven out of their own by misgovernment. The history of our race ought to teach us that when another persecuted people upon whom Fate has laid a heavy burden, have sought an asylum here, they should not be made an object of malignancy, but should feel that, being honest and peaceable citizens, their race will not draw upon them persecution in a nation which is itself struggling to be free'.

As the *Freeman's Journal* forecast, the movement attracted few followers and the anti-Jewish agitation soon died down.

When persecution of Russian Jewry was renewed in 1890, refugees once more sought asylum in Ireland, and again Dublin and Belfast, Cork and Limerick were their major destinations. There was an isolated act of unfriendliness by a priest, who, in a letter in the *Irish Catholic* of July 1893, sought to lend currency to the heartless slander that the Jews had been driven out of Russia for impropriety of behaviour.[5]

In October 1892, the Jews of Dublin were up in arms at aspersions cast on the Jewish name by Mr. Frederick Falkiner, Q.C., the city's Recorder. Trying a suit in which a Jew had refused to pay for a baby-carriage, the Recorder said: 'These fellows would swear anything. The Jews are here in this city and are evidently going to stay, but if they are they will have to obey the laws of this Court'. At a meeting in St. Kevin's Parade, Jewish citizens passed a resolution of protest; the Recorder's utterances on previous occasions put it beyond question that his latest remarks were directed against the Jews at large and were not merely an animadversion upon the

witnesses in the case before him.[6] The *Freeman's Journal* and the papers of Belfast, where Mr. Falkiner was well known on circuit, also took him to task. In the following week, in his court, Dr. John D. Rosenthal[7] called the attention of the Recorder to expressions offensive to the Jews which he was alleged to have made from the bench. The Recorder, who spoke with a good deal of feeling, said in reply: 'I have very willingly afforded you the opportunity of making this statement thus openly in court before myself, because I have reason to know that sentiments and language of hostility and unkindness towards the Jewish people have been attributed to me, at least in some quarters, which are alien to all I have ever felt or expressed in public or private. I could never understand how anyone holding the conviction which I profess could regard without deep interest the race whose history in the past has been so wonderful, and for whom I believe great destinies are reserved in the coming time; and I may be permitted to recall that at the epoch of the Russian expulsion a few years ago I took an active part, according to my humble ability, in the public meeting held in this city to protest against the inhumanity to which they were subjected and to call for its cessation or mitigation; and since that time we know that a community of Jewish exiles have settled in Dublin. I have more than once endeavoured to show a kindness and consideration towards members of that community when engaged in litigation here. . . You have stated that these men are sober and law-abiding, and it certainly is fair that I should say that I have never known, as the city judge, any case in which any of these men have been implicated at the criminal side of the court'.[8]

The Recorder did not always remember his noble expressions of 1892; in January 1902, now Sir Frederick Falkiner, K.C., he had become so irritated by an epidemic of window-breaking that, when a Jew named Henry Kahn had been found guilty of this offence, he burst out, after sentencing him to a year's imprisonment: 'You are a specimen of your race and nation that cause [*sic*] you to be hunted out of every country', quite oblivious of the fact that few Jews were window-breakers and that the window that Kahn had broken belonged to the shop of Esther Marks, a coreligionist.[9] On the very same day[10] the Recorder had sentenced a non-Jew to two months' imprisonment for window-breaking. On that

occasion, it was Dr. Ernest Wormser Harris[11] who championed the Jewish cause and asked Mr. (later Sir) Stuart Samuel and Mr. Timothy M. Healy, K.C., to bring the Recorder's language to the notice of the House of Commons. Sir Frederick[12] publicly apologised in open court and paid a handsome tribute to the local Jews. That is the factual background for the slating that Sir Frederick, who orders Leopold Bloom to prison in the *Circe* episode in *Ulysses*,[13] gave the crookback solicitor and moneylender, Reuben J. Dodd. 'The devil on moneylenders. Gave Reuben J. a great strawcalling. Now he's really what they call a dirty jew',[14] Bloom muses in the episode of the *Lestrygonians*. Joyce's irritation with Dodd is explained by Dodd's having lent money to Joyce's father and, naively, expected repayment.[15] Dodd, in fact, was an Irish Catholic and not a Jew, as Bloom and all his companions in the funeral cortège knew quite well. In visualising Dodd as 'a dirty jew', Bloom, as Father Boyle[16] points out, is adopting the phrase used by the Dublin antisemites in condemning the Catholic Dodd, moneylender, whom they treat as a Shylock. Bloom, as Father Boyle further remarks, appreciates 'the irony of using the unjust condemnation by Catholics against the condemners'. Thus Bloom's attitude 'expresses perfectly his resentment against the prejudice of his fellow-citizens towards Jews. Bloom is using the language of Falkiner and Simon and Deasy and other Dubliners to condemn not Jews but both the Catholic Dodd to whom those other Catholics had applied the opprobrious term and all the anti-Semites who so readily used it'.[17]

Remarks by Mr. Justice Kenny in a probate action heard before him in Dublin in February 1910, when allusion was made to the Jewish faith of one of the parties, were in pleasing contrast. In his summing up to the jury, the judge expressed regret that anything had been said about religious differences. No man, he declared, dared stand up in court and say anything against the Jews. In all times the Jews had been makers of history, leaders in every profession and in every walk of life; and to talk with contempt of a Jew either in reference to his faith or in reference to his nationality showed a mind so degraded and narrow that any man of common sense would not be influenced by it for one moment.[18]

Within the Jewish community itself, the newcomers and the

old-timers had been at loggerheads. At first the Lithuanian Jews worshipped in Mary's Abbey, but in 1883 a split occurred in the community: the newcomers seceded from the parent congregation and established several *hebroth*, or conventicles, of their own. Their reasons were that the Mary's Abbey synagogue was open only once a week, on Saturdays from 9 to 11 a.m., that it was two miles from the neighbourhood where they lived, that it could seat only ninety persons, whereas there were already five hundred Jews resident in the city, and that the seven Scrolls of the Law belonging to the parent congregation were said to be ritually unfit.[19]

The *hebroth* were established in St. Kevin's Parade (1883), Oakfield Place (1885), Lennox Street (1887), Heytesbury Street (1891), Camden Street (1892), and Lombard Street (1893). They certainly made for a divided community but they were almost a moral necessity. The newcomer was neither intellectually nor spiritually prepared to enter at once into liturgical fellowship with his Irish-born brethren-in-faith. Differences of language, character, and temperament kept them apart. There had to be a stage of transition in which the immigrant was adjusted to the new environment and contacts. The *hebroth* provided this interlude. They had their uses, too, acting as Freemasonry once did in constructive aid to newcomers as far as the narrow means and limited opportunities of their members permitted. Wherever possible, instant work was found for the stranger and he was helped to bridge the painful gap before he could make himself understood in English. In the *hebroth*, the Lithuanian Jew felt much more at home than at the 'English' synagogue at Mary's Abbey. He was himself much more drawn to the society of men who had understanding for his feelings and wants, and with whom he could communicate freely.

Disturbed by reports in the local press of proceedings in connection with moneylending, the free members of Mary's Abbey met in 1881 and resolved: 'That this Board will for the future refuse to admit into Free Membership any person directly or indirectly engaged in the business of lending small sums on Bills of Sale to persons in the humbler ranks of society'.[20] As none but free members could be elected on the Council of the congregation, the resolution denied election to several substantial Lithuanian Jews and was probably an added reason for the establishment of the *hebroth*.

The lay head of the newcomers was Robert Bradlaw, founder of the St. Kevin's Parade synagogue and the Dolphin's Barn cemetery, and for 21 years in succession President of the Dolphin's Barn Jewish Burial Society, founded as the memorial to Sir Moses Montefiore, venerated hero of the Irish Jews of his day. Bradlaw's son-in-law, Dr. George Selig Wigoder (1865–1934), a prominent and beloved communal worker, was the author of scholarly talmudical treaties; he tended the poor of the community professionally without fee. His brother, Myer Joel (1856–1933), who arrived in the 1880s, also wrote rabbinical literature and his autobiography[21] throws light on communal affairs and personages of the day. The spiritual head of the Lithuanian Jews, Rabbi Isaac Meyer Yosselson, of Yanishek, near Shavil, in the Province of Kovno, who was attached to the Lennox Street synagogue, settled in Dublin in 1891 and died there in 1914.

CHAPTER XXII

SOME ASPECTS OF THE JEWISH BACKGROUNDS OF *ULYSSES*

On 7 October 1904, James Joyce left Dublin for good (returning only in 1909 and 1912 for brief visits), a voluntary exile, as Yeats[1] wrote of him in 1923, 'in flight from the objects of his hatred, bearing in mind always in minute detail, even to the names over the shops, the Dublin that he hated but would not forget'. His novel *Ulysses*, begun in 1914, was published in Paris in 1922 by a young American, Sylvia Beach. Everyone now knows that it records events in the lives of three main characters on an average day in Dublin, 16 June 1904; that it succeeds in its pervasive symbolism in presenting an exhaustive critique of contemporary society as reflected in the doings of the Irish capital on that day; that the chief figures in it, Leopold Bloom, the middle-aged Irish-Jewish advertising canvasser, his voluptuous wife, Molly, the young writer, Stephen Dedalus, correspond to the Homeric trio, Ulysses, Penelope, and Telemachus. The novel puts Dublin in a conspicuous charting on the map of contemporary world literature.

Apart from that of Bloom, the baptised Irish Jew, the names of authentic members of the Dublin Jewish community who lived on the south side of the city in St. Kevin's Parade, Lombard Street West, and in and about Lower Clanbrassil Street appear in the novel. In the *Circe* episode, when Bella Cohen,[2] the 'madam' of the brothel which Dedalus visited, threatens Bloom and commands that he should sign his will, die, and be buried in the shrubbery jakes, he bursts into tears:

> (*Bloom, broken, closely veiled for the sacrifice, sobs, his face to the earth. The passing bell is heard. Darkshawled figures of the circumcised, in sackcloth and ashes, stand by the wailing wall.*[3] *M. Shulomowitz,*[4]

Joseph Goldwater,[5] *Moses Herzog,*[6] *Harris Rosenberg, M. Moisel,*[7] *J. Citron,*[8] *Minnie Watchman,*[9] *O. Mastiansky,*[10] *the Reverend Leopold Abramovitz,*[11] *Chazen. With swaying arms they wail in pneuma over the recreant Bloom*).

THE CIRCUMCISED: (In a dark guttural chant as they cast dead sea fruit upon him, no flowers.[12]) Shema Israel Adonai Elohenu Adonai Echad.

Bella Cohen, who appears in the records simply as Mrs. Cohen,[13] was a real person, occupant in 1890 of 82 Mecklenburg Street, in the heart of Dublin's then 'red-light' district, and in 1904 still living at the same address, which by then was officially called 82 Tyrone Street. The one-eyed Moses Herzog fits into the *Cyclops* episode and the name of Citron appealed to Joyce because it spoke for the traditional fruit of the Jewish festival of Tabernacles, commemorating the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert, and thus a symbol of the Wandering Jew. Bloom's tailor, George Robert Mesias,[14] of 5 Eden Quay, was a native of Russia and appears in a parade of false messiahs in the *Circe* episode. In the Census of Ireland, 1901, he is listed as a widower of the Jewish persuasion, aged 36, lodging at the home of Hoseas Weiner in Clontarf West. A tall and handsome man, he married Elsie Watson as his second wife, on 5 November 1901 at Clontarf Presbyterian Church. The names of the other Dublin Jews, of whom one at least is made a friend of Leopold Bloom in his youth, were taken from *Thom's Directory* for 1905, a source book of *Ulysses*, because their names suited the Jewish themes in the novel and were introduced into the narrative to show that they comprised a part of Dublin's contemporary population, for one aspect of *Ulysses*, and a major one at that, is the presentation of the city in 1904.

One English Jew appears in *Ulysses* in the person of Dr Hy Franks, a quack doctor who had posters stuck up in greenhouses and urinals offering treatment for venereal diseases. 'All kinds of places are good for ads'[15] is Bloom's observation on Franks' promotional activities. In the *Circe*[16] episode Lipoti Virag,[17] Bloom's grandfather, unscrews his ibis-head which is carried out crying 'Quack' of the pox doctor advertised on the fly bill. Henry Jacob Franks,[18] born in Manchester in 1852, arrived in Dublin in 1903 after deserting his Turkish-born wife Miriam (née Mandil) and their four children.

Several persons, some Dubliners, others Italian, Greek, and Hungarian, helped Joyce to complete his hero; Joyce was rarely content to fasten a major character to a single individual. The first of the Dublin models for Bloom was a tall, dark-complexioned clerk named Alfred H. Hunter, who was rumoured a cuckold. Richard Ellmann was misled by Stanislaus Joyce into believing that Hunter was a Jew.[19] The son of William H. Hunter, shoemaker,[20] Alfred, lodging at the home of a Mrs. Ryan, of 2 Oxford Road, Rathmines, was married in the Catholic Church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge, Rathmines,[21] on 1 February 1898 to Margaret Cummins, daughter of Michael Cummins, bricklayer, and Anne Cummins, stationer, of 32 Castlewood Avenue, Rathmines,[22] a few doors away from No. 23 where James Joyce lived from 1884 to 1887.[23] After their marriage, the Hunters lived in Clonliffe Road near Ballybough Road.[24] In 1899 Hunter had an office at 1 Clare Street in the building occupied by W. A. Gilbey, wine merchant, and A. Leslie and Co., house and land agents and surveyors,[25] and next door to Marcus J. Bloom, dentist, and father of Joseph Bloom, also dentist, of 2 Clare Street, an authentic character in *Ulysses*. Hunter's name appears in the *Freeman's Journal* of 14 July 1904 in a list of mourners attending the funeral of Matthew Kane, a friend of James Joyce's father and a model for Martin Cunningham in the novel.[26] Joyce had met Hunter only twice and on 3 December 1906 asked his brother Stanislaus, and afterwards his aunt, Josephine Murray, to obtain all the details about him that they could. He had intended writing a short story for *Dubliners* called 'Ulysses', describing the day's wanderings of Hunter about Dublin, but on 6 February 1907 he wrote that 'Ulysses never got any forrader than the title'.[27] On the night of 22 June 1904, Joyce was involved in an incident which he adapted in *Ulysses* and after which Hunter played a notable part. Joyce was badly beaten up by a young man to whose girl-friend he had made overtures, apparently unaware that the young woman had an official escort. He was left in the street with 'black eye, sprained wrist, sprained ankle, cut chin, cut hand'[28] and was rescued by Hunter,[29] who took him home and, as Joyce makes Leopold Bloom minister to Stephen Dedalus in the *Eumaeus* episode after he had rescued him from Nighttown, 'bucked him up generally in orthodox Samaritan fashion'.[30]

The figure of the cuckolded Jew occupied Joyce's mind for the next 14 years. On one of his visits to Dublin, in 1909 or 1912, he may have been intrigued by the story of an Irish Jew whose wife had been unfaithful to him during his absence in foreign parts. On 8 November 1889, Joseph Blum (*sic*), draper, of 20 Oakfield Place, Dublin, son of Jonas Blum, dealer, of the same address, was married by certificate at the Registrar's Office, Cork,[31] to Sarah Levy, born in or about 1870,[32] of 68 Hibernian Buildings, daughter of Joseph Levy (1838–1936), a great wit, beadle of the Cork synagogue, Councillor of the Cork Chovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) Tent in 1893[33] and, as a native of Tavrig, among the first Lithuanian Jewish settlers in that city. After a stay of four years at 64 Hibernian Buildings where two daughters, Bertha in 1891 and Dora in 1892, were born, Blum, now spelling his name Bloom, returned to Dublin and lived in a cottage at 3 Blackpits, off Lower Clanbrassil Street. There his wife gave birth to three sons: Myer in 1894, Eli in 1895 and Solomon in 1898. In the birth certificate of his son Eli he is described as an agent. In or about 1900, Bloom decided to seek his fortune in South Africa and, like the enigmatic sailor from Carrigaloe, in Queenstown (now Cobh), in the County of Cork, mentioned in the *Eumaeus* episode,[34] and Joyce's Leopold Bloom, left his wife a grass widow.[35] Sarah, completely assimilated in Irish mannerisms and speech, is reputed to have become the mistress of a Jewish lodger, by whom she had a daughter. One can imagine Sarah saying to herself as Molly did in the *Penelope* episode, musing about her adultery with Blazes Boylan, 'anyhow its done now once and for all with all the talk in the world about it people make'.[36] Deserted by her husband, alienated from her parents and ostracised by the community, Sarah, who is remembered by her contemporaries for her good looks,[37] was hard put to it to maintain her family on her own and moved to a tenement house in 3 Bishop Street, opposite Jacob's Biscuit Factory, to whose girl workers she sold drapery on the weekly payments system.[38] Dora was sent in 1900 to her grandparents' home in Cork and emigrated to America in 1908. On board ship she met and married a fellow-emigrant, a Liverpool musician.[39] After two years her two younger brothers, Eli and Solomon, followed her to the United States. Living in very straitened circum-

stances. Sarah and her eldest teenage daughter are reputed to have turned to prostitution.[40] An old lady,[41] a native of Dublin, recalls, some months before her marriage on 20 February 1907, seeing Sarah and her daughter apparently soliciting at the corner of Earl Street, near Nelson's Pillar. Laurence Elyan, a native of Cork and a retired Irish civil servant, now (1971) resident in Jerusalem, recollects, as a boy, reading for old Joseph Levy, in 1914, a letter from Sarah of 3 Bishop Street, Dublin, appealing for money.[42] It is believed that Bertha who, like fairhaired, slimsandalled Milly Bloom,[43] is described by a contemporary[44] as tall and fair-haired and who, in 1911, worked as an assistant in a stationer's shop,[45] was befriended by and taken care of by the Salvation Army at whose rallies she is reported to have sung.[46] Her brother Myer worked first as a library clerk[47] and later as a book-seller at Eason's.[48] It may be mentioned that Solomon Levy (died *circa* 1910), Sarah's brother, was a great lover of light operas which he used to hum continually.[49] The five children of May (Michele), her sister, were all musically inclined and organised themselves into a private band which played at family functions. About 1920, Sarah, after a short stay in Belfast, is said to have emigrated to America together with her daughter Bertha and son Myer. Joyce was anxious to know from A. J. Leventhal, then a young graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who visited him in Paris in 1921, whether the Blooms still lived in the South Circular Road district, although he did not mention any particular person of that name. Leventhal recalls that Joyce's interest in the Blooms was more than casual and that he was relieved to hear that they had died or left the city.[50]

Joseph Bloom's sister, Bassa[51] (1870–1941), blue-lipped, of plumpish build and highly rubicund complexion, was usually clad in a one-piece dress and a shabby brown coat; of dubious repute,[52] dishevelled and invariably carrying an umbrella, she used to roam the Jewish district mumbling maledictions.[53] Her father Jonas or Jone, popularly known as Yonah, moved in 1892[54] to 38 Lombard Street West,[55] Leopold Bloom's address in 1893–4, until his death in 1912. A kindly and witty man with a gentle smile, neatly groomed with a trimmed red beard, he wore a frock-like coat and a silk hat of the period. Mrs. Rebecca Ita Isaacson (1889–1970), while visiting

her grandfather Nisan Moisel of 20 Arbutus Place, a character in *Ulysses*, recalls, as a schoolgirl in 1902 or 1903, seeing Jonas Bloom with saddened eyes and hands folded behind his back, following his pregnant spinster daughter as she walked slowly up and down Oakfield Place, a cul-de-sac opposite their home.[56]

A son or nephew of Jonas was Jacob Bloom, dealer, of 1 St. Michael's Terrace, Blackpits, who, on 30 May 1899, married Matilda, sister of Rudolph Burack, a witness at the marriage and a brother-in-law of the Louis Wine of 33 Wellington Quay. It was Wine's antique shop that Leopold Bloom, in the *Sirens* episode,[57] passes on his way to the Ormond bar, bearing the volume *Sweets of Sin* which he had purchased for Molly in the bookshop[58] in the cubbyhole partitioned from the main shop of 26 Wellington Quay[59] rented by a Dublin Jew, Aaron Figatner of 6 Seapoint Terrace, Irishtown.[60] Leopold Bloom, passing the jeweller's shop, read Figatner's name and asked himself why he always thought his name was Figather: 'Bloom whose dark eye read Aaron Figatner's name. Why do I always think Figather? Gathering figs I think'.[61] Lionel Marks, a brother-in-law of John Michael Higgins,[62] was the second witness at Jacob Bloom's marriage and kept the antique shop at 16 Upper Ormond Quay where Leopold Bloom in the *Sirens* episode[63] sees in the window a picture of Robert Emmet, the Irish rebel, whose dying words, which have a carminative effect on him, he tries to recall. Jacob Bloom, whose occupation is given in his children's birth certificates as a brass-finisher, worked as a plumber. He had five children: Bertha Jenny, born at John Street, Sligo, in 1900, Sarah at 59 Lombard Street West, Dublin, in 1901, Fanny, at No. 77 in 1903, Mayer William at 4 Brainboro', off Greenville Terrace, in 1905, and Rachel at the same address in 1907. One of his children is said to have married out of the faith and the family emigrated to America after the First World War.[64]

Another member of the Bloom clan who lived in Dublin contemporaneously with Joyce was Isaac Blum (*sic*),[65] leather merchant, of 3 Desmond Street, off Lombard Street West, whose wife Daisy, née Liknaitzky, gave birth to a daughter Gladys Margaret on 23 December 1903. Daisy, who converted to Catholicism, was a music teacher in Dublin in 1909.[66] It is possible that Joyce knew of her and derived some of the characterisation of Molly from her.

Isaac Blum was a son of Solomon (Zalman) Bloom, who lived at 3 Desmond Street, a two-storey house, from 1903 to 1905 when his name appears in the records as the occupant.[67] Solomon who was a cousin of Jonas arrived in Dublin in or about 1893, living at 36 Martin Street, where his daughter Leah married Isaac Rouf, pedlar, son of Nakman (*sic*) Rouf, carpenter, on 1 March 1895. The marriage certificate records Solomon's occupation as a butcher. In 1895 Solomon moved to 98 Lower Clanbrassil Street,[68] where his daughter Ida married Aaron Freedman, draper, of 5 Walworth Road, on 9 June 1897. Now trading as a draper, he moved in 1901 to 6 Lombard Street West, where he lived for two years.[69] On 15 March 1904, his daughter Johanna Blum (*sic*) of 3 Desmond Street was married to Israel A. Weiner, general draper of 26 Victoria Street, who, as a new immigrant and pedlar in drapery in 1901, boarded with the Bloom family.[70] In 1905, Weiner was the manager of a loan office at 15 Fleet Street and lived at 25 Ashfield Road, Ranelagh.[71] The Mrs. Bloom who lived at 1 Chelmsford Road, Ranelagh from 1908 to 1915[72] could have been Johanna's mother who is known to have moved to Ranelagh.[73]

Solomon Bloom had two sons, Joseph born in 1885 who worked as a framemaker and David born in 1888 who was a draper's assistant.[74] Two other members of the Bloom clan, Simon and Bernard, were sons of another Solomon, who was a brother of Jonas and who, on arriving in Dublin, lived in Armstrong Street, near Harold's Cross Bridge, now Robert Emmet Bridge in the vicinity of Upper Clanbrassil Street, not far from the home of the Murrays, Joyce's grandparents. In 1910, Simon was involved in the murder of a girl who worked in a photographer's shop in Wexford;[75] she had jilted him and he had vainly planned a double suicide. Simon was exonerated on mental grounds and, after some time in an institution, left for America.[76] The incident presumably gave Joyce, who was on a visit to Ireland in 1909, the idea of establishing Bloom's daughter as an apprentice in a photographer's shop.[77]

Bernard (Benny) (1881–1966), who is described in the Census of Ireland. 1901, as a traveller, was popularly known as 'Bloom the canvasser'. Armed with religious pictures, he could walk ten

to twenty miles a day in the streets of Dublin to solicit customers at a shilling a head for coreligionists trading on the weekly payments system, one of whom was Israel Citron, a friend of Leopold Bloom in *Ulysses*. An amiable man, ever ready to do a favour, with an instinctive knack of rounding up prospective clients, he could organise four to eight 'weeklies' a month and never run out of them. He had a touch of the Wanderlust and yet an inner serenity, an apparent contradiction in his personality. A veteran of the Boer War, 1899–1902, for which he volunteered in the year 1901, he recalled to an old friend[78] the night marches, where soldiers had to chew tough, sun-dried biltong. Under the command of General Botha, he is said to have taken part in the South-West African expedition[79] which forced the Germans to capitulate in July 1915. In South Africa he worked as a waiter[80] in a hotel and as a bookie's runner placing bets on a commission basis for residents of the hotel. He claimed to have owned a goldmine in South Africa, but in Dublin, whither he returned in 1916, apart from canvassing, he eked out a living by purchasing old jewellery and gold. Always in financial straits, he would borrow from one acquaintance to pay another. Very fond of a drink, his favourite haunt was Fitzpatrick's pub at the corner of Donovan's Lane and Lower Clanbrassil Street in the vicinity of Blackpits and St. Kevin's Parade. Perhaps Joyce had him in mind when he made Leopold Bloom an advertisement canvasser. This Bloom was a man of simple tastes who loved to play billiards and cards; he never lost his temper, but when bested he could bear a grudge and brood alone for days. A 'mousey' man,[81] about five feet five inches in height and eight stone in weight, he was full of boundless energy, yet restrained and withdrawn through some pain suffered in earlier life. Reputed a roué and nicknamed 'Knee-trembler' by his cronies, he wore a smart check suit and sported a gold pin in his tie.[82] Time touched him gently and in his eighties he had the face and bearing of a man of fifty; even in old age he wore his hat at a rakish angle. Zoe Higgins, one of the harlots in Bella Cohen's establishment, calls Leopold 'little mousey'[83] and he is referred to in the *Cyclops* episode as a 'bloody mouseabout . . . with his argol bargol'.[84]

One of the 'weekly men', as they were commonly called in Ireland, was Pesach Bloom,[85] in no wise connected with the other Dublin

Blooms or Blums; he came from Shavil, in Lithuania, in 1882 and traded for many years on the weekly payments system in County Wicklow. He died on 10 June 1903, aged 49, some three months after being hit[86] by a falling slate during the cyclone, popularly known as 'The Big Wind',[87] that swept Dublin on 26–27 February 1903, laying low so many of the sturdiest oaks in the Phoenix Park. On 16 June 1904,[88] Zelig (or Zelick) (1880–1910), Pesach's second son,[89] appeared as a witness in the 'Canada swindle case', mentioned in both the *Aeolus* and the *Cyclops* episodes in *Ulysses*,[90] in which a Jew, recently arrived from Germany, had swindled prospective emigrants. The bogus emigration agent was a man named James Wought, confectioner and tailor, whose aliases included Saphiro, Spiro and Sparks; he was charged with obtaining twenty shillings from Benjamin Zaretzky of Leeds, through a press advertisement offering to procure a passage to Canada for him. Zelig Bloom, of 49 A Lower Clanbrassil Street, also interpreted the evidence of Anna Cohen, who spoke in Yiddish and kept a 'lodging house for Jews' at the same address where the accused stayed for some time. This could be the factual background for Joyce's making Leopold Bloom's father reside at 52 Clanbrassil Street when Leopold was still a schoolboy.[91] Another Bloom family, whose connection with the other Dublin Blooms is unknown, was that of Eli J. Bloom, pedlar, of 6 Martin Street, whose daughter Malkah (Molly) married Himan (*sic*) Watchman, dealer of 24 Martin Street, on 5 October 1897. In Cork,[92] the minister of the congregation during 1896–1902 was the Rev. Eli Bloom, who arrived in Ireland after ministering for one year to the Jewish community at Wrexham in Denbyshire, Wales.[93] On leaving Cork he ministered to the Merthyr Tydfil community for forty years.[94]

Another Bloom (Blum) family of German origin had been resident in Dublin since 1840, and one of its descendants, Joseph Bloom, who appears as an authentic character in *Ulysses*,[95] was, in 1911, a bachelor and lived in the home of his mother Catherine at 10 Tritonville Road, Sandymount,[96] not far from where Joyce's aunt, Josephine Murray, lived for many years.[97] In the same house lived Joseph's sisters, Florence and Beatrice, both listed in the Census of Ireland for 1911 as professors of music. A renowned wit, Joseph practised dentistry, like his father, Mark J. Bloom, at 2 Clare Street,

in 1903 and 1904. Mark (1846–1894?) who, like Joyce's Leopold, became a Catholic on marriage, was the son of Joseph Blum, toy importer and commission agent, and was a foundation member of the Dublin Dental Hospital in 1876.

The mere concept of the Irish Jew raised a laugh in the Ireland of Joyce's day. Edward Raphael Lipsett[98] (1869–1921), a Dublin Jew, journalist, novelist, and playwright, wrote impressions of the Jews in Ireland in 1906, under the pen-name of Halitvack: 'There is an invisible but impassable barrier between Jew and Christian—a barrier which the one party will not, and the other cannot, break through. You cannot get one native to remember that a Jew may be an Irishman. The term 'Irish Jew' seems to have a contradictory ring upon the native ear; the very idea is wholly inconceivable to the native mind . . . Irish Jews feel that if they spoke of each other as Jewish Irishmen, it would meet with a cutting cynicism from the natives that the two elements can never merge into one, for any single purpose . . . There is undoubtedly a mutual estrangement between the Jews and the Irish. The Jews understand the Irish little; the Irish understand the Jews less. Each seems a peculiar race in the eyes of the other; and, in a word, the position of Jews in Ireland is peculiarly peculiar'. Lipsett's impressions may have truly represented the situation of the Jews in the unsympathetic social climate of Ireland at the turn of the century, at best grudgingly neutral to them and at worst openly hostile, and it may well be that an awareness of that situation of aliens detached from the Irish world around them, living in an Irish exile, never wholly accepted by their fellow-countrymen, prompted Joyce in introducing the themes of isolation, exile, and alienation in *Ulysses* and in designing the novel as he did.

Further light is thrown on the relations between the Irish and Jews in the Dublin of the early twentieth century by letters in the Anglo-Jewish press from two Jewish students of Trinity College at the beginning of the year 1909 on the controversial topic of the establishment of Zionist societies at British universities. E(dward) L(ipman) (1887–1965), a classical scholar, medical student, friend of Arthur Griffith[99] and later a member of the Irish literary circles of the day, in his counter-arguments writes this:[100] '. . . we are asked to establish a society that would lead to a more open state of separation than

exists at present. Many college friends of mine, men devoid of bigotry and prejudice, lovers of the Jewish race and believers in our superiority, have complained of our exclusiveness and non-intercourse with themselves. We cannot blame them . . . ; the dislike of strangers, the objection to those whose ideals are different from our own, is inherent in most men. "While in Rome, live as the Romans" ought to be our motto. We should identify our interests with those of our fellow-countrymen and at times even subordinate our own, provided that we do not violate any real principles. All this applies to Ireland and Irishmen and from what we know of human nature to Englishmen likewise. I object to the establishment of any such society as the above for the same reasons that I objected to the formation of a Jewish "Home Rule" party in Ireland, because it is bound to spread ill-feeling and distrust instead of cordiality and good comradeship. I hope no one will imagine that this letter possesses any assimilative tendencies as no one would deplore this more than the writer who is somewhat conceited in his pride of race'.

In the second letter,[101] Hyman Edelstein,[102] a classical scholar and later Canadian poet and prose-writer, writes: 'I, born in Ireland, am a *true* Englishman[103] [*sic*] of the Jewish faith. A *true* Irishman once said to me, 'Arra, sure an' yer a — Jewman".[104] A *true* Scotchman would like to salute his Jewish fellow-countryman in his own brogue. I know a *true* Englishman would dispute my frantic zeal to be known as an Englishman, call me "Sheeny" and other patriotic names. This is confirmed by Christian friends who recognise that I, having a distinct history, literature, language, and country, compared to all which those of all other nations, dead or living, are as dross, cannot feel exactly as they when they proudly talk of Brian Boru and of Nelson, no matter how much I may admire these heroes. On the other hand, they gladly confess they felt as I do when I talk of Moses, our kings, warriors, psalmists, prophets and philosophers. For which reason, I am most seriously thinking of asking these Christian friends—*true* Englishmen, Welshmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, to appeal in the Jewish press that all British University Jews should form with them a "British Zionist League". This would give the lie to our pretensions with a sublime vengeance. But later on, the "Jewish World" with all its anti-

Nationalist correspondents, having read the chapter titled "Revelations" in George Eliot's "Daniel Deronda", will agree with Spinoza that "there is no reason why the Jews should not again be a *chosen* nation"'.

But Joyce often thought of his own Irish people as having many points in common with the Jews as regards both their character and their destiny. In his monumental biography of Joyce, Richard Ellmann describes 'the similarity of the Jews and the Irish' as a favourite topic of Joyce's conversation.[105] They were alike, he declared, in being impulsive, given to fantasy, addicted to associative thinking, wanting in rational discipline; these are made qualities of Bloom's mind. When a young Jewish student from Harvard wrote to him to praise *Ulysses* but complain of its treatment of the Jews, Joyce, surprised and much upset at the resentment aroused in some of his Jewish friends at the portrayal of Bloom, replied that he was in complete sympathy with the Jews.[106] He further asserted that, in making the protagonist of *Ulysses* Jewish, he had put the Jew on the map of European literature, and in the spring of 1939 he told his friend, Frank Budgen, that he had already helped 16 Jews to escape from Nazi territory to Britain.[107] In the autumn of 1940, soon after the promulgation of antisemitic laws in German-occupied France, he once remarked to his friend, Maria Jolas,[108] one of his Paris circle, 'Antisemitism is one of the easiest prejudices to foment'. He showed deep sympathy for the Jews and often spoke of his own affinity for them as a wandering, persecuted people. Although Jews, according to Budgen,[109] irritated him at times and at others bored him, he greatly admired their close family ties. 'I sometimes think', he once said to his friend in Paris, 'that it was a heroic sacrifice on their part when they refused to accept the Christian revelation. Look at them. They are better husbands than we are, better fathers and better sons.'[110] And again he remarked, 'A Jew is both king and priest in his own family'.[111]

As Joyce divined when he made Bloom the hero of *Ulysses*, the Jew is the twentieth century symbol for Everyman. 'Bloom', as R. P. Blackmur[112] has excellently put it, 'is the wanderer, the movement and enterprise in Man, the thing immortal in society which persists from form to form. He is Everyman in exile, the exile in every man'. David Daiches,[113] in his article 'James Joyce's

Jew', remarks: 'his fellow Dubliners, though most of them respect his human kindness and dependability, see him as in some degree an outsider. His efforts to achieve real communication with his fellows are never wholly successful. Being an Irish Jew, he both belongs to Dublin and does not belong. He is both a Dubliner and an exile in Dublin. In exploring the paradox of Bloom's both belonging and being isolated Joyce is exploring a central paradox of the human condition as he sees it; *all* men are in a sense exiles . . . And at the same time all men belong to a community . . . Gregariousness and a sense of inner loneliness coexist in all men. In Joyce's symbolic sense all men are Jews.[114] In making his hero a Jew Joyce was emphasising the fact that the complete man always includes the exile'.[115] Robert M. Adams[116] believes that Bloom's Jewish character was a symbol into which Joyce tried to project, not only his own social reflections about modern Man, but some rather intimate and complex psychic responses of his own. Herbert Howarth[117] attributes the Jewish theme to Joyce's desire to elaborate on the Celtic commonplace of associating Ireland with Israel. In terms of Israel, the Irish thought of themselves as the Children of Israel, with England as the Egypt of the Pharaohs and the deliverance from English tyranny as their Exodus. As early as 1748, Dr. Charles Lucas[118] (1731–71), distinguished Irish patriot, who frequently contributed articles to the *Freeman's Journal*[119] over the signature of 'A Citizen' or 'Civis', declared that the imposition of laws made in a 'strange, a foreign Parliament,' without their consent or knowledge, placed the Protestant Irish under a more severe bondage than the Israelites suffered in Egypt. The Citizen in the *Cyclops* episode refers thus to the starving peasants that left Ireland for America during the potato famine of 1846: 'those that came to the land of the free remember the land of bondage'.[120] Professor MacHugh in the *Aeolus* episode[121] recites from memory John F. Taylor's moving speech on the Irish language delivered at a meeting of the University College Law Students' Debating Society on 24 October 1901, comparing young Ireland in revolt against British rule with young Moses in revolt against Egyptian; comparing also the lures of the two mighty civilisations, the British and Egyptian, rejected by proud young Ireland and by proud young Moses alike. Influenced, perhaps, by the researches of the French Homeric

scholar, Victor Bérard,[122] who argued for Semitic impacts on the Greek epic, Joyce 'with a characteristic leap of insight made of his Ulysses a Jew'—the words are George Steiner's[123]—and remarked to his friend, Frank Budgen[124]: 'There's a lot to be said for the theory that the Odyssey is a Semitic poem'. In his plan of *Ulysses* sent to Carlo Linati (1878–1949) as early as 1920, Joyce wrote:[125] 'It is an epic of two races (Israelite-Irish) and at the same time the cycle of the human body as well as a little story of a day (life).' He himself dubbed the novel the 'farced epistol to the hibruws'.[126]

In an early essay, Yeats drew a comparison between Ireland and Judaea at the time of the birth of Christ and also wrote that the Irish race, transformed by a national art, would become 'a chosen race, one of the pillars that uphold the world'. In his *History of Ireland*,[127] written originally in Irish, Geoffrey Keating (*c.*1570–*c.*1644) describes how the founder of the modern Irish race, Milesius, son of Breogan, traced his genealogy through 22 Gaelic names and 13 Hebrew names 'passing through Japhet and Adam'. The Irish were an Israelitish tribe who had wandered through Scythia (where their king, Fenius Farsaigh, had inaugurated a great language school) across Europe through Spain into Ireland.[128] The names of his brothers, who helped him to subdue the country, were recorded in Irish topography. This passage stimulated the ingenuity of Joyce, who, in the *Ithaca* episode,[129] jokingly introduced analogies between Jewish and cultural history which other Irish writers took seriously:[130]

> What points of contact existed between these languages and between the people who spoke them?
>
> The presence of guttural sounds, diacritic aspirations, epenthetic and servile letters in both languages: their antiquity, both having been taught on the plain of Shinar 242 years after the deluge in the seminary instituted by Fenius Farsaigh, descendant of Noah, progenitor of Israel, and ascendant of Heber and Heremon, progenitors of Ireland: their archeological, genealogical, hagiographical, exegetical, homilectic, toponomastic, historical and religious literature comprising the works of rabbis and culdees. Torah, Talmud (Mischna and Ghemara), Massor, Pentateuch, Book of the Dun Cow, Book of Ballymote, Garland of Howth,

Book of Kells: their dispersal, persecution, survival and revival: the isolation of their synagogical and ecclesiastical rites in ghetto S. Mary's Abbey)[131] and masshouse (Adam and Eve's tavern): the proscription of their national costumes in penal laws and Jewish dress acts:[132] the restoration in Chanan David of Zion and the possibility of Irish political autonomy or devolution.

Though it was in Trieste[133] and Zurich that Joyce mainly came in contact with Jews who helped him to write about the Jewish and Zionist themes in *Ulysses* and to round out the character of Bloom, his acquaintance with members of the Jewish faith and their problems may have begun much earlier in Ireland. As a boy, he may have heard his father, a Corkman, speak at the dinner table of the anti-Jewish outbursts in Cork in 1888 and 1894,[134] the latter of which occurred only three months after he had visited the city. He met, as we saw,[135] the Sinclair twin-brothers in 1903 to discuss the project of establishing a weekly newspaper in Dublin, and a year later he obtained financial help from one of them before his departure, or hegira, as he called it, from Ireland. He closely followed the divorce case of Morris Harris,[136] grandfather of the Sinclairs. He knew the family of Marcus Tertius Moses,[137] whose great-grandfather became a convert to Christianity in Dublin in 1785. The Moses family had a crest of a cock reguardant proper and its motto in Hebrew 'I crow till I die', stamped on the flap of their envelopes. Marcus Tertius Moses, famed for his charity, was a wholesale tea merchant and agent[138] at 14 Eustace Street, Dublin, but resided at Liskeard, Delgany, in County Wicklow, and must have been acquainted with Joyce's father when he lived in Bray. In the *Circe* episode, Bloom recalls a day in 1890, soon after his daughter Milly was weaned, when they 'all went together to Fairyhouse races, was it? . . . I mean Leopardstown,' and on the return journey 'coming along by Foxrock in that old fiveseater shanderadan of a waggonette . . . Molly was laughing because Rogers and Maggot O'Reilly were mimicking a cock as we passed a farmhouse and Marcus Tertius Moses, the tea merchant, drove past us in a gig with his daughter, Dancer Moses was her name, and the poodle in her lap bridled up . . .'[139] Joyce must also have known Philip Moisel,[140] who married the daughter of a Church of Ireland

minister, of Kingsland Parade, and whose father, Nisan Moisel,[141] of 20 Arbutus Place, informed Bloom of the ritual quality of the citrons. Joyce heard of Philip's death in South Africa in about 1903 and refers to him in the *Ithaca* episode as one of Bloom's former companions who lived in Heytesbury Street and died of pyemia. He also knew of the pregnancy of Philip's stepsister-in-law, who is made to go walking with Molly Bloom just before Milly is born. He may have met the one-eyed bibulous Moses Herzog[142] in one of Dublin's bars or have heard of him from the collector of bad debts, one of his many Dublin acquaintances, who appears in *Ulysses* as the nameless narrator in the *Cyclops* episode.

Joyce must have heard of the discussions which John Francis Byrne (1879–1960), his confidant and closest friend at University College and later a journalist in the United States,[143] had with a fellow-member in the Sackville Chess Club, small, dark, black-bearded Abraham Moses Zaks (1863–1932) of 25 St. Kevin's Parade, at whose home Byrne often dined.[144] Zaks, who was ordained a rabbi, eked out a livelihood by running a small junk-shop off Redmond's Hill. Widely read and self-educated in the classics and mathematics, he enjoyed nothing in life more than an argument. The Sackville Chess Club had been formed in the autumn of 1902 among former patrons of the Dublin Bread Company restaurant (D.B.C.), including Israel Citron, for whose drapery trade 'Bloom, the canvasser' solicited customers, the same Citron in *Ulysses* at whose home Molly and Leopold Bloom spent some 'pleasant evenings'. Joyce may have derived the details of Bloom's memories of the Jewish quarter in which he lived as a boy and as a young man from Byrne's descriptions of the evenings that he records spending with his Jewish friend, Zaks, and to which Citron may also have been invited. Joyce, in his solitary peregrinations through the city for seven or eight hours on end, must have enjoyed his game of finding equivalents in Dublin for his Homeric parallels and must have been happy to have come across the one-eyed Moses Herzog, neighbour of Zaks and Citron, whom he introduced into the *Cyclops* episode without mentioning that blemish, as he made his way round Dublin peddling his groceries. Together with Byrne or by himself, he must have visited the Jewish quarter[145] on the south side where Herzog and most of the other Jewish characters of

Ulysses lived. He may have heard of the series of public lectures on the aims and objects of the Zionist movement given in January 1900 in Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Belfast by Leopold Greenberg (1862–1931), close personal friend of Theodor Herzl and editor (1907–31) of the London *Jewish Chronicle*: it was reported in the the Anglo-Jewish[146] and possibly in the local Irish press. Byrne, one of the best chess players in Ireland at the time, is likely to have mentioned the meetings of the Dublin Young Men's Zionist Association—Zaks was its President—in which his chess colleagues, David Baker,[147] who played first board for the Clontarf Chess Club, and Philip (d. 1932), his brother, champion of Ireland in the Tailteann Chess Tournament of 1924 and All-Ireland champion in 1927–29, were active. It is safe to assume that, on Joyce's return to Dublin in 1909, Byrne told him of his lecture on 'The Life of Spinoza',[148] on 26 January 1908, to the Dublin Young Men's Zionist Association at 57 Lombard Street West, and of the reactions of the audience[149] when he read out the writ of excommunication. It is more than reasonable to suppose that Joyce read either the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Irish Truth*, or the *All-Ireland Review*, which reported in detail one of the rare outbursts of antisemitism in Ireland in 1904,[150] a boycott of Jewish merchants in Limerick that was followed by some violence, and which has been described as having some influence on *Ulysses*.[151] In making a Jew protagonist of his novel, Joyce was, as Valery Larbaud and Richard Ellmann believe, not acting as a propagandist for better treatment of minorities but, as Marvin Magalaner suggests, may rather have wished to establish a frame of reference against which the reader might place the attitude of Jew and non-Jew towards each other in the Ireland of that period. The Limerick affair and the ensuing discussion in the press may have given him the background of tension that he was seeking. Joyce could not have been unaware of the researches which his friend, John Wyse Power, was doing on the history of the Jews of Ireland. Joyce was back in Dublin in July 1909,[152] a few months after Power had spoken to the Jewish Literary and Social Club on the subject.[153] Power may have drawn his attention to an item in *Notes and Queries* of 11 May 1867, in which a correspondent, discussing the persecution of the Jews in Europe, remarks: 'It is said that in Ireland the Jew never was persecuted! Was it from a more

exalted view of civil and religious liberty, or because the Jew was an absentee from that country? I am inclined to think that the Jew was a non-resident in Ireland until late years'.[154] This may well be the source of the conversation between Stephen Dedalus and Garrett Deasy, with Deasy joking that Ireland had never persecuted the Jews only because she never let them in.[155] Another source might be the curt entry of 1079 in the Annals of Inisfallen, with which Joyce was familiar, regarding the cold reception of a small delegation of Jews pleading to secure the right of entry into Ireland for their coreligionists.[156]

When Joyce began writing *Ulysses* in Trieste in 1914, he was at a distance of some ten or fifteen years from Dublin, but what he saw or heard in 1912 or 1914 would do just as well. Among the Jewish intellectuals whom he met in Trieste there was Moses Dlugacz[157] (1884–1943); they had a common interest in literature and etymology, music and philosophy. The son[158] and grandson of Ukrainian rabbis and himself an ordained rabbi[159] in his fifteenth year, Dlugacz became Joyce's[160] pupil in English on his appointment in 1912 to the post of chief cashier in the local Cunard Line office. The English lessons continued till the outbreak of the First World War, when the English shipping office had to close down. During the war years Dlugacz traded as a provision merchant[161] with a small store in Via Torrebianca. Among other provisions he sold cigarettes, alcoholic drinks, sweetmeats, cheese, dried fruits, nuts, and pickled cabbage, and, in a small way, he was a wholesale[162] supplier of cheese and meat products to the Austrian army fighting on the Austro-Italian front along the Isonzo River. Dlugacz tried to win over to the Zionist[163] cause all Jews and Gentiles with whom he came in contact; no doubt he tried to make a convert of Joyce, who, discussing the Irish revival with Padraic Colum in 1903, remarked contemptuously 'I dislike all enthusiasms',[164] and who seems, in this instance, too, to have remained unsympathetic. Dlugacz organised and voluntarily directed courses in Hebrew[165] and Jewish history for the Triestine Jewish youth, and perhaps gave Hebrew lessons to Joyce, who is reported to have studied the language. When A. J. Leventhal[166] visited Joyce in Paris in 1921,[167] Joyce showed him some of the Hebrew words in *Ulysses*, but refused to credit Leventhal's suggestion that there was some con-

fusion between the Spanish and German transliterations—an error that persists in the published text. Before the departure of his visitor, Joyce sat down at the piano and played and sang the Hebrew song, 'Hatikvah', the Zionist national anthem, the first distich of which Leopold Bloom chanted to Stephen Dedalus in the *Ithaca* episode.[168] A member of the Board of the 'Ufficio Palestinese', the local representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which was established in 1918 to organise the departure of Jews to Palestine, Dlugacz advocated the foundation of a shipping company for their transportation, and attended the XII Zionist Congress in Carlsbad in 1921.[169] This is the factual background for the translation of Moses Dlugacz to Dublin in 1904 as the ferret-eyed proprietor of a pork-butcher's shop in Upper Dorset Street with Zionist propaganda on his counter, one of the few 'adopted' Dubliners in *Ulysses* and the only shopkeeper mentioned in the novel who is not listed in *Thom's Directory* for 1905. This also explains the description 'Enthusiast'[170] applied to Dlugacz by Bloom when leaving the butcher's shop.

All the figures in the *Cyclops* episode are antisemitic, with the partial exception of John Wyse, or John Wyse Nolan, in real life John Wyse Power (d. 1926). On 13 February 1909, he lectured on 'The Jews of Ireland in the Middle Ages'[171] to the Jewish Literary and Social Club at 57 Lombard Street West, under the chairmanship of Maurice Solomons, J. P.,[172] father of Edwin, Bethel, and Estelle, and Honorary Consul for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, whose name appears in *Ulysses;*[173] the vote of thanks was proposed by the Rev. Abraham Gudansky,[174] father of District Justice Herman Good, seconded by Joseph Edelstein,[175] and supported by Bernard Fox (later Judge Bernard Fox, C.B.E., Recorder of Belfast). It was John Wyse Nolan who, in Barney Kiernan's bar, mentions that Bloom advised the leaders of the Sinn Fein nationalists on conspiratorial strategy, a statement later confirmed by Martin Cunningham.[176] As Bloom is leaving the bar with Martin Cunningham, Power, and Crofton, to visit Paddy Dignam's widow, the Citizen follows them outside and shouts antisemitic insults. Bloom responds by naming great Jews of history and reminding him that Christ was a Jew: 'Mendelssohn was a jew and Karl Marx and Mercadante and Spinoza. And the Saviour was a jew and his father was a jew . . . Your God was a jew. Christ was a jew like me'.[177]

Bloom's bold rejoinder to the fanatical nationalist recalls the words of Timothy M. Healy, K.C.,[178] M.P., first Governor-General of the Irish Free State, in praise of the Jewish people, when speaking in the case of William O'Brien *v.* Devlin and others. On that occasion, he reminded his Police Court audience that the Saviour was a Jew and the Virgin a Jewess.[179]

In the *Cyclops* episode Joyce, to whom the one-eyed-two-eyed dichotomy was very important, introduces an authentic one-eyed Dublin Jew,[180] Moses Herzog. Herzog, popularly known in Yiddish, or judisch,[181] Joyce's way of writing it, as 'Moshe with the left eye', was a compulsive drinker, like the bibulous narrator of the *Cyclops* episode himself, and was notorious for slipping out of St. Kevin's Parade synagogue for a drink during the protracted services of the High Festivals.[182] Near the opening of the episode, the garrulous narrator encounters Joe Hynes and, just before they decide to enter Barney Kiernan's, he explains that he is working as a collector of bad debts and is trying to get a payment of three shillings a week from foxy Michael E. Geraghty,[183] 'an old plumber', of 29 Arbour Hill, who was charged by the law and ordered to pay the weekly instalment for a large order of sugar and tea provided by Moses Herzog who lives 'over there near Heytesbury Street'. The narrator tells how Geraghty has rebuffed him, saying that, if Herzog pursues him for the money, he will summon the Jewish pedlar for trading without a licence, and then the narrator mocks at Herzog complaining in broken English of not being paid for his groceries: 'I had to laugh at the little jewy getting his shirt out. "He drink me my teas. He eat me my sugars. Because he no pay me my moneys?"' The narrator's mockery recalls a popular verse of the period which is of interest as throwing light on the occupation of the Lithuanian immigrant Jews at the turn of the century:–

'Two shillies, two shillies, the Jewman did cry,
For a fine pair of blankets from me you did buy;
Do you think me von idjit or von bloomin' fool,
If I don't get my shillie I must have my vool'.

This verse[184] was adapted as a battle-cry by the young non-Jews of the lower end of Lombard Street West, in their gang warfare against their young Jewish neighbours of Oakfield Place and the upper end of Lombard Street. But the Jewish boys were not daunted

by invective and stones and responded spontaneously, if somewhat priggishly, with the following parody:

'Two pennies, two pennies, the Christian did shout,
For a bottle of porter or Guinness's stout;
My wife's got no shawl and my kids have no shoes,
But I must have my money, I must have my booze'.

Herzog, the Jewish pedlar is clearly fated never to collect his debt, just as Joe Hynes is unlikely to repay the three shillings which he borrowed from Leopold Bloom in the episode of the *Lestrygonians*. The Herzog-Geraghty interpolation serves as a light-hearted correspondence to the more serious Homeric parallelism with Herzog[185] as Polyphemus and Geraghty as Ulysses, wriggling out by cunning from the 'cave' of his Herzogean Cyclops and the hands of the law. Harold Fisch[186] believes that Herzog has clearly been conflated in this incident with 'ben Bloom Elijah', the mock-epic hero of the *Cyclops* episode and of the novel. Both, he says, are victims of xenophobia; both are 'robbed and plundered': the words are used by Bloom in the bar, but they apply to the position of Herzog. David S. Galloway[187] puts it thus: '. . . Bloom's thematic relationship to Moses Herzog is strongly reinforced: both are aliens, Jewish exiles in Irish Dublin and both are owed "debts" by society which it is unlikely they will ever collect'.

In 1915, when his friend, Ottocaro Weiss, commented on the possibility of a Jewish State, Joyce remarked:[188] 'That's all very well, but believe me, a warship with a captain called Kanalgitter and his aide named Captain Afterduft would be the funniest thing the old Mediterranean has ever seen'. His attitude to Zionism is seen in the 'Zion-Palestine' motif,[189] which is among the most persistent of symbols in *Ulysses*. It appears for the first time when Bloom goes out in the morning to Dlugacz's butcher shop to buy a pork kidney for breakfast and finds on his counter pieces of wrapping-up newspaper, perhaps a little too obviously placed there by Joyce.[190] One of these pages, adorned with an advertisement photograph of an early Zionist farm[191] which Bloom paints in words, presented a prospectus for building new settlements in Palestine:

'He took up a large page from a pile of cut sheets. The model farm[192] at Kinnereth on the lakeshore of Tiberias. Can become

ideal sanatorium.[193] Moses Montefiore. I thought he was. Farmhouse, wall around it, blurred cattle cropping, He held the page from him: interesting: read it nearer, the blurred cropping cattle, the page rustling . . . '

Walking back home, he looks again at the wrapping and considers another advertisement of a plantation company for recultivating Palestine, making a mental note of its main points. Under the strong monentary impression of the prospectus.[a] Bloom apparently summarises rapidly from a German original, retaining some of the German phraseology in his English version:

'Agendath Netaim:[194] planter's company.[195] To purchase vast sandy tracts from Turkish government and plant with eucalyptus trees. Excellent for shade, fuel and construction. Orangegroves and immense melonfields north of Jaffa. You pay eight marks and they plant a dunam for you with olives, oranges, almonds or citrons. Olives cheaper: oranges need artificial irrigation. Every year you get a sending[196] of the crop. Your name entered for life as owner in the bank of the union. Can pay ten down and the balance in yearly instalments. Bleibtreustrasse, 34, Berlin, W.15.[197]

Nothing doing. Still an idea behind it'.[198]

Leopold Bloom muses about various things—cattle, olives, citrons that he and his wife Molly used to enjoy. 'Citron' recalls other Jewish exiles like himself, poor Citron[199] of St. Kevin's Parade, and Moisel[200] of Arbutus Place and cither-playing Mastiansky:[201]

[a] A hint of the prospectus is found in the contract signed in 1913 between 'Agudàth Netayim' (a variant transliteration) of Palestine, represented by Arnold Kretchmar-Israeli, and the South African Zionist Federation for the establishment of a farm on about 600 dunams near Hadera, which would be planted with almonds and olives. The cost of the farm was to be about £4,500 and the contract stipulated that it be paid off in six instalments of £750 each. The farm was to be divided into 150 portions, the value of each to be £30, and the societies were asked to pay for their portions in instalments of £5 a year. At the end of the six years, the Federation informed its societies, 'the Company will hand over to us a farm ready planted, which will have a revenue, and which will be entirely our own property'. See Marcia Gitlin, *The Vision Amazing: The Story of South African Zionism* (Johannesburg, 1950), pp. 158–9.

'Oranges[202] in tissue paper packed in crates. Citrons too. Wonder is poor Citron still alive in Saint Kevin's parade. And Mastiansky with the old cither. Pleasant evenings we had then. Molly in Citron's basketchair. Nice to hold, cool waxen fruit, hold in the hand, lift it to the nostrils and smell the perfume. Like that, heavy, sweet, wild perfume. Always the same, year after year. They fetched high prices too Moisel told me. Arbutus place: Pleasant street: pleasant old times. Must be without a flaw, he said. Coming all that way:[203] Spain, Gibraltar, Mediterranean, the Levant. Crates lined up on the quayside at Jaffa, chap ticking them off in a book, navvies handling them in soiled dungarees . . . '

A cloud slowly covers the sun and, in a grey horror which sears his flesh, Bloom's mind turns to a sudden vision of modern Palestine and the Dead Sea and he thinks of the sufferings of the Jewish people, their dispersal after the conquest of Judaea and their ceaseless wanderings:

'A barren land,[204] bare waste. Volcanic lake, the dead sea: . . . Brimstone they called it raining down: the cities of the plain: Sodom, Gomorrah, Edom. All dead names. A dead sea in a dead land, grey and old. Old now. It bore the oldest, the finest race . . . The oldest people. Wandered far away over all the earth, captivity to captivity. It lay there now. Now it could bear no more. Dead: . . . Desolation'.

The surname Mastiansky is, as we have seen, a misprint for Masliansky, and Masliansky, a personal acquaintance of Bloom in earlier days but seemingly cut off from him by apostasy, could be identical with Philip Masliansky, who in 1896 lived at 2 Martin Street, in 1899–1900 at 63 Lombard Street West[205] and from 1901–1906 at 16 St. Kevin's Parade. On 8 October 1896, as Phinchas (*sic*) Maslianski, he married Florra Leanse (or Lyons) at the Adelaide Road synagogue.[206] *Thom's Directories* record him as Phinis (*sic*) Mosliansky in 1899 and 1900, as P. Masliansky in 1901 and as P. Mastiansky in 1902–1906. Although qualified as a shochet (ritual slaughterer), he earned his livelihood by peddling drapery. A handsome man with a small pointed beard and endowed with a fine singing voice, Philip, aged about 30 in 1904, was the son of Moses Masliansky, a native of Slutzk in the province of Minsk, Hebrew teacher, beadle of the

Chevrah Tehillim synagogue in Lombard Street West, and a committee member of the Dublin Reading and Debating Association in 1898.[207] His half-sister, Doreen, while still in her teens, helped her father by teaching the Yiddish language and songs to the young Dublin Jewish girls of the time. His stepmother had a lyrical soprano voice and entertained her family and her neighbours by singing popular Jewish melodies from Abraham Goldfaden's[208] operettas *Bar Cochba*, *Die Zauberin* (*The Witch*), and *Shulamith* or *Daughter of Zion*, which were very popular in Dublin in the first decade of the century.[209] This might have inspired Bloom's 'pleasant evenings' at the home of Citron,[210] with Mastiansky playing the cither. Joyce may well have heard of the musical Masliansky family from his friend John F. Byrne, who spent many an evening, as noted[211], dining with Abraham Moses Zaks at 13 St. Kevin's Parade. Zaks could well have invited members of the neighbouring Masliansky family to entertain, with exotic and sentimental folksongs, his Gentile guest, who writes[212] of himself that, at the close of the nineteenth century, he was even fonder of music than his music-loving friend, James Joyce. About 1906, Moses, Isaac and Philip Masliansky, with their families, left for New York to join their cousin, Zevi Hirsch Masliansky[213] (1856–1943), Zionist leader and great Yiddish folk-orator, and their descendants are now (1971) living in Seattle.[214]

Moisel of Arbutus Place is identical with the ninety-year-old Nisan Moisel[215] (1814–1909), with whose two sons and their families Bloom was acquainted and from whom he obtained the information about the ritual quality and price of citrons. Trading as a greengrocer and poultry dealer, Moisel lived first in Kingsland Park Avenue and later at 20 Arbutus Place, a cul-de-sac off Lombard Street West, not far from No. 38, where Bloom lived in 1893.[216] By his first wife, Sarah Rivah Newman, sister of the Rev. Louis Newman,[217] of No. 39, who died on 14 July 1904,[218] he was the father of Elyah Wolf Moisel[219] (1856–1904), whose wife, Basseh (née Hodess), gave birth to a daughter, Rebecca Ita, on 28 June 1889, thirteen days after Molly Bloom's daughter, Milly, was born: 'Funny sight two of them together, their bellies out. Molly and Mrs. Moisel. Mothers' meeting,'[220] Bloom reflects in the episode of the *Lestrygonians*. By his second wife, Haya, Nisan was the father of Philip Moisel, popularly

known as Orkeh, who, about 1892, married the daughter of a Church of Ireland minister, of Kingsland Parade, and resided in Heytesbury Street. Towards the close of the century, he emigrated to South Africa and died there about 1903. Shortly afterwards, his widow moved back to her parents' home. One of her sons, a tall, broad-shouldered man, who spoke with a marked brogue, was an authority on classical music and became the proprietor of 'The Gramophone Stores', at 6 Johnston's Court, off Grafton Street, whose owner was listed in *Thom's Directory* for 1960 as C. Moiselle.

Throughout the long day, Bloom, though nominally a Catholic, still has the exilic yearnings of a Jew for his ancient homeland. He thinks of the sun traversing the sky from morning to evening: 'Fading gold sky. A mother watches from her doorway. She calls her children home in their dark language',[221] reminding us of Rachel mourning for her children. In one of his many moments of introspection and retrospection, he reveals his memories in the section headed 'AND IT WAS THE FEAST OF PASSOVER' in the *Aeolus* chapter, when he goes to the newspaper office to see about an advertisement, looks at the typesetter 'neatly distributing type', and thinks: 'Reads it backwards first. Quickly he does it. Must require some practice that . . . Poor papa with the hagada book, reading backwards with his finger to me. Pessach. Next year in Jerusalem. Dear, O dear! All that long business about that brought us out of the land of Egypt and into[222] the house of bondage [the 'into' here is unconscious and Joyce's irony; Bloom is out of Egypt, the land of bondage, but has found new bondage in his 'freedom'] alleluia. Shema Israel Adonai Elohenu. No, that's the other. Then the twelve brothers, Jacob's sons. And then the lamb and the cat and the dog and the stick and the water and the butcher and then the angel of death kills the butcher and he kills the ox and the dog kills the cat. Sounds a bit silly till you come to look into it well. Justice it means but it's everybody eating everybody else. That's what life is after all'.[223]

But Bloom is the reluctant exile who accepts life as it is in Dublin in 1904; the message from the plantations of 'Agendath Netaim' and the model farm on the lake-shore of Kinnereth delivered to Bloom, the Irish Jew in exile, through the agency of Dlugacz, the Zionist butcher, is consigned that night to the flames by Bloom,[224] the

prospective Irish country gentleman. His is Homer's creed, the politician's 'art of the possible';[225] in Dublin and Cork, there were not a few Jews who, like Bloom, dreamt of the Orient but, unlike him, thought there was 'something doing' in Palestine and made plans to settle there.

CHAPTER XXIII

ZIONIST AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF DUBLIN JEWS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The mass emigration of Jews from Russia in the 1880s led to the establishment of branches, or 'tents', as they were called, of the Chovevei Zion[1] (Lovers of Zion) all over the British Isles, including Dublin, Belfast, Londonderry, Cork, and Limerick, 'so that the seed of Israel shall be gathered from the four corners of Earth and planted once more in the Land of our Fathers, to build up Israel a nation once more', as a Dublin resolution of 1893 puts it. The Dublin branch was founded in 1890, mainly through the initiative of Joseph Solomon Rubinstein[2] and Israel Coplin[3] (d. 1917), of the newcomers. One of the strongest and most active in the British Isles, it counted 175 members in 1892. Its officers in that year were: Commander, Dr. Ernest Wormser Harris;[4] Vice-Commander, L. Albon; Treasurer, Abraham Pushinsky;[5] Delegates to London headquarters, the Rev. Israel Leventon,[6] the Rev. Abraham L. Abramovitz[7] and Joseph Solomon Rubinstein; Auditors, Jacob Greenberg and Isaac Noyk;[8] Councillors, Simon Cornick,[9] David Cristol,[10] Elias Weinstock, Leon Spiro[11] (1856–1936), L. Benjamin, G. Lewis and William Nurock,[12] who became Commander in 1894.

Long before 1890, Dublin Jewry had evinced interest in the Holy Land. Congregational records[13] show subscription lists for Palestine during the period 1848 to 1874, due, no doubt, to the appeals of Sir Moses Montefiore, who had made Jewish resettlement of Palestine his life's aim. In 1874,[14] the sum of £95, no mean figure for a tiny community, was raised for the Holy Land Relief Fund, even before any money had been collected in London. In 1872[15] Isaac Ashe, a non-Jewish graduate of Trinity College, wrote to the *Jewish Chronicle* advocating the establishment of a World Zionist Organisation. Quoting a correspondent who had stated that there was no semblance

or shadow of material union among the Jews, representatives of a dead nation that would sooner or later have its resurrection, he wrote: 'With all the links that might bind them thus in one organization and vitalize their action—a common origin, a common history, a common faith—there is no common aim, no common action, no co-operation, no organization by means of which any such co-operation might be attained. And the establishment of such organization is obviously from a common-sense point of view the first step towards national resurrection'.

In 1893, several members of the Dublin Chovevei Zion, headed by Joseph Solomon Rubinstein, Abraham Pushinsky, and Israel Coplin, feeling that the London headquarters were proceeding too cautiously in the purchase of land for settlement in Palestine, decided to form a separate organisation within the parent body, called 'The Brotherhood of Israel Association',[16] for the purpose of buying land in Palestine. Ten thousand dunams of land, in Gaulan, Trans-Jordan, were bought from the Palestinian Committee in Paris. The Dublin contingent was to comprise 40 families, each member to pay an initial sum of £5 and a weekly subscription of 10s. until the full purchase price was paid up. At the inaugural meeting of prospective members, 12 registered and paid their initial subscriptions.

In the spring of 1895, Joseph Solomon Rubinstein visited Palestine on a tour of inspection and sent home a glowing account of prospects of settlement:[17] 'On my arrival in Palestine, I visited all the colonies established by Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris which are so ably and successfully managed with the energy and good management of the Baron's Administrators, Mr. Scheid and Mr. Shewetzkie [= Osowiecki] and others. With their constant care and energy they have transformed a miserable desert (as the neighbouring uncultivated surroundings testify) into a living Paradise, in which state all the colonies at present are, a rarity even in our well-cultivated Europe. All the plantations, vineyards and gardens seem to be *one flower garden in full bloom* [my italics L.H.]. The colonists are enjoying their labour and pleased and satisfied with their lots. Almost in all Judea and Galatea [*sic*] is the land only suitable for plantations and orchards, but none a little [*sic*], for the plough or vegetation. I then visited our own land in Schacham Djulan [=Sahem el-Gaulan]

over the Jordan. I found, to my joy, the land well cultivated and fruitful. I strolled through the wheat that grows there in abundance to the height of a man, the ears were large and beautiful and well filled. I plucked a few and all who saw them declared they never saw the like in Europe. And after all my searches and inquiries I found that this land is suitable for plantation as well as vegetation.'

In the autumn of 1895 and the spring of 1896, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Russian and American Jews settled in Sahem el-Gaulan, but the Dublin Jews postponed their settlement for a year or two. Abraham Pushinsky[18] and Joseph Solomon Rubinstein[19] had actually liquidated their Dublin businesses and were preparing to leave for Palestine with their families in 1898 when news arrived that the settlers had been forcibly removed by Kazim Pasha, the Wali [Governor] in Damascus, as a result of the opposition of the local fellahin.[20] Thus the participation of Irish Jews in the settlement of Trans-Jordan did not materialise. In 1893,[21] forty to fifty families in Cork had desired to purchase land in Palestine, but again nothing tangible resulted.

In 1890, the Dublin community had broken up into four congregations, a not uncommon form of schismatics in Jewish—or, indeed, any dynamic—communal history. Inter-congregational relations were strained, recrimination was mutual, repeated efforts to reabsorb the *hebroth* into a united body and synagogue had been disappointed. Not even Dr. Hermann Adler,[22] Delegate Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, during a pastoral visit to Ireland in 1888, could reconcile the differences. Two circumstances, however, necessitated the building of a new synagogue: the worsening of conditions in the neighbourhood of Mary's Abbey and its distance, now, from the Jewish homes of Dublin. The synagogue Council accordingly acquired a more accessible site in Adelaide Road on the south side of the city; by this time, there were 12 families of the original congregation and about a thousand souls in the complement of the new settlers, mostly residing along the South Circular Road. The building committee was formed of Marinus de Groot, then President of the parent congrgation, Adolphe Davies, Vice-President, Maurice E. Solomons, J. P., Morris Harris, J. P., John D. Rosenthal, LL. D., Honorary Secretary, and Mrs. Rosa Solomons, co-Honorary Secretary. It speaks well for the foresight and com-

munal dedication of a dwindling membership that, as far back as 1871, during a pastoral visit of the then Chief Rabbi, Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler, the men of Mary's Abbey had discussed plans for a new building, and £500 had been bequeathed by Lewis Harris (d. 1876) to be the nucleus of a building fund.[23] As most of the newcomers were still penurious, appeals for contributions were sent on 25 March and 4 July 1890 to the Jews of Britain; Messrs. Rothschild and Sons gave £250, former Dubliners and well-wishers joined in, and, with the bounty from Jews and Gentiles of Dublin itself, £2,000 was raised. The needful balance of £3,000 was borrowed on mortgage.

The concluding service in Mary's Abbey was held on 3 December 1892, and a valedictory sermon preached by Dr. Hermann Adler. On the following day, he consecrated the new synagogue. The first place to be built for the express purpose of Jewish worship was in the Eastern Romanesque style of architecture; the designs had been prepared by Mr. J. J. O'Callaghan, F.R.I.A.I., with seating for 300 in the body and half that number in the galleries. The ceremony of consecration began with a procession led by Dr. Adler, now Chief Rabbi in succession to his father, followed by the Rev. Israel Leventon, Minister of the congregation, the Ministers of Cork and Liverpool, the five members of the building committee, and Robert Bradlaw. The procession made seven circuits of the synagogue, the Scrolls of the Law borne by the participants were placed in the Holy Ark, and the afternoon service was held. In his sermon the Chief Rabbi said: 'You have come here, my foreign brethren, from a country like unto Egypt of old to a land which offers you hospitable shelter. It is said that Ireland is the only country in the world which cannot be charged with persecuting the Jews. "Alas, poor Erin!" an eloquent writer says, "thou art thyself an eternal badge of sufferance, the blood of my people rests not on thy head. Is it not then true that reptiles breathe not in thy Emerald Isle?"'[24]

In an annexe were schoolrooms that could take about two hundred children: their construction was due in no small measure to the untiring efforts of Maurice and Rosa Solomons.

Maurice, eldest son of Elias and Sophia Solomons, was born in London in 1832.[25] After graduating from London University, he followed his father's calling as an optician in Dublin; he was a maker

of mathematical instruments, a patentee of a type of spectacles, and optician to the British Royal Family. Prominent in Irish Freemasonry, he was ex-Registrar of the Grand Chapter of Wisconsin at the supreme Masonic body of Ireland, besides being a Justice of the Peace and Honorary Consul for the Austro-Hungarian Empire[26]. With all this, he applied himself heart and soul to the advancing of Jewish education in Dublin and for 28 years was Honorary Manager of the Jewish secular schools, of which he was founder. He was affectionately styled 'Father of the Congregation', an outstanding example of the Orthodox Jew and notable citizen in one. He died on 18 June 1922,[27] and was buried in Dolphin's Barn.

His wife, Rosa,[28] third daughter of Bethel Jacobs, of Hull, was hardly less energetic and interested. She inspired the establishment of the Sabbath school at Mary's Abbey in 1882 and the foundation of the Adelaide Jewish Girls' Club and the Dorcas Society.[29] She published a great deal of verse and was a talented pianist and linguist. She died in 1926, aged 83, and is buried beside her husband.

One son, Edwin Maurice (1879–1964), stockbroker, was closely identified with the Adelaide Road synagogue and held its highest offices for over fifty years. His many services to Jewry are commemorated in a grove of trees planted on his eightieth birthday in a forest in Israel. Bethel[30] (1885–1965) was a gynaecologist of distinction, Master of the Rotunda, and a past President of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, and had played Rugby for Ireland. One daughter, Estella Frances[31] (1882–1968), a leading artist, married the Irish poet, James S. Starkey[32] (1879–1958), a friend of James Joyce and one of the literary figures mentioned in *Ulysses*, who wrote under the pseudonym of 'Seumas O'Sullivan'. She enlisted in the Cumann na mBan, the women's branch of the Irish Volunteers, and painted portraits of many of the patriots concerned with the Irish revolutionary movement; these are reproduced in a book entitled *Portraits of Patriots*, with a biographical sketch of the artist by Hilary Pyle and published in Dublin in 1966.

The schoolrooms at Adelaide Road were a pattern in specialised educational instruction for the Jewish youth of Dublin. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the community appears to have had neither Hebrew school nor religion classes. Private coaching, individually or in small groups, was given by the Ministers, Isaac

Davidson[33] and his son-in-law, Julius Sandheim.[34] It was only in 1853 that the idea of starting religion classes was seriously considered, when the Rev. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy,[35] of Manchester, on a second visit, addressed the congregation on the subject. Within a year, the Rev. Jacob D. Davis,[36] of Portsmouth, had been selected as 'lecturer and teacher', and filled the post until his death in 1861. From 1863 to 1881, religious and Hebrew education was in the excellent hands of the Rev. Philipp Bender.[37] A year after he left Dublin, a Sabbath school was opened by Rosa and Maurice Solomons, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Leventon and a number of volunteers. The classes were begun by Maurice reading a chapter of the Bible in English, and the children then proceeded to their classes for religious instruction and to be taught Jewish history. The school was closed in 1885, when more formal classes were inaugurated by the Rev. F. L. Cohen, newly elected Minister of the congregation, on the model of those conducted under the auspices of the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge in London. The Rev. Mr. Cohen stayed for only a year, however, and in 1886 the Sabbath school was revived under its familiar dispensation.

With a Jewish population, in 1890, of about a thousand, only forty children attended. Recent arrivals were not satisfied with the school, and had their children taught at the *hedarim*, the private religion classes of the *hebroth*—with Yiddish the usual medium. One early Hebrew teacher of that kind, Israel Coplin, a Lithuanian Jew, like so many of the newcomers kept a *heder* in his home in Warren Street from 1887 until his death in 1917; in 1901–2, he gave lessons in Hebrew and religion to Jewish pupils of the central model schools in Marlborough Street. Another, who taught girls, was B. Cohen, also from Lithuania: a pupil of his, Hannah Berman,[38] translated some of Shalom Aleichem into English and wrote novels, whose characters were drawn, in the main, from her contemporaries in Dublin. Other Hebrew teachers of the period were Moses Masliansky[39] and Simon Brodie, who conducted private classes at 12 St. Kevin's Parade.

The Talmud Torah, founded in 1893 to provide free tuition for poor children, afterwards named the Hebrew Free School to qualify for a grant from the Samuel Lewis bequest,[40] had among its first

teachers the Rev. Mr. Abramovitz,[41] the Rev. Alexander Rabinovitz (Robinson), and Mathias Shreider. The second of these ministered at various times to the Oakfield Place, Camden Street and St. Kevin's Parade synagogues; in 1903, he left for Cape Town, to become, in due course, assistant to the Rev. Mr. Bender[42] at the Great Synagogue.[43] Hyman (1875–1954), the son of Mathias Shreider, was headmaster of the Talmud Torah for many years.

When the Adelaide Road national schools (formerly known as the Dublin Hebrew congregational schools) opened on 10 November 1893, imparting secular as well as religious instruction under the supervision of the Irish Board of Education, attendances quickly began to rise:

Year	1893	1894	1896	1899
Pupil Roll	92	110	150	200

The first headmaster was Solomon P. van Raalte; in 1894, he was succeeded by Michael A. Hartnett, incumbent until his death in 1915.

Services during the High Festivals in 1893 and 1894 were conducted by van Raalte; in 1888 the Rev. Michael Adler, D.S.O., as he became, was the officiant. It was not easy to find a new Minister congenial to all elements of the community, but at long last, in December 1894,[44] the Rev. Louis Mendelsohn was chosen, the first English-born rabbi to become a Dayan (judge) of the London ecclesiastical court; he had previously been headmaster of the West and East Melbourne Hebrew schools in Australia and minister in Newcastle upon Tyne and Bristol. In Dublin, he gave lessons in Talmud for newcomers and revived the reading and lecture rooms which they had started in Curzon Street to help themselves to improve their education and, in particular, to learn English. His speech at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 1897 won high commendation in the *Irish Times*. An invitation to him to lecture to the Philosophical Society of Trinity College on 'The Romantic Movement in English Literature' provided the first occasion for a non-member of the College, and a Jew, so to appear, He died in London in 1948.

The Rev. Mr. Leventon died in Dublin in 1899. He had come from Swansea to be shochet, Reader, and secretary to the congregation, and for a broken period of thirteen years (1881–5 and 1887–94)

was the sole officiant, serving also, for good measure, as mohel, registrar of births, deaths and marriages, and hospital visitor. He presented Adelaide Road with a beautiful Scroll of the Law, inscribed entirely by his own hand—a labour of love for ten years—on parchment of his own making: seemingly, he had set himself the duty of redressing, in part, the grievance that the Scrolls of the Law of Mary's Abbey were spoilt.[45] His son, Julius,[46] was keenly interested in the Dublin company of the Jewish Lads' Brigade as Paymaster and second-in-command. His son-in-law, David Cohen, was a member of the congregation from 1880 until he died in 1941, devoting his communal life to religious and Hebrew education. Hoseas Weiner (d. 1948), who came from Riga in 1883, was the first of the newcomers to enter the Warden's Box in Adelaide Road, as Vice-President and Treasurer, in 1910 and 1911; he had much to do with the provision of ritual baths in the synagogue grounds, and for many years was guardian and honorary overseer of the cemetery at Ballybough. Joseph Ezekiel Levitt, another son-in-law of Israel Leventon, and long resident in Dublin, left £7,500 to Trinity College and £1,000 each to the Coombe Lying-in Hospital and the Jewish Board of Guardians.

The Rev. Mr. Mendelsohn was succeeded by the Rev. S. Alfred Adler, only son of the then Chief Rabbi, who ministered at the High Festivals in 1900, assisted by Rabbi Elkan Eliezer Gavron (1866–1941), Hebrew instructor at the synagogue schools and afterwards rabbi of the Chevrah Tehillim synagogue in Lombard Street. When the Rev. Mr. Adler resigned owing to ill-health, the Rev. Abraham Gudansky[47] (1873–1945) was appointed to the first Readership and subsequently advanced to be preacher and Minister. He was born in Lithuania and educated in Vilna and Berlin; for 38 years he was the Minister of the principal synagogue of Dublin and he well deserved the title 'Emeritus' on his retirement.

While the Dublin Jews were in the main preoccupied with making a livelihood and with communal affairs, a few of the younger members of the community took an active part in the political life of the country. The formation of the Judæo-Irish Home Rule Association[48] at a public meeting held in the Dublin Mansion House on 10 September 1908 was one of the rare examples of a minority group of Dublin Jews entering a controversy on political issues. The

support of the Association for the policy of Home Rule in Ireland was pledged in a resolution proposed by Joseph Edelstein, Honorary Secretary, and supported by Stephen Gwynn, M.P., William Field,[49] M.P., whose name is mentioned twice in *Ulysses*,[50] and Timothy C. Harrington,[51] M.P., Lord Mayor of Dublin 1901–3 and a friend of Joyce's father. Messages of sympathy with the aims of the Association were received from the Irish political leaders, John Redmond and John Dillon. The Mansion House meeting was chaired by one of the Association's founders, Jacob Elyan (1878–1937), a close friend of John Wyse Power and of his son, Charles, later Mr. Justice Wyse Power, and of the *Evening Telegraph* reporter, Piaras Béaslai,[52] himself a friend of James Joyce. Jacob Elyan, father of Sir Victor Elyan, lately Chief Justice of Swaziland, and youngest son of the Rev. Meyer Elyan,[53] Minister of the Cork congregation in the 1880s, came to live in Dublin in his early 'teens. A gifted orator and a man of arresting personality, with a striking resemblance to Eamon de Valera,[54] the Irish Republican leader, he soon began to take an interest in Jewish communal affairs and national politics. He became President of the Dublin Jewish Literary and Social Club, a member of the Council of the Adelaide Road synagogue and its Honorary Secretary for many years. Vice-President of the St. Patrick's Division of the United Irish League, Treasurer of the Dublin County Liberal Association, and one of the first four Peace Commissioners appointed by the Irish Free State Government for the City of Dublin. His character and abilities attracted the attention of John Redmond, leader of the United Irish League, whose members were the political successors of Parnell, striving only for Home Rule, and whose leaders sat as members of the British Parliament. Redmond saw the potentialities of having Elyan as a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons, where the presence of a Jew along with Protestants like Stephen Gwynn would disarm the Unionists' cry of 'Home Rule is Rome Rule'. Elyan, however, was dogged by ill-health all his life and could not accept Redmond's proposal, and later is said to have declined a seat in the Senate[55] on the establishment of the Irish Free State. Unable to take an active part in politics, he continued working behind the scenes as arbitrator[56] in labour disputes and mediator[57] in patching up differences between the rival Nationalist

leaders. Thus he became the friend and confidant of James Larkin, the Irish labour leader, and of Arthur Griffith and Tim Healy, Irish political leaders. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of Jacob Elyan was the fact that he was an example of the highly assimilative qualities of Ireland, where, in a single generation, a Jew could become totally involved in Irish political life.[58] He rendered great service to the cause of Irish Freemasonry, being initiated in 1922.[59] He rose to high office in the craft and became a Life Governor in all three Irish Masonic charities. So great was the gift of his eloquence that, whenever he was present at a Masonic social function, he was invariably entrusted with the toast of 'Our Masonic Charities', and his advocacy for poor and distressed brethren or for their widows and orphans always brought magnificent results.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE JEWS OF BELFAST (1840–1900)

The presence of Jews in Belfast in the seventeenth[1] and eighteenth[2] centuries has been noted. The city had a 'Jew butcher' in 1771,[3] which could imply an organised Jewish group. A few 'anonymous' Jews were resident in 1805,[4] but only in the middle of the nineteenth century did identifiable German Jews arrive and establish a congregation.

In October 1845, the Rev. Dr. Morris Jacob Raphall (1793–1868), while Minister in Birmingham (1841–9), visited Belfast to lecture on the Hebrew Scriptures and Hebrew poetry at the Assembly Rooms in Commercial Buildings;[5] he was considered the unofficial spokesman of British Jewry and the leading exponent of Judaism to the Christian world. George Benn,[6] in the second volume of his history of Belfast, published in 1880, refers (with wrong dating) to this visit in a chapter on liberal and illiberal views from 1790 to 1815: 'About 66 years ago, a Jewish Rabbi proposed to give some lectures in Belfast on the Hebrew Scriptures in a large room in Commercial Court. He was countenanced by the intelligent inhabitants, but a rabble gathered at the place, and with drums, noises and riots prevented the lectures from proceeding'. Dr. Raphall, as Minister of the Bnei Yeshurun synagogue in New York, was the first Jewish cleric to be invited to open the House of Representatives with prayer and 'to introduce the equal rights of Israelitic prayer in the Halls of Congress' (1860).

An early comer to Belfast in the nineteenth century was James (Jacob) Mautner (1823–99), a youngster from Jessnitz; he was a kinsman of Baron Mautner, of Vienna, a banker to the Empress Maria Theresa. James prospered and, in due course, owned a linen factory. He first appears in the Belfast Directory in 1860 under

the firm name of James Mautner and Co., Linen Merchants, at 27 Victoria Street, and then at 91 Abercorn Buildings. In or about 1857, he returned to Jessnitz to marry Rosalie Herz (1839–1911); one of their children, Eliza,[7] died at his country house in Holywood in 1863 and was buried at Ballybough, for there was no Jewish burial place yet in Belfast. Another Belfast Jew, Jacob Braun[8] (1806–62), was also buried there. In 1873, James Mautner removed to Germany and died in Nordhausen in 1899.

A third known Belfast Jew in the first half of the nineteenth century was Meir Levy,[9] a clothier living in Botanic Road; his son, born in Belfast in 1849,[10] was circumcised by the Rev. Mr. Sandheim, of Dublin.

Credit for founding and organising the Belfast congregation in 1861 belongs largely to Daniel Joseph Jaffe, son of Josef Jaffe (1765–1841) by his wife, Jette Daniel (1768–1843). A grandson of Mordechai Jaffe[11] (1740–1813), who was president of the ecclesiastical court of Mecklenburg, Daniel Joseph was born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin on 19 August 1809.

In the first half of the century Daniel moved to Hamburg and set up a mercantile house in partnership with his brother, Isaac. In 1845, visiting Belfast to buy linen for the Continental trade, he was advised to open a linen house in the city and export direct to the Continent, and, after an interval of five years, he acted on that counsel and began to ship linen to his firms in Dundee and Paris, to Hamburg and Leipzig and also, considerably, to Russia and South America. One salesman alone, Marcus Robert Mendelssohn, in a short period of time, sold linen to the value of £100,000, mainly to Jewish merchants in Russia, and Daniel's son, Otto, crossed the Atlantic forty times to supply the markets of the New World.

In the autumn of 1864, services were held in Ulster for the first time in the nineteenth century, under the auspices of the British Chief Rabbi, when Jews from Belfast assembled in the Holywood home of Martin Jaffe, Daniel's eldest son. On 7 July 1871, the foundation-stone was laid of a synagogue, with Minister's residence and Hebrew school, in Great Victoria Street.[12] The contemporary Jewish population in what is now Northern Ireland numbered but 55 souls.[13] The building was wholly paid for by Daniel Jaffe who, so the story goes, had been induced by an invalid daughter to



Fig. 1 James Joyce (1882–1941) From a drawing from life, 1931, by Harry Kernoff, R.H.A. (p. 167)

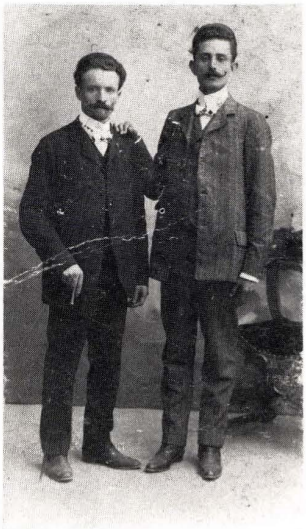


Fig. 2 (left) Moses Dlugacz (1884–1943), character in *Ulysses* (right) unidentified person From a a photograph, Tarnopol, 1906 (p. 184)



Fig. 3 Israel Citron (1876–1951), character in *Ulysses* From a photograph (p. 168)

PLATE XVIII

1



2



3

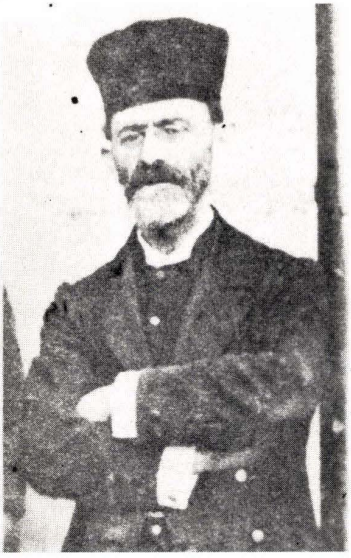


Fig. 1 Rev. Leopold Abramovitz (d. 1907), character in *Ulysses* From a photograph (p. 168)

Fig. 2 Nisan Moisel (1814–1909), character in *Ulysses* From a photograph (p. 190)

Fig. 3 Rev. Elias Bere Levin (1862–1936) From a photograph (p. 211)

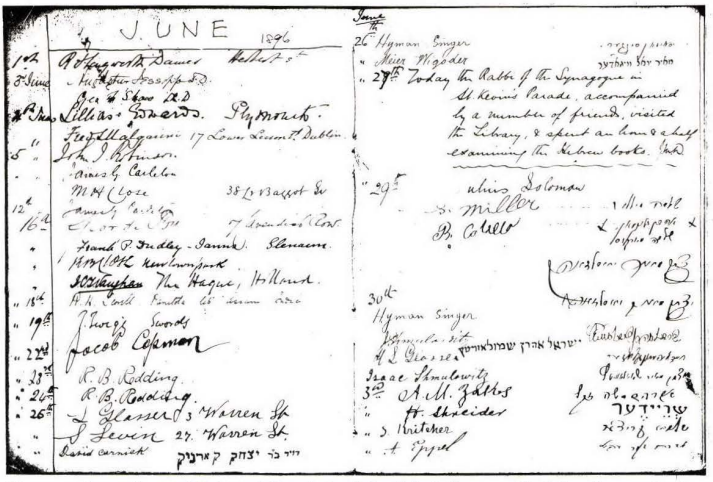


Fig. 1 Page from Visitors' Book in Marsh's Library, Dublin, June 1896, with signatures in Hebrew script (p. 349)



Fig. 2 From left to right (standing): Minnie Watchman (1864–1921), character in *Ulysses*; her three sisters, author's grand-aunts; (sitting): Author's grandmother and great-grandparents From a photograph, Dublin, 1910

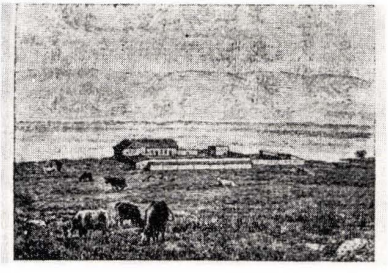


Fig. 3 Model farm in Kinnereth From a photograph (pp. 187–188)



Fig. 1 Dr. Joseph Chotzner (1844–1914)
From a photograph (p. 206)



Fig. 2 Sir Otto Jaffe (1846–1929)
From a painting by J. Haynes Williams (p. 208)

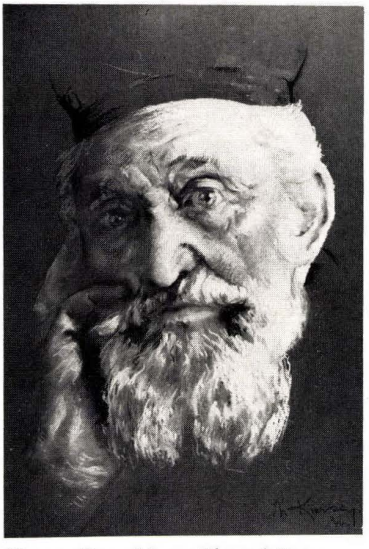


Fig. 3 Rev. Meyer Elyan (1844–1928) From a pastel portrait by Monica Kiersey From a photograph, 1944 (p. 218)

provide her with a house of worship just as her Christian friends had a church to go to on Sundays.

Daniel died in Nice on 21 January 1874 and was buried in Belfast; his son, Martin, Honorary Secretary of the congregation, had prevailed upon the city Council to assign land behind the old Belfast cemetery for Jewish burials.[14] Obituaries in the Belfast press spoke in terms of high commendation of Daniel, who had figured actively in the affairs of the Chamber of Commerce, and attested how enormously business and manufacturing had been fostered by his enterprise; a fountain facing the Town Hall marks his public services. The synagogue was bequeathed by him for the use of the congregation; owing to the obscurity of testamentary language, the Master of the Rolls[15] in Ireland, in 1888, was constrained to pronounce this devise void under the Mortmain Acts, whereupon, by his direction, the synagogue was offered for sale by public auction, purchased by Daniel's widow and children, and again presented to the community. The widow, Frederiké, died at Eastbourne in her ninety-first year. A photograph was taken earlier of her with her daughter, granddaughter, great-granddaughter, and great-great-granddaughter, five generations at once.

The other founding members of the Belfast congregation included Isaac Julian Weinberg, Herman Boas, —Lipman, —Cohen, and Morteiz Portheim. Weinberg, of Seilen, near Cassel, settled in Belfast in or about 1862; the births of his three sons are recorded in the register of births of the Dublin congregation for 1863, 1866, and 1868.[16] He was first in the employ of Daniel Jaffe, but in 1869,[17] in partnership with James Moore, he founded an independent firm of linen manufacturers and bleachers and linen yarn merchants, which is still in business. In 1870, he left Ireland to establish a branch in Dundee, becoming a patron of local art and music and, in 1876, President of the Chamber of Commerce, as well as a Governor of University College and Chairman of the Primrose League. He was the first exporter of jute[18] on a large scale, especially to Argentina and the west coast of South America. He died in Brighton on 1 January 1912,[19] in his eightieth year.

The senior partner in the firm of Moore and Weinberg was Julius Loewenthal,[20] a native of Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and perhaps a kinsman of Daniel Joseph Jaffe. He settled

in Belfast about 1855, but in 1861, on marrying Jane Rea McCulla (d. 1901), a Presbyterian, he abandoned Judaism.

Betzold (1836–90) was director of the linen firm of George Betzold and Company, established in 1860;[21] his wife was Nanny, daughter of John Rosenbaum, of Magdeburg. After his death, the firm was directed by his brother-in-law, Max Veital, who became President of the congregation in 1891 and first President of the Belfast Hebrew Board of Guardians in 1893.

Herman Boas (1827–1917) was Treasurer of the Board for many years and President of the congregation in 1877.[22] He emigrated to Nottingham from Lubeck in 1854 and in 1861 settled in Belfast, trading there as Sol. Boas and Company, fancy box and linen ornament manufacturers. He married Caroline Spiers (1839–1916), of Rotterdam, whither her father, Benjamin,[23] had transferred his fruit-importing business from Portsmouth. Caroline, from a family of literary and artistic talent, was niece of the lexicographer, Alexander Spiers (1957–69), and aunt to Herman Heyermans (1864–1924), the Netherlands playwright and novelist. Frederick Samuel (d. 1955), eldest son of Herman and Caroline, destined to be an eminent Shakespearean scholar, was born in Belfast on 24 July 1862,[24] as the register of births of the Dublin congregation shows. Intermarriage took him out of the faith, but his sister, Maud,[25] became the wife of Ernest Wormser Harris, of Dublin.

Lipman may be identified with the founder of Lipman and Hamel, later Lipman and Company, formed in Dundee in 1845. In Belfast, following the successful example of his fellow-settlers, he directed Lipman and Cohen,[26] linen and yarn merchants, and the linen warerooms of Lipman and Company. Cohen, residing in Harcourt Drive, helped to found the burial society; his son, Albert, is buried in the Jewish section of the city cemetery. Portheim was a member of the firm of Lipman and Company, and lived in Holywood.[27]

The first Minister of the congregation was the Rev. Dr. Joseph Chotzner, of Cracow, a graduate of the Rabbinical Seminary and of the University of Breslau, and author of works on Hebrew humour and satire; at the end of 1880, he resigned to take charge, as Hebrew tutor, of the first Jewish House at Harrow, a post which he occupied for twelve years until reappointed to Belfast. In 1897, he became a

Collegiate of Montefiore College in Ramsgate. He died at Harrogate in 1914, aged 71. His son, Alfred James, a graduate of Cambridge, Judge of the High Court of Judicature in Calcutta, and Conservative M.P. for Upton, 1931–4, married Ethel Kathleen Lan, daughter of Israel and Jane Davis; Jane was a daughter of Daniel Jaffe.

All of Daniel's four sons and five daughters followed in his footsteps in communal and public work. In 1865, his eldest son, Martin, married Kate (1845–1918), daughter of Sampson Samuel (1804–68), Solicitor and Secretary of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and became the first Honorary Secretary of the Belfast congregation.[28] In 1872, he left for London and there was among the founders of the New West End synagogue in Bayswater; in 1914, he died at Rockferry, Birkenhead, at the age of 74. His second son, Charles Sampson, a noted pathologist, was born in 1869 at Brandon Towers, Strandtown, near Belfast, and died in London in 1920, having been a member of the Bayswater synagogue and Honorary Medical Officer to the Jewish schools attached to it. Edith Sarah, born in Belfast in 1867, married George William Rowe (formerly Rosenwald), of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Another daughter, Rose, married Aaron Aronsberg, son of William Aronsberg, J.P., of Manchester, and grandson of the Rev. Jacob Prag, Minister of the Old Hebrew congregation and Professor at Queen's College, Liverpool. William Aronsberg was a benefactor of several orphanages in Ireland and of St. Peter's College, Wexford. In 1881, on one of his visits to the south of Ireland, his carriage was drawn by his admirers through the streets of Wexford to the accompaniment of the local band. A reception was arranged in his honour by the President and Council of St. Peter's College, and he was afterwards entertained by the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, to whom his benefactions had become known. Martin's third son, Daniel, was Government Engineer of Hong Kong and built the city's waterworks.

John Joseph, Daniel's second son, was a prominent businessman and President of the Chamber of Commerce in 1883; in 1905, he made a gift of £1,000 to Queen's College, Belfast, for equipment. Caroline, third child of Daniel, first married Dr. Bernhard Cohn, of Breslau, and then Dr. Jules Oppert, a distinguished Assyriologist and President of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Letters de

L'Institut de France. Alfred Jaffe, the fourth son, who married Clara Wideles, of Hamburg, was made a Justice of the Peace in 1886 and served on the Belfast Harbour Trust; he settled in England in 1894. The youngest daughter, Jane (1858–1907), an accomplished botanist among other things, married Israel Davis, one-time proprietor of the *Jewish Chronicle*. Between 1878 and 1906, she went over all its editorials before publication, and herself wrote learnedly on modern Hebrew surnames. Educated in Belfast by Mrs. Byers, a well-known feminist, she took up the cause of women's rights with a will, and helped to form a society for securing the election of women as Poor Law Guardians and members of school boards. Jane's eldest sister, Malvine, married Marcus Robert Mendelssohn[29] who so effectively canvassed her father's wares. Ida married Edward Silz, of Paris.

The most distinguished of Daniel's children was Otto, born in Hamburg on 13 August 1846, and educated in Holywood, Hamburg and Switzerland. After a spell in New York from 1865 to 1877, he assumed direction of the family firm on the retirement of his brothers, John and Alfred, and came to be regarded as one of the acutest businessmen in Belfast, so that a contemporary journal wrote of him: 'shrewd, sharp-witted, far-seeing and almost parsimonious in business, he is lavish in unostentatious charities'. In 1879, he married Paula Hertz, daughter of Moritz and Bertha Hertz, of Brunswick, and had two sons, Arthur, a barrister, and William, a director of Gamages, the sports outfitters, of Holborn. Otto, soon a J. P., was elected a city councillor in 1894, and his civic honours and assignments thereafter were many: member of the Harbour Board, of the first Senate of Queen's University, Governor of the Royal Hospital, Vice-Consul and then Consul for Germany, and finally, in 1899, Lord Mayor, the first incumbent under the new status of the city as a county borough. With the Lady Mayoress, he raised £10,000 in Belfast for the dependants of sailors and soldiers fighting in the Boer War, and that in itself exemplified how deftly he kept the balance between groups only too prone to political and religious quarrelling. Knighted after his first term, Sir Otto served as High Sheriff, and in 1904 was Lord Mayor a second time. The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by the Royal University of Ireland: he was deeply interested in primary education, a pioneer in

the foundation of a Technical Institute for Belfast, and a member of the Board of Technical Education in Dublin. A gift of £4,000 from him made possible the consummation of a fund for the better equipment of what was now Queen's University in Belfast: named after his friend, Sir Donald Currie, its largest contributor, the fund added seven laboratories, which Sir Otto opened in 1907. The physiology laboratory[30] bears his name and he presented the University with thirty milligrams of radium.

Sir Otto was Life-President of the Belfast congregation. Its numbers had grown from 55 souls in 1871, when his father had established the Great Victoria Street synagogue, to twenty times as many in 1903, and he sponsored a decision to build a new synagogue that would seat 500 worshippers. At this time most of the members of the community consisted of recently arrived Lithuanian and Polish Jews, still far from moneyed. In the circumstance, most of the £4,000 required came from Sir Otto's purse. Not only that, but he brought about a merger of the congregants of Great Victoria Street and Regency Street and, by persuasion, scotched the plan of a third group of his coreligionists to build independently. On 26 February 1904, Lady Jaffe set the foundation-stone in Annesley Street, Carlisle Circus; on 31 August following, the synagogue was opened by Sir Otto himself, in his robes, with all the regalia of mayoral office, and consecrated by the Rev. S. Alfred Adler. Lady Jaffe was no less communally active than her husband: the spacious, modern school for the Jewish children of Belfast in Cliftonville Road was mainly her achievement.

Though not a member of the congregation, Gustav Wilhelm Wolff, a distinguished contemporary of Sir Otto, should be mentioned. Born in Hamburg in 1834, of Jewish descent—his parents, Moritz Wolff and Fanny Schwabe, had been baptised—Wolff came to Belfast in 1858 and was appointed draughtsman with Robert Hickson and Company at their Queen's Island shipbuilding yard. In 1862, a young colleague (afterwards Sir Edward Harland) and he bought out their employers for £5,000; the world-famous shipbuilding firm of Harland and Wolff was the result. Wolff is described by the biographer of Viscount Pirrie,[31] another partner, as 'a master of industry, incomparable organiser, a generous employer, a model citizen'. He was M.P. for East Belfast for 12 years.

CHAPTER XXV

THE JEWS OF LIMERICK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It is not till the middle of the nineteenth century—a break of forty or so years—that a Jew appears again in Limerick. On 30 May 1847, Bobby (Abraham) Genese died there and was buried in a Christian cemetery, but his body was quickly exhumed and reinterred at Ballybough; his brother, Solomon,[1] was living in Dublin at the time. The 1861 census showed a solitary Jew in Limerick city and the 1871 census listed two in the county borough. By 1881, the number of Jews in the borough had risen to four.[2]

With the coming of Lithuanian Jews to Ireland in 1878, about twenty families settled in Limerick, living in Edward Street and its environs, and mostly trading in books and pictures. They kept to themselves, except for business, and the public knew little about them save insofar as minor congregational disputes came before the courts or were put to arbitration by M. King, President of the congregation. So it came as a great shock to them to find an angry Gentile crowd surrounding the house of Lieb Siev on Easter Sunday morning in April 1884. Stones were flung through the windows and Siev's wife and child were hurt. Eventually constables arrived and dispersed the rioters. It appears that on Holy Thursday a maid-servant had seen her employer slaughtering fowl in Jewish ritual fashion, and there were townspeople who considered this an act of cruelty; the Jews had no inkling of the wrath and resentment which provoked the apparently spontaneous and unpremeditated onslaught on the Siev home. Two ringleaders were sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour, and Alderman Lenihan, Mayor of Limerick, declared at the trial that there was no evidence that the Jews had offered any affront to their neighbours nor could the conduct to which they were subjected be tolerated in a civilised

country. The *Cork Examiner* wrote: 'This country has long been honourably distinguished by its tolerance towards the Jews. Its conduct in this respect was peculiarly creditable in a country in which Catholic enthusiasm is so strong. . . The Jews will never be convinced of the truth or beauty of Christianity by battering in their doors with stones. Haud ignora mali—not ignorant of persecution and its evils, our own race ought to be especially careful to avoid its infliction'.[3]

Other Jews were molested in Limerick, but the prompting was not so much religious animosity as a devious attempt to avoid the payment of petty debts. Nevertheless, the constant annoyances, and a threat of boycott, impelled many members of the community to move to Cork in May 1884. But the boycott did not materialise and some of them went back.

As Delegate Chief Rabbi, the Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler paid a pastoral visit on 14 August 1888, when the congregation comprised eight families, 35 souls in all; on a second such visit on 1 December 1892, he found 90 souls, principally of Lithuanian origin. The condition of the community had begun to give cause for anxiety: two Jews had been waylaid near Limerick in August 1892, and beaten up, and on 24 November 1896, the house of Moses Leone was damaged by stone-throwing. The Limerick Jews now numbered 130.

Petty altercations disfigured their communal life for several years, feeling between the two rival bodies sometimes running so high as to involve the civil law, but at last unity reigned and a single congregation placed itself under the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbi; the Rev. Elias Bere Levin (1862–1936), who had settled in Limerick four years previously, was authoritatively appointed Reader and shochet. On 17 February 1902, ground for a cemetery was bought from William Nunan in fee simple, free of rent, for £150;[4] it was in Newcastle, in the parish of Kilmurray, and half a statute acre in area. The transaction was negotiated by Hyman Graff, Barnett Graff, Solomon Jerome, Max L. Jaffe, Wolf Moizel, Benjamin Jaffe, Moses Moizel,[5] Sidney Jaffe, Marcus Joseph Blond, David Cropman, Philip Graff, Barnett Shochett, Barnett Gould, Lewis Clein, the Rev. Mr. Levin, Marcus Greenfield, Hyman Cropman, Isaac Arinon and Wolf Toohey.

Prayers were first said in a private house in Emmet Place, then at 18 Colooney (now Wolfe Tone) Street; finally, a regular place of worship was opened at 63 Colooney Street. By 1903, a Board of Guardians and a Society for Relieving the Sick had been established and, now more fluent in English, the Jews began to mix with the rest of the population. For seven years they had lived in peace and harmony with their Christian neighbours, contributing each to the other's charities. At a gathering in June 1903, to make a presentation to B. Weinronk, founder of the local Zionist society, who was leaving for South Africa, Alderman John Daly, a former Mayor, presided, and the editor of the *Limerick Leader* spoke.

The Jews of Limerick were generally engaged in the smaller branches of retail trading, as milk vendors and travelling drapers in the rural districts; four were small wholesalers, from whom the immigrant newcomers usually obtained their goods. They were 'a well-conducted section of the community', as the Chief Secretary for Ireland described them, 'engaged for the most part in small trades and dependent for their livelihood on the good-will of their customers'.

Then suddenly, on 12 January 1904, panic struck them. Father John Creagh, of the Redemptorist Order, preached a sermon, indicting their methods of business, accusing them of shedding Christian blood, going so far as to charge that they would 'kidnap and slay Christian children' if they dared, in fact repeating the stock-in-trade of anti-Jewish agitation. Leopold Bloom's aside in Stephen Dedalus's ear in the *Eumaeus* episode,[6] 'That's the juggle on which the p.p.'s raise the wind on false pretences' probably alludes to the parish priest's virulent sermon. How little Father Creagh's slanders mirrored the community's inward-turning lives is plain from a contemporary report of an entertainment given two years before, in his home, by the President, Marcus Joseph Blond, to all the members on a celebration of the Feast of Lights: an address by the Minister, responded to by senior congregants, the recitation of Scriptural passages by one of the President's daughters, the chanting of Hebrew melodies by the other.

Arthur Griffith (1872–1922), leader of the Sinn Fein nationalists, whose policy Leopold Bloom[7] is said to have inspired, supported Father John Creagh in the *United Irishman*, demanding freedom

for the Irish peasantry from the international moneylenders and profiteers. Griffith's antisemitism, which seems to have stemmed from inherent xenophobia rather than from principle, was denounced by Fred Ryan, the economist, who declared in the first issue of *Dana*, of which W.K. Magee ('John Eglinton') and he were co-editors, that Irishmen who were claiming freedom for themselves could ill afford to refuse it to others.[8]

Jewish trading for weekly payments was the alleged ground for Father Creagh's attack, but, if so, the Roman Catholic shopkeepers of Limerick, who followed suit to a man, should have been the target no less. Standish Hayes O'Grady (1832–1915), venerable editor of the *All-Ireland Review*, answered the fulminations against Limerick Jewry of a correspondent calling himself 'A Black Northman'. 'The Jews', he retorted, 'have not taught us these vile tricks and dishonest shortcuts to wealth; we had them and practised them all long before he [*sic*] came, and are at them still, and would be at them were we to expel the whole race of Jews en masse tomorrow. If there were no Jews in Ireland, our own Irish Christian usurers . . . would be at just the same bad work, only without competitors'. O'Grady has only praise for the 'more calculative heads' of the Jews; for the fact that they do not drink, and for the way they 'concentrate upon the game with an intensity of purpose of which we are incapable'.[9]

The Jewish view was put forward by a correspondent signing herself simply 'A Jewess'.[10] 'I won't comment on the assertion that "the Jews are killing Limerick" ', she wrote; 'that thirty five families can destroy a town of a good many thousand inhabitants is, perhaps, rather a compliment than an insult'. She demands to know on what grounds the 'Black Northman' condemns Jews as parasites. Spain, the reader is reminded, drove out all Jews. 'Will you, or any of your anti-Semitic correspondents, hold up the Spain of to-day as an example of prosperity and progress . . . or compare her to the Spain of the Moors, when the great Jewish Doctors. . . flourished?'

It is enlightening to compare Leopold Bloom's[11] remarks on Spain and the Jews, and to recall both John Toland's[12] observation on Portugal and the Jews, and Joyce's[13] reference to him in *Finnegans Wake:*

'—Jews, he softly imparted in an aside in Stephen's ear, are accused of ruining. Not a vestige of truth in it, I can safely say. History,—would you be surprised to learn? proves up to the hilt Spain decayed when the Inquisition hounded the jews out and England prospered when Cromwell, an uncommonly able ruffian, who, in other respects has much to answer for, imported them. Why? Because they are practical and are proved to be so'. 'A Jewess', firmer and more aggressive than Bloom, demands: 'Let 'Black Northman' prove that any Jew in Limerick resorted to illegal or immoral means. . . and then let him explain by what right any individuals or any Government. . . should persecute. . . thirty five families because even a dozen persons of the same faith have sinned'.

The attack on the Jews of Limerick was an attempt to make them suffer for the supposed wrongs of Redemptorist Fathers expelled from France, an expulsion for which the French Jews were being blamed. In a second, no less poisonous, sermon, Father Creagh endowed the Jews with the most diabolical character imaginable, and enjoined on his hearers 'not to deal with the Jews', which was interpreted to mean not only not to buy from them but also to repudiate debts incurred. With two or three exceptions, the community was pauperised. The Protestants of the city espoused its cause and opened relief funds, but this only intensified the rancour of the Redemptorists and of the Community of the Holy Family. The attack mounted, and, through no fault of their own, the Jews became a kind of buffer between two antagonists; they asked that no further subscriptions be canvassed among Protestant sympathisers, and the anti-Jewish campaign in the Press was ignored.

On 18 January, six days after Father Creagh's first tirade, the Jews of Limerick were, the Rev. Elias Bere Levin[14] reported, 'insulted, assaulted and threatened with the most menacing language'. Let us adduce Bloom's impassioned protest against antisemitism in the *Cyclops* episode of *Ulysses*[15]: 'And I belong to a race too, says Bloom, that is hated and persecuted. Also now. This very moment. This very instant. . . Robbed, says he. Plundered. Insulted. Persecuted. Taking what belongs to us by right'. The Minister showed great courage and leadership when the Jewish community was besieged in his home.[16] Soon after, an economic boycott was

ruthlessly enforced, and the rapidity with which the petty Jewish tradesmen became penniless scarcely corroborates the lucrative business practices—or malpractices—which were alleged.

Father Creagh's invective and the boycott that he instigated were generally condemned. 'The rabid Jew-baiters of the city should be taught that they are many miles from Kishineff', wrote the editor of *Irish Truth* on 22 April. 'Galatea', in a letter to the Limerick *Daily Express* on 14 April 1904, wrote: 'As a member of the Catholic Church, I wish to protest against the views of Father Creagh of Limerick with reference to our Jewish population. Such narrow-minded bigotry does not express the sentiments of Catholic Ireland and, I am sure, many will join with me in condemning the utterance of one who, by education and Christian teaching, should know better than to publicly preach against a race of people who, as every Irishman knows, are good citizens, hospitable neighbours, staunch and true friends, and whose generosity and charity to all, independent of creed, should make many of us, who profess to follow the teaching of Christianity, blush. I felt ashamed of my religion to-day (the only time I have done so) when I thought the exponent of such views could be a teacher of Catholicity'.

O'Grady, in his issue of 23 April, under the caption 'Stoning a Rabbi—Crusade Against the Jews at Limerick', printed a short news item recording that 'John Rahilly, aged 15, was charged with being one of a number of boys who. . . stoned the Rev. Elias B.Levi [*sic*] and two of his companion Israelites'. The judge, declaring his determination to stop such outbursts, sentenced the boy to a month's imprisonment. O'Grady goes on to comment editorially that the affair 'reveals a scandalous state of things, which is a disgrace to the whole country'. With vehement outspokenness he adds: 'It is publicly stated that the persecution originated in a fierce anti-Jewish sermon preached by a Roman Catholic priest in Limerick. Whether this be so or not, it is difficult to believe that the priests and the Bishop of Limerick could not put an end to it if they tried. . . These Limerick Jews seem to be a very harmless body, neither money-lenders nor extortioners; just traders trading in clothes, and selling the same at no more profit than is permitted. . . It is certainly high time for the Church of the people to exert its authority over the people, and end this vile persecution'.[17]

In a spirited letter to the *Freeman's Journal* of 18 January 1904, Michael Davitt, founder of the United Irish League and colleague of Parnell, defended the Jews against the blood-libel. 'There is not an atom of truth', he wrote, 'in the horrible allegation of ritual murder, here insinuated, against this persecuted race. Again and again to their eternal credit, the Popes of the Middle Ages condemned this invention of sordid purpose or of blind hate, as untrue, un-Christian and reprehensible, and no Pontiff has ever sanctioned the circulation of these abominable stories, the dissemination of which has led to the slaughter of tens of thousands of innocent lives throughout Europe in past times. I protest, as an Irishman and as a Christian, against this spirit of barbarous malignity being introduced into Ireland, under the pretended form of a material regard for the welfare of our workers'. Davitt went further: 'The Jews have never done any injury to Ireland. Like our own race, they have endured a persecution, the records of which will for ever remain a reproach to the 'Christian' nations of Europe. Ireland has no share in this black record. Our country has this proud distinction —freely acknowledged by Jewish writers—of never having resorted to this un-Christian and barbarous treatment of an unfortunate people'. Davitt,[18] whose sympathies for the Jews never flagged, also visited the Dublin home of Elyah Wolf Moisel,[19] whose kinsmen the Moizels (*sic*), the Tooheys, and the Graffs were involved, to express his sorrow and indignation at Father John Creagh's behaviour.

John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, was as vehement: 'I have no sympathy', he wrote,[20] 'with the attacks upon the Hebrew community in Limerick and elsewhere. I feel sure that the spirit of tolerance of the Irish people will be sufficient to protect them from any wrong'. For the moment, however, neither intervention had any perceptible effect.

The chief victim of the persecution was Marcus Joseph Blond himself. A native of Wexna, Lithuania, he was ordained a rabbi in his teens, but turned to trade when he settled in Limerick in the 1880s. Now, his business was ruined and he had to sell stock, fixtures, and goodwill for a bagatelle. Writing to *The Times* on 10 April 1904, he puts his case with engaging simplicity: 'It took me all these years, with the greatest pain and trouble and working un-

ceasingly until I established myself comfortably and enjoyed a nice trade, until, all of a sudden, like a thunderstorm, spoke hatred and animosity against the Jews, how they crucified Lord Jesus,[21] how they martyred St. Simon,[22] and gradually in one month's time, I have none of my previous customers coming into my shop. In fact, my business is nil at present. Would you call my trade a national evil? I defy anyone in this city to say whom I have wronged, what did I overcharge... Since the beginning of the crusade of Father Creagh against the Jews we never got a fair chance to defend ourselves or to put our case rightly before the Public'.

The boycott[23] lasted two years and drove out eighty members of the community from Limerick; fewer than forty were left. But the superiors of Father Creagh came to understand that religious persecution had no place in Ireland; they disowned him and he was withdrawn from Limerick.[24] So ended a sad but uncharacteristic and atypical episode, but the congregation did not recover, either numerically or economically, from the evil impact.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE JEWS OF CORK (1845–1900)

When the Cork congregation was founded about the year 1725,[1] with shochet[2] and cemetery, it comprised Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews engaged in import and export. During the third quarter of that century, kasher meat was dispatched to Jewish customers in the West Indies.[3] By the end of that century, the community had died out and synagogue and cemetery were closed down, although a few of the original group were still in the city during the first half of the nineteenth century—the Solomon, Hyams (Hymes) and Mandowsky families. I. Mandowsky[4] subscribed to the fund for the widow and children of the Rev. Isaac Davidson, of Dublin, in 1844.

Munster had only two Jews in 1861, nine in 1871, and 34 in 1881; the Cork county borough had six in 1871 and ten in 1881.[5] In 1864,[6] the Council of the Dublin congregation undertook to give assistance to a poor Jewess, a native of Strasbourg, who was admitted to the Cork North Infirmary after an accident. One of the Jews of Cork in the 1870s may have been Marcus Harfman,[7] a traveller in pictures, who died suddenly in December 1874, at 12 Duncan Street, and was buried in a Christian cemetery; a priest attended him in his last moments and presented a crucifix, which Harfman thrust aside, being heard to utter a Hebrew prayer.

During the Russian oppression which preceded the May Laws of 1881, several Jews of Vilna, Kovno, and Ackmeyan, a Lithuanian village, came to live in Cork, after a short stay in Dublin. A congregation was formed at the close of 1881[8] and, with the sanction of the Chief Rabbi, Meyer Elyan[9] (Ilion) (1844–1928), of Zagger, Lithuania, was appointed shochet, Reader, and mohel; the first President was Isaac Epstein,[10] formerly of Dublin.

The arrival of East European Jews made something of a stir among townsfolk, to whom for the most part the sight of a Jew was a rarity. The people flocked to the neighbourhood of the Hibernian Buildings, where the Jews found lodging, and clamoured to be allowed to see what Jews looked like. But the newcomers could soon feel at home. The warehouses offered them credit readily; magistrates dispensed with their evidence on oath. The Rev. Matthew Kerr, Presbyterian clergyman but ardent Home Ruler, showed the struggling pedlars disinterested kindness on all occasions.

In 1885, a burial ground was leased, but it was Kerr who collected the money from Christians in Cork and Jews in London to buy it outright on 20 June 1887. The Jews first prayed in a room in Eastville; about the year 1884, a room was rented in Marlborough Street from the Cork Branch of the National League, and a synagogue was fitted up in the offices there; finally, premises were acquired at 24 South Terrace.

All might have prospered had it not been for the contentiousness of certain members. As early as the second year of the congregation, numbering 70 souls, with 20 grown men among them, a dissident tabernacle—calling itself 'Remnant of Israel' and ministered to by Rabbi Abraham Sheftel Birzansky (d.1907)—was in existence, and so, for the next forty years, the rival groups of worshippers, cheek by jowl in the one street, kept peace from the little community. There was a persistent clashing of communal arms and the local press seemed to delight in reporting the resultant police-court proceedings.

In 1888,[11] two foreigners named Katz, alias Clarke and Son, dubbed German Jews but not known as Jews to the community, with which they had neither dealings nor communication, started a bogus factory in Cork. They advertised that they would import foreign cabinet-makers and sell cheap goods made by prison labour in America. The Cork Trades Union denounced their proceedings and appealed to the public not to encourage this interference with legitimate trade, but the attitude of the Union savoured of the anti-Jewish, threatening persecution of all the Jews of Cork. Sir John Simon, Member of Parliament for Dewsbury, directed the attention of Charles Stewart Parnell, Leader of the Irish Party, to the developments. Parnell telegraphed at once to the Mayor to end the agitation. Moreover, as *The Times* correspondent reporting

the incident had been unkindly critical of the Jews of Cork, Sir John moved the Mayor to write to the newspaper explaining their blamelessness. The Mayor's letter, published in *The Times* of 15 March 1888, read thus:

'Sir,

'As Mayor of the City from which some remarks against Jewish immigrants have been telegraphed to 'The Times', I ask permission entirely to deny that these observations, which proceeded solely from the individual members of a local trades council, represented the feelings of the citizens of Cork. No doubt in hard times like the present, workmen, whether in the East End of London or the East End of Cork, feel it hard to have, as they think, the bread taken out of their mouths by the forced immigration of so many refugees who have been forced out of their own land by the oppression of the Hebrews abroad. But allow me to say, at a juncture when Her Majesty's Ministers have declared in Parliament their anxiety on the subject of pauper immigrants, that there is and has not been in the city of Cork, any feeling adverse or otherwise than kindly towards the men of the Jewish faith. Irishmen are proud of the fact that theirs is the only country in Europe in which Jews have never been persecuted, and though most of them are newcomers in our midst, I can say almost without exception that they belong to a quiet, decent, inoffensive and even timid class. Some of the very men who have been the cause of ill-feeling among the artisans because of the proposed exportation of the products of convict labour where native labour is so ill paid and native work so scarce are, I understand, non-Jewish foreigners or at least foreigners whose affiliation to the Jewish body is not recognised by the authorities of that faith. We fully appreciate that the wanderers who are driven abroad by oppression are in the very same position as the evicted Irish emigrants who have been obliged to leave here for England, America and other colonies, in many cases unfitted by forced expatriation for their new circumstances, and therefore subject to misconception and want of sympathy. Some of the prejudice existing in the Limerick neighbourhood a few years ago to which attention has been revived by your correspondent, was due, I believe, to the attempted sale of indecent cards and pictures by foreign hawkers among a

peasantry, who whatever charges have been levelled against them, are pure-minded and pure-living. There being until lately no foreigners in Ireland, all these passed as Jews.

'Lest, then, the hasty utterances of two artisans should furnish either a justification for continued hostility to the Jews in those countries where oppressions have driven them hither, or a ground for saddling a charge of intolerance upon Irishmen at large, my simple duty is, on behalf of the municipality and citizens I represent, to say that we entirely repudiate sympathy or connexion with attacks on the Jewish people. They, like so many of my own race, are strangers in a strange land, and the only wonder is that the rich and influential Jewish leaders in England, the most powerful body for its numbers in the world, should be unable to divert their co-religionists from trying their fortune in an impoverished island which the natives themselves are compelled to hasten from at the rate of 100,000 per annum, and in which the struggle for existence among those who remain is so keen and bitter.

John O'Brien, Mayor of Cork'.

Six years afterwards, there was a flare-up owing to the mistaken idea that a Jew had preached publicly against Roman Catholicism. For some time, open-air meetings had been held on Sundays by Protestant clergymen, and Catholics resented them bitterly. One Sunday afternoon in May 1894, after the preachers had returned from the Marina, and as the crowd that followed them was dispersing, a newly arrived Lithuanian Jew, Jacob Sayers, was taken for a preacher and so roughly used that he had to be escorted home by foot and mounted police. The crowd followed the party to the Hibernian Buildings and then returned towards Parnell Bridge, and the police, thinking the disturbance at an end, went back to barracks. Thereupon, the crowd reassembled with wicked intent: any Jew they found was chased and assaulted and his house stoned; a Jewish shop was gutted. Three ringleaders were sentenced to imprisonment.[12]

The incident was speedily forgotten, but it had led to the writing of letters to Mr. Samuel Montagu, M.P. (later Lord Swaythling),

by Justin McCarthy and John Redmond, the two leading Home Rulers of the day, which merit quotation in extenso:

'73, Eaton Ter., S.W.
May 9th, 1894.

'Dear Mr. Montagu,

'The accounts I have read of the attacks on the homes of Jewish residents in Cork have filled me with surprise and regret. There is, and there could be, no excuse for such conduct which, I trust and firmly believe, must have been the work of some few wild and lawless rowdies. The Irish people are in strong political sympathy with the Jews. Our Irish national poet, Thomas Moore, has again and again drawn comparison between the persecution of the Irish race and that of the "Sad One of Zion". You may be sure that the ill-treatment of any of your co-religionists is regarded with utter detestation by every Irish nationalist.

Yours very truly,
Justin McCarthy'.

'House of Commons,
9th May, 1894.

'Dear Mr. Montagu,

'I have heard with very great pain of the attack upon certain Jews in Cork, to which you have drawn my attention. I express no opinion as to where the blame should rest for the recent disturbances in Cork consequent upon the inauguration of the system of street preaching, but as far as I know the facts, the Jews have had no concern with the matter at all, and I deeply deplore any insult or annoyance offered to them. I need scarcely say I have no sympathy with the persecution to which the Jewish community have been subjected in other countries, and I feel sure that the great body of Catholics in Ireland, who have in the past known what persecution for religion's sake meant, will never have any sympathy with the attacks upon the members of any creed. I feel sure that the reports of what occurred in Cork are exaggerated, and that the people of that city have no wish to molest in any way their Jewish fellow-citizens.

Very truly yours,
J.E. Redmond'.

The incident was reported in a letter[13] written from Cork on 9 May 1894 to the London headquarters of the Chovevei Zion Society by M.L. Cohen, Vice-Commander and Treasurer of its local branch. He said: 'Our people here were bitterly attacked by the mob here. On last Sunday houses and windows were broken and lots of damage done notwithstanding the loyal support our Chief Treasurer, Mr. S. Montagu and his colleagues are giving to Ireland in the House of Commons'.

In the previous year,[14] J. Solomon, Secretary of the local branch, had informed the London headquarters that about forty to fifty families in Cork desired to purchase land in Palestine and form a village of their own, and wanted help to that end. They would have to wait five or six years before they could liquidate their affairs and pay off the price of the land, with interest, in yearly or half-yearly instalments. They proposed to pay a year's instalment in advance and send out a few families to make the necessary arrangements. But nothing came of the scheme.

For a little while, the contending halves of the shaken community buried their differences, and Mr. Montagu, who visited Cork in 1888 to inquire into the anti-Jewish agitation, contrived a reconciliation. Rules were drawn up for the governance of the congregation on the lines adopted in Dublin, and the synagogue was duly registered. It was decided that the community should try to raise £40 a year for the stipend of a competent teacher of Hebrew and religion and that the committee of the Provident Ministers' Fund be petitioned to add £60.

The Rev. Joseph E.Myers, a native of Ramsgate, was accordingly appointed Minister in 1890; he had already served congregations in New Zealand, Australia, and Britain. With the collapse of the communal armistice soon after his arrival, his post was no sinecure, but, in his eight years' tenure, he was at least instrumental in having national schools opened in 1891 under Jewish management, and acted as Government local manager and religious instructor in them under the superintendence of the Commissioners of National Education for Ireland; secular as well as religious instruction was included in the curriculum. In 1892, there were 76 children on the roll, and in 1898 there were 87. The synagogue premises soon proved incommodious and costly, whereupon the Board of National

Education offered to contribute two-thirds of the £1,800 needed to build a proper school, and the municipality granted a site, ample for both a synagogue and a school, with offices and playground as well, at a nominal yearly rental of ten guineas for 62 years. The Jews of Cork were too poor to foot the bill unaided. An appeal for £700 was made in 1896 to the Jews of Britain. It was headed by Professor Marcus Hartog (1851–1924),[15] Professor of Natural History at Queen's College, now University College, Cork, who was President of the school committee and Honorary Secretary of the synagogue and national school building fund. In 1909, Hartog was appointed Professor of Zoology; in commemoration of his 36 years' work at the University and the interest which he displayed in the welfare of the students, the Marcus Hartog Benefaction[16] was founded in 1921 by Mr. W. J. Gallagher, a distinguished graduate, to supplement scholarships for brilliant students who were without means.

The response of British Jewry to the appeal was not enough to permit of 9 and 10 South Terrace being purchased, and in 1897 the congregation elected Professor Hartog, the Rev. Mr. Myers, S. Criger and G. Sayers to represent it in the negotiations. Possession was given in May 1901, and, when, in 1903, the Provincial Bank called in its overdraft, Lord Swaythling[17] cleared the debt in person. But it took twenty years more for the congregational split to be finally healed. In 1898, the Rev. Eli Bloom[18] succeeded the Rev. Mr. Myers.

Prominent in the congregation in the last two decades of the nineteenth century were Solomon Eleazar Levinson (d. 1906), Eli (d. 1910) and Wolf Jonah (1863–1942) Jackson, Lewis Jonah[19] (d. 1921) and Solomon (d. 1930) Clein, and Simon Spiro (1863–1950), who married a cousin of Henri Bergson, and was the father of Betty Miller (1910–65), novelist and biographer of Robert Browning (1952). Spiro settled in Cork in September 1882 and traded as a cigar merchant in Patrick Street; he was President of the congregation for many years, a Justice of the Peace, a Peace Commissioner, a Grand Juror, and a member of the Committee of the Cork Savings Bank.

APPENDIX I

(a) IRISH SCHOLARS OF HEBREW IN THE SEVENTEETH CENTURY

William Bedell (1571–1642), a Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and an eminent classical scholar, was acquainted with Syriac, Hebrew and Arabic. In 1607, he was invited to be chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, British Ambassador to the Venetian Republic. In Italy for over three years, he added much to his knowledge of Hebrew by association with Leo da Modena (1571–1648), Rabbi of Venice, and other Jewish scholars.[1] Bedell's son describes the stay: 'He found opportunity of converse with some of the learneder sort of Jews, wherein he intended these two purposes, the bettering of himself in his skill of Hebrew, and the drawing some of them to the way of Christ. In the former the success answered, but not so in the latter; that people being stiffneck'd, as the Scripture foretold us'.[2] After appointment as Provost in 1627, he kept up a correspondence with the Venetian Rabbi, from whom he had acquired the correct mode of Hebrew pronunciation and items of Rabbinical knowledge. His end was tragic, for during the Rebellion of 1641 he suffered much hardship and died. But before his house was seized by the rebels, he rescued from his library a manuscript Hebrew Bible which he had purchased in Venice,[3] as well as the manuscript of the Old Testament in Irish, for whose translation he had procured skilled service. To win the hearts of the Irish people, he had studied Irish and revised the translation himself, comparing it with the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin so as to correct errors in the English version. Marsh's Library,[4] Dublin, has the Irish manuscript; the Hebrew was bequeathed to Emmanuel College, Cambridge.[5]

James Ussher (1581–1656), whose name stands second in the list of those admitted to Trinity College after its opening on 9 January 1593/4, began a private study of Hebrew about 1596. He

was an intense admirer of the language and literature and said that little was to be learned from any language of the East unless it be Hebrew. A manuscript volume of Divinity Prelections written by him, and purporting to consist in part of lectures delivered weekly during Trinity term, 1607, is extant in Latin, plentifully adorned with quotations in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, and even Arabic.[6] The College Library contains a manuscript translation of Sepher ha-Madda by Maimonides, sent in 1624 by its translator, the Rev. Ralph Skynner, Rector of Sutton, Surrey, to James Ussher, Bishop of Meath, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh and Primate.[7] In a sermon before James I at Wanstead on 20 June of the same year, Ussher pleaded for religious freedom for all sects, including the Jews and the Catholics. He was a student of Menasseh ben Israel twenty years before Menasseh came to London. His correspondence contains a large number of items of Jewish interest. He corresponded with Sir Herbert Cotton and William Camden, and with Arnold Boate, a Dutch Hebraist and physician, whom he persuaded in 1635 to settle in Dublin, where many Dutch merchants then carried on trade. Boate (1600?–1655?), a student of Hebrew Rabbinical writings, was physician-general of the English forces in Ireland in 1640. Ussher employed agents in Cairo, Constantinople, and throughout the East to purchase Oriental manuscripts. His library of over 10,000 volumes, with a choice collection of manuscripts, coins, and prints, was bought for Trinity College by the officers and soldiers of the English forces at a cost of £22,000.[8]

Ambrose Ussher (1582?–1629) was the younger brother of James. Elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1601, he devoted his life to study, and became learned in Hebrew and Arabic. Before the completion of the Authorised Version of the Bible, he had prepared a translation from the original Hebrew and dedicated it to James I; it is extant in three volumes in the College Library. Among his works in manuscript also preserved there are an Arabian Dictionary and Grammar, The Principles of Aristotle explained in English, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and Collectanea Arabica et Hebraica. He had the distinction of being the first Keeper of the Library[9] (1601–5).

One of the first Hebrew lecturers at the College was Sir Maurice Eustace (1590?–1655), later Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He was a

descendant of James Eustace, third Viscount Baltinglass, and belonged to an old Anglo-Irish family. He entered Trinity in 1610, was placed under the tuition of Anthony Martin, afterwards Archbishop of Meath, and elected to a Fellowship in 1617. Having made Hebrew a subject of special study, he was shortly after appointed lecturer and proved himself a master of his subject. He had first applied himself to divinity but decided to adopt the legal profession, and in May 1619 was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn, London.[10] In his will he left a bequest of £20 per annum to found a perpetual Hebrew lectureship in the College.[11]

One of the students during this period was the American, Increase Mather (1639–1723), who graduated as Master of Arts in 1658. When Mather was appointed President of Harvard College in 1684, the study of Hebrew received much attention. He was the author of almost a hundred and forty works full of quotations from the Old Testament and the Jewish sages. In his book *Remarkable Providences*, he records the curious fact that a deaf and dumb man, who was being taught to speak and did not readily yield to instruction, was finally persuaded to try Hebrew and in a short time became an excellent 'Hebrician'.[12] In all his references to Jews he wrote with sympathy. In his book *Mystery of Israel's salvation . . . or, a discourse concerning the general conversion of the Israelitish nation, etc.* (London, 1669), he alludes frequently to Jewish authorities and repudiates the blood libel and the view that the Jews have falsified the Hebrew text of the Bible.[13]

Another Irish Hebraist was Lady Dorothea Moore (born *c.* 1585), daughter of Adam Loftus, first Provost of the College, and wife of Sir John Moore, of Croghan, King's County. She was a kinswoman of the Usshers and of John Stearne. She corresponded in Hebrew with Anna Maria von Schurman (1607–78), the most famous 'blue-stocking' of her age, who wrote Hebrew with exceptional fluency and was in the habit of quoting from the commentaries of Rashi and Ibn Ezra. A translation of one of her letters, dated Ab (August) 1638, is worth reproducing:

'To the great city of Dublin. To Lady Dorothea Moore, widow of Sir—Moore, scion of nobles. From the city of Utrecht.

'To my esteemed Madam, Peace.

'I heard of thy fame, my friend and respected lady; and I rejoiced and was glad over this singular benefit which Heaven has bestowed upon us, in these our days, to renew the glory of thy people; for I thought wisdom had departed from amongst the women of England, after the death of Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth. May their memories be blessed! But wisdom entered into thy heart, and knowledge is sweet to thy soul. The Lord has chosen thee to be a crown of praise to all women. Thou hast a goodly heritage. Thou hast discovered hidden treasures. I rejoiced, therefore, over thy works, as over the light of the sun when it makes its appearance. I longed greatly for thy friendship. I resolved, therefore, to go and meet the excellency of thy praise with these few (Hebraicé ten) words—in accordance with the poverty of my knowledge—for the purpose of establishing a covenant of salt between me and thee. Pray let us unite to sell and purchase wisdom and understanding; for their merchandise is better than the merchandise of silver, and their produce more than that of fine gold. And now, if I have found favour in thy sight, let me know of thy intentions. And mayest thou be blessed of the Lord. Praise and honour to thy people. From the Holy Congregation of Utrecht, in the year of Christ, one thousand six hundred and thirty eight, in the month of Ab.[14]

Thy friend and hand-maiden,
Anna Maria Schurman'.

Dudley Loftus (1613–95), grandnephew of Lady Dorothea, was an accomplished Orientalist, jurist, and antiquary, who graduated from Trinity in 1637. His liking for Oriental languages induced his father, Sir Adam Loftus, on the advice of Archbishop Ussher, to send him to Oxford, where he took his B.A. in 1639 and his M.A. in 1640. At the request of Selden and Ussher, he supplied the Ethiopic of the New Testament in Walton's Polyglot Bible with a Latin version (1657), whose worth and scholarship Walton acknowledges, describing Loftus as 'a most learned man, distinguished by the rank of his family as well as by his knowledge of Oriental tongues'.[15] About the year 1676, Loftus imported a Nestorian priest from England and kept him in his home for two years for the purpose of gaining a living knowledge of Syriac,[16] while he was fortunate to find

in Dublin a Jewish merchant[17] from Ispahan, Persia, who, no doubt, assisted him with his Persian studies. A catalogue of a collection of 128 manuscripts written by Loftus was printed in London in 1697; they included writings in Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Syriac. Some are still preserved in the British Museum and the College and Marsh's Libraries.

(b) MARSH'S LIBRARY, DUBLIN

Founded in 1701 by Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713), then Archbishop of Dublin, Marsh's Library[18] was probably the first free public library in Ireland. It is rich in books of law, medicine, philosophy, and mathematics and contains a large number of books and manuscripts in Oriental languages, as well as the entire library of Edward Stillingfleet (1636–99), Bishop of Worcester and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Charles II, which Marsh purchased for £2,000 and placed in Dublin with his own collection for public use. Subsequently, Marsh despaired of Oriental learning in Ireland and presented nearly a thousand codices, Hebrew and Syriac, to the Bodleian. At his death, the Library held over 10,000 volumes. In 1849 there were 18,000 volumes in it and the number has greatly increased since. There are books and manuscripts which belonged to James Ussher, Dudley Loftus, John Stearne the elder, and Robert Huntingdon, Provost (1683–92), who was appointed chaplain to the English 'Turkey Merchants' in Aleppo and lived in the Middle East for eleven years collecting many Hebrew and Oriental manuscripts, of which the greater part was puchased by the Bodleian. On the Oriental collection, N.J.D.White, Librarian in 1900, wrote: 'The printed books which Marsh left to the library in Dublin which bears his name, testify abundantly to the extent of his linguistic interest, if not his knowledge. Besides Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, the Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgic, Slavonic, Persian and Turkish languages are here represented. The Hebrew books include fine editions of the Talmud and Targums, Rabbinical commentaries, Cabbalistic treatises, and liturgical works both of the Spanish and German Jews. Among them are specimens of the Bomberg press, early 16th century. One volume, which is styled by Marsh himself

"Liber rarissimus", deserves special notice—Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse of R. Immanuel Ben Salomon. Some of the books have an added interest on account of their having belonged to other eminent men before they came into Marsh's hands. Thus there is an imperfect Ethiopic Liturgy which had belonged to Dudley Loftus and Marsh'.[19] Three books have the names of their previous owners on the flyleaves: Jechiel Compendium (Amsterdam, 1701): 'Amsterdam 20 Februar. 1705, Isak Samuels'; Pentateuch (Hanov. 1611): 'Dr. Joseph Abendana'; Elias Levita, Grammatica Lat., (Basel, 1527): 'Jacobus' (?James Ussher) inscribed in Hebrew characters. The eight Hebrew manuscripts in the Library[20] are a manuscript relic of the Dublin synagogue of the first quarter of the eighteenth century,[21] a parchment roll of the Book of Esther, a copy of a manuscript of Robert Huntingdon with the title 'Excerpta ex R. Tanchumii Ben R. Joseph, Lexico Hebraico-Arabico. In quo explicat voces aliquot Mischnaicas, quae a R.Nathan omissae fuerunt', an Index Verborum quorundam Arabicorum et Hebraicorum (fragmentary), a parchment roll entitled 'Joannis Mattathiae Filii Res Gestae', a Book of Common Prayer translated into Hebrew,[22] a Vocabularium Hebraico-Gallicum Manuscriptum, and a Scroll of the Law purchased in 1926.[23]

(c) INTRODUCTION OF HEBREW TYPE IN IRELAND

Hebrew type was first used in Ireland in 1622 in Sir C.Sibthorp's 'Friendly Advertisement, etc.', printed in Dublin.[24] Hebrew again appears in James Ussher's 'Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite in Ireland, etc.', printed in Dublin in 1624 by the Company of Stationers. In that work, Hebrew words, notes, and phrases occur on 15 different pages; the type is of one font and small. The next occurrence is in a very rare work entitled 'Musarum Lachrymae; sive Elegia Collegii Sanctae & Individuae Trinitatis, etc., in obitum ... Comitessae Corcagiae, etc.', printed in Dublin in 1630. In the volume, consisting of numerous poems in several languages, are three elegies in Hebrew on Catherine Boyle,[25] Countess of Cork, and daughter of Sir J. Fenton, Master of the Rolls: the first is by Richard Jordan, the second apparently by Dudley Bos-

well, the third probably by Robert Parry (fl.1595). In Provost Winter's 'Two Sermons on Baptism' printed in 1650, Hebrew words occasionally occur in a font of small type.[26]

APPENDIX II

FROM: JEHUDAH LEIB
TO: RABBI AARON THE SCRIBE

Tuesday,[1] 13th Shevat, 5463 (1703), London, with the help of God. May the rod of Aaron blossom, blossom like the rose, and may his light shine forth like the sun when it riseth from the East! To Aaron, the exalted leader whose words cause the stumbling to rise! May God command His mercy on him daily! To the revered Rabbi Aaron, may the Lord Redeemer guard him! First, the blessing of God upon him! Secondly, I inform you that the young lady, the virgin, Hena, has shown me the letter written by your hand (from which I gather) that you are her good friend and that you advise her to conclude her engagement to Moses the son of Feybus [Michael Phillips?]. I hereby inform you that the said virgin expressed her opinion in my presence that you will not lead an orphan astray (God forbid!) for the sake of the monetary reward that you can expect for helping to arrange the marriage. For this reason, I am certain that you will settle matters on the basis of a dowry of £30 Sterling. However, you have not informed me whether the young man Moses intends to come here to bring the matter to a close and finally settle down here or if he intends to stay in Dublin where he is now and that she should join him there. She has, therefore, until now not sent her formal authorisation to settle the matter on her behalf as she is waiting for your answer. I beg you, therefore, to be a good friend to the above-mentioned virgin, for she has a good name in the congregation as a very rich woman, possessing both wisdom and knowledge. No one in the congregation has spoken other than good of her since she arrived. I await your esteemed answer, therefore, to know whether the thing proceeds from the Lord. If the other party will not come here, the young lady will send you her authorisation to act in her name. If, on the

other hand, he decides to come here, she will produce [lit., send] a deposit[2] which will come here in a certain way.

I conclude with best wishes and affection, from your faithful friend, Jehudah Leib of Lissa, temporarily residing in London.

The above-mentioned virgin sends her greetings to you and your wife and family and all your friends.

P.S.—After this was written, the young lady came to me and told me that she was inclined to the opinion that it would be better for the young man Moses to come here that they should see each other first; that they could be betrothed here and the wedding could take place a fortnight later. Do not have any hesitation on the score of your fee for arranging the marriage. Greetings from me, Jehudah Leib. As to the dowry, it will perhaps be more than the £30 mentioned. Moreover, there will be many packs of clothing and linen, all in abundance.

[On the back page]

To the Holy Congregation, Dublin

To be delivered and given to the learned as Ethan,[3] the patient and calm, the princely and exalted Rabbi Aaron Sopher, may he live!

Strangers[4] (opening letters addressed to other people) shall be excommunicated.

[In English]: This is for Moses Aaron in Dublin [several words crossed out and unreadable] in Ireland.

APPENDIX III

ABRAHAM BRAVO'S POEM

In 1720 Abraham Bravo, a London financier, wrote the following poem, which appears in the preface to Daniel Lopes Laguna's metrical version of the Psalms in Spanish, *Espejo Fiel de Vidas*, 'Faithful Mirror of Lives.' Bravo was the father-in-law of Solomon de Castro, who lived in Dublin in the third decade of the eighteenth century.

To my Worthy and most Ingenious Friend
Mr. Daniel Lopes Laguna, on his Publishing
his Excellent and Inimitable Paraphrase of
King David's Psalmes.

As when the Eagle to the Vaulted Skies
Aspiring mounts, and to those Regiones flies;
Delighting in the Lucid Fields of Air
To view the Bright and Shining Wonders there.
So I, to sing thy Praise exalt my Muse,
Wou'd you but her Imperfect notes excuse.

I

O! Heavenly Bard! how well by you Describ'd
Are David's Psalmes, how Gloriously reviv'd;
As if thy Harp, tun'd by his Sacred Hand
Did equal force, and Melody Command.

II

How Great's thy Wisdom, how Sublime thy Art,
Since you to us, such Heav'nly Truth's impart;

Had you been present, when the Monarch writ,
His thoughts you cou'd not with more Truth transmit.

III

Such Ray's of Bright Divinity are shed,
Throughout these Works, and every Line o're spread,
That by the Streams, the Spring is Clearly shown
And the Translation makes the Author known.

IV

Sure you were Inspir'd by the Godlike King,
His Hebrew prose, in Spanish Verse to Sing ;
Thy Muse will Fire with devotion those
Whome Verse admire, and not the Hebrew knows.

V

Even Cherubim will to thy Verses throng,
And with their Voices tune thy sacred Song;
Then in chorus sing thy Melodious Verse
While we with Halelujahs the Almighty bless.

VI

The merit due to your Immortal Name,
Will be a Pyramide to speak your Fame;
Other attempts are Vain; Since you excel,
Others may Imitate, but not so well.

VII

Nor may you Fear the Poet's common Lot,
Read, and Commended, but withall forgot;
The Brazen Mines and Marble Rocks may waste,
Yet we shall e're retaine thy Savoury Taste.

VIII

Oh! Then let's ever Chaunt Laguna's Praise.
Success and Glory Crown his Happy Days,
Ah! may the Heav'ns to him be ever kind
Since he to Virtue only Sway's his Mind.

ABRAHAM BRAVO

APPENDIX IV

TRANSLATION OF LETTER WRITTEN BY THOMAS CORBET TO PAUL BARRAS

Lorient, the 29th Pluvoise, 7th Year.

To Paul Barras, Member of the Directory.

Citizen Director:

To you as the friend of Bonaparte and as one whose felicitous sagacity has detected his brilliant Genius, I have thought it fitting to address this plan—a plan which owes its origin to the interest which the position of this General inspires in me. I wish rather to make myself understood in your esteemed language.

Greetings and respectful appreciation.

Thomas Corbet.

Then follows the text of the letter:

'Among the great number of interesting topics which are at the moment occupying the attention of the public, there is none which holds it more than the fate of Egypt. . .

'I ask leave to submit my ideas to your better judgment and to propose to you a scheme which I suspect is well calculated to achieve these two objects and some others also of considerable importance.

'It cannot be a matter of doubt to anyone who reflects on the position of the Jews, scattered as they are over the different countries of the world, without enjoying in any of them the full rights of the State, still less those of citizens, that this proud and haughty people, thus degraded and persecuted, resents the debasement of their position. Their riches do not console them for their hardships. They await with impatience the epoch of their re-establishment as a nation. This hope is maintained and fomented among them by an abundance of prophecies which promise them that this event is forthcoming. . .

'Moreover, as they have in their hands a large part of the finances of Europe, their efforts could not fail to be of great consequence if

only they were properly directed. . . They have shown themselves sensible of this need by their desire to gain an ascendancy in some free country. They have favoured the efforts of Poland and Ireland; but their hopes have deceived them. It may be that after the peace they will prefer France as their temporary home but, at the same time looking at themselves merely as wanderers, they would feel that they are not yet the Jewish people. It is for France to grant them a territory on which to lay the foundation of their restored Republic. . .

'I will presume that a member of the Directory would dispatch an invitation to two or three Jews of the highest consequence and most respected among the members of their nation, and thus address them: 'You are scattered over all the surface of the earth, nowhere as a nation, vilified, degraded by bigoted governments and insulted by the populaces. We know that you resent this condition and that you desire from the bottom of your hearts to be once more a nation. Your prophecies give you that hope and surely you desire the acceleration of so beautiful a promise. It is for you to believe them and to show your belief by your efforts. Our interests and desires are in accordance with yours, and it is in our power to show you favour. Look at Egypt, that beautiful country delivered from the hands of the Ottomans. Communicate our proposals to your brethren throughout the various countries and the terms under which we offer them. Let them make contributions for the purchase of that portion of Egypt which adjoins the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea.

'Apart from the sum which you give us for the purchase of territory we propose to grant you ports in the South of France or in Italy for the construction of battleships which will be at your disposal in time of war and which in time of peace will be restored to you as cargo boats for the transportation of your families to Egypt and for your commercial purposes. Thus even at the commencement of your re-establishment you will not encounter a barren and unprovided colony. You will have ships with which to engage in commerce. In order to favour such schemes still more, we grant you permission to place your men in our shipyards that they may be taught the art of construction, in our ships that they may learn the art of navigating, and in the armies of Bonaparte to learn that

art in which you were formerly so distinguished but from which you are at the moment excluded by all other powers on earth. This art will be of use to you in suppressing the Syrians and in opening the route to Palestine, that land where your painful labours will cease and your happiness will be complete.

'After an instant of astonishment at the great spectacle placed so close to their view, I dare promise that they will convene emissaries in the various kingdoms to announce these proposals to their brethren and to invite them to organise themselves in secret synods similar to those of the United Irishmen or to those that are attributed to the "Illuminati" in Germany. Persecution, so familiar to the Jews, has well predisposed them to form such societies. And this same people who had recourse to the invention of banknotes in order to withdraw their property from tyrannical hands, will have sufficient ability to hand over their contributions without compromising themselves.

'It is not only during the war that one would feel the advantage of a good understanding with the Jewish race. (En passant, I observe, that they served as good spies for Cromwell.) After the peace, France, for some length of time, will not have sufficient money to form a commercial stock, still less to establish themselves in Egypt. You will need, therefore, Jewish capital to expedite its advantages—its natural advantages, in order to set up markets of commerce between Europe and Asia. And, finally, you will have need of their population in order to compensate for the devastation caused by wars stirred up by barbarous neighbours.

'You do not wish to depopulate France by sending out colonies of families, without which, as all history bears witness, no colony can have any basis or stability. . . and since they are proud and haughty people, they will soon become good warriors under your military instruction, when they will no longer be overwhelmed under the yoke of princes. Finally, having a common interest, they will make common cause with the French. And since they look upon Egypt from the same viewpoint as the prophecies represent it, as being only one step, a grade, towards Palestine, they will push forward ahead, leaving Egypt to the influence of the French. Thus, with their penetrating into the bosom of Asia, they will bear with them the industry and arts and the enlightenment of the

Europeans, presenting them with a powerful machine for the regeneration of the Asiatics. They will present you also with a solid colony. . . and they will give a good impulse to the shocks and cries which will follow on the forthcoming event of the downfall of the Turks. Perhaps also their fanaticism will be attenuated by the collision of the opinions of men coming from different countries, having different customs and different lights. Assuredly, even China would feel the influence of their return.

'I have much to say concerning the details of the plan which I am proposing to you, but I fear that I have already wearied your attention and encroached upon your precious leisure.

I am with much respect,

Thomas Corbet'.

APPENDIX V

REGISTER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS OF THE DUBLIN HEBREW CONGREGATION KEPT BY THE REV. JULIUS SANDHEIM.

The Register of Births was begun by the Rev. Julius Sandheim on 25 November 1838, and is prefaced by a list of births recorded in the community from 20 February 1820. The Register of Deaths begins from 5 January 1842. The Register contains the following introduction dealing mainly with the appurtenances of the synagogue but, in many instances, the date of purchase or presentation is not given.

'The Burial Ground at Ballybough Bridge near the city of Dublin was purchased by the Portuguese Hebrew Congregation of London in the year[1] [1748] and given by them as a free gift, to the then existing Hebrew Congregation in this city and to their successors for ever, to be used by them for the interment of their own dead exclusively.[2]

'The Synagogue—Mary's Abbey, Dublin, the ground of which is the property of the Bank of Ireland, was purchased as a freehold lease from the trustees of the Seceders in the year [1836],[3] the inside of which was rebuilt and new Vestry Room added in the year [date missing in register].

Two ספרי תורות [*sic*] were restored by the Brothers, Messrs. Cohen of Charlemont Bridge, which they had in their possession for nearly half a century, to the Congregation in the year [1829].[4] These two ספרי תורות [*sic*] (were) supposed to have been purchased by a former Portuguese Congregation that existed in this City, long before they came into possession of Messrs. Cohen.

'A new large size ספר תורה was bequeathed by Mr. Reuben Phillips of Aston's Quay, Dublin (deceased) to the Congregation in the year 5588 (1828).[5]

'A Silver plain יד and small sized ספר תורה .

'The silver plain יד was given as a gift and the loan of the small sized ספר תורה was by Mr. J.W. Cohen of Ormond Quay, Dublin, for the use of the Congregation in the year 5584 (1824).

'A silver gilt יד was purchased by a small subscription amongst the Congregation in the year [date missing in register].

'A small sized ספר תורה was purchased by Mr. Jacob Abecasis[6] and given by him as a gift to the Congregation, and got it repaired in London at his own expense in the year (*circa* 1840).

'A small sized ספר תורה was purchased by the Congregation in the year [date missing in register].

'A white Satin Mantle trimmed and embroidered in Gold was presented by Mr. Henry Rosenthal[7] as a gift to the Congregation in the year (1841).

'A Velvet Printed Mantle was bequeathed by Mr. Laurence Isaacs[8] (deceased) for the use of the Congregation in the year [date missing in register].

'A middle small sized ספר תורה was presented by Mr. Michael Herman[9] as a gift to the Congregation which he brought from his native place Germany in the year 5600 a.m. (1840).

'A Blue Damask פרוכת (trimmed with lace) was presented by Mr. Raphael Solomon,[10] as a gift to the Congregation in the year 5600 (1840).

'A new White Satin פרוכת trimmed and embroidered in silver was presented by Mr. Simon Rosenstein[11] as a gift to the Congregation in the year 5601 (1841).

'A set of Green Moreene Curtains for Windows in front of the Synagogue was purchased by the Congregation in the year 5600 (1840).

'Four books for the use of the Congregation viz: Minute Book, Registry Book and Record Books were purchased by them in the year 5601 (1841).

'The Vestry Room in the year [date missing in register] was furnished with viz.:—Brass Fender and Steel fire Irons, a Mahogany Table, Metal Ink stand, pen Knife, one pair brass Candlesticks.

'May 5601 (1841): A silk Crimson Velvet פרוכת trimmed with Gold fingers and letters was presented by Mr. Rosenthal[12] as a gift to the Congregation.

(a) REGISTER OF BIRTHS.

Date	Name of birth	Place of birth	Name of parents	Place of birth of parents	Profession	Sandak	Mohel
20/ 2/1820	Esther	Dublin	J.W. Cohen	Posen, Poland	Jeweller	—	—
23/ 5/1821	Abby	Dublin	Rebecca Lazarus	Birmingham		—	—
	אביגיל		Rebecca Lazarus	Birmingham		—	—
10/ 2/1823	Jacob	Dublin	Rebecca Lazarus	Birmingham		—	Meir Nerwich
19/11/1824	Solomon	Dublin	Rebecca Lazarus	Birmingham		—	Meir Nerwich
4/ 4/1826	Woolf	Dublin	Solomon בן שלמה ר' זאב הכהן			—	Meir Nerwich
15/10/1826	טוּבה	Dublin	J.W. Cohen			—	—
14/ 9/1827	Henry (אהרן)	Dublin	Solomon Cohen			—	Meir Nerwich
13/12/1827	יטה	Dublin	J.W. Cohen				
12/ 2/1830	David	Jervis St.	יצחק בן דויד	Fardon, Poland	ש"וב (Shochet and Bodek)	—	אב שלו
4/ 1/1830	בילה	Dublin	J.W. Cohen	Posen	Jeweller	—	—
21/ 7/1830	Miriam	Dublin	B. Spiers	—	—	—	—
29/12/1830	Eve (חוה)	Dublin	Isaac Marcus ישראל יצחק	Danzig, Prussia	—	—	—
18/ 4/1831	George (גרשון)	Dublin	Henry Rosenthal	Hanover	Tobacconist	Dr. Lamart	Mr. A. Benmohel
13/ 6/1831	Solomon	12 Jervis Street	Isaac Davidson	Fardon, Poland	—	יהודה בר יצחק	ר' אלכסנדר זוסמאן
22/ 8/1831	Diane	Dublin	Jacob Abbecaces	Morocco	Tobacconist	Mr. A. Benmohel	אב שלו
	דינה		ר' יעקב בן חכם שלם			—	—
18/12/1831	Abraham Zacharia	Dublin	B. Gothimer (דוב)			J.W. Cohen	A. L. Benmohel
21/10/1832	Wolf	Dublin	J.W. Cohen			A.L. Benmohel	M. Nerwich
29/12/1832	Solomon	Dublin	B. Spiers			I. Davidson	A. L. Benmohel

(a) REGISTER OF BIRTHS.

Date	Name of birth	Place of birth	Name of parents	Place of birth of parents	Profession	Sandak	Mohel
9/ 2/1833	Abraham אברהם בן צבי	Dublin	H. Spiers			I. Davidson	Nerwich נוריוויך
8/ 3/1833	Wolf	Dublin	Isaac Davidson				אב שלו
20 /5/1833	John דוד בר מאיר	38 Nassau St.	Henry Rosenthal מאיר בן דוד			—	—
15/ 7/1833	ריזכה	Dublin	J.W. Cohen	——	—	—	—
12/ 8/1834	Milly	12 Jervis St.	Isaac Davidson	—	—	—	—
כ"ו אייר/1836	Dabby Abbecasis דבורה	Grafton St.	יעקב בן חכם שלם	—	—	—	—
11/ 9/1836	Joseph	12 Jervis St.	Isaac Davidson	—	—	A.L. Benmohel	father
21/10/1836	Samuel	Dublin	H. Rosenthal	—	—	—	—
6/ 1/1837	Louis אליעזר בן שמעון	Nassau St.	S. Rosenstein שמעון בן שלמה	Germany	Jeweller	—	—
10/11/1837	Alfred אפרים בן שמואל	19 Suffolk St.	Louis Harris יצחק בר שמואל	Germany	Jeweller	—	A.L. Benmohel
6/ 5/1838	Ephraim	Nassau St.	Henry Rosenthal	—	—	—	—
ג' אלול/1838	Solomon שלמה שלם רפאל בן יעקב	Grafton St.	Jacob Abecassis	—	—	—	—
11/ 7/1838	Elizabeth	Nassau St.	S. Rosenstein	—		—	—

At least two names are missing from this list: Lewis Joel, born in Dublin in 1824, and Matilda Marcus (married to Hyman Henry Collins), who was born there in 1837.

HEBREW CONGREGATION DUBLIN BIRTHS

No.	Parent's Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
1	Louis Harris Jeweller	19, Suffolk St.	Girl	25/11/1838	Hannah	—
2	J.W. Cohen (Rebecca) Jeweller	14, Ormond Quay	Girl	5/2/1839	Catherine	—
3	Mike Lee (General Dealer)	Brunswick St.	Boy	10/8/1839	Elias אליהו בן מיכאל	—
4	Joseph Rothschild,Cigar Manufacturer	South Gt. George's Street	Boy	17/2/1840	Samuel	I. Davidson
5	Henry Rosenthal, Tobacconist	38, Nassau St.	Girl	20/9/1840	Rose	—
6	Louis Harris, Jeweller	19, Suffolk St.	Boy	9/2/1841	Morris	—
7	Isaac Davidson (Catherine)	13, Jervis St.	Boy	4/1/1842	Asher	I. Davidson
8	Henry Lazarus (Fanny) Jeweller	Parkgate St.	Girl	16/3/1842	Julia	—
9	Louis Cohen (Jane), Tobacconist	19, Dame St.	Girl	12/9/1842	Sarah	
10	Henry Lazarus (Fanny), Jeweller	Parkgate St.	Boy	10/11/1843	Louis אלעזר פנחס בן אהרן	—
11	Louis Cohen (Jane), Tobacconist	Dame St.	Girl	9/12/1843	Jane	
12	Morris Salaman (Esther), Jeweller	Ellis's Quay	Boy	7/10/1843	Selam שלמה מאיר בן מרדכי	
13	Henry Lazarus (Fanny), Jeweller	Parkgate St.	Girl	6/12/1844	Miriam	
14	Julius Sandheim (Mariam), Shochet and Bodek	22, Fownes Street	Boy	20/6/1844	Bendix	his grandfather

No.	Parent's Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
15	Morris Salaman (Esther), Jeweller	Ellis's Quay	Girl	18/10/1844	Rebecca	
16	Louis Cohen (Jane), Tobacconist	Dame St.	Girl	22/12/1844	Esther	
17	Isaac Marcus, General Dealer	24, Capel St.	Boy	30/12/1844	Henry צבי הירש בן ישראל יצחק	M. Nerwich
18	Joseph Blum, Fancy Warehouse	12, Nassau St.	Girl	17/1/1845	Henriette	
19	Ephraim Blum, Fancy Warehouse	12, Nassau St.	Girl	12/7/1845	Henriette	
20	Henry Nerwich (Jane), Wholesale Jewellery Warehouse	8, Crow St.	Boy	5/12/1845	Edward Phillip	M. Nerwich, grandfather
21	Morris Salaman (Esther), Jeweller	16, Ellis's Quay	Girl	1/2/1846	Elise בילה בת ר׳ מרדכי דוד ר׳ק׳ק וואַרשוים בר שלמה	
22	Joseph Blum, Fancy Warehouse	12, Nassau St.	Boy	12/2/1846	Morris	M. Nerwich
23	Julius Sandheim (Mariam)	20, Anglesea St.	Boy	22/2/1846	Isaac	אב שלו
24	Saul Solomon (Polly), .. Cloth Merchant	136, Capel St.	Boy	11/3/1846	Edward	I. Sandheim
25	Moses Epstein Margoliouth father a converted Jew (=clergyman) in Glasnevin near Dublin	Mother חיה גולדברג at the time not living with her husband (she was) in Jervis St.	Girl	24/3/1846	פיגלה בת חיה	

No.	Parent's Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
26	Elias Samuelson (Sarah), Tailor	Capel St.	Girl	16/4/1846	Chavah חוה בת אליהו	
27	Henry Lazarus (Fanny), Jeweller	Parkgate St.	Boy	30/3/1846	Selem שלמה שמואל בן אהרן	I. Sandheim
28	Marc Rothschild, Cigar	Trinity Square	Boy	13/5/1846	יוסף	I. Sandheim
29	Maker		Girl	13/5/1846	חנה	
30	Louis Gorer (Hanah), General Dealer	34, Jervis St.	Boy	28/6/1846	אברהם כהן בר אורי	I. Sandheim
31	Ephraim Blum (Mina), Fancy Warehouse	12, Nassau St.	Boy	11/8/1846	Isaac	I. Sandheim
32	John Levy (Elizabeth)	Grafton St.	Boy	15/10/1846	אורי	I. Sandheim
33	Simon Rosenstein		Boy	9/4/1847	Benjamin Isaac	I. Sandheim
34	S. Solomon		Boy	15/5/1847	Israel	I. Sandheim
35	Henry Nerwich		Boy	8/7/1847	Louis	I. Sandheim
36	Henry Lazarus		Boy	19/9/1847	Alfred	I. Sandheim
37	J. Sandheim		Girl	12/1/1848	Martha	—
38	Henry Solomon		Girl	31/1/1848	Abigail	—
39	Isaac Marcus		Girl	27/3/1848	Priscilla פעסה	—
40	Morris Salaman		Girl	20/4/1848	Julia יטה	—
41	Louis Cohen		Girl	24/6/1848	Julia יטה	—
42	E. Samuelson		Boy	20/9/1848	Rodolph (רפאל)	—
43	Henry Lazarus		Girl	24/9/1848	Nellie	
44	Joseph Blum		Boy	9/10/1848	(יצחק)	
45	Henry Nerwich		Girl	19/2/1849	Louise	
46	S. Rubinstein		Girl	14/3/1849	Caroline	
47	M. Marcus		Boy	21/5/1849	Charles	

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
48	Louis Cohen		Girl	23/6/1849	Adelaide	
49	Mier Levy	Belfast	Boy	21/7/1849	Eleazar	
50	Morris Salaman	Gloucester St.	Boy	24/9/1849	Joseph Wolfe	
51	Samuel Dutch	10, Pembroke Quay	Boy	26/9/1849	אברהם	
52	J. Sandheim	14, Fleet St.	Boy	13/10/1849	David	
53	E. Blum	Nassau St.	Boy	27/11/1849	מאיר	
54	Mark Rothschild		Boy	8/2/1850	Samuel	
55	Henry Lazarus		Girl	13/3/1850	Alice	
56	E. Samuelson	Fownes St.	Girl	14/5/1850	Rachel	
57	Joseph Harris	54, Mary St.	Girl	18/6/1850	Rose	
58	Henry Nerwich		Girl	22/8/1850	Harriet	
59	Samuel Dutch		Boy	31/10/1850	Louis Lesser אלעזר בן שמואל יהודא	
60	S. Rubinstein	Dame St.	Boy	8/11/1850	David	
61	W.L. Louis	18, Rutland St.	Boy	16/11/1850	Meyer	
62	Morris Myers	Abbey St.	Girl	18/11/1850	Ernestine	
63	M. Salaman	Gloucester St.	Boy	11/2/1851	Henry	
64	Joseph Blum	Nassau St.	Girl	26/2/1851	בילד	
65	Michael Davis	Sunderland, England	Girl	24/3/1851		
66	John Davis	108, Grafton St.	Girl	31/5/1851		
67	J. Sandheim		Boy	14/6/1851	Abraham	
68	H. Rosenthal Junr.	Gloucester St.	Boy	17/6/1851	Adolphus	
69	Hyman Davis	8, Grafton St.	Girl	2/7/1851	עלקלא	
70	Henry Lazarus	Marlborough St.	Girl	16/7/1851	Eliza Matilda	
71	E. Blum	Nassau St.	Girl	3/11/1851	רָכְלָה	
72	—. Hesse		Girl	8/12/1851	בילה	

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
73	S. Rubinstein	Gloucester St.	Boy	2/2/1852	Joseph	
74	S. Dutch	Capel St.	Girl	7/2/1852	Esther	
75	Henry Nerwich	William St.	Girl	10/3/1852	Elizabeth Emma	
76	E. Samuelson	Fownes St.	Girl	30/6/1852	Rosalie	
77	Joseph Harris	William St.	Boy	14/7/1852	William	
78	Henry Lazarus	Marlborough St.	Boy	2/1/1853	Julius	
79	J. Sandheim	Anglesea St.	Girl	24/1/1853	Rose	
80	John Davis	Grafton St.	Girl	29/1/1853	Julia יהודית	
81	Morris Salaman	Gloucester St.	Girl	24/2/1853	Rachel	
82	Hyman Davis	109, Grafton St.	Boy	12/3/1853	Isaac	
83	S. Rubinstein	Lr. Gloucester St.	Boy	1/5/1853	Moses	
84	Samuel Dutch	Capel St.	Girl	8/5/1853	Leah	
85	Henry Nerwich	William St.	Boy	19/5/1853	מרדכי אנשיל	
86	S. Stavenhagen	Grafton St.	Boy	3/8/1853	Gustave גרשון	
87	Morris Cohen	Fownes St.	Boy	13/9/1853	Henry	
88	Mier Levy	Belfast	Boy	24/10/1853	יצחק	
89	Morris Salaman	Gloucester St.	Girl	30/3/1854	Hannah	
90	Henry Lazarus	Marlborough St.	Girl	16/4/1854	Elizabeth	
91	Samuel Dutch	Capel St.	Boy	18/5/1854	Charles עקיבא	
92	E. Samuelson	Dawson St.	Girl	23/8/1854	Fanny	
93	H. Rosenthal Junr.	Blackrock	Boy	23/8/1854	Ernest	
94	Joseph Blum	Nassau St.	Boy	10/9/1854	Lionel	
95	John Davis	Grafton St.	Boy	13/9/1854	Jacob Henry	
96	Morris Cohen	Fownes St.	Girl	3/2/1855	Harriet	
97	Morris Salaman	Gloucester St.	Boy	3/5/1855	Frederick	
98	Joseph Isaacs	Eustace St.	Boy	30/7/1855	Myer	

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
99	Robert Blum	Nassau St.	Boy	3/8/1855	Joseph	
100	Isaac Goold	Irishtown	Boy	5/10/1855	Charles יהשוע	
101	Hyman Davis	109, Grafton St.	Boy	25/10/1855	David	
102	Samuel Dutch	104, Capel St.	Boy	25/11/1855	Alfred	
103	David Davis	93, Gardiner St.	Boy	26/11/1855	Charles	
104	Henry Rosenthal	Blackrock	Girl	22/12/1855	Hannah	
105	J. Sandheim	Anglesea St.	Girl	1/1/1856	Catherine	
106	Morris Cohen	Fownes St.	Girl	5/1/1856	Rachel	
107	Julius Ahlborn	21, Capel St.	Boy	16/3/1856	Abraham	
108	Henry Lazarus	Marlborough St.	Boy	15/4/1856	Frederick	
109	Morris Altman	Lr. Abbey St.	Boy	25/5/1856	Henry	
110	John D. Rosenthal	Harcourt St.	Boy	4/8/1856	Lionel Henry	
111	Joseph Isaacs	Eustace St.	Girl	9/8/1856	Ella	
112	Henry Nerwich	William St.	Girl	18/4/1857	Theresa Hannah	
113	Abraham Cohen	New Row	Girl	27/6/1857	Henriette	
114	S. Rubinstein	Gloucester St.	Boy	16/7/1857	Alfred	
115	E. Samuelson	Dawson St.	Girl	23/7/1857	Miriam	
116	Myer Erlich	Anglesea St.	Girl	28/7/1857	Theresa	
117	Morris Cohen	Fownes St.	Girl	18/8/1857	Jeanette	
118	Moritz Altman	Mary St.	Girl	29/9/1857	Ida	
119	J.D. Rosenthal	Harcourt St.	Boy	18/10/1857	Herbert	
120	Samuel Dutch	Capel St.	Girl	9/11/1857	Fanny	
121	David Jacob	Dame St.	Boy	27/11/1857	Louis	
122	Hyman Davis	Stephen's Green	Boy	7/12/1857	Henry	
123	M. de Groot	Denzelle St.	Boy	3/1/1858	Henry	
124	George Levy	126, Capel Street	Girl	19/11/1858	Hannah	

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
125	Abraham Cohen			2/4/1858		
126	Henry Lazarus	Marlborough St.	Boy	14/5/1858	Walter	
127	Joseph Humphries	Mecklenburgh St.	Boy	4/6/1858	Saul	
128	Phineas Jacobs	Anglesea St.	Boy	17/6/1858	Michael	
129	Myer Marks	18, Lr. Gloucester St.	Girl	21/7/1858	Rebecca	
130	David Davis	20, Richmond St.	Boy	31/7/1858	Cecil יקותיאל	
131	Marcus Robinson	50, S. George's St.	Boy	20/8/1858	Morris	
132	Louis Harris	Baggot St.	Boy	10/9/1858	Wormser Herbert יצחק	
133	John D. Rosenthal	Harcourt St.		4/11/1858		
134	Joseph Blum	Richmond St.		20/12/1858	Solomon George	
135	David Davis	Baggot St.		27/12/1858	Alice Maud	
136	Henry Falk	Parliament St.		1/12/1858	מטיל (Girl)	
137	Morris Cohen	Fownes St.		15/1/1859	Amelia	
138	Myer Erlich	Anglesea St.		20/1/1859	Leah	
139	Divorced woman called Rochel	Steven's St.		30/1/1859	Hyman	
140	Abraham Cohen	New Row		10/2/1859	Fanny	
141	David Jacobs	Dame St.		16/4/1859		
142	Hyman Davis	Stephen's Green		30/7/1859	Julia	
143	Morris Salaman	Gloucester St.		1/8/1859	Asher	
144	Samuel Dutch	Sandymount		7/8/1859	Juliette	
145	E. Samuelson	Dawson Street		20/8/1859	Esther	
146	Lewis Harris	Baggot St.		13/9/1859	Ernest Wormser	
147	Samuel Jacobs	71, Gt. George's St.		19/10/1859		

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
148	Simon Calbs	7, York St.		9/11/1859	Henry	
149	Morris Newman	Marlboro' St.		1/12/1859	Boy	
150	Joseph Humphries			3/1/1860	Sophia	
151	Henry Lazarus	Marlboro' St.		9/1/1860	Edward	
152	J.D. Rosenthal	Harcourt St.		24/1/1860		
153	George Levy	107, Capel St.		15/2/1860	Israel	
154	Henry Falk	57, Grand Barn		25/4/1860	עלקייל	
155	Myer Erlich	20, Anglesea St.		25/7/1860	Stella	
156	E. Samuelson	Dawson St.		18/8/1860	Sophia	
157	Abraham Cohen	New Row		12/11/1860	Catherine	
158	Adolph Stellman	Stafford St.		15/11/1860	Jacob	
159	M. de Groot	42, Ormond Quay		6/12/1860	Died without being named 30/12/1860	
160	Moritz Altman	48, Capel St.		17/12/1860	Mendel	
161	D.L. Davis	Adelaide Pl.		21/12/1860	יהושע	
162	S. Jacobs	26, Eustace St.		13/2/1861	Jenette	
163	Henry Lazarus	Marlborough St.		29/4/1861	Ernest John	
164	Louis Harris	Baggot St.		9/5/1861	Lionel Simon W.	
165	Lewis Berg	Mary St.		27/6/1861	Moses	
166	Samuel Dutch	Martello Av., Sandymount		6/7/1861	Henry Asher	
167	D. Jacobs	Dame St.		7/7/1861	Julius	
168	Simon Marks	36, Wellington Quay		26/10/1861	Fanny	
169	Joseph Humphries	Mecklenburg St.		28/11/1861	Julia	
170	—— Edwards	Henry St.		27/12/1861	Jacob	
171	J.D. Rosenthal	34, Harcourt St.		8/2/1862	Alice Isabella	
172	Mier Erlich	20, Anglesea St.		19/3/1862	Rachel	

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
173	Elias Cohen	49, Henry St.		1/4/1862	Jacob	
174	Joseph Isaacs	15, Nassau St.		12/5/1862	Rebecca	
175	Henry Falk	56, Grand Barn		17/6/1862	Leah	
176	Elias Samuelson	44, Wellington Rd.		25/6/1862	Ada	
177	A.M. Cohen	113, Rathmines		25/7/1862	Esther	
178	Hermann Boas	34, College St., Belfast		24/7/1862	Frederick Samuel	
179	M. de Groot	60, Bolton St.		1/8/1862	Eleazar	
180	M. Marks	9, Ryder's Row		15/11/1862	Emanuel	
181	George Levy	126, Capel St.		29/11/1862	Joseph	
182	D.L. Davis	Adelaide Pl.		13/1/1863	Frederick	
183	Samuel Jacobs	26, Eustace St.		22/1/1863	Ellen	
184	Louis Harris	124, Baggot St.		12/2/1863	Arthur Wormser	
185	P. Bender	100, Mid. Abbey St.		17/4/1863	Alfred	
186	—— Wertheim	38, Marlborough St.		17/4/1863	Johanna	
187	John D. Rosenthal	34, Harcourt St.		15/6/1863	May	
188	Samuel Dutch	104, Capel St.		12/7/1863	Mier	
189	Morris Harris	44, Heytesbury St.		18/8/1863	Hyam	
190	Myer Erlich	20, Anglesea St.		24/9/1863	Rosetta	
191	Lewis Arnhold	69, Dame St.		30/9/1863	Amelia	
192	Joseph Humphries	70, Dame St.		11/10/1863	Joseph	
193	S. Levingston	42, Kildare St.		12/10/1863	Girl	
194	E. Samuelson			12/10/1863	Alice	
195	H. Falk	109, Marlborough St.		14/10/1863	Joseph Samuel	
196	James Mautner	Holywood, Belfast		17/1/1864	Jenny	
197	M. Altman	Mary St.		25/3/1864	Eleazar	
198	Joseph Isaacs	15, Nassau St.		3/5/1864	Died on 3rd day.	

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
199	D.L. Davis	Adelaide Pl.		13/5/1864	Walter	
200	P. Bender			2/6/1864	Gertrude	
201	Samuel Dutch	Sandymount		5/6/1864	Hannah	
202	John Stibbe	Dame St.		19/6/1864	David	
203	D.M. Davis	York St.		30/7/1864	Henry	
204	M. de Groot	Bolton St.		5/9/1864	Therese	
205	Joseph Blum	Mount St.		12/9/1864	Charlotte	
206	M. Marks	50, Capel St.		29/11/1864	Theresa	
207	E. Samuelson	44, Wellington Rd.		28/3/1865	George Arthur	
208	Henry Falk	84, Gt. Brunswick St.		6/4/1865	Esther	
209	J.D. Rosenthal	34, Harcourt St.		16/5/1865	ברוך בר דוד	
210	James Mautner	Holywood, Belfast		30/5/1865	Gertrude	
211	Joseph Humphries	71, Dame St.		19/6/1865	Abraham	
212	Louis Harris	124, Baggot St.		8/7/1865	Walter Wormser	
213	S. Levenston	42, Kildare St.		17/7/1865	Rebecca	
214	J.J. Weinberg	Belfast		5/8/1865	Simon Frederick	
215	Adolp Rueff			20/8/1865	John Eugene	
216	Joseph Isaacs	15, Nassau St.		3/10/1865	Isaac	
217	Samuel Cohen	194, Gt. Brunswick St.		9/3/1866	Michael Montefiore	
218	P. Bender	86, Marlboro' St.		18/6/1866	Albert Maurice	
219	James Mautner	Holywood, Belfast		2/8/1866	Deneston	
220	Mark Hoagman	Capel St.		21/8/1866	Elizabeth	
221	Edward Davieson	96, Stephen's Green		25/8/1866	David	
222	Samuel Dutch	Sandymount		30/8/1866	Selim	
223	E. Samuelson	Wellington Rd.		13/9/1866	Hortense	
224	Henry Falk	Gt. Brunswick St.		4/10/1866	Abraham	

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
225	Martin Jaffe	Belfast, Sydenham		27/10/1866	Egbert Joseph	
226	H. Boas	Belfast		6/11/1866	Benjamin	
227	J.J. Weinberg	Belfast		19/10/1866	Philip Charles	
228	S. Jacobs	23, York St.		22/12/1866	Isaac	
229	Myer Erlich	Parliament St.		23/12/1866	Miriam	
230	S. Barnard			24/1/1867	Elizabeth	
231	Abraham Cohen	22, Herbert St.		31/3/1867	Adelaide	
232	P. Bender	Marlboro' St.		12/9/1867	Mordecai Montague	
233	A.W. Harris	12, Wellington Rd.		2/10/1867	Percy Wormser	
234	Martin Jaffe	Sydenham, Belfast		3/10/1867	Sarah	
235	S. Levenston	42, Kildare St.		11/10/1867	Maria	
236	Herman Boas	Belfast		28/12/1867	Ernest Alexander	
237	Henry Falk	Gt. Brunswick St.		17/1/1868	Mordecai	
238	S. Barnard	Grafton St.		1/2/1868	Hannah	
239	M. de Groot	5, Adelaide Rd.		18/2/1868	Sarah	
240	Marks Marks	48, Capel St.		2/3/1868	Gershon	
241	J. Weinberg	Belfast		11/5/1868	Herbert James	
242	Samuel Dutch	Sandymount		1/6/1868	Adolfe	
243	James Mautner	Belfast		2/7/1868	Alfred	
244	J.D. Rosenthal	Harcourt St.		13/8/1868	Horace	
245	Myer Erlich			16/9/1868	Esther	
246	P. Bender			23/11/1868	Leah	
247	S. Jacobs	Merrion Row		19/12/1868		
248	S. Barnard	Grafton St.		10/3/1869	Morris	
249	Martin Jaffe	Belfast		14/5/1869	Charles Sampson	
250	J. Humphries	Dame St.		26/5/1869	Louis	
251	Marks Hoagman	Capel St.		3/9/1869	Rosetta	
252	Abraham Cohen	Camden St.		3/9/1869	Hanchen	

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
253	S. Levenston	Kildare St.		24/10/1869	Francis	
254	Nathan Levy	Trinity St.		18/11/1869	Michael	
255	M. de Groot	48, Gardiner St.		12/5/1870	Lazarus	
256	Herman Boas	Belfast		15/5/1870	Joel	
257	M. Marks	Capel St.		16/7/1871	Jonah	
258	M. de Groot	48, Gardiner St.		15/9/1871	Salvador	
259	Robert Jordan	48, Gardiner St.		4/10/1871	John Jacob	
260	S. Levenston	42, Kildare St.		1/1/1872	Girl	
261	J. Humphries	71, Dame St.		11/1/1872	Leah	
262	Charles Myers	Camden St.		20/4/1872	Julia	
263	H. Rudman	32, Cumberland St.		30/8/1872	Hendil	
264	I. Gittelson	3, Jervis St.		16/10/1872	Louise	
265	Phillip Jordan	14, Herbert St.		6/2/1873	Arthur Marinus	
266	M. de Groot	48, Gardiner St.		16/2/1873		
267	L. B. Lazarus	12, Herbert Pl.		20/2/1873	Henry John Emanuel	
268	H. Boas	Belfast		21/6/1873	Boy	
269	S. Levenston	42, Kildare St.		24/1/1874	Leah	
270	M. de Groot	Sandycove		14/6/1874	Alfred Phillip	
271	Hosea Rudman	27, Abbey St.		25/6/1874		
272	L. B. Lazarus			7/8/1874	Walter George	
273	Jacob Davis	28, Chancery Lane		26/9/1874	Abraham	
274	J. D. Rosenthal	80, Harcourt St.		8/11/1874	Archibald Joseph	
275	H. Boas	Belfast		9/1/1875	Edward Benjamin	
276	M. Marks	Townsend St.		30/1/1875	Boy	
277	Marks Isaacs	78, Bride St.		10/9/1875	Esther	
278	L. Rosenberg	17, Moore St.		18/11/1875	Rebecca	
279	C. L. Reis	5, Grafton St.		14/11/1875	Percy Harcourt	
280	Morris Isaacs	Belfast		20/11/1875	Frederick Solomon	

No.	Parents' Name and Occupation	Residence	Sex	When born	Name	Mohel
281	M. de Groot	48, Lr. Gardiner St.		9/2/1876	Lion	
282	S. Levenston	42, Kildare St.		14/4/1876	Samuel	
283	Jacob Davis	12, Chancery Lane		26/8/1876	Lewis	
284	S. Rathburne	Capel St.		12/10/1876	Lewis	
285	M. Falk	Rathmines		17/11/1876	Mary Anne	
286	——— Frieudman	Belfast		23/11/1876	Boy	
287	G. Spiro	Belfast		16/12/1876	Boy	
288	Isaac Epstein			8/2/1877	Morris	
289	George Betzold	Belfast		11/2/1877	Arthur	
290	Isaac Sandheim	16, Suffolk St.		3/5/1877	May	
291	Samuel Gilbert	Mecklenburg St.		4/11/1877	Lewis	
292	Isaac Smith	171, Townsend St.		23/12/1877	Esther	
293	L. Rosenberg	17, Moore St.		7/1/1878	Esther	
294	Michael Falk	Rathmines		11/1/1878	Patrick Solomon	
295	M. Harmel	20, Upr. Mercer St.		6/2/1878	Miriam	
296	S. Levenston	42, Kildare St.		26/3/1878	Morris	
297	M. Spiro	16, Aungier St.		17/4/1878	Edith	
298	H. Frankel	8, Castle St.		25/8/1878	Boy	
299	George Betzold	Belfast		9/9/1878	Oscar	
300	J. S. Rubinstein Senr.			17/10/1878	אלעזר אהרן בר יוסי שלמה	
301	J. Lewis	Bray		20/10/1878	Boy	
302	Jacob Davis	Peter St.		3/12/1878	Boy	
303	S. Rathburne	Pill Lane		4/12/1878	Solomon	
304	——— Freedman	George's St., Kingstown		10/3/1879	שפטיל	
305	Chas. L. Reis	1, Ailesbury Road		18/4/1879	Violet Ida	
306	M. E. Solomons	32, Waterloo Rd.		7/5/1879	Edwin Morris	

(b) REGISTRY OF DEATHS

No.	Surname	Name	Hebrew Name	Age		Locality	Cause	Date of death	Remarks
				Year	Month				
1	Harris		רפאל	Infant		19, Suffolk St.		5/1/1842	Son of L. Harris
2	Cohen	Ellen				Gloucester Pl.		28/6/1843	Wife of Solomon Cohen
3	Cohen	Barney		78		Charlemont Bridge		20/4/1844	Native of Dublin
4	Isaacs	Louise						29/4/1844	
5	Cohen	Rebecca	רבקה בת אליעזר					1/7/1844	Wife of J.W. Cohen
6	Rosenthal	George	בן מאיר	13	6			20/10/1844	
7	Davidson	Isaac					Suddenly	א ד׳חנוכה 1844	
8	Simon	N.S.				Died suddenly in mail packet coming over from Liverpool		5605 15/5/1845	From Hamburg
9	Davidson	Alexander		3	6		Burnt to death by neglect of servant	9/6/1845	
10	Cohen	Sarah	שרה בת שלמה			Charlemont Bridge		19/5/1846	From Lissa, Poland.
11	Opolinser	Edward						12/9/1846	
12	Isaacs	I.					after one day's illness	22/1/1847	Falmouth
13	Genese	Bobby				Limerick	Died 30 May, 1847, and buried in Limerick, but afterwards exhumed and buried here on 16 June, 1847.		

No.	Surname	Name	Hebrew Name	Age		Locality	Cause	Date of death	Remarks
				Year	Month				
15	Tobias	Samuel	שמואל בר טוביה					12/1/1848	Many years שמש of the Congregation
16	Solomon	R.	יעקב רפאל בר יחזקל					28/2/1848	
17	Joel	Mrs.	פסה בת יהודה					26/3/1848	
18	Harris		משה בר יצחק					13/2/1849	Son of L. Harris
19	Rothschild	Rebecca	רבקה בת יוסף					4/3/1849	
20	Lazarus	Elizabeth	בילא בת יצחק					27/6/1849	Wife of L. Lazarus from Bath
21	Marcus	Sophia	שרה רבקה בת גבריאל					9/7/1849	From Leeds
22	Davidson	Solomon		18			drowned by accident in Lifley at North Wall	29/7/1849	
23	Harris	Amelia	רחל רבקה	17		Nassau St.	Swelling in Knee	7/6/1851	
24	Lazarus	Matilda (Emma)	מלכה	—	7	Marlboro' St.	Teething	7/2/1852	daughter of H. Lazarus
25	Lazarus	Louis	אליעזר בר שמעון	72		Parliament St.		26/4/1852	
26	Harris	Joseph	יוסף יהודה בר צבי	35		Irishtown Rd.	Liver Complaint	22/9/1852	From Accin in Poland.
27	Blum	Myer	בר אפרים	3		Nassau St.	Croupe	6/12/1852	
28	Harris	Charles	צבי בר עקיבא יהודה	56		Nassau St.	Appoplexy	15/1/1853	
29	Herman	Michael		73		James St.		13/10/1853	

No.	Surname	Name	Hebrew Name	Age Year	Age Month	Locality	Cause	Date of death	Remarks
30	Cohen	Abraham		78		Charlemont Bridge		20/1/1854	The last survivor of his family born in Dublin.
31	Davis	Jacob Henry		—	15 days	Grafton St.		27/9/1854	
32	Laurence	Samuel	שמואל בר מאיר	64		Grafton St.		12/2/1855	From London
33	Blum	Morris	בן יוסף	—	5	Nassau St.	Teething	17/2/1855	
34	Samuelson	Rachel		4	— 9		Scarletina	28/2/1855	
35	Harris	Ellen	הנדיל בת רפאל	38		Brunswick St. North	Insanity	8/12/1855	
36	Jacobs	Sarah		42		Dame St.	Cancer in Womb	7/4/1856	
37	Lucas	Elizabeth	בילה בת נפתלי	74		Finglas		14/8/1856	From Chatham
38	Crabb	Benjamin	אהרון בנימין בר אורי שרגי	71		Kilkee, Co. Clare	Disease in Bladder	31/8/1856	
39	Nerwich	Theresa	טובה בת אורי	73		Crow St.		7/12/1856	
40	Phillips	Judith		75		Jervis St.		1/1/1857	
41	Dutch	Ellen	הינדל בת יוסף	39		Brunswick St. N.	Insanity	28/3/1857	
42	Cohen	Henriette	הענדלה בת אברהם	—	8	New Row, S.	Water on Brain	2/4/1858	
43	Isaacs	Eveline		25		Eustace St.	Childbirth	28/6/1858	
44	Rosenthal	Herbert		1	— 1	Harcourt St.	Croup	9/10/1858	
45	Kaplan	Henry	צבי בר שמואל	58		Capel St.	Gravel in Bladder	22/12/1858	
46	Lazarus	Walter	זאב בר אליעזר	—	8	Marlboro St.	Skin Disease	22/1/1859	

No.	Surname	Name	Hebrew Name	Age		Locality	Cause	Date of death	Remarks
				Year	Month				
47	Humphrey	Rachel		2		Mecklenburg St.	Scarletina	14/2/1859	
48	Humphrey	Saul		—	8	Mecklenburg St.	Scarletina	26/2/1859	
49	Cohen	Jenette		1	— 6	Fownes St.	Scarletina	12/3/1859	
50	Cohen	Emilia		—	4	Kingstown	Bronchitis	21/4/1859	
51	Samuelson		הילדה אסתר		—	Dawson St.		29/5/1859	
52	Blum	Joseph	בן יוסף		— 10	Richmond St.	Teething	5620 (1859)	
53	Dutch	Juliette			— 4	Capel St.	Teething	–/12/1859	
54	Altman	Sarah		6	6	Capel St.	Scarletina	19/12/1859	
55	Altman	Henry		4	—	Capel St.	Scarletina	1/1/1859	
56	De Groot	Sarah			— 1	42, Lr. Ormond Quay		6/12/1860	
57	Myers	Mendel		5		Leeson Pl.	Disease in Stomach	27/12/1860	
58	Jacobs	Michael	בן פנחס	2	9	31, Dame St.		26/5/1861	
59	Davis J.D.		יעקב בן דוד				Disease of Heart	16/10/1861	Teacher and Lecturer to the Congregation.
60	Metzenberg	Levy					Appoplexy	27/1/1862	Native of Lissa, Prussia.
61	Rosenstein	Simon		68		Sackville St.		5/4/1862	
62	Braun	Jacob	יעקב בר משה	56		Belfast		29/5/1862	
63	Lehman	Theresa		24				1/6/1862	
64	Dutch	Lesser	אלעזר בר אברהם			Grafton St.		23/9/1862	

No.	Surname	Name	Hebrew Name	Age		Locality	Cause	Date of death	Remarks
				Year	Month				
65	Cohen	Esther		—	4	Rathmines		29/10/1862	
66	Cohen	Sarah	שרה לאה בת אלעזר					25/1/1863	
67	Rothschild	Joseph	יוסף בר דב			3, Hawkins St.		9/3/1863	
68	Mautner	Eliza	אסתר בת יעקב	—		Belfast		25/6/1863	
69	Harris	Hannah	בת אברהם			44, Heytesbury St.		3/9/1863	
70	Dutch	Alfred				104, Capel St.		8/10/1863	
71	Harris	Hyman	בר משה	—	5	Aston's Quay		8/1/1864	
72	Pollack	Jacques	יעקב בר אריה	32		96, Stephen's Green	Consumption	15/3/1864	Native of Holland
73	Levingston	Michael	משה מיכאל בר שמואל					26/5/1864	From Glasgow
74	Marcus	Isaac	ישראל יצחק בר מרדכי	64			Bronchitis	23/8/1864	Native of Danzig
75	Lehman	Leah		60		Grafton St.	Appoplexy	25/8/1864	
76	Lehman	L.	אליעזר בר מאיר אריה	68		38, Grafton St.	Disease of Heart	17/10/1864	
77	Nathan	John	עקיבא בר יחזקאל לוי	69		30, Lr. Gloucester St.	Sciatica	11/12/1864	
78	De Groot	Eleazar	בר משה	2	6	60, Bolton St.		25/3/1865	
79	Rosenberg	J.	יהושע בר פסח הכהן	25		Hartwich Hospital	Typhus Fever	20/4/1865	
80	Altman	Eleazar		1	1	57, Henry St.		26/4/1865	
81	Isaacs	E.	אלזה בת ר' חיים			N. Brunswick St.	Insanity	13/5/1865	
82	Falk	Esther		—	4	Gt. Brunswick St.		5/8/1865	

No.	Surname	Name	Hebrew Name	Age		Locality	Cause	Date of death	Remarks
				Year	Month				
83	Phillips	L.		91				12/8/1865	The last member of the family
84	Davis	Selina	שרה בת רבקה	54		115, Grafton St.		4/7/1866	Died in Kingstown
85	Isaacs	Rebecca	רבקה בת יוסף	4	— 6	Sandymount		18/8/1866	
86	Davieson	David	דוד	—	18 days	Stephen's Green		11/9/1866	
87	Solomon	Elizabeth	בילה בת יצחק	84				13/10/1866	
88	Lasch Levi	Benjamin		83		Holyhead		18/10/1866	Schenlank, Poland.
89	Boas	Benjamin		—	19 days	Belfast		25/10/1866	
90	Cohen	Marcus	מרדכי בר יהודה	39		73, Capel St.		8/5/1867	
91	Levenston	Lisa	ליאה	6	—	Kildare St.		27/6/1867	
92	Cohen	Lewis	אליעזר בר יצחק	65			Suddenly	28/10/1867	
93	Davieson	Sophia	צפורה בת שמואל					12/1/1868	Buried in Manchester
94	Davidson	Catherine	גלה בת אשר	71	—	Fleet St.		16/3/1868	Native of Ipswich
95	Rosenstein	Elizabeth				Sackville St.		7/8/1868	
96	Marks	Gershon						15/10/1868	
97	Lazarus	Henry	אהרון יוסף בר אלעזר	60	—			28/12/1868	
98	Braham	Eve	חוה בת אברהם הכהן					10/1/1869	
99	Nuel	Samuel		84	—	Jervis St. Hospital		23/1/1869	Result of accident
100	Braham	Henry	חיים בר אברהם	80	—			6/10/1869	

No.	Surname	Name	Hebrew Name	Age		Locality	Cause	Date of death	Remarks
				Year	Month				
101	Rosenthal	David	עמרי בר דוד	78	—			20/10/1869	Native of Hamburg, member of T.C.D.
102	Benmohel	Nathan L.		67	—			23/12/1869	
103	Erlich	Theresa	טוביה בת מאיר	12	6			26/1/1870	
104	Myers	Henry	בר אהרן	36	—	27, Lr. Abbey St.		7/6/1870	
105	Jaffe	Egbert		3	11	Belfast		4/9/1870	
106	Davis	Esther	אסתר בת אברהם	52		Adelaide Rd.		20/6/1871	
107	De Groot	Sarah	שרה בת שלמה	81					
108	Samuleson	child of Elias		—	10 days	Wellington Rd.	Dysentery	6/10/1871	
109	Samuels	Evelina	חוה בת ר׳ פנחס	35				25/10/1871	
110	Humphries	Leah		—	5	71, Dame St.		5/6/1872	
111	Abrahams	Eliza						19/6/1872	
112	Rosenthal	Edmond	בר דוד	7	—			1/9/1872	
113	Altman	Deborah	דבורה בת חיים	50	—	Pembroke Quay		22/9/1872	
114	Rosenthal	Henry	מאיר בן דוד	75	—	23, Nassau St.		28/2/1873	
	Mrs. Rosenthal	H.	אסתר בת יקותיאל			died in Birmingham		יא שבט תרל״ט	Feb. 1869
115	Simons	Hannah	חנה בת ר׳ שמואל	35	—	Manchester			Died in Manchester, buried here
116	Roberts	Simon	שמשון בר אברהם	1	—	Cumberland St.			
117	Harris	Rebecca	רבקה בת משה				Consumption	6/9/1874	

No.	Surname	Name	Hebrew Name	Age		Locality	Cause	Date of death	Remarks
				Year	Month				
118	Rosenthal	Horace Samuel	שמואל בר דוד	6	—	80, Harcourt St.		13/9/1874	
119	Diamond	Morris	משה בר יהודה			Irishtown		19/12/1874	
120	Dutch	Samuel L.		53	—	Stephen's Green		13/9/1875	
121	Marienhoff	Coleman	קלונימס קלמן בר בנימין	38	—	Hospital of Incurables		3/10/1875	
122	Diamond	Serah				Irishtown		5/12/1875	
123	Rothschild	Fritz	אהרן בר דוד	65		72, St. Stephen's Green		5/4/1876	
124	Davidson	Wolfe		43		N. Brunswick St.	Brain Fever (Insanity)	21/7/1876	
125	Harris	Lewis	שמואל בר יצחק	64		Bray		1/8/1876	Alderman of this city
126	Isaacs	Charles Edward		—	3	Preston		6/8/1876	Son of A. Isaacs of New York. Died at Preston, England and buried here.
127	De Groot	Lion		—	9	48, Lr. Gardiner St.		14/10/1876	
128	Marks (M.D.)	Hyam	חיים בר מאיר			Heytesbury St.		13/2/1877	
129	Frankel	Minna		18	—	8, Castle St.	Consumption	18/3/1877	
130	Cohen	Yette		54	—	34, Lr. Gardiner St.		25/3/1877	
131	Cohen	Jane		53	—	Grafton St.		2/10/1877	

No.	Surname	Name	Hebrew Name	Age		Locality	Cause	Date of death	Remarks
				Year	Month				
132	Smidt	Abraham				171, Townsend St.		15/2/1878	
133	Albun	E.		3	6	34, Townsend St.		16/3/1878	
134	Gotler	Ignatz				Richmond Lunatic Asylum		5/6/1878	18 months inmate of asylum
135	Fallek		אריה	—	7			22/8/1878	
136	Harris	Henry		28	—	50, Rathmines Rd.	Consumption	6/9/1878	
137	Spiro	Eve	חיה ליבה בת מאיר	—	5	Aungier St.		28/10/1878	
138	Rubinstein	Eleazar		—	3			30/10/1878	
139	Spiro	Hannah	חנה בת יעקב	26	—		Typhoid Fever in childbirth	10/10/1878	Stillborn child
140	Spiro	child of G.	יוסף שלמה	2	6			8/2/1879	

APPENDIX VI

LIST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TOMBSTONES STILL STANDING IN THE BALLYBOUGH JEWISH CEMETERY

West Wall: Row I North to South.

1. Sarah, wife of Mr. Morris Diamont. d. 7th Kislev, 5636 (5/12/1875).
2. Mr. Morris Diamont, son of Judah. d. 11th Tebeth, 5635 (19/12/1874).
3. Mr. Henry Braham, son of Abraham. d. 2nd Kislev, 5630 (6/10/1869).
4. Small tombstone (child) indecipherable. Jacob Israel . . .
5. Phillip (אורי) Phillips, son of Isaac. d. 5575 (1815) aged 85.
6. Small tombstone (child) indecipherable.
7. Malkah, wife of . . . indecipherable d. 4th Iyyar, 5570 (1810).
8. Abraham, son of Solomon Cohen, d. 20th Tebeth, 5614 (20th January, 1854), aged 78 years.
9. Barnard, son of Solomon Cohen, d. 2nd Iyyar, 5604 (20th April, 1844) aged 79.
10. Sarah, daughter of Solomon Cohen, d. 23rd Iyyar, 5606 (19th May, 1846), aged 79.
11. Samuel Cohen, son of Barnard, d. 26th Tammuz, 5639 (1879) aged 45.
12. Jacob Cohen, son of Solomon, d. 1st December, 5593 (1833) aged 62.
13. Rosetta Cohen, d. 13th Adar, 5570 (1810) aged 81.
14. Pessa, wife of S. Joel, d. 19th Adar II, 26th March, 1848, aged 83.
15. Mrs. Rebecca, wife of Mr. Bernard Rothschild, d. 11th Adar, 5609 (4/3/1849).
16. Solomon Davidson, son of Isaac, d. Sunday night 11th Ab, 5609 (20/7/1849) aged 18.
17. Mrs. Elizabeth Lucas, daughter of Naphtali Cohen, wife of Mr. S. Lucas of Chatham, d. 13th Ab, 5616 (14/8/1856) aged 74.
18. Joseph Rothschild, son of Dov, d. 7th Adar 1, 5623 (9/3/1863).
19. Jaques Polak, son of Aryeh, d. 17th Adar I, 5624 (15/3/1864) aged 32.

20. Michael Jacob Levenston, son of Samuel. Late of Glasgow. d. 21st Iyyar, 5624 (26/5/1864).
21. Joseph Rosenberg, son of Pesach. Native of Gorsd, Poland. d. 24th Nisan, 5625 (20/4/1865) aged 25.
22. Hyman Phineas Marks, L.R.C.S.I., son of Myer, d. 13th Feb. 1877: 1st Adar 11, 5637.
23. Mrs. Rachel Marks, wife of Myer Marks, d. 6th Kislev, 5640 (1879) aged 76.
24. David Davis, son of Baruch, d. 8th Adar, 5644 (1884) aged 47.
25. Rebecca Davis, daughter of Dov, d. 9th Tammuz, 5645 (1885).

Between Rows I and II: Single Tombstone

26. Jacob Wills d. 17th Adar 11, 5537 (1777), aged 76. Hebrew inscription reads: יעקב בן יוחנן ווייל הנקרא יעקב פראנצמן
(Jacob son of Johannan Weil, known as Jacob Frenchman).

West Wall: Row II North to South.

27. Mr. L. Phillips . . .single, son of Uri. Last surviving member of his family. Born in this city and died on 20th Ab, 5625 (12/8/1865). Aged 91.
28. Miss Judith Phillips, daughter of Uri, d. Jan. 1st, 5617 (1857).
29. Miss Fayar Phillips, daughter of Uri, of tender years, d. 6th Marcheswan, A.M. 5587: 16th Nov., 1826.
30. Miss Leah Phillips, daughter of Uri, of tender years, d. 27th Cheswan A.M. 5589: 5th Oct., 1828.
31. Reuben Phillips, son of Uri, d. 27th Tammuz, 5591: 7th June, 1831. Aged 62.
32. Esther Phillips, d. 1st Ab, 5595: 7th Aug., 1835.
33. Eveline, wife of Henry Braham, d. Tebeth 27th, 5629 (10/1/1869).
34. A.L.Benmohel. Many years resident in the city of Dublin. d. 5th March, 5599 (1839), son of Eliezer Lazi, formerly Head of the Beth-Din of Hamburgh and District. Aged 51.
35. Toube, daughter of Uri, wife of Mr. M. Nerwich, d. Dec. 7th, 5617: 1st Kislev, 1856.
36. Matilda Nerwich, wife of I. Levy, daughter of Meir Nerwich, d. Oct. 17th A.M. 5593 (1832).
37. Frances, wife of John Nathan, d. Feb. 15th, 1841: Shevat 25th 5601. Aged 49.
38. Rebecca, wife of J.W. Cohen. d. 1st July, 1844: Tammuz, 5604. Aged 46.
39. Isaac Davidson. d. 1st day of Chanukah, 5605 (1844).

40. Nathan Symons of Hamburgh, native of Amsterdam, d. 15th May, 5605 (1845). Aged 39.
41. Isaac Isaacs, son of Abraham. Late of Falmouth, d. Jan. 22nd, 1847: 5th Shevat, 5607.
42. Pauline Sauphai. . . native of Paris, wife of Joseph Rothschild, d. 26th June, 1847. Aged 33.
43. Moses Ansell, son of Asher. d. 1st Marcheswan, 5598 (1837). Aged 42.
44. Joseph Barnett.[a] d. 23rd Dec., 5609 (1848).
45. Barnett Barnett. d. June 20th 1824: 24th Sivan, 5584. Aged 50.
46. Jacob Lazarus. d. Taanith Esther, March 4th 5593 (1833).
47. Alfred Dutch. d. 5624 (1864) Aged 8.
48. Elizabeth, child of Simon & Phoebe Rosenstein. d. Ellul 20th 5628 (1868).
49. Eveline, wife of Joseph Isaacs. d. 16th Tammuz, 5618 (1858). Aged 26.
50. Mr. Isiah Joel, from Kratoshin. 40 years resident in Bristol. d. 12th Ab, 5600 (1840).
51. Samuel Tobias. d. 16th Shevat, 5608 (1848).
52. C.R. Solomon, son of Ezekiel. d. 24th Adar, 5609 (1848).
53. Morris, son of Louis Harris. b. 2nd Feb. 5601 (1841): d. 13th Feb. 5609 (1849).
54. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. L. Lazarus of Portsmouth. d. 26th June, 1849. Aged 75.
55. Sophia, wife of Mark Marcus. d. 9th July, 5609 (1849): 20th Tammuz.

West Wall Row III: North to South.

56. Samuel Lawrence (late of London) d. 12th Feb. 5615 (1855). Aged 57.
57. Louis Lazarus, native of Portsmouth, England. d. 26th April, 5612 (1852). Aged 81.
58. Joseph Harris, from Exin. d. 22nd Sept. 5613 (1852). Aged 35.
59. Michael Herman. d. 13th Nov. 5613 (1853). Aged 73.
60. Henry Kaplan (from Posen). d. 15th Tebeth, 5619 (1858).
61. Revd. Jacob D. Davis. Teacher and Lecturer to the Congregation. d. Sat. 16th Nov. 5622: 13th Kislev, 1861. Aged 36.
62. Simon Rosenstein. d. 5th Nisan, 5622 (1862). Aged 68.

[a] The death of Joseph Barnett is not recorded in the Register of Deaths kept by the Rev. Julius Sandheim.

63. Teresa Lemàn, single. d. July 1st, 5622 (1862). Aged 24.
64. Lesser Dutch. d. 25th Ellul, 5622 (1862). Aged 54.
65. Sarah Leah, wife of Abraham M. Cohen, d. Jan. 25th 5623 (1863). Aged 30. Born Pfungstadt near Darmstadt.
66. Hannah, wife of Morris Harris. d. Sept. 3rd 5623 (1863). Aged 35.
67. Mr. Isaac Marcus. d. 21st Ab, 5624 (1864).
68. Mr. L. Leman. d. 17th Tishri, 5625 (1864). Aged 68 and Leah, his wife, d. 23rd Ab, 5624 (1864). Aged 60.
69. J. Nathan. d. Dec. 11th, 5625 (1864). Aged 69.
70. Elsie (wife of Lawrence) Isaacs. d. 17th Iyyar, 5625 (1865). Aged 70.
71. Selina (wife of John J.) Davis. d. 26th Tammuz, 5626 (1866). Aged 54.
72. Elizabeth, wife of Raphael Solomon. d. Oct. 13th, 5627 (1866). Aged 84.
73. Mr. Marcus Cohen, son of Judah. d. 3rd Iyyar, 5627 (1867). Aged 39.
74. Lewis Cohen, son of Isaac. d. 1st Kislev, 5628 (1867). Aged 64.
75. Catherine Davidson, widow of Revd. Isaac Davidson. d. 16th March, 5628 (1868). Aged 71.
76. Marinus de Groot, J.P., of Rotterdam. For 26 years President of Dublin Hebrew Congregation. d. Nissan 28th, 5661: April 16th, 1901. Aged 72.
77. Henry Lazarus, son of Eliezer. d. 14th Tebeth, 5629 (1868). Aged 60.
78. Samuel Nuel. d. 11th Shevat, 5629 (1869). Aged 75.
79. David Rosenthal, native of Hanover. d. 22nd Kislev, 5630 (1869). Aged 78.
80. Theresa, child of Myer & Hanna Erlich. d. Shevat, 5630 (1870). Aged $12\frac{1}{2}$.
81. Esther, wife of D.L. Davis. d. 1st Tammuz, 5631 (1871). Aged 52.
82. Sarah, wife of Henry de Groot, of Rotterdam. d. 18th Tammuz, 5631 (1871). Aged 81.
83. Evelina Miriam Samuel, only daughter of Saul & Eliza Samuel. d. Oct. 23rd 5632 (1871). Aged 32.
84. Eliza, wife of Michael Abrahams. d. 13th Sivan, 5632 (1872). Aged 44.
85. Edmond Rosenthal. d. 29th Ab, 5632 (1872). Aged 7 years.
86. Deborah Altman, wife of Moses. d. 19th Ellul, 5632 (1872). Aged 50.
87. Henry Rosenthal. d. 1st Adar, 5633 (1873). Aged 75.
88. Horace Samuel Rosenthal, child of Minah Rosenthal. d. 5635 (1874).
89. Jette (wife of Wolf) Cohen. d. 11th Nisan, 5637 (1877). Aged 52.

90. Florence Louisa Davis (wife of Ellis J. Davis, B.L., of London), eldest daughter of John D. Rosenthal, LL.D. of Dublin. d. 20th Jan. 5650 (1890), in her father's house, aged 28.

West Wall Row IV: North to South.

91. Hannah, wife of Henry Simmons of Manchester. Only daughter of Lewis Harris . . . beside her mother. d. June 18th, 5633 (1873).
92. Mrs. Caroline Harris, wife of Lewis Harris of 19, Suffolk St. Dublin. d. Dec. 8th 1855. Aged 45.
93. Sarah Jacobs (wife of Phineas Jacobs). d. April 7th 5616 (1856). Aged 46.
94. Mr. Benjamin Crabbe, son of Aryeh Shrago. Died at Kilkee, Co. Clare. 31st August, 5616 (1856).
95. Mrs. Ellen Dutch, daughter of Joseph, wife of Asher. d. 28th March/Nissan, 5617 (1857).
96. Jonah Leslie, son of Reuben. d. 8th Nov. 1887: 21st Cheswan, 5648. Aged 70.
97. Lewis Rosenstein, son of Simon. d. 22nd Sivan, 5639 (1879). Aged 42.
98. Albert John Davis, son of Isaac. d. 2nd July, 5640 (1880). Aged 48.
99. Phineas Jacobs. d. 23rd Ellul, 5641 (1881). Aged 74.
100. Henrietta Davies, daughter of Eliezer, wife of Aaron son of Isaac. d. 14th Nisan, 5642 (1882). Aged 35.
101. John Isaac Davis, son of Samuel. d. 19th Tishri, 5643 (1882), Aged 79.
102. Edward de Groot, son of M. de Groot, J.P. d. 22nd March, 1888: 10th Nissan. Aged 14.
103. Sarah Jordan, daughter of Eliezer. d. at Philadelphia, U.S.A. 4th Tishri, 5645 (1884).
104. Joseph A. Lachman, son of Nachman. d. 3rd July, 1886: 6th Tammuz, 5646. Aged 68.
105. Solomon Barnard, son of Moses. d. 12th July, 1886: 15th Tammuz, 5646. Aged 75.
106. Solomon A. Levenston, son of Moses Michael. d. 3rd Oct. 5648 (1887). Aged 58.
107. Harris Lipman, son of Joseph. d. 13th Jan. 5648 (1888) Shevat. Aged 28.
108. David Stibbe, father of Esther Marks, son of Abraham. b. in Holland on 1st Iyyar, (1806), d. at Dublin, 13th March, 5650 (1890): 21st Adar. Aged 84.
109. Michael Clark, son of Bezalel. d. 23rd Cheswan, 5651 (1890). Aged 45.

110. S. Rebecca Weinronk, from Zaggar, in Russia. d. 17th Nisan, 5651 (1891).
1st, 5636 (1876). Aged 64.

West Wall Row V: North to South.

111. Lewis Harris, Alderman of the city of Dublin. d. 11th Ab: Aug. 1st, 5636 (1876). Aged 64.
112. Juliette Harris, wife of Lewis Harris. d. 19th Kislev (12th Dec. 1908).
113. Ernest Wormser Harris, son of Alderman Lewis Harris, d. 26th April, 1946, aged 86. President of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation, Hon. Solicitor and Life Vice-President.
114. Maude Jeanette Harris, wife of Ernest Harris and daughter of Herman and Caroline Boas. d. 27th March, 1958.
115. Wolfe Davidson, son of Isaac. d. 29th Tammuz, 5636 (1876), aged 43.
116. Fritz Rothschild, Aaron son of Dov. Native of Altona. He settled in Dublin at an early age. d. 11th Nisan, 5636 (1876). Aged 65.
117. Samuel L. Dutch. d. 13th Ellul, 5635 (1875).

West Wall Row VI: North to South

118. Jane, widow of Lewis Cohen. d. Oct. 2nd 1877 (5638). Aged 53.
119. Pinchos Gavriel, son of Israel, native of Brody. d. 8th Tebeth, 5645 (1884).

East Wall Row I: North to South

120. Nathan Lazarus Benmohel, M.A. T.C.D. Late of Sandycove, Kingstown. Son of A.L. Benmohel of Berlin. b. 26th Sivan, 5563 (1803) d. 22nd Dec. (18th Tebeth), 5630 (1869). Aged 66.
121. Amelia, daughter of Mr. Charles Harris. d. 5th Sivan, 5611: June 7th, 1851. Aged 17.
122. Charles Harris, son of Akiba Joseph. d. Shevat, 5613: 15th Jan. 1853. Aged 56.
123. George Rosenthal, son of Meir. d. 9th Kislev, 5605: 20th Nov. 1844. Aged 13.
124. Ellen, wife of Solomon Cohen. d. Tammuz, 5603: June 28th, 1843.
125. Sophia, wife of Solomon Davis. d. Dec. 5th (9th Kislev, 5579), 1818. Aged 30.
126. Eliza, child of James Mautner. d. 5623 (1863). Aged 6 months. d. Holywood, Belfast.
127. Rebecca Isaacs, daughter of Joseph. d. 5626 (1866). Aged 4 years 3 months.

128. Henrietta, daughter of Abraham Cohen. d. 5616 (1856). Aged 10 months.
129. Emma, daughter of Henry Lazarus. d. 5612 (1852). Aged 7 months.
130. Charles Edward, infant son of Abraham & Esther Isaacs. d. at Preston, 5th. Aug. 5636 (1876). Aged 4 months.
131. Small plaque 'To our beloved sister Dinah Minnie' set up by an American solicitor about 1932.
132. Dan, infant son of Wolf and Deborah Cohen. d. 5641 (1881).

East Wall Row II: North to South.

133. Joseph Jacob, son of Mordecai, husband of Leah Jacob Humphreys. d. 14th Ellul, 5652: 6th Sept. 1892. Aged 78.
134. Leah, wife of Joseph Jacob Humphreys. d. 15th Sivan, 5639: 30th May, 1879. Aged 52.
135. Helena, wife of Samuel Stavenhagen, daughter of David. d. 25th Feb: 5th Adar, 1890. Aged 63.
136. Samuel Stavenhagen, son of Gershon. d. 28th Tishrei, 1889. Aged 80. Both natives of Germany.
137. Herbert and Alice Isabella, children of John D. & Minna Rosenthal. d. 5619 (1859) and 5623 (1863).
138. Lazare, son of Mr. M. de Groot. d. 5625 (1865). Aged 2 years 6 months.
139. Egbert Joseph, child of Martin & Kate Jaffe of Belfast. d. 5th Ellul, 4th Sept. 1870.
140. Beilah, daughter of Joseph b. Zeev Hacohen. d. 5591 (1831). Aged 1 year.

East Wall Row III: North to South.

141. Esther Landau. d. 2nd day of Sukkoth, 18th Oct. 1891.
142. Dinah, wife of Joseph Zlotover (of Salant). d. 27th Kislev, 5657: Dec. 1896.
143. Tseire Rachel Cohen. d. 28th Kislev, 5658 (1897). Aged 73.
144. Samuel Wachman. d. 13th Ab, 5659 (1899). Aged 54.
145. Herbert Wormser Harris. Science Scholar and Senior Moderator, B.A.T.C.D. d. 1st May, 5640 (1880), in his 22nd. year.
146. Chiah Ada Jacobson. d. 9th May, 5658 (1898). Aged 15.
147. Facing Cottage (near Row IV from East Wall) Sarah Gordon . . . single. d. 26th Tammuz, 5657 (1897).
148. Behind Cottage (near East Wall). Mordecai son of Dov from Payura (Golding) d. 5645 (1885).

APPENDIX VII

Selections from the 'Laws and Regulations of the Hebrew Congregation in Dublin' ably compiled by Myer Nerwich and published in London in 1839.

1. The congregation shall retain its ancient title, קהל Dublin.
2. The form of service and prayers to conform to בהכ"נ Duke's Place, London.
9. Any person who is married against the דת ישראל shall not be called to the ספר תורה nor say קדיש nor have a מצוה and מצרף למנין, nor be allowed to engage a seat.
12. No one shall hold a conversation, or cause any disturbance, or have any dispute during service; but (all) shall preserve order and decorum.
38. The children shall not go round with the הקפות, but shall all stand arranged in a line, at each side of the ארון הקודש with lights in their hands, in proper order, and decorum.
47. Any poor stranger who shall happen to come here, a day or two before פסח, shall receive meat and מצות that will suffice him for three days, and on חול המועד he, or they, shall get a free passage to depart.
51. A day before שבועות, the officers under pay shall provide boughs and flowers for the purpose of decorating the Synagogue.
57. A Registry shall be kept by the Secretary of קהל in which book is to be entered as follows: בגדי קודש, כלי קודש, ספרי תורות, בהכ"נ, בית עולם; the seats for male and female, all free members, and those admitted; any one who bestows a ספר תורה or כלי קודש value of five guineas and upwards; any donation given to the fund of the place, of five guineas and upwards; births, marriages; מסדר קידושין and the males and females in attendance; the names of female infants ברית מילות, מוהל, וסנדק; any boy coming to the age of בר מצוה; a free member who resigns his right, or moves out of town: נחיה ולא נמות of the deceased &c. קברים, לויות,

72. Any seat that is engaged for a year, shall be entered in the registry book, by its number and name of its occupier.
84. The officers under pay shall go out to the בית עולם twice in a month, and see whether everything in the place is in order; and if any thing be wrong, shall report it to the פרנס or גבאי.
85. If any sick person be dangerously ill, חלילה, then two persons shall be drawn to watch the sick person, half a night each.
93. The coffin or ארון shall be plain without ornament, and covered with black cloth.
94. The coffin with the מת to be placed in a black carriage, or close(d) hearse, with no feathers on the top, and the לוי to proceed in vehicles if they choose.
95. The two Honorary Officers may detain the לוי for payment of arrears of the account due to קהל either by the deceased, or by the relatives, until such account or accounts be settled or arranged.
96. The officers cannot make any charge for the ground of the קבר for any deceased person (see preface).[a]
101. The קבר shall be watched by two persons every night, during the first week at least, who are also to be drawn by rotation.
102. Every resident from 18 to 60 years of age is liable to be drawn to watch the קבר.
103. Whoever may not wish to watch himself, is at liberty to send a substitute in his place.
104. The two watchers are not to send both Christians as substitutes, one of them at least must be a בן ישראל.
106. If two persons are drawn to watch, who should have an objection to watch together, on account of any unfriendly feelings, or otherwise, the officer shall then draw for another person, who would be more agreeable to either.
108. Every stranger who happens to be in town at such a time, shall be liable to be drawn to watch.
109. If a stranger should fall sick, or depart this life, the resident people

[a] See p. vi. '. . . Michael Philips [*sic*] gave the said ground a free gift to our community, dedicating it exclusively למקום קברות בית ישראל specifying that a portion of that ground should be granted freely, without ever charging for the same, to the burial of the remains of any Israelite, who, as such, should die at any time in any part of Ireland'. But *cf. supra*, p. 37, where contemporary sources state that the land was bought by the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in London, acting through, and in the name of, Michael Phillips, of Crane Lane, Dublin.

cannot be compelled to watch in either case, except he be a poor person, when the צדקה shall pay all expences [*sic*].

110. A person who has married against the דת ישראל or did not profess the religion as a יהודי is not after his decease entitled to the rights of קבורת ישראל in any respect; still the פרנס can convene a meeting for the purpose, and lay the case before the בעלי בתים for their deliberate consideration to decide upon.

111. A person who lives in any part of Ireland and holds a seat in the Synagogue, is liable to be drawn to watch on the קבר or pay for a substitute.

121. This קהלה is to consist of two classes of members; the one class are those who pay for a yearly seat in the Synagogue, a certain sum for twelve months, residing in any part of Ireland; the other class, is composed of members incorporated, forming a committee, who are consulted in managing the affairs of the קהלה as occasion requires; such are called free members or בעלי בתים.

129. The election of בעלי בתים is to be by ballot, and majority of votes.

138. A חזן or שמש retiring from office, after having served five years satisfactorily, and wishing to become a בעל בית, can propose himself by a written application, and be admitted without ballot and without paying the Fees.

139. The affairs of the קהלה are to be managed by three Honorary Officers; a פרנס or President, Treasurer, and Secretary; if they could [*sic*] be elected as such.

161. Every meeting must be entered in the Minute Book by the Secretary of קהל, who must attend all meetings, unless it be ordered to the contrary.

177. The גבאי can give to poor persons a passage to Liverpool, also a gift of five shillings, or less than ten shillings, without the order of the פרנס, but not more than ten shillings.

181. If a stranger should to die here, having no heir, or near relations, then the Honorary Officers shall seal up all the property left by the deceased, and keep it in their possession, until the proper person entitled thereto comes forward, with proper authority, to satisfy its being given to him, or her, after deducting all charges due to קהל.

189. The building and all effects of the Synagogue must be insured against fire, in a fire insurance office every year, and not to neglect [*sic*] paying the insurance before each term of expiration.

190. Any stranger coming here for business annually, or having a connection of business in Ireland; application is to be made to him to

engage a seat in the Synagogue at a payment of not less than one guinea a year.

191. Such a persom who pays regularly for a seat one guinea or more, shall be entitled to all privileges as a resident seat holder, and be considered as a תושב fit to become a בעל בית if he applies for it, and be subject to all the laws attending it.

192. Neither a בעל בית or [*sic*] a תושב shall withdraw himself from attending the Synagogue, nor from offering to the צדקה according to circumstances, under any pretence of offence, or otherwise, as thereby he would wrong the צדקה and cause others to pay for the support of the קהלה for him.

198. If an officer under pay finds himself offended, or ill-treated by any person belonging to the congregation, he shall state his complaint to the פרנס, who shall adjust it to the satisfaction of the parties.

199. If the Honorary Officer should thus offend the officer under pay, or ill-treat him, he may state his case before a meeting of בעלי בתים, who shall investigate the matter complained of, and adjust the same.

205. The שמש has to take care of all the Keys belonging to the Synagogue, and the בית עולם and to provide every thing that is required for both these places.

206. He shall open and lock-up the Synagogue, and get the place cleaned for יום טוב, and swept every Friday; have candles provided and settled; dress the ספרים and put up the פרכת.

212. A person offering a מתנה on any week-day at the ספר תורה, is to pay two pence; on a שבת three pence; and on a יום טוב six-pence.

216. The שמש is entitled to a fee of Five shillings from a חתן and from a בעל ברית Two-shillings and six-pence (not less).

217. He shall enter in the Register Book all births, marriages, לויות and מצבות that take place in the קהלה; also in the Minute Book all the meetings, and every thing else which may take place in the קהלה and concern it.

225. No officer is allowed to work, or follow any business, without the permission of the Honorary Officers; nor even to give instruction, except with the permission of the same.

226. No officer is allowed to leave town without the permission of the Honorary Officers.

229. Five men of the congregation shall be summoned for every שבת and יום טוב mornings to attend the service of Prayers, who are to be in the בהכ"נ before קריאת התורה commences, at least; if any one should not attend his summons, he shall pay a Fine of half a crown for a שבת and

five shillings for a יום טוב; which is to be placed to his account in the Books as due to קהל.

231. Such summonses are not to be drawn by גורל but shall go by rotation, wherein all ages from thirteen years are included, also members and seat-holders, and no substitute can be accepted; no one is to be summoned for ראש השנה and יום כפור.

236. Any בעל־בית or seat-holder wilfully transgressing against any of the laws, and not submitting himself to the penalty decided against him by a majority of the בעלי בתים shall be deprived of all privileges; not shall any of the officers attend his שמחה until he shall have made his peace with the בעלי בתים and officers.

238. A fund shall be kept in the Savings' Bank, in which is already deposited Seventy-five pounds; this fund is to be quite separate and distinct from the צדקה and to have a separate book for its purpose, in which is to be entered all the offerings that may be offered to the בדק הבית, and to be lodged in the Bank.

239. The use of this fund shall be solely for the purpose of purchasing the ground-rent of the Synagogue as a freehold, and for no other purpose, until the said purpose shall be completed.

240. The name of this fund is to be קרן לחיזוק הבית והחומה.

243. At every occasion of a שמחה the שמש shall place a plate on the table, in order that the people assembled may put therein whatever they please, which shall also go towards this fund.

246. Every seat-holder shall pay for the seat of his wife; if he holds a seat of the first class of £3.3s., he shall pay 7s.; if he hold one of the second class for £2.2s., he shall pay 5s.; and if he hold one of the third class for one guinea, he shall pay half a crown for his wife's seat; all of which payments for the ladies' seats shall go to this fund.

250. After the purchase of the ground-rent be successfully accomplished (for which object this fund is instituted), this fund shall remain in its present order and stability for ever in every respect, and to be then called קרן קיימת, accumulating fund, for ever after.

251. The interest of the accumulating fund may be then applied to repairs and improvements of the בית הכנסת and בית עולם, but not until the ground-rent is purchased for the Synagogue.

254. The book of laws shall have several blank leaves for the purpose of entering in it any new law that shall be made, also to enter any amendments, abridgment, or alterations of laws.

255. Every member and seat-holder is to be furnished with a printed book of laws, for which he is to pay five shillings, the same book is also to have several blank leaves for the purpose already mentioned.

APPENDIX VIII

(a)

PRESIDENTS OF THE DUBLIN HEBREW CONGREGATION FROM 1835 TO 1901

Name	*Year elected*
Joseph Wolfe Cohen	1835
Simon Rosenstein	1841
Solomon Salaman	1844
Henry Lazarus	1846
Lewis Harris	1847
Lewis Dutch	1849
Lewis Harris	1851
Henry Lazarus	1852
Isaac Marcus	1853
Samuel Rubinstein	1855
Samuel Dutch	1856
Elias Samuelson	1859
Lewis Harris	1860
Henry Nerwich	1864
Elias Samuelson	1865
Alfred Wormser Harris	1867
Wolf Cohen	1874
Marinus de Groot	1876
Alfred Wormser Harris, J.P.	1879
Marinus de Groot, J.P.	1881
Ernest Wormser Harris, LL.D.	1901

(b)

VICE-PRESIDENTS AND TREASURERS FROM 1835 TO 1886

Myer Nerwich	1835
Mark Rothschild	1846
Samuel Rubinstein	1849

Samuel Dutch	1851
Isaac Marcus	1852
Henry Nerwich	1853
Asher Dutch	1855
Morris Cohen	1856
Joseph Isaacs	1859
Morris Cohen	1862
Henry Lazarus	1864
Myer Erlich	1866
Wolf Cohen	1870
Marinus de Groot	1874
Alfred Wormser Harris (Ald.)	1878
Marinus de Groot	1879
Charles Lionel Reis	1881
Adolphe Davies (Davis)	1886

(c)

VESTRYMEN (FREE MEMBERS) FROM 1840 TO 1880

Lewis Lazarus	1841
Lewis Cohen	1841
Barnett Barnett	1841
Benjamin Crabbe	1841
Robert Rothschild	1842
Michael Rothschild	1842
Maurice Salaman	1842
Benjamin Lazarus	1842
Saul Solomon(s)	1842
Henry Solomon(s)	1842
Samuel Rubinstein	1846
Asher Dutch	1846
Elias Samuelson	1846
Lewis Lesser Dutch	1846
Isaac Marcus	1849
Samuel Dutch	1849
John Davis	1850
Morris Cohen	1854
Joseph Isaacs	1854
Henry Kaplan	1854
S. Callisher	1856
Samuel Gross	1858
L. Lehman	1858

Julius Ahlborn	1858
Ephraim Blum	1858
Joseph Blum	1858
Alfred Wormser Harris	1859
Louis Rosenstein	1862
Myer Erlich	1863
Morris Harris	1864
Abraham M. Cohen	1865
Fritz Rothschild	1865
Marinus de Groot	1866
Wolf Cohen	1868
Phineas Jacobs	1869
Lewis Barnett Lazarus (Laurence)	1869
Michael Abrahams	1871
Samuel Levenston	1874
Albert Davis	1875
Charles Lionel Reis	1876
Rudolph Samuelson	1876
Isaac Sandheim	1876
Philip Jordan	1877
Philip Levenston	1877
Lewis Samuel Dutch	1877
Moritz Altman	1877
Albert Altman	1877
Herbert Wormser Harris	1878
Henry de Groot	1878
Adolphe Davis	1880
Ernest Wormser Harris	1880

APPENDIX IX

CIRCULAR OF THE DUBLIN HEBREW CONGREGATION

12 Crow Street,
26 January, 1848.

Permit us respectfully to call your attention to a Petition in Parliament having for its object the removal of those disabilities under which that portion of her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion have so long suffered.

We appeal with confidence to our Christian brethren to aid us in our efforts to obtain the rights and privileges of citizens, feeling that, as such, we have ever a ready and willing obedience to the laws and a loyal devotion to the Sovereign of our common country.

The Petition lies for signature at the Chamber of Commerce, Radley's Hotel, College Green, and the Dublin Library, D'Olier Street; and we entreat your authority to add your name to the number of those who advocate the great and glorious principle of civil and religious liberty.

We are, your humble and obedient servants,

Henry Nerwich
Henry Lazarus — Honorary Secretaries

COPY OF PETITION

To the Right Hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Undersigned Inhabitants of the City of Dublin Humbly Sheweth—That strongly impressed with the justice of that great principle which extends liberty of conscience to all, your Petitioners view with unbounded satisfaction the introduction into your Honourable House of a bill, having for its object the removal of those disqualifications which affect that portion of her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion. Your Petitioners gladly join the ranks of those who, in this enlightened age, have thus stepped forward to advocate the abolition of laws enacted in times remote, and calculated only to perpetuate those uncharitable feelings so much at variance with the divine precepts of Him whose commands we obey and reverence.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray your Honourable House to pass the Bill for the removal of the Civil Disqualifications affecting her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion thereby extending to that important and deserving class of our fellow-subjects the blessing of civil and religious liberty.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

(General Advertiser, Dublin).

The full notice appears in the above paper.

Petition to both Houses of Parliament for the Removal of the Disqualifications affecting the Jews will lie for signature at the Chamber of Commerce . . .

APPENDIX X

POEM BY MYER JOEL WIGODER

(a)

Extract from 'Thoughts On My Seventy-Fifth Birthday' in *My Life*,[a] by Myer Joel Wigoder (1856–1933), who settled in Dublin about the year 1890.

When first in Dublin I arrived,
I shed hot bitter tears,
Penniless in a foreign land,
I faced the coming years.

Upon a frugal scale I lived,
So as to pay my way,
How hard I toiled that I might earn,
A few shillings each day.

I did not scorn to carry a bag.
And deal in humble wares,
My back bent low, I carried on,
Heedless of stones and stares.

In such a way I struggled on,
Scarce knowing what to do,
I changed my trade a score of times,
Ever trying something new.

Still, my spirit was unconquered,
And my confidence survived,
I forgot my previous failures,
And as a shopkeeper thrived.

[a] Pp. 155–6; see *supra*, pp. 166 and 328, note 21.

Pictures, frames or writing paper,
I have all one may require,
Come to me and give your custom,
If these things you do desire.

(b)

Hyman Edelstein (1889–1957), poet and prose-writer, settled in Montreal, Canada, in 1912 after gaining Classical Honours at Dublin University. In 1950, in Toronto, he published a book of poetry entitled *The Spirit of Israel and other Poems*, with an introduction by A. J. Leventhal,[b] of Dublin University, one of the early Irish critics, who, in 1923, under the pseudonym of 'L.K.Emery', wrote a favourable appraisal of Joyce's *Ulysses*. Edelstein never forgot his native city and one has not to look far to find nostalgic yearnings for the surroundings of his childhood and youth. Edelstein's book is dedicated to the memory of his parents in the poem 'Holy Pictures', in which he tells of his father, who earned a livelihood in Dublin in the 1890s by framing religious pictures for pious Irish Catholics.

HOLY PICTURES

To my mother Jane[c] and my father Maurice, living
There the peace ye could not live Here . . . 'As
for the Righteous—in Death they are deemed
Living'.
In my father's house . . . everywhere . . .
Holy Pictures . . .
In the shopwindow in front stood the Ecce Homo
Alongside the Madonna . . .
In the workshop right behind it stood my father
Sawing away by the mitre-block or hammering sternly by
the vise
Hewing a pathway for the Lord, for the Temple of
Beauty,
Framing Holy Pictures for few pennies of the pious
poor. . .

[b] See *Letters of James Joyce*, edit. Ellmann, iii., p. 88, footnote 2, where Joyce acknowledges Leventhal's article as the 'friendly notice' of his book *Ulysses*, and Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 527; see also *supra*, p. 171.

[c] Jane, or more familiarly Shaynah, was the second child and elder daughter of Moisel, of Arbutus Place, who appears in the *Calypso* episode.

His 'fine workmanship' the best Art in the Beauty of Holiness:
Out of the meanest Irish Landscape he wrought a Holy Picture
That the gilt moulding flared about the sea of unblemished glass like the sunshine of the golden whins
Around the bog it enclosed: or like a burning Temple-censer
Issuing incense of bog-myrtle . . .
. . . And right behind the workshop, shining,
The kitchen!
—The kitchen shining as with the Shekhinah[d], shining with my mother,
Golden Sabbath-candlelight of my home . . . my holy mother . . .
In my father's house.
From the shopwindow in front to the kitchen in the back . . . Everywhere . . .
Holy Pictures . . .

[d]. Literally 'dwelling'. The visible Presence of the Almighty was considered to rest in the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle and the Temple. The term was further extended to the Omnipresence of the Deity, and it was considered that the Sheckhinah was brought nearer by acts of piety and distanced by acts of sin.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

[1] H. M. Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge, 1932), i., pp. 272–273, 312–313, 316.

[2] Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage* (London, 1961), pp. 115–117.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 116–117.

[4] H. M. Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[5] Eugene O'Curry, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, ed. W. K. Sullivan (Dublin, 1873), ii., pp. 3, 4, 20, 24, 29, 51.

[6] For a poetical version of this story see J. A. Goodchild, *The Book of Tephi* (London, 1897); see also Tara Joyce, 'Jewish Legends in Ireland', in *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 March, 1961.

[7] *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, V., pp. 144–147.

[8] See John Salmon, 'The Jews in Ireland', *Belfast Telegraph*, 23 September 1915, and source quoted therein; G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church* (London, 1892), p. 153.

[9] See Salmon, *loc. cit.*, and source quoted therein.

[10] *The Annals of Inisfallen.* Edited with translation and indexes by Séan Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951), p. 235.

[11] There is no truth in the statement, usually made, that a branch of the Exchequer of the Jews (Scaccarium Judaeorum) existed in Ireland. See Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, third edition (Oxford, 1964), p. 112, note 4.

[12] *Letters illustrative of The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1862), ii., pp. 518, 519; *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, V., pp. 228, 229; Gross, 'Exchequer of the Jews in England', in Papers of Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition (London, 1888), p. 218.

[13] *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland (1171–1251)*, ed. H. S. Sweetman (London, 1875), pp. 8, 9, 196.

[14] A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087–1216* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 304–7.

[15] See Joseph Jacobs in *Jews of Angevin England* (London, 1893), p. 51.

[16] Joseph Jacobs's conclusion in his *Jews of Angevin England*, quoting a passage

from the Pipe Roll of 16 Henry II (1169–70) that Josce financed Strongbow's expedition, is exaggerated and hardly justified by the evidence. See Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, p. 14, note 3. Already in 1917, Sir Lionel Abrahams had expressed scepticism; see *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, VIII, p. 173. Strongbow is not mentioned in the record, which ends (a point Jacobs did not notice) with a note that Josce had paid the amount into the Exchequer and was quit. Since the account covers the Exchequer year Michaelmas 1169 to Michaelmas 1170, and Strongbow had arrived in Ireland only on 23 August 1170, he could not possibly have been Josce's client. Thus Jacobs's somewhat sensational headline 'A JEW FINANCES THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND' is seen to have no justification, being based on a wild and impossible conjecture. (From an unpublished article by Roth, disproving S. W. Baron, *A. Social and Religious History of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1957), iv., pp. 82, 280, who followed Jacobs's statement and amplified it.)

17 Gilbert, *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland (1172–1320)*, (London, 1870), p. 438.

18 Moses Margoliouth, *The History of the Jews in Great Britain* (London, 1851), i., p. 174; Close Roll 1244, p. 275.

19 *Select Pleas, Starrs, and other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews (1220–1284)*, ed. J. M. Rigg (London, 1902), pp. 120, 127; *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, II., p. 90, XII., p. 169.

20 Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, etc. (1285–1292), p. 92. No. 212. Easter 1286; *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, V., p. 230.

CHAPTER II

1 See M. Adler, 'Edward II and his converted Jews', in *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 August 1898. But A. M. Hyamson in a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* of 12 August 1898, and Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, p. 134, footnote 3, remark that 'convers' often signifies 'lay-brother'.

2 E. MacLysaght, *More Irish Families* (Galway and Dublin, 1960), p. 13, mentions a Cloyne official in 1296 who was sufficiently gaelicised to be called Gilbert MacAbraham, and a Thomas MacAbraham, also of Cork, who was imprisoned a few years later for robbery. These were certainly not Jews and no doubt were of Anglo-Norman stock.

3 Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine* (Baltimore, 1944), ii., pp. 426, 724.

4 Bloom, *Economic activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Williamsport, Pa., 1937), pp. 3, 99.

5 *Revue des Études Juives*, lxxxix, 1930, p. 191; *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, XIX., p. 3.

6 Anglicised as Ames and written variously as Anias, Annias, Annyas, and Agnes, indicating how the name was pronounced.

7 Council Book of Youghal, ed. Richard Caulfield (Guildford, 1879), p. 10.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Cal. S. P. Ireland (1574–1585), p. 474.

[10] B. M. MS. 5754 (p. 235 of the bound volume).

[11] Liber. mun. pub. Hib., pt. I., p. 8.

[12] *Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.*, iii (June 1894), p. 115.

[13] *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, XI., p. 15.

[14] Calendar of State Papers (Spanish) (1580–1586), p. 183.

[15] *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, XII., p. 16.

[16] Helen Super, 'A Royal Physician's Widow', in *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 June 1954.

[17] The Rev. Mr. Cooper, *New History of England* (London, 1794), p. 97.

[18] John Wyse Power, undocumented report of a lecture in the *Evening Telegraph*, 15 February 1909, given to the Jewish Literary Club in Dublin, on 'The Jews in Ireland in the Middle Ages'. See *infra*, p. 185.

[19] See Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, p. 283, and sources quoted therein.

[20] John Wyse Power, *loc. cit.*, gives no specific references. Séan O'Faoláin, *The Great O'Neill* (Dublin, 1942), pp. 179–180, refers to one Salomon, Turlough's former secretary—Cornish or Jew—in attendance on his new master, who had overthrown his old, as being present at a conference between the Earl of Tyrone and Captain Alonzo Cobos, an emissary of King Philip of Spain (deposition dated 27 June 1596, made by George Cawill). Salomon was none other than Saloman (or Solomon) Fernan, an Irish priest, who is mentioned in C. S. P. Ireland (1586–92), p. 277, and in the Walsingham letter-book or register of Ireland, May 1578 to December 1579, ed. James Hogan and H. McNeill O'Farrell (Dublin, 1959), p. 255, reference is made to Salemen [*sic*] and the young dean's brother, Walter Offeirynan.

[21] S. P. Dom. James I., vol. 188, App. xx.

[22] Wm. A. Shaw, *Denizations and Naturalizations of Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603–1700* (Vol. xviii. of the Publ. of the Huguenot Soc. of London) (Lymington, 1911), p. 329.

[23] See Appendix I for details on Irish Hebrew scholars.

[24] *The Particular Book of Trinity College, Dublin: A Facsimile from the Original.* Ed. Sir J. P. Mahaffy (London, 1904), p. 99b.

[25] Stearne seems never to have performed the duties of lecturer in Hebrew, though he was the author of several works of a theological nature. As Regius Professor of Physic, he devoted most of his time to the College of Physicians, of which he was the founder and first President.

[26] See *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, XV., pp. 63–72; Roth, *Jews in England*, pp. 149, 285.

[27] Cal. S. P. Dom., clxxx (?1624), p. 435; G. F. Russell Baker and H. H. Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters* (London, 1928), ii., p. 988.

[28] Preserved in the Public Record Office, London, among State Papers

Ireland (S. P. 63), Vol. 248, fol. 150; see *Notes and Queries*, 4th. ser., vol. iii., p. 476, where the name Bingley is wrongly given as Burgley. In a short work, *A Briefe Refutacon of John Traske*, published in 1618 by a Catholic divine who signs himself B. D., the author suggests that they (the Irish) 'will have profited in Judaisme so far as to sacrifice a Paschall Lambe also.'

[29] *Wentworth, Thomas—Earl of Strafforde, State Letters and Dispatches, with his Life by Sir G. Radcliffe*, Edited by W. Knowler (Dublin, 1740), i., p. 82.

[30] See *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, XV., pp. 69–70; Sands' name does not appear in a list of Londonderry Householders for 1628. There is no mention of him in reference to the founding of a local school there in 1622 (see *Londonderry and the London Companies 1609–1629*, published by H. M. S. O., Belfast, 1928, for the P. R. O. of Northern Ireland). A kinsman of his may have been John Sands, of Belfast, 1637.

[31] See C. J. Robb, 'Story of the Jews in Ulster', in *Belfast Telegraph*, 27 January 1948. In 1650, Thomas Lightfoot became a commoner of the Borough of Belfast and is also described as a 'taylor'. His son-in-law, John Tofte, a 'taylor', is also mentioned in the Corporation records.

[32] Cal. S. P. Dom. (Addenda 1580–1625), London, Dec. 11th, 1621, pp. 319–320.

[33] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, VI., pp. 189–204.

CHAPTER III

[1] Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, *The History of the City of Dublin* (London, 1818), ii., p. 846.

[2] See S. B. Liljegren, *Harrington and the Jews* (Lund, 1932), pp. 65–92.

[3] Speaking in the Irish House of Commons on 15 February 1792, on the consequence of a union with Great Britain, John Philpot Curran, the Irish patriot and orator, said *inter alia*: 'And if anyone desires to know what that would be, I will tell him. It would be the emigration of every man of consequence from Ireland; it would be the extinction of the Irish name as a people. We should become a wretched colony, perhaps leased out to a company of Jews, as was formerly in contemplation, and governed by a few tax gatherers and excisemen'. See J. T. Gilbert, *History of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1854–9), iii., p. 139.

[4] *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (Dublin, 1737), pp. 35–6.

[5] G. B. Harrison, *A Second Jacobean Journal* (London, 1958), p. 21, quoting the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury, 7 April 1607; *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, XIX., pp. 8–9.

[6] L. D. Barnett, *El Libro de los Acuerdos* (Oxford, 1931), p. 5.

[7] Lucien Wolf, *Jews in the Canary Islands* (London, 1926), pp. 183–4.

[8] Manuel's brother, Francisco, shared his endenization in Dublin in 1662.

[9] Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 197–8.

[10] See Wolf's Postscript to Shillman, 'The Jewish Cemetery at Ballybough in Dublin., *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., pp. 163–4, and sources quoted therein.

[11] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, VII., p. 124.

[12] *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, III., pp. 54, 56.

[13] See *supra*, p. 13.

[14] See Barnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 40, 42, 48.

[15] *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 November and 3 December 1880.

[16] A famous member of the family, Diego Lopes Pereira, fled from Portugal to Austria, where he was created Baron D'Aguilar by the Empress Maria Theresa, whose State Treasurer he had become. Among his descendants were General D'Aguilar, who signed the Irish Proclamation of Queen Victoria's accession in Dublin Castle on 23 June 1837, and Admiral Keith Steward.

[17] Betham's Will Pedigrees, Old Series, ii., p. 162.

[18] The Registers of St. John's, Dublin (1619–1699), (Dublin, 1906), p. 279.

[19] A. Vicars, *Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536–1810* (Dublin, 1897), p. 433.

[20] Betham's Will Pedigrees, Old Series, iii., p. 179.

[21] The Michan's Parish Register has a record of the baptism of Richard Solome, son of Thomas Solome, shoemaker, under the year 1672.

[22] See *D. N. B.*, *s. v.* Emlyn, Thomas.

[23] Lucien Wolf gives him as resident in Dublin already in 1620. See his '*Anglo-Jewish History, 1290–1656*', p. 76, in Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, London, 1887 (London, 1888). This is patently an error.

[24] David Sollom, of Dublin, may have been a grandson of David Salom, of Amsterdam, resident there in the 1620s. Another David Salom was President of the Amsterdam community in 1656.

[25] Liber. mun. pub. Hib., pt. iv., p. 159.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 156; G. O. MS. 287 (Fisher), p. 284, confirmed by G. O. MS. 553 and by G. O. MS. 226 (Betham Will Books, O. S. vol. iv., p. 181). It was only in 1835, with the passing of the Sheriff's Declaration Act, that a professing Jew could be appointed to the shrievalty of the City of London.

[27] The will of Mary Sollam [*sic*], dated 3 November 1683, reads: 'my body be decently buried in the parish of St. Michan's Dublin as neare to the body of my late deceased husband David Solam [*sic*] Esq. as conveniently it may. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Hester Sollam [*sic*] my Dimond and Carnelian Rings and my Pearle necklace and it is my will and desire that Mr. George Sewell of Golden lane in Dublin shall have the care and tuition of her and that shee shall live with him and that he shall have twenty five pounds a yeare for her dish washing and Lodging and receiving her rents which are made payable in Dublin.' See Prerogative Will Book (1664–1684), p. 496.

[28] Betham Will Pedigrees, O. S., vol. iv., p. 181. Will dated 23 February 1661.

The kinship of Robert Yeates with Jervis Yeats (also spelt Yeates and Yates) (d. 1712), wholesale linen merchant, of Dublin, and the earliest recorded ancestor of the poet William Butler Yeats, is unknown.

[29] Lodge, Record of the Rolls, vol. iii., p. 44, preserved in the State Paper Office, Dublin.

[30] *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 July 1892 (Notes of the Week).

[31] P. 433. It is marked 'Large Will, Ex.', an abbreviation not explained by Vicars. It is not included by Betham in his genealogical extracts.

[32] *S. v.* Emlyn, Thomas.

[33] According to the 'Administrations to the Intestates in the Prerogative Office, Dublin' (G. O. MS. 257), Richard Cromleholme Bury died intestate and administration of his estate was granted to his brother John on 11 January 1691.

[34] I have been unable to trace the source of Lucien Wolf's statement, which he based on family memoranda, that David Sollom's estate in County Meath was in 1887 still in the possession of his descendants through his only surviving daughter, Esther. See *supra*, p. 16.

[35] See *The Works of Mr. Thomas Emlyn* (London, 1746), i., pp. XX, XXI. This work has a memoir of the life and writings of the author by Sollom Emlyn. See also Jared Sparks, *A Collection of Essays and Tracts* (Boston, 1824), vol. iv., and article in *D. N. B.*, *s. v.* Emlyn, Thomas.

[36] Power, Archbishop John Brenan of Cashel: His Reports to Propaganda, in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, March 1932, p. 258.

[37] Cal. S. P. Dom. James II, Vol. I., Feb.–Dec. 1685 (London, 1960), No. 56.

[38] *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, VI., p. 83.

[39] Wolf, *Essays in Jewish History*, ed. C. Roth (London, 1934), pp. 133–134; Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England* (London, 1951), pp. 50–51; *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, VI., p. 18.

[40] The de Caceres enterprise in Ireland may have been connected with the export of salt beef for consumption on sea-going vessels. If the meat were prepared in accordance with Jewish law with a certificate of the shochet attached, it may have been dispatched to Jews in the West Indies. This would have been economically unsound and it is possible that the rabbinical authorities would have been relucatant to sanction slaughter at a place so distant from rabbinical supervision. See, however, *infra*, p. 72, where meat prepared according to Jewish law was sent from Ireland (Cork and Belfast) to the West Indies about a century later.

CHAPTER IV

[1] Cal. S. P. Dom., (1689–90), p. 453; *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., pp. 165–6.

[2] Cal. S. P. Dom., (1689–90), p. 506.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 513. See *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, I., p. xxvii.

[4] Cal. S. P. Dom., (1689–90), pp. 401, 436, 437, 452; See T. Gimlette. *The History of the Huguenot Settlers in Ireland* (s.l., 1888), p. 273, who quotes from a letter of the Duke of Schomberg: 'Je suis fort aisé d'apprendre que Votre Majesté a fait faire un traitté avec Pereyra, pour les vivres, et pour les chariots pour les porter avec l'armée qui est la chose le plus essentielle. C'est à Pereyra à voir que ces chariots et charettes ne soient pas si pezantes comme on les fait à Londres, et d'avoir de bons chartiers qui sachent fourager'.

[5] Cal. S. P. Dom., (1689–90), p. 509.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 543.

[7] Roth, *History of the Marranos* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 348, 397–8; *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., p. 165, XII., pp. 59–51, 75.

[8] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., p. 165.

[9] *Pub. A. J. H. S.*, xxix., p. 17. In 1734 there occurred a rift in the Surinam community, the German Jews forming a congregation of their own. See *Pub. A. J. H. S.*, xiii., pp. 127, 132.

[10] Roth, *Jews in England*, pp. 164–166.

[11] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, V., p. 8.

[12] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, X., pp. 240–241, XI., p. 166; Wolf, *Essays*, pp. 172–176.

[13] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., p. 156.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[15] The archives of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London contain no record of the marriage in London of Moseh Finzi Mantuano.

[16] Minute Book of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, London.

[17] See Roth, *History of the Marranos*, pp. 336–7; Bloom, *Economic activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, pp. 98, 190–1; M. B. Amzalak, 'Joseph da Veiga and Stock Exchange operations in the seventeenth century', in *Essays presented to J. H. Hertz, Chief Rabbi* (London, 1942), pp. 33–49.

[18] See *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., pp. 166–7.

[19] The Ketubah (marriage contract) relating to the marriage is preserved among the muniments of the Bevis Marks synagogue in London. It is, however, unsigned and, from a note referring to it, it would appear that it was entered solely as a record at the request of David Penso Felix. See L. D. Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records* (Oxford, 1949), Part ii, p. 71.

[20] The Rev. R. H. Ryland, *The History and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford*, etc. (London, 1824), pp. 203–204.

[21] MS. Council Book of the Waterford Corporation.

[22] Information kindly supplied by Seamus Pender from the Council Books of Waterford. See also Edmund Downey, *The Story of Waterford* (Waterford, 1914), p. 247. It will be noted that the Waterford Corporation's query concerning the admission of Jews to the freedom of the cities of Dublin and London was left unanswered. In Dublin, during the eighteenth century, there is no known instance of a Jewish freeman.

[23] *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, II., p. 77.

[24] This very rare pamphlet in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, has been reprinted in the *Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.*, ser. 2, viii., pp. 205–230 (Oct-Dec., 1902), and in ix., pp. 1–20 (Jan.-Apr., 1903).

CHAPTER V

[1] More than a century later the Minister of the Dublin congregation, referring to two Scrolls of the Law in the possession of the congregation, stated that they had belonged to a former Portuguese congregation which existed in Dublin in the eighteenth century. See Appendix V for Preface to Register of Births and Deaths of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation (1838–1879). Again, when the surviving Ashkenazi residents in Dublin needed financial help in 1746, it was to the London Sephardim that they addressed their appeal. *See infra*, p. 36.

[2] An Abstract of the numbers of Protestants and Papists able to bear Arms in the City of Dublin and Liberties thereof, marked Z 2. 1. 7. (39). See J. R. Scott and N. J. D. White, *Catalogue of the manuscripts remaining in Marsh's Library, Dublin* (Dublin, [1913]), p. 9; Stokes, *Some Worthies of the Irish Church* (London, 1900), pp. 246–8.

[3] See *infra*, p. 32.

[4] For a short account of the history and contents of Marsh's Library, see Appendix I (b).

[5] See *infra*, p. 25.

[6] A parchment roll, in unpointed Hebrew, containing (1) A Prayer for a Queen (? Anne), whose name is erased; (2) An extract from the Blessings in Deut. xxviii; (3) The High Priestly blessing; (4) Psalm cxxi., marked Z 2. 1. 4. See Marsh's Library catalogue MSS., p. 7. The Rev. S. Singer stated in 1903 that he had a copy of this MS. in his possession but it is no longer traceable. See *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, V., p. 91.

[7] See *infra*, p. 28.

[8] Colophon to B. M. MS. Harley 5713.

[9] See *infra*, p. 25.

[10] B. M. Harley 7013 f. 95; G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1915), part iii, section 9, No. 1049; Roth, *Anglo-Jewish Letters* (London, 1938), pp. 87–8; J. Maitlis, 'London Yiddish Letters of the Early Eighteenth Century', in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. vi. (1955), pp. 153–165, 237–252. See Appendix II for an English translation of this letter written in a mixture of Hebrew and Yiddish, or Judaeo-German, in Hebrew characters.

[11] M. Margoliouth, *Jews in Great Britain*, ii., p. 65.

[12] Roth, 'The first Chief Rabbi. Was he an Irishman?' in the *Jewish Chronicle*,

7 October 1932, p. 18; Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London. 1690–1940* (London, 1950), pp. 30–32, 34.

[13] Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1911), i., p. 269; *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, I., pp. lxxvi, lxxviii.

CHAPTER VI

[1] Preface to A. Jacobs, *Address to the Jews; by . . . a converted Jewish priest* (Dublin, 1716).

[2] A. Jacobs, *Address to the Jews*, p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[4] Register of St. Peter's and St. Kevin's, Baptisms 1669–1761, p. 178 of vol. ix of the Dublin Parish Register Society. His name is registered therein as Abraham Jacob.

[5] See *supra*, p. 25. In 1722 the salary of the first Reader of the Great Synagogue in London was only £30 per annum.

[6] Calendar of ancient records of Dublin, in the possession of the municipal corporation (Dublin, 1898), vii., p. 16. (Dublin Assembly Rolls 1716–26, October 19, 1716.)

[7] Die evangelische Christenheit und die Juden in der Zeit des Zweispalts in der Christlichen Lebensanschauung unter den Volkern. B. Grossbritannien und die aussereuropäischen Länder während des 19. Jahrhunderts (Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin), No. 9, vol. iii., p. 16. See Wm. Muss-Arnolt, *The Book of Common Prayer Among the Nations of the World* (London, 1914), p. 157.

[8] T. K. Abbott, Catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, to which is added a list of the Fagel collection of maps (Dublin, 1900), p. 402. No. 1499: 'Book of Common Prayer in Hebrew, Dublin, 1717'.

[9] Marsh's Library catalogue MSS., p. 82, marked Z 4. 4. 1. Book of Common Prayer in Hebrew, 1727. 118 fol., 22. 3x 13. 8.

[10] P. R. I. rep. D. K. 26 (1894–5), unpaginated, marked O. W.

[11] The Christian Israelites of Ireland, a sect of similar name but of different origin, numbered 44 adherents in the 1871 Census of Ireland.

[12] Book of Common Prayer (Written in lithographic ink by Marianne Nevill for the use of the Christian Israelites at Smyrna) (In Greek and Hebrew) (Dublin?, 1829).

[13] See Roth, *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (London, 1937), p. 294.

[14] John Meirs, *A short treatise. . . Proving the Messias already to be exhibited and come into the world. For the use and benefit of the Jews* (Dublin, 1709).

[15] The Register of St. Nicholas Without, Dublin, Baptisms (1694–1739) (Dublin, 1912), p. 44 of vol. x, of Dublin Parish Register Society.

[16] Judah Abrahams, *A Short Familiar Friendly Address to the Unconverted Jews* (Dublin, 1714).

17 P. R. I. rep. D. K. 26. App. p. 12.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

19 R. R. Madden, *History of Irish Periodical Literature from the End of the Seventeenth to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1867), i., p. 237.

20 Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (London, 1875), p. 144.

21 Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, 26 Jan. to 30 Jan. 1747/8.

22 See *infra*, p. 75.

23 Kevin MacGrath, John Garzia, a noted Priest-catcher and his Activities, 1717–23, in *I. E. R.* series 5, lxxii., pp. 494–514 (Dec. 1949).

24 This marriage is not recorded in the Dublin Marriage Licence Bonds.

25 G. O. 473. Dublin Marriage Licence Bonds.

26 See *infra*, p. 39.

27 G. O. 473.

28 See *infra*, p. 37.

29 P. R. I. rep. D. K. 26. App. p. 353.

30 See *infra*, p. 58.

31 P. R. I. rep. D. K. 26. App. p. 460.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 221.

33 *Jewish World*, 18 April 1902, where an inquiry was made for information on Miss Salomons by P. H. B., whose wife was a descendant of the Lysaght-Salomons union.

34 In the Lysaght pedigree the name of Edward's wife appears as formerly Miss Salmon. On his paternal side Lysaght was descended from a branch of the house of Lisle; his mother was cousin-german to Lord Eyre of Eyre Court in County Galway, and related to Lord Castlecoote and Lord Clancarty. Of his two daughters, one was a clever musician and set some of his songs to music (see O'Donoghue, *Poets of Ireland* (Dublin, 1912), p. 261). She could be his daughter, Jane Eyre, who married the Rev. Dr. Henry Griffin, Bishop of Limerick, responsible for the publication of Lysaght's poems in Dublin in 1811.

CHAPTER VII

1 A painting of David de Castro done in India is in the possession of his descendants still living in England.

2 *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, VI., p. 94.

3 Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records*, Part ii, p. 69.

4 *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xii, Old Series, p. 708. See Appendix III.

5 *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, VI., pp. 34, 35, 37.

6 See entries dated 12 July 1748 and 14 July 1760.

7 The only known account of the trial is extant in Trinity College Library, Dublin, and is entered in the catalogue as Henriks (David Cohen) jun. His tryal.

Dubl. (1723), fol. (single leaf) (Irish pamphlets). Press A. 7. 2. No. 92.

[8] John Harding, the printer of the broadsheet (see *supra*, p. 24), found himself in prison the next year for printing (Swift's) Drapier Letters.

[9] *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, I., pp. xxxvi–xxxviii.

[10] India Office General Records (I. O. G. R.): Court Minutes, 4 Apr. 1744–4 Apr. 1746, vol. 61, p. 120.

[11] Inhabitants of Fort St. George (now part of City of Madras) for the years 1756, 1757, and 1758 in India Office Library, London.

[12] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, V., p. 209.

[13] Madras Public Proceedings, Range 240, vols. 38, 40, and 42. Lists of Inhabitants of Fort St. George for the years 1774, 1775, & 1776.

[14] Marriages between relatives were common among Sephardi Jews, who desired to prevent the division of family fortunes. It was also not infrequent for Spanish and Portuguese Jews to marry at an early age. There exists a resolution of the Burgomaster of Amsterdam (1712) refusing to Benjamin da Costa permission to marry his niece Sarah Suasso because neither had reached the age of twelve.

[15] From Wolf's *Notes on the Jews of India* and sources quoted therein; see also W. J. Fischel, 'The Activities of a Jewish Merchant House in Bengal (1786–1798)', *Revue des Études Juives*, cxxiii, 1964, pp. 439–440.

[16] Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, p. 194; *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., p. 159.

[17] Probably identical with his namesake, Jacob Levy Bensusan, who arrived at Portsmouth via Ireland in June 1781, as a refugee from Gibraltar and as a widower with four daughters. See *infra*, p. 75 and *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XX., p. 15.

[18] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 31 (1761), p. 538.

[19] Hyamson, *op. cit.*, p. 115; *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XVIII., p. 108. No examples of her paintings have come to light.

[20] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XIV., p. 107; Lady Victoria Manners and Dr. G. C. Williamson, *John Zoffany, R. A., His Life and Times* (London, 1920), plates facing p. 164.

[21] The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Wednesday, 19 May 1779 (No. 2057).

[22] From an entry in the family Bible.

[23] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., p. 156.

[24] For details of the Sephardi signatories see *supra*, pp. 20–22.

[25] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., p. 159.

[26] See *supra*, p. 20.

[27] See *supra*, p. 34.

[28] An earlier minute of a meeting of the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation dated 30 Tishri 5508 (October 1747) states that the Mahamad be permitted to buy the cemetery in Dublin, Ireland, for a sum not exceeding £30 and that the cost be taken from Expenses to Advances.

[29] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., pp. 155–160.

[30] I have a note that a Jacob Israel was specially sent from London to supervise the repairs to the cemetery and the building of the wall, but I have been unable to authenticate this reference.

[31] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XX., p. 6.

[32] See *infra*, p. 58.

[33] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XX., p. 7.

[34] Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* for Saturday, 16 January 1747/8.

[35] *Ibid.*, Tuesday 16 Feb.-Saturday 20 Feb. 1747/8; *Scots' Magazine*, Vol. X., p. 102; [James Eyre Weekes] The chronological remembrancer, being an historical register of all the remarkable battles, sieges, treaties, conspiracies, invasions, massacres, rebellions, executions, plagues, fires, earthquakes, comets, eclipses, storms, revolutions, births, marriages, coronations, preferments, deaths, and other memorable occurrences which have happened since the creation to this time, throughout the whole world, but more particularly Ireland and England (Dublin, 1750), p. 70.

[36] Vicars, *Index to Prerogative Wills*, p. 285; G. O. MS. 238, p. 184, in Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle.

[37] Vicars, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

[38] Vicars, *op. cit.*, p. 497; G. O. MS. 254, p. 135.

[39] P. R. I. rep. D. K. 26 App., unpaginated, marked O. W.

[40] E. J. Wood, *Giants and Dwarfs* (London, 1868), p. 352. The author refers to the dwarf's appearance at the New Wells at Clerkenwell in 1746, and to a folio engraving representing, in 24 compartments, the little Polander in his surprising performances in balancing and otherwise, at Sadler's Wells.

[41] Will, London Reg., 203 Pinfold.

[42] MS. Journal of Proceedings, Rules, etc., of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, from Nov. 1731 to May 1758, pp. 163–4.

[43] Roth, *History of the Great Synagogue*, p. 101.

[44] Madden, *History of Irish Periodical Literature*, ii., p. 274.

[45] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 288.

[46] Reilly's *Dublin News Letter*, Tuesday, 16 December 1740.

[47] Z. Szajkowski, 'Jewish Emigration from Bordeaux during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in *Jewish Social Studies*, xviii no. 2 (April, 1956), p. 124.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 123; Archives Départementales de la Gironde, Series 6 B 46, fol. 80.

[49] Till 1730 the Portuguese Jews of Bordeaux lived outwardly as Marranos or New Christians. In 1710 the Jews were interred in the cemetery of the Franciscans. The baptism of Jewish children ceased in 1727, as the rabbis openly performed the rite of circumcision.

[50] See *The Jewish Ledger* (New Orleans), 24 July 1903; Huhner, 'The Jews of Ireland', *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, V., p. 234; Shillman, *A Short History of the Jews in Ireland* (Dublin, 1945), p. 39.

[51] See *infra*, p. 41.

[52] MS. Journal of Proceedings, Rules, etc., of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, from Nov. 1731 to May 1758, p. 66.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[54] Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, Sat., 20 June to Tues., 23 June 1741.

[55] This fund is still administered by the London Jewish Board of Guardians.

[56] P.R.O. (London): Chancery Proceedings: (C12/277/2) Isaac *v.* De Friez.

[57] Will proved 1 May 1719. See *Pub. A.J.H.S.*, xxiii., p. 150.

[58] Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, Sat., 3 Oct. to Tues., 6 Oct. 1747.

[59] Minutes of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London, 9 and 16 Sivan (June), 5509.

[60] See *infra*, p. 87–88.

[61] *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 September, 1896; *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, III., pp. 39–45; *Misc. J.H.S.E.*, II., pp. 1–8; Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London*, pp. 73–75 and E. R. Samuel, Dr. Meyer Schomberg's Attack on the Jews of London, 1746, in *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, XX., p. 97, note 5, take the book to refer to the Jews of London.

[62] *Misc. J.H.S.E.*, VI., p. 98.

[63] *Prayers*, p. 91.

[64] See *supra*, p. 25.

[65] See *supra*, p. 30.

[66] See *supra*, p. 29.

[67] *Ceremonies*, p. 9. The book is divided into two sections, *Prayers* (pp. 1–291) and *Jewish Ceremonies* (pp. 1–96).

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 77–78.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–22.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

CHAPTER VIII

[1] See *supra*, p. 12.

[2] See *supra*, p. 14.

[3] Webb, *The Guilds of Dublin* (London, 1929), pp. 202–203.

[4] See *supra*, p. 22.

[5] Bethel Solomons, *One Doctor In His Time* (London, 1956), p. 52.

[6] See *supra*, p. 197.

[7] Clune, *The Medieval Gild System* (Dublin, 1943), p. 161.

[8] See *supra*, p. 40.

[9] See *supra*, p. 15.

[10] *Freeman's Journal*, 23 September 1766.

[11] (Toland) '*Reasons for naturalizing the Jews of Great Britain and Ireland*', etc., p. 7.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 45.

[19] In his *Christianity not Mysterious* (London, 1696), Toland maintained that the value of religion could not lie in any unintelligible element, and that no part of the truth could be contrary to reason. The work created a great sensation and was burnt by the public hangman in Dublin at the order of the Irish Parliament.

[20] See *Finnegans Wake* (New York, 1961), p. 601.

[21] (Toland) *op. cit.*, in the Dedication. For a fuller appreciation of Toland's work, see S. Ettinger, 'The beginnings of the change in the attitude of European society towards the Jews', in *Scripta Hierosolymitana* (Jerusalem, 1961), vii., pp. 216–219; see also Isaac E. Barzilay, 'John Toland's Borrowings from Simone Luzzatto', in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. xxxi., No. 2 (April 1969), pp. 75–81.

[22] *Journal of the Irish House of Lords* (Dublin, 1779), iii., pp. 458, 544, 569, 572, 587.

[23] *Journal of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1782), vii., p. 974.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 1037, 1039.

[25] Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records*, i., p. 39.

[26] Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, pp. 124–5.

[27] *Journal of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, vii., pp. 1138, 1145.

[28] On the subject of a Bill for regulating corporations in Ireland, the Primate wrote: 'As to the Jew Bill, I have got it dropped quietly in Council'. See Historical Manuscripts Commission, iv., App. i. 299 (MSS. of Earl de la Warr) quoted by Roth, *The Jews of England*, p. 214, note 3.

[29] *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 July 1893, p. 7.

[30] Curry, *An Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland from the Reign of Queen Elizabeth to the Settlement of King William* (London, 1775), pp. 262–3, quoted by Huhner, 'The Jews of Ireland', in *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, V., p. 237.

[31] See *supra*, p. 47.

[32] The *Dublin Spy*, No. 3, 24 August 1753, under the heading 'A P—t Winter in Dublin', p. 2, items 56, 57.

[33] Statutes at large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland, xii., p. 692.

[34] *Irish Parliamentary Register* (Dublin, 1784), ii., pp. 396–397; *Freeman's Journal*, 2 March 1784.

CHAPTER IX

[1] Sir James Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1873), p. 195. Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry*, p. 82, questions the Hispanicity of the hypothetical Liverpool congregation of 1750.

[2] Isaac Phillips was probably the son of Jacob Phillips (d. 1748), of Crane Lane, or of Michael Phillips, of the same address, a signatory of the Ballybough lease of 1748. Lyon Jacob, merchant, lodged in Crane Lane in 1741. See *Trans.J.H.S.E.*, XX., p. 6.

[3] See *supra*, p. 25.

[4] James Collins, *Life in Old Dublin* (Dublin, 1913), pp. 17–18.

[5] See the Very Rev. Fr. Ronan's note on the Marlborough Green synagogue with a plan of its suggested site in Shillman, *A Short History of the Jews in Ireland*, pp. 65–67.

[6] See p. vii.

[7] *North Dublin City and Environs* (Dublin, 1909), p. 80.

[8] *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland* (London, 1777), p. 48.

[9] See *infra*, p. 62.

[10] See *infra*, p. 85.

[11] Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry*, p. 83.

[12] See *infra*, p. 100.

[13] The Ketubah of the marriage was extant in 1877, but its whereabouts are at present unknown. See *Jewish World*, 7 September 1877. Isaac Franks did not settle in Dublin but moved to Liverpool, where a son, Jacob, was born to him in 1782. He returned to Manchester in 1798, founding the firm of Franks, opticians, at 114 Deansgate. He died about 1814; his wife lies buried in the churchyard at Wreagreen, a small village in Lancashire. Jacob, who carried on his father's profession at the same address, travelled all over the British Isles peddling spectacles. During one of his periodic visits to Ireland, he died in Dublin on 17 August 1846; his remains, according to his express wish, were brought over to Manchester and interred four days later in the Jewish cemetery at Prestwich. Of his 24 children, the eldest, Abraham (Aubrey) (b. 1804), who was present at his death-bed in Dublin, also worked as an optician in Manchester and was well known in the city as a lecturer on the human eye. Another son, Louis (1819–1898), who met his

death in a bicycle accident, was the inventor of the first velocipede, the earliest form of bicycle. See 'Franks's Mechanical Horse' in the *Mechanic's Magazine*, 13 November 1841, with engraving, and the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 12 August 1898. Another son, Charles (1820–1893), was a well-known optician in New York. A grandson, Benjamin (Benn) (1863–1940), of Manchester and later of Hull, held high office in the Opticians' Association.

[14] *North Dublin-City and Environs*, p. 106; Salmon, 'Jews in Ireland', in *Belfast Telegraph*, 25 September 1915, p. 6.

[15] *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, VI., p. 177, No. 41.

[16] Sir C. J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks* (London, 1921), p. 661. The name of Jacob Wills is not included in the list of Jewish goldsmiths prepared by P. A. S. Phillips from Sir C. J. Jackson's book. See *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XIV., p. 125.

[17] *Hibernian Journal*, vol. iii. From Wednesday, 30 December 1772, to Friday, 1 January 1773.

[18] Jacob Wills's kinship with Sarah Wills, widow (will dated 1792), and Moses Wills, of Barrack Street, Dublin (will dated 1812), has not been established, though it is more likely that they were related to Isaac Wills (will dated 1777), of Clarendon Street, Dublin, architect of St. Ann's Church, Dublin, the building of which was begun in 1720.

[19] See Appendix VI., p. 341.

[20] *Dublin Trade Directories*, 1772–1778.

[21] *Dublin Chronicle*, 5 May 1791.

[22] *Memoirs of William Hickey*, ed. P. Quennell (London, 1960), p. 33.

[23] See *infra*, p. 55.

[24] *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, VI., p. 178; *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XIII., p. 166; Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry* (London, 1950), p. 56; Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London*, pp. 71–2.

[25] *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, VI., p. 181.

[26] This corrects Roth, *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XIII., p. 166, note 30, followed by Barnett, *The Western Synagogue through two centuries (1761–1961)* (London, 1961), p. 169, who give Polly as the daughter of Samuel Davis (Sam Irishman). Other descendants of Maria (Polly) Davis were the Collins sisters, all well known in their time in vaudeville, of whom Charlotte (Lotty) became almost immortal by her introduction at the Tivoli Music Hall of the still surviving ditty. 'Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay'. Another distinguished descendant was the Rev. Edwin Collins (1856–1936), a Hebrew scholar, who was Minister of the Belfast congregation in 1884–88.

[27] *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 11 November 1952.

[28] 'Memorandum for my children of my Father's family and my Mother's family', by Henry Michael Hyams (1806–1875), grandson of Moses Hyams, and Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana from 1859 to 1864, copied from a family

Bible dated 1654, a copy of which was sent to me through the courtesy of Dr. J. R. Marcus, Director of the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati.

[29] In 1936, Judith Isaacs's portrait was in the possession of Mrs. Miriam Grusel, an American descendant. See Notes by Mrs. Judith Hyams Douglas (d. 1954) preserved in the American Jewish Archives.

[30] See *supra*, p. 52.

[31] Henry Michael Hyams, 'Memorandum . . . of my Father's family, etc.'.

[32] C. Reznikoff, with the collaboration of U. Z. Engelman, *The Jews of Charleston* (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 291; B. A. Elzas, *The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S. C.*, (Charleston, S. C., 1903), p. 37.

[33] '*The Letters of the Marchioness Broglio Solari, one of the maids of honour to the Princess Lamballe, author of "Memoirs of the Princess Lamballe" etc., etc., containing "A Sketch of her life and recollections of celebrated characters with notes"*' (London, 1845), p. vii.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. x.

[36] See *infra*, p. 85.

[37] Several of her books give the author's name as Catherine Hyde, Marchioness Govion Broglio Solari. Her last work, *The Letters of the Marchioness Broglio Solari, etc., etc.*, contains a highly coloured tale in which Catherine claims to have been the granddaughter of Princes Schavorinska of Poland, who is said to have secretly married 'Lord Hyde Clarendon' who was ambassador in Warsaw in 1745. No such person ever existed: the ambassador referred to was Thomas Villiers (1709–1786), second son to the Earl of Jersey, created Baron Hyde and Earl of Clarendon in 1756.

[38] Communication from Mrs. J. M. Forgotson, of Shreveport, Louisiana, whose husband was a kinsman of Solomon Hyams, of Charleston.

[39] See A. F. Pollard, *English Historical Review*, Vol. X, July 1895, pp. 588–591 where he pronounces the work to be a forgery; see also Hedva Ben-Israel, *English Historians on the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1968) pp. 64–65.

[40] *Dublin Trade Directories*, 1766–1790.

[41] *The Leadbeater Papers* (London, 1862), i., p. 97.

[42] *Dublin Trade Directories*, 1766–1770.

[43] A dealer in small wares or second-hand articles (of clothing, furniture, etc.).

[44] *Dublin Trade Directories*, 1761–1783.

[45] See *supra*, p. 31.

[46] *Hibernian Magazine*, May 1803, p. 319.

[47] See *supra*, p. 40.

[48] *Pub. A. J. H. S.*, xxviii., p. 255.

[49] Edwin Wolf 2nd and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1951), pp. 57, 58, 397.

[50] C.J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, p. 609; *Hibernian Journal*, 26–28 March 1777.

[51] *Freeman's Journal*, 5 October 1779.

[52] *Ulster Miscellany*, January 1754, quoted by C.J. Robb, 'Story of the Jews in Ulster', in *Belfast Telegraph*, 27 January 1948.

[53] *Publications of the Huguenot Society*, vol. xxvii (Manchester, 1923), p. 238.

[54] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XX., p. 7.

[55] See *supra*, p. 52.

[56] See *supra*, p. 38.

[57] See *supra*, p. 38.

[58] Shillman, *Short History of the Jews in Ireland*, p. 68.

[59] Communication from Richardson Wright, Grand Historian of the Grand Lodge of New York, who informs me that he does know that a few Irish Jewish Masons came to America in addition to Israel de Lieben.

[60] Wenzel Zacek, 'Nach dem brande des Prager Ghettos im Yahre 1754', in *Yahrbuch der Juden in C. S. R.*, vol. 6 (1934), p. 192.

[61] R.B. Harris, *History of the Supreme Council* 33°–1801–1861 (Washington, D.C., 1964), pp. 57–8.

[62] Authority to practise his craft was given to him by Rabbi Israel Lipschutz, head of the Ecclesiastical Court of Cleves, and by Rabbi David Tevele Schiff, spiritual head of the Great Synagogue in London.

[63] Wolf and Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 403.

[64] Fish, *Aaron Levy, Founder of Aaronsburg* (New York, 1951), p. 96, note 16.

[65] He was replaced in 1776 as the result of a controversy concerning his qualifications, which had been disputed by the Gratz brothers.

[66] Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

[67] Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen* (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 50, where he is listed as Israel de Lieber.

[68] R.B. Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[69] *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Charleston, S.C.), Thursday, 29 January 1807.

[70] *Pub. A. J. H. S.*, xix., p. 81.

[71] Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, p. 662.

[72] See *supra*, p. 58.

[73] *Dublin Trade Directories*, 1787–1799.

[74] See *supra*, p. 57.

[75] The name Jetz is a variant of Goetz, which is an acronym of Ger Tzedek or righteous proselyte.

[76] *Dublin Trade Directories*, 1784–5.

[77] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XIV., pp. 100–101.

[78] Barnett, *The Western Synagogue through two centuries (1761–1961)*, p. 154.

[79] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XIV., pp. 108–9.

[80] P. R. I. rep. D. K. 26, App., pp. 83–4.

[81] *Dublin Trade Directory*, 1809.

[82] See *Alumni Dublinenses (1593–1860)*, edited by G. D. Burtchaell and T. U. Sadleir (Dublin, 1935), p. 601.

[83] Communication from Miss Josephine P. Smith, of New York. Moore's harp was, in 1945, in the possession of Glover's granddaughter, Mrs, J. R. Millar, of the Bronx.

[84] P. R. I. rep. D. K. 30 (App. 1898–9), p. 303.

[85] See *infra*, p. 317, note 47.

[86] Canon J. B. Leslie, Biographical Clerical Succession List of Tuam Diocese, typescript in the Library of the Representative Body of the Church of Ireland, Dublin, under Tuam Curates. 1861–2.

[87] *Dublin Directories*, 1840–55.

[88] James Joyee, *Ulysses*, p. 578 (449). In this and subsequent notes the page references are first to the English edition (London: The Bodley Head, 1960), and then in parenthesis to the American edition (New York: The Modern Library, 1961).

[89] T. Robson, *The British Herald* (Sunderland, 1830), gives the arms of a Moses family similar to those borne by the Irish family of Moses but provides no data on the family crest or motto. Samuel Moses (1810–1883), of London, took the arms of the Moses family for his bookplate, using the motto 'Si deus nobiscum quis contra nos'. This bookplate was also used by Lionel D. Walford (1854–1923), a London solicitor, son of Samuel Jacob Moses (1807–1873), of Tasmania and London. The College of Arms, London, has no record of the Moses coat-of-arms and it would appear that the Moses families of Dublin and London both annexed the arms from Robson's *The British Herald.*

[90] Moses the Jew, 'Substance of three sermons, preached at Edinburgh, the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of July 1787, etc., etc.' (Edinburgh?, 1812).

[91] See Roth, 'Don' Juan Jøsef Heydeck, in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. ii., No. 4 (1951), p. 188, note 3, where he feels it more than tempting to identify 'Moses the Jew' with 'Don' Juan Josef Heydeck, formerly Moses Levi.

[92] The *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College*, edited under the authority of the Corporation of Yale University by F. B. Dexter (New York, 1901), i., pp. 214, 423; iii., pp. 256. 262; G. A. Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews* (New York, 1902), p. 47.

[93] Henriques' sarcasm was well-founded. Ireland, during the eighteenth century, was the worst-governed country in Europe, the most startling feature being the enormous number of sinecures and ill-earned pensions. When a royal mistress was discarded, she was generally pensioned on Ireland.

[94] *Freeman's Journal*, 11–14 March 1769, p. 223a.

[95] *Ibid.*, 1–4 April 1769, p. 245a.

[96] Arthur P. Arnold, 'Anglo-Jewish Wills and Letters of Administration', in *Anglo-Jewish Notabilities*, p. 166.

[97] *Freeman's Journal*, 21 October 1784.

[98] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., p. 160.

[99] L. Herrman, *A History of the Jews of South Africa* (London, 1935), p. 101, note 1.

[100] Shaw, *Denizations and Naturalizations of Aliens in England and Ireland* (Vol. xxvii, of the Publ. of the Huguenot Soc. of London), p. 240.

[101] See p. 127, where it is stated that the original will is preserved in the Middle Temple, London.

[102] Originally applied to a party of members of the English Parliament of 1614 who undertook to manage elections, secure supplies and passage of bills, etc., in the interest of James I.

[103] *Freeman's Journal*, 29 March 1770.

[104] Hist. MSS. Commission, Marquis Townshend MSS. (London, 1887), xlvii., p. 411.

[105] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XVII., pp. 119–120.

[106] *A List of the General and Field Officers as they Rank in the Army. . .*, (Dublin, 1756).

[107] Paul H. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (London, 1943), p. 36, note 1.

[108] H. M. C. (Marquis Townshend MSS.), xlvii., pp. 410–412.

[109] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1804, p. 385.

[110] Rubens, *Anglo-Jewish Portraits* (London, 1935), facing page 110.

[111] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XV., pp. 11–12.

[112] Quane, D'Israeli School, Rathvilly, in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxviii., pt. i., p. 15 (July 1948).

[113] *Irish Times*, 9 September 1876, signing himself 'Octogenarian'.

[114] *Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser., vol. 111., p. 232, 9 April 1887.

[115] Quane, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[117] *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 June 1896.

[118] *Irish Times*, 6 September 1876.

[119] *Irish Times*, 9 September 1876.

[120] *D. N. B.*, *s. v.* Joseph, George Francis.

[121] Gilbert, *History of the City of Dublin*, ii., p. 15.

[122] Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1591–1892*, p. 176.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[124] The inscription on his tombstone gives him as aged eighty at the time of his death.

[125] *Freeman's Journal*, 20 February 1777.

126 See *infra*, pp. 76–77.

127 See *infra*, p. 77.

128 See *supra*, p. 62.

129 Moses Margoliouth, *The History of the Jews in Great Britain* (London, 1851) iii., pp. 110–112.

130 *Liverpool Directory*, 1790.

131 Betham Will Abstracts, vol. xxxv., No. 431.

132 Walter G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists* (London, 1913).

133 Zosa Szajkowski, 'Jewish emigration from Bordeaux during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', in *Jewish Social Studies*, xviii. April 1956, No. 2, p. 124.

134 *Ibid.*, p. 121, note 19.

135 *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XX., p. 7.

136 *Freeman's Journal*, 14 May 1793.

137 See page 764, quoted in W. S. Samuel, 'Sources of Anglo-Jewish Genealogy' in Jewish Museum Publications, No. 2 (London, 1935), p. 11.

138 *Life of Abraham Jacobs, the converted Jew.* Written by himself (Edinburgh, 1769).

139 F. Gibney, 'A Civic Achievement, Dublin 1760–1800', in *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. xv., No. i, October 1958 (June 1956), p. 8.

140 Strickland, *op. cit.*

141 *London Gazette*, 4 September 1770.

142 *Dublin Directories*, 1781–1799.

143 R. B. Harris, *History of the Supreme Council*, 33° . . . , p. 103.

144 *Dublin Directories*, 1780–1.

145 P. R. I. rep. D. K. 26. App., p. 459.

146 Henry Farrar, *Irish Marriages, being an index to the marriages in Walker's Hibernian Magazine, 1771 to 1812; with an appendix from the notes of Sir Arthur Vicars . . . of the births, marriages and deaths in The Anthologica Hibernica, 1793 and 1794* (Phillimore, 1897), i., p. 96.

147 P. R. I. rep. D. K. 30. App., p. 219.

148 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

149 *Ibid.*, p. 246.

CHAPTER X

1 See *supra*, p. 40.

2 See *supra*, p. 57.

3 See *supra*, p. 21.

4 Alexander the Copper-Smith, *Remarks upon the Religion, Government, Trade, etc., of this City* (Cork, 1731).

[5] Minute Book of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, London, 3 Tammuz 5513 (July 1753). See also Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 169; Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry* (London, 1950), p. 57 footnote; Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, p. 146.

[6] *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 January 1876.

[7] See *supra*, p. 21.

[8] Salmon, 'The Jews in Ireland', in the *Belfast Telegraph*, 29 September 1915.

[9] G. Y. Goldberg, 'Note on the Jewish Community in Cork', in Shillman, *Short History of the Jews in Ireland*, p. 139.

[10] The information on the Schweitzer and Levy families comes from F. M. B. Leese, a descendant, whose father is a Jew and whose mother (née O'Dell) is a Protestant from Ireland. The O'Dells were resident in Ballingarry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[11] See *infra*, p. 77.

[12] The work was published in 1791.

[13] Michael and Mark jun. were kinsmen of the wife of the wealthy East India merchant Israel Levin Salomons (d. 1783), of London, whose sons adopted their mother's name of Prager. A son, Joseph Prager, entered the firm of Prager and Company in Philadelphia. In letters written by Joseph's brothers, Lyon and George, frequent references are made to the Philadelphian relatives. The commercial letters to Prager and Company in Philadelphia indicate a lively regular relationship between the London, Bengal, and Philadelphian firms of Pragers. See *R.E.J.*, cxxiii, 1964, p. 465, footnote 2; see *supra*, p. 33.

[14] Most of the information on Michael Prager comes from C. A. Palmer, of the North America Companies in Philadelphia.

[15] London Reg. 433 Bogg.

[16] Hyamson, *David Salomons* (London, 1939), p. 7.

[17] See John Fitzgerald, *The Cork Remembrancer* (Cork, 1783).

[18] See *supra*, p. 72.

[19] Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, p. 644.

[20] There is another mark, I. S., in an oval escutcheon, for the years 1810–40, but this may have belonged to John Seymour, of Cork. See Wyler, *The Book of Old Silver* (New York, 1937), p. 286.

[21] *Hibernian Journal*, vol. iii. From Wednesday, December the 30th, 1772, to Friday, January the 1st, 1773.

[22] *Ibid.*, 'I, Charles Cooth, Fife Major belonging to the 38th Regiment of Foot, commanded by the Right Hon. Lord Blaney, Certify that I have been perfectly cured by Dr. Solomon of a violent dry Scurvy all over my Body which was of several years standing, Given by me, 22nd. Oct. 1771.'

[23] *Records of the Franklin Family and Collaterals*, Compiled by A. E. Franklin (London, 1935), pp. 96, 118.

[24] See Rubens, 'Anglo-Jewish Coats of Arms', in *Anglo-Jewish Notabilities: Their Arms and Testamentary Dispositions*, p. 78 and Plate IV, facing p. 88.

[25] The earliest publication in the British Museum of Solomon's book is the second edition of *A Guide to Health, etc.*, published in two parts in London in 1796.

[26] See James Joyce, *Ulysses*, p. 391 (403).

[27] Wolf 2nd and Whiteman, *The History of the Jews in Philadelphia*, pp. 329, 482.

[28] B. L. Benas, *Records of the Jews in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1900), pp. 13–16.

[29] For full details of the descendants of Samuel Solomon see *Records of the Franklin Family*, etc., pp. 117–118.

[30] *The Stranger in Ireland* (London, 1806), p. 48.

[31] Robert H. Laing's *Cork Mercantile Directory* for 1842–3.

[32] See Supplement to the *Dublin Gazette*, 28 February 1870, p. 26.

[33] *Journal and Proceedings of the Australian Jewish Historical Society* (Sydney, 1952), ii., p. 83; data supplied by W. E. Jessop, a descendant.

[34] See p. 190 and *Misc.J.H.S.E.*, II., pp. 84–90.

[35] See *supra*, p. 34.

[36] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XX., p. 15.

[37] John Heron Lepper and Philip Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland* (Dublin, 1925), i., p. 264.

[38] See *supra*, p. 73.

[39] Lepper and Crossle, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[40] *The Stranger in Ireland*, p. 48.

[41] Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and Their Marks*, p. 623. There is, and was in the last two centuries, a well-known Quaker family named Jacob domiciled in Waterford, but anyone connected with the Gild of Goldsmiths would almost certainly not be a Quaker.

[42] Richard Hayes, *The Last Invasion of Ireland* (Dublin, 1939), p. 7.

[43] See State Papers: Rebellion Papers 1790–1807 Calendar, Vol. 3, p. 1036, and P. R. O. I. Rebellion Papers 620/66/125.

[44] See *ibid.*, p. 988, and P. R. O. I. Rebellion Papers 620/64/85.

[45] Calendar of Prisoners' Petitions and Cases: 1778 to 1836 (Convict Department C. S. O.).

[46] Prisoners' Petitions and Cases, 12 Aug. 1803, VI/16–3/789 (State Paper Office in Dublin Castle).

[47] P. R. O. I. McNally Papers 620/13/174/6 State Prisoner papers of or about 1804. Correspondence about State Prisoner, Philip Feely, Galway, dentist, a native of Copenhagen, passing himself as a Frenchman, Feb. 1804 (6 enclosures). Enclosure 3, Letter of Charles Bingham, daged Feb. 4th. 1804, to Brigadier General Hill, Galway.

[48] *Ibid.*, Enclosure 1.

[49] *Ibid.*, Enclosure 2.

[50] *Ibid.*, Enclosure 2.

[51] *Ibid.*, Enclosure 4, Letter of Charles Bingham, dated Galway Feb. 5th. 1804, to The Reverend Mr Ellison, Castlebar.

[52] *Ibid.*, Enclosure 5, Letter of Brigadier General S. P. Dalrymple, dated Castlebar Feb. 8th. 1804, to Major General Trench.

[53] *Ibid.*, Enclosure 6, Letter from Major General Trench, dated Ballinasloe, Feb. 10th. 1804, to Lt. Colonel Anstruthers, Adjutant Gen.

[54] Robert Emmet (1778–1803), Irish rebel, was tried for high treason and executed on 20 September 1803. He had fled to the Wicklow mountains but, before escaping to France, returned to Dublin to take leave of Sarah Curran, to whom he was secretly engaged. His hiding place at Harold's Cross was discovered and there he was arrested by Major Sirr, the capturer of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The sad and colourful story of the romance between Robert Emmet and Sarah Curran has been told in Washington Irving's *The Broken Heart* and in Thomas Moore's beautiful poem 'She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps.'

[55] James Napper Tandy (1740–1803), United Irishman, died at Bordeaux. On 7 April 1801, he had been sentenced to death for his part in the attempted invasion of Ireland but, on the intervention of Napoleon, his life was spared on condition of his leaving the country for ever. He acquired posthumous fame as the hero of that most plaintive and popular ballad 'The Wearing of the Green'.

[56] Kilmainham Gaol Register: 1798–1814, No, 211, p. 12.

[57] Rebellion Papers 1790–1807, Calendar Vol. I, p. 362.

CHAPTER XI

[1] See *D. N. B.*, *s. v.* Mendes, Moses; see *A Collection of the Most Esteemed Pieces of Poetry that have appeared for several years. With Variety of Originals.* Edited by Moses Mendes (London, 1767). This was intended as a supplement to Dodsley's and Peach's collections and included poems by Johnson, Goldsmith, Collins, Garrick, etc., and Mendes himself. An Ann Mendes, widow, was resident in Dublin in 1808 but died the following year in Oporto, Portugal. She was a Roman Catholic but may have been of Marrano descent. In her will (Loveday 48), she mentions Sir Francisco Tore da Fonseca and Mr. Timothy de Souza Pinto and his sister Miss Elizabeth Pinto, children of the late Timothy de Souza Pinto.

[2] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, V., p. 21.

[3] See *D. N. B.*, *s. v.* Pinto, Thomas.

[4] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1782, p. 92; Rubens, *Anglo-Jewish Portraits*, p. 154.

[5] John Field (1782–1837), the famous Irish pianist, had his first London success at a Pinto Benefit Concert on 7 February 1799.

[6] W. J. Lawrence, in *Musical Antiquary*, January 1911, p. 103. *s. v.* Giordani, Tommaso.

[7] One of these was to the tune of 'Voorneen Deelish Eileen Oge', the beautiful air 'Erin go bra', at this time known only by its Irish words.

[8] *Recollections of the life of John O'Keefe written by himself* (London, 1826), ii. pp. 16–17, quoted by Peter Kavanagh, *The Irish Theatre: being a history of the drama in Ireland from the earliest period up to the present day* (Tralee, 1946), p. 351.

[9] In the Music Section of the National Library of Ireland in Dublin there are two songs composed by Giordani and sung by Leoni in Dublin:– The Graces/ A much admired Song, sung by Mr. Leoni at the Rotunda./ The words by Gor. Edm. Howard, Esq; the Music by Sig. Giordani./ Printed for the Hibernian Magazine. 2 sides (7″ × 10″).

The Graces/Sung by Mr. Leoni, the words by G. E. Howard Esqr. Set to Music by Sigr. Giordani./Dublin. Publish'd by John Lee at the Corner of Eustace Street in Dame Street (No. 70). 1 side (8″ × 13″).

Gentle River/An admir'd New Song by Mr. Leoni. Compos'd by Mr. Giordani/. For the rest of the words of this Ballad, see p. 269 of vol. i. of Reliques of antient English poetry. Printed by Wilson in Dame Street, or Dodley's London/ Dublin.

Publish'd by Anne Lee (No. 2) Dame Street near the Royal Exchange. 1 side (8″ × 12″).

[10] Edward Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (Dublin, 1840), p. 90; Alfred Moffat, *The Minstrelsy of Ireland* (London, 1897), p. 50; Josephine Patricia Smith, 'Eileen Aroon', in the *Gaelic American*, 31 July 1948.

[11] *The Memoirs of J. Decastro, comedian, etc.*, ed. by R. Humphreys (London, 1824), p. 9; Kavanagh, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[12] *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio: containing some Correspondence between Lady Louisa Stuart and her sister Caroline, Countess of Portarlington, and other Friends and Relations (1778–1813)*, (London, 1895–98), i., p. 244.

[13] W. J. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[14] See *supra*, p. 53.

[15] For portraits of Leoni and Braham, see Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London*, plate facing p. 145.

[16] *Chambers' Biographical Dictionary*, *s. v.* Braham, John.

[17] R. M. Levey and J. O'Rorke, *Annals of the Theatre Royal, Dublin, 1821–1880* (Dublin, 1880), p. 13.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[19] Emden, *Jews of Britain* (London, 1943), pp. 507, 550–552.

[20] Osbert Wyndham Hewett, *Strawberry Fair: A Biography of Frances, Countess Waldegrave, 1821–1879* (London, 1956), pp. 78, 189.

[21] See *supra*, p. 79.

[22] Lucien Wolf, 'Astley's Jews', in *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 May 1893; R. Mander and J. Mitchenson, *The Artist and the Theatre* (London, 1955), pp. 100, 103.

[23] See *D. N. B.*, *s. v.* Bland, Maria Theresa.

[24] W. J. Lawrence, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

[25] See *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 September 1905, p. 19 referring to Asher I. Myers's illustrated edition of Picciotto's *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (London, 1905).

[26] See *supra*, p. 41.

[27] *Memoirs of the life of Daniel Mendoza . . . to which are added observations on the art of pugilism, etc.* (London, 1816), pp. 180–188.

[28] In the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* . . . Exshaw, Dublin, February, 1792, there is an illustration facing page 57: Mr. D. Mendoza & Brother as they appeared at Astley's Amphitheatre. The *London Magazine*, published by Exshaw, is the Dublin edition of the *Gentleman's Magazine;* material usually appeared in it the month after the London edition.

[29] See Louis Berg, 'Mendoza: Light of Israel', in the *Menorah Journal*, xvi., No. 2. February, 1929, p. 130.

[30] *Memoirs of the life of Daniel Mendoza*, p. 195. A shady character, who styled himself 'Mendoza', frequented one of the gambling-houses in Smock Alley in 1790, but nothing further is known of him. See Gilbert, *History of the City of Dublin*, ii., p. 113.

[31] 'Jewish Pugilists', in *St. James's Gazette*, 17 August 1886.

[32] See Vol. ii. (London, 1818), pp. 110–111, 469.

[33] See *supra*, p. 33.

[34] Lucien Wolf, 'Astley's Jews', in *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 May 1893.

[35] A family of Castros lived in Dublin in the first decade of the nineteenth century; they may have been of Marrano origin but do not appear to have been kinsfolk of the London de Castros. A Miss Castro, of Dublin, married Redmond Harte, of Thomastown, in County Kilkenny, in 1804. She was the daughter of Francis Castro, grocer, who lived at 26 St. Andrew Street. See *Hibernian Magazine*, December 1804, p. 762. Not far away, at 46 Aungier Street, lived a Henry Castro, shoemaker. See *Dublin Directory*, 1804.

CHAPTER XII

[1] See *supra*, p. 70.

[2] See *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XX., p. 7.

[3] See p. vii.

[4] See p. viii.

[5] Picciotto in his *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 225, was under the mistaken impression that the Scrolls had been returned to London in 1791.

[6] See *supra*, p. 25.

[7] *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 March 1955, p. 23.

[8] See *supra*, p. 54.

[9] G. N. Wright, *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (London, 1821), p. 204.

[10] *Gentleman's Magazine*, xli., March 1854, p. 335.

[11] *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 December 1855.

[12] Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, *The History of the City of Dublin*, ii., p. 846, note 2.

[13] See *supra*, p. 25.

[14] See *supra*, p. 38.

[15] See *supra*, p. 52.

[16] *Dublin Directory*, 1840.

[17] See *supra*, p. 38.

[18] Vital Records, Shearith Israel Congregation in New York, communicated by Rabbi Malcolm H. Stern.

[19] He is probably the Abraham H. Goodman of Providence, Rhode Island, who traded as a clothier and heads the list of foundation members of the local congregation in 1855. He returned soon after to New York. See *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, vol. 3, December 1960, No. 3, pp. 155, 157.

[20] *The Stranger in Ireland*, pp. 47–48.

[21] G. N. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

CHAPTER XIII

[1] H. S. Q. Henriques, *The Jews and the English Law* (Oxford, 1908), p. 245, note 2.

[2] See pp. vii-viii of the Laws and Regulations of the Dublin Hebrew congregation.

[3] Introduction to the manuscript Register of the Births and Deaths of the Dublin Hebrew congregation. See Appendix V.

[4] Shillman, *The Jews of Ireland*, p. 72. I have been unable to authenticate this reference.

[5] See Appendix V (a).

[6] See Appendix VII, for a selection of the laws and regulations,

[7] Minutes Book of the Dublin Hebrew congregation, 5 August, 8 September, 1845.

[8] *Dublin Directories*, 1828–1845.

[9] Franklin, *Records of the Franklin family, etc.*, pp. 102–104; see *supra*, pp. 76–77.

[10] *Dublin Directories*, 1840–1846.

[11] Minutes Book of the congregation, 28 April 1841.

[12] *Dublin Directories*, 1855–70.

[13] See Minutes Book of the Dublin Hebrew congregation, 12 August 1869.

[14] C. J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and Their Marks*, p. 664.

[15] *Dublin Directories*, 1840–50.

[16] Of the names mentioned above, those of J. Ashenheim and J. Ely do not occur again. J. Ashenheim is presumably the Jacob Ashenheim admitted a burgess of Edinburgh in 1828 and President of its congregation in 1859. He is not known as a resident of Dublin, but, as a jeweller, he was probably a business associate of J. W. Cohen. See *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XIX., p. 142. J. Ely may have been an anglicised form of John Levy referred to above. The careers of the others will be dealt with later. The salver is now in the possession of descendants of Cohen's son-in-law, Maurice Salaman.

[17] *Dublin Directories*, 1845–60.

[18] *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 September 1869.

[19] *Dublin Directories*, 1860–65.

[20] *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 August 1869.

[21] C. J. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 664. It would appear that Lawrence Isaacs was not a goldsmith in the normal sense of the word but only dealt in gold and silver, which necessitated his registering with the Goldsmiths' Company.

[22] *Dublin Directories*, 1828–30.

[23] Minutes Book of the Dublin congregation, 24 February 1844.

[24] *Irish Almanac*, 1849.

[25] Dr. P. O'Connell, 'A Dublin Convert Roll: The Diary of the Rev. P.E. O'Farrelly', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, ser. 5, lxxii (July 1949), pp. 33–4.

[26] *Ibid.*, ser. 5, lxxi (June 1949), p. 541.

[27] *Dublin Directories*, 1830–1840.

[28] *Ibid.*, 1840–1866.

[29] Minutes Book of the congregation, 25 October, 28 November, 1852.

[30] Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry*, p. 50.

[31] *Dublin Directory*, 1850.

[32] Minutes Book of the congregation, 20 July 1865.

[33] *Dublin Directory*, 1839.

[34] P. R. I. rep. D. K. 30. App., p. 393.

[35] *Dublin Directory*, 1867.

[36] *Dublin Directories*, 1840–1850.

[37] *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 April 1861.

[38] *Freeman's Journal*, 14 January 1850, 10 June 1851.

[39] *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 March 1899.

[40] *Dublin Directories*, 1840–1850.

[41] Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[42] See *supra*, p. 62.

[43] O'Connell, 'A Dublin Convert Roll', in *I.E.R.*, ser. 5, lxxi. (June 1949), p. 535.

[44] P. R. I. rep. D. K. 30. App., p. 97.

[45] Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[46] *Dublin Directories*, 1840–1850.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1855–1870.

[48] *Dublin Directory*, 1867.

[49] *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 November 1871.

[50] 1851 Census at Hull, in Yorkshire.

[51] Franklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–166.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[53] See *supra*, p. 56.

[54] Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and Their Marks*, p. 664.

[55] *Dublin Directory*, 1840.

[56] *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 June 1903.

[57] Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 664. His Jewish identity is uncertain.

[58] *Dublin Directory*, 1830. At the birth of his son, George, on 18 April 1831, Dr. Judah La Mert acted as sandek (Godfather); the latter was probably a member of the La Mert family resident in Canterbury in the second quarter of the century.

[59] *Dublin Directory*, 1840.

[60] *Dublin Directories*, 1850–55.

[61] *Ibid.*, 1830–55.

[62] See *infra*, p. 143.

[63] See *supra*, p. 55.

[64] See Appendix V (a).

[65] Marriage record dated 8 September 1830, in Register's Office, Rotterdam, No. 397/355.

[66] See *infra*, p. 206.

[67] Minutes Book, 14 May 1855.

[68] A silver circumcision set, made by Hyam Hyams, which had belonged to Solomon Abecasis was recently sold at Sotheby's.

[69] *Dublin Directory*, 1840.

[70] See introduction to Appendix V.

[71] See Appendix V (a).

[72] Minutes Book, 25 May 1842.

[73] See *infra*, p. 124.

[74] *Dublin Directory*, 1850.

[75] See *infra*, p. 210.

[76] See *D. N. B.*, *s. v.* Grant, Albert. See also W. P. W. Phillimore and E. A. Fry, *An Index to Changes of Name*, 1760 to 1901 (London, 1905), p. 134; 'Baron Grant, Share-Pusher', in *Financial News*, 21 March 1944.

77 *Notes and Queries*, ser. xii., vol. cxlviii., 17 January 1925.

78 See A. F. Williams, *Some Dreams Come True* (Cape Town, 1948).

79 *Notes and Queries*, ser. xii., vol. x., 18 February 1922.

80 See Emden, *Money Powers of Europe* (London, 1937), pp. 141–3.

CHAPTER XIV

1 See pp. 217–8 (227).

2 Minutes of the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of London, 13 March 1836; Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, pp. 146, 250.

3 Minutes of the Mahamad. . .etc., 24 February 1841. See also Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 225.

4 See *supra*, p. 91.

5 *Dublin Directories*, 1840–1855.

6 Edward Dukesz, *Iwah Lemoschaw* (Krakau, 1903), p. 27 in German section.

7 See *supra*, pp. 103–104.

8 Inscription on his tombstone. The obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1840, p. 446, gives his age as 50.

9 *Dublin Directory*, 1840.

10 See *infra*, p. 142.

11 Vol. V., 1st. series (1850–53).

12 He left behind, chiefly in manuscript: Orthographica Hebraeo-Anglicana, 1830–a new system of writing English in Hebrew cursive handwiriting, after the usage prevailing in Germany; An Essay in Verse, Toward a Comparison between the History of the Children of Israel during their Journeys from Egypt to the Promised Land, and that of the Reformation; Primitive Ethnology, Tending to be a Guide, Basis and Tribute to 'Sammlung Altdeutscher Eigennamen' (incomplete); Assemblage of Ornament. Ten Sections of a description of India, being the most interesting portion of J. Shakespeare's Muntakhabat-i-Hindi. Translation from the Hindoostanee with notes (Dublin, 1847); The Lyre of David, or, an Analysis of the Psalms, by Vict. Bythner; translated by Th. Dee. A new edition by N. L. Benmohel (Dublin, 1847); and Strictures on Mosheim's Middle Ages, involving an accurate recension of his Commentarius de Beghardis et Beguinabus (Dublin, 1854).

13 Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, 1887, Royal Albert Hall. Compiled by Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf (London, 1888), pp. 22, 33, 62.

14 See *Belfast Telegraph*, 29 September 1915, p. 3.

15 Minutes Book of the congregation, 24 December 1869; see Appendix VII for Law 110 of the Laws and Regulations of the Dublin Hebrew congregation. A similar case occurred in February 1844, when a Joseph Lyons, a native of Poland,

who had married a Gentile and had children by her, expressed the dying wish to be buried in a Jewish cemetery. The Elders of the congregation allowed him to be buried, without shrouds, on the periphery, after evidence had been given by several members that he used to attend the synagogue on the High Holy Days and had been married privately and not in a church. See Minutes Book, 24 February 1844.

16 *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 February 1853.

17 *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XVII., pp. 253, 263.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 265.

19 *Dublin Directories*, 1840–1853.

20 *Ibid.*, 1840, 1850.

21 For his mark see S. B. Wyler, *The Book of Old Silver*, p. 282.

22 *Dublin Directories*, 1845–68.

23 Minutes Book, 12 August 1869.

24 *Ibid.*, 21 March 1841.

25 *The Times*, 4 November 1878.

26 Minutes Book, 17 October 1869.

27 *Dublin Directory*, 1867.

28 See *supra*, p. 99.

29 Data supplied by Miss Frank, of America, whose grandmother, Pauline Wormser, sister of Lewis Harris, settled in America in 1840 and in 1843 married at Lancaster, Pa., William Frank, a native of Burgerpach, near Bamberg, in Bavaria.

30 *Dublin Directory*, 1840.

31 *Dublin Directory*, 1845.

32 Copy of circular letter contributed by Miss Frank.

33 *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 July 1875.

34 *For The Life of Me*, Robert Briscoe with Alden Hatch (London, 1958), p. 312.

35 See *supra*, p. 150.

36 *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 July 1873.

37 See *infra*, pp. 150–152.

38 *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 December 1908.

39 *Ibid.*, 29 September 1876.

40 A. E. Williams, *Barnardo of Stepney* (London, 1943), p. 48.

41 *Dublin Directories*, 1840–1850.

42 See also Roth, *The Jewish Contribution to Civilisation* (Oxford, 1943), pp. 293–4.

43 Muriel W. Corry, *From Rabbi to Bishop* (London, n. d.), p. 17.

44 Corey, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

47 Dr. McCaul was apparently a brother-in-law of Marcus Moses, the Dublin music publisher and son of the baptised Jew Moses Moses. See *supra*, p. 63, and

Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn (London, 1929), p. 21. He was the father of Elizabeth Anne Finn, wife of James Finn (1806–72), for 18 years Her Britannic Majesty's Consul in Jerusalem.

[48] Corey, *op.cit.*, pp. 43–4, quoting the *Jewish Intelligence*, August, 1840.

[49] *D. N. B., s. v.* Alexander, Michael Solomon.

[50] *D. N. B., s. v.* Margoliouth, Moses.

[51] *Alumni Dublinenses, 1593–1860*, p. 554.

[52] Minutes Book, 5 August 1845, 8 July 1847.

[53] *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 September 1851.

[54] *Jewish World*, 4 March 1881.

CHAPTER XV

[1] *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore . . . from 1812 to 1883*. Edited by L. Loewe (London, 1890), i., pp. 61, 65.

[2] See *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, IV., pp. 121, 151.

[3] Alfred Rubens, *A Jewish Iconography* (London, 1954), p. 29; see also *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 July 1908.

[4] *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, i., p. 215.

[5] Whately, Speech in the House of Lords, August 1 1833, on a Bill for the removal of certain disabilities from His Majesty's subjects of the Jewish persuasion, with additional remarks, etc. (London, 1833).

[6] *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 February 1848; see Appendix IX.

[7] See Debates in the House of Commons . . . and in the House of Lords on . . . the Bill for removing the civil disabilities of the Jews, etc., (London, 1834), p. 100. See also *supra*, p. 22.

[8] The name of the editor is not mentioned, but the proprietor is given as Sylvester Redmond. The British Museum possesses Nos. 1–7 of the paper, dated 7 Sept–Oct., 1850.

[9] It was only on 25 July 1858 that Baron Lionel de Rothschild took his seat in due form in the House of Commons as Member for the City of London.

[10] Heine recorded his impressions and experiences in the four volumes of his *Reisebilder* published in 1826–7 and 1830–1. See Arthur Power, 'An Irish girl bewitched Heine', in the *Irish Digest*, January 1945, pp. 16–18.

[11] Whitley Stokes had been a member of the United Irishmen in 1791 but had withdrawn owing to its increasingly revolutionary tendencies. Suspected of revolutionary designs in 1797–8, he was deprived of his position in Trinity College, but was afterwards restored and became Lecturer in Natural History and later Regius Professor of Medicine, 1830–1843. See Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1591–1892*, pp. 146–7.

[12] *The Autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone.* Edited with an Introduction by R. Barry O'Brien (Dublin, 1893), ii., pp. 303–4. Entry for April 21–24, 1798.

[13] See *supra*, p. 80.

[14] Tone was taken prisoner, having refused Bompard's offer to escape in a frigate. After being tried by court-martial in Dublin, he was sentenced to be hanged on 12 November, but on the previous day he cut his throat with a penknife, and on 19 November 1798 he died of the wound. A remarkable man, he was said by Wellington to be worth a division to the French.

[15] Thomas Corbet was born about 1773 at Ballythomas, County Cork. He graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1791. With his younger brother, William, he was expelled from the College in February 1798 for being a member of the College Society of United Irishmen. In September 1798, William Corbet, together with other Irish refugees, took part in a descent on Ireland in a French vessel and, after circulating a few proclamations, returned to France. William was arrested in Hamburg by British agents and brought to Ireland. After two years' imprisonment at Kilmainham he escaped and fled to France, concealed aboard the same ship with Major Sirr, who had captured Lord Edward Fitzgerald. William, who first taught English at the military school at St. Cyr-L'Ecole, later rose to the rank of general after joining the French army. On a visit to France in the summer of 1837, Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, met William Corbet, one of his early College friends then commanding the district at Caen, and talked over old rebellious times. See Webb, *Compendium of Irish Biography, s.v.* Corbet, William; *Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Written by Himself. Comprising a Complete Journal of His Negotiations to Procure the Aid of the French For the Liberation of Ireland with Selections From His Diary Whilst Agent to the Irish Catholics.* Edited By His Son, William Theobald Wolfe Tone (London, 1827), ii., p. 349; Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1591–1892*, p. 269; *The Letters of Thomas Moore*, Edited by Wilfred S. Dowden (Oxford, 1964), ii., pp. 810–811.

[16] Corbet's letter was in the famous Brouwet collection and was purchased by Professor A. S. Yahuda at a public auction of Napoleon's papers in London. The original is in French and appears in Hebrew translation in *Molad*, vi., Nos. 35–6, March 1951 (Tel Aviv), pp. 321–4, and in English translation, with only a few omissions, in Prof. A. S. Yahuda's article, 'Napoleon and a Jewish State', in *Zion*, i. (xxv), No. 7, March 1950 (Jerusalem), pp. 29–34. See Appendix IV. See also A. S. Yahuda, 'Conception d'un état juif par Napoleon', in *Evidences*, No. 19 (mai-juin 1951), pp. 3–8; Philip Guedalla, 'Napoleon and Palestine', in the *Menorah Journal*, xi., No. 3, June 1925, pp. 209–217.

[17] *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, Edited by His Widow (Paris, New York, 1863), ii., p. 15, iii., pp. 37–9.

[18] N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism, 1600–1918* (London, 1919), ii., pp. 405–409.

[19] Sir John's nephew, Phineas S. Abraham (1847–1921), a native of Falmouth

in Jamaica, had a distinguished career at Trinity College, Dublin, and was a principal founder of the Royal Irish Academy of Medicine and of the Dermatological Society of Great Britain and Ireland. See *The Lancet*, 5 March 1921, p. 507; *British Medical Journal*, 12 March 1921, p. 406.

[20] Roth, *The Magnificent Rothschilds* (London, 1939), p. 66.

[21] Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845–9* (London, 1962), p. 169.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[24] It is of interest to note that Baron Lionel de Rothschild on a visit to Cork in 1865 donated £5 towards the Building Fund of the new cathedral in the city. See *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 October 1865.

[25] *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 December 1900.

[26] As early as 1643, Don Antonio Fernandez de Carvajal, known as the founder of the modern Anglo-Jewish community, sent a contribution of £5 from London for the relief of the poor in Ireland. See *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, X., p. 230.

[27] *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States: 1654–1875*, edited by M. U. Schappes (New York; 1950), pp. 273, 637, and from sources quoted therein.

[28] *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, April 1847, p. 41. For a full account of the meeting, see the Report of the Irish Relief Committee of the City of New York (New York, 1848), quoted by M. U. Schappes, *op. cit.*, p. 637; see also Woodham-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 242, which refers to a 'large collection made by the Jewish synagogue in New York'.

[29] M. U. Schappes, *op. cit.*, p. 637.

[30] Reznikoff, *The Jews of Charleston*, p. 14.

[31] *Pub. A. J. H. S.*, xxiii., p. 122, xxxix, p. 14.

[32] See Rudolf Glanz, *Jew and Irish* (New York, 1966), p. 35, and sources quoted therein.

[33] Communication from Dr. Philip O'Connell, author of 'A Dublin Convert Roll: The Diary of the Rev. P. E. O'Farrelly', in *I. E. R.* ser. 5, lxxi (June 1949), pp. 533–44, and *ibid.*, lxxii (July 1949), pp. 27–35.

[34] Maria Edgeworth, *Harrington and Ormond* (London, 1817), i., pp. ii–iii; see 'Miss Edgeworth and the Jews' in *Selections from the Writings of Mrs. Sarah Hall* (Philadelphia, 1833), pp. 57–60.

[35] J. R. Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews 1775–1865* (Philadelphia, 1955), i., pp. 226–7.

[36] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s. v.* Hart, E. A: see also *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 January 1898, and *February Supplement*, 1931.

[37] *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore . . . from 1812 to 1883*, i., pp. 31, 32, 36, 106; see also *Jewish Chronicle*, 10 July 1908, 16 May 1913.

CHAPTER XVI

[1] See *supra*, pp. 25–26.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 94–94.

[3] *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 June 1896.

[4] See *supra*, p. 96.

[5] Minutes Book, 8 November 1840, 11 April 1841.

[6] *Voice of Jacob*, 3 January 1845.

[7] Rubens, *Anglo-Jewish Portraits*, p. 69; *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 June 1896; *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, VII., p. 240.

[8] Minutes Book, 24 February 1844; he was a witness in the Joseph Lyons affair. See *supra*, pp. 316–317.

[9] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London*, p. 193, where the date of his death is incorrectly given as 1840. Moses Ansell's niece married Myer Davis, noted for his pioneer work on early Anglo-Jewish historical records. His uncle was Reb Zalman Ansell, judge of the London ecclesiastical court, said to have taught Hebrew to the convert Lord George Gordon.

[10] Minutes Book, 1 February 1857.

[11] *Ibid.*, 7 October 1857.

[12] Minutes Book, 10 October 1853.

[13] *American Israelite*, Vol. xxvii, 24 September 1880, p. 102.

[14] Minutes Book, 25 June 1843, 23 August 1846.

[15] *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 October 1882; see *supra*, p. 91.

[16] The Rev. A. Bernstein, *Some Jewish Witnesses for Christ* (London, 1909). The archives of the Rumboldt University of Berlin have no record of Mensor as student or graduate for the years 1810–57.

[17] Communication from Mr. Eric Lipson, quoting the *Sheffield Independent*, September 1859.

[18] *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 September 1852.

[19] Minutes Book, 10 December 1854.

[20] See *infra*, p. 217.

[21] M. A. Gutstein, *A Priceless Heritage* (New York, 1953), pp. 99, 143.

[22] See *supra*, pp. 108–110.

[23] H.L. Meites, *History of the Jews of Chicago* (Chicago, 1924), p. 73, quoting Herman Eliassof, 'History of the K.A.M. Congregation', in *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Americanischen Historischen Gesellschaft* (Chicago, 1915).

[24] *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 September 1859.

[25] *Ibid.*, 4 February 1870.

[26] *Drake's Directory*, 1863.

[27] *Jewish World*, 9, 23, 30 July 1897.

[28] *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 June 1853, *Trans.J.H.S.E.*, XXI., p. 152.

[29] Minutes Book, 16 September 1845.

[30] *Ibid.*, 23 August 1846.

[31] *Ibid.*, 7 January 1855.

[32] *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 November 1861.

[33] Minutes Book, 2 February 1862.

[34] *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 July 1872.

[35] See *supra*, p. 86.

[36] In 1937, a Jew, Dr. Jacob Weingreen, who was not then a Fellow, was appointed Professor of Hebrew.

[37] *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 April 1901.

CHAPTER XVII

[1] P. R. I. rep. D. K. 30 (App.), p. 253.

[2] *Dublin Directories*, 1840–1850.

[3] *Dublin Directory*, 1865.

[4] P.R.I. rep. D.K. 30 (App.), p. 26.

[5] Charles Duschinsky, *The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London, from 1756–1842* (London, 1921), p. 120.

[6] See *infra*, p. 147.

[7] See *supra*, p. 108.

[8] See *supra*, p. 94.

[9] H. F. Rubinstein, *On the Father's Side: Jew Dyte* and *They Went Forth* (London, 1933), pp. 7–29.

[10] *Dublin Directories*, 1850–58.

[11] *Saunders' News-Letter and General Advertiser*, 5 January 1850.

[12] *Hayden Coffin's Book* (London, 1930), pp. 99–105, 109–116, 258–259.

[13] See *Annual Register*, 1907. *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 April 1907.

[14] See Appendix V(a). All her obituaries give 1864 as the year of her birth.

[15] *Annual Register*, 1916; *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 March 1916.

[16] Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, *The Merry Wives of Westminster* (London, 1946), p. 58. Of her children, Gilbert (1884–1952), the novelist, remained in ignorance of his ancestry until he was more than sixteen, being 'brought up Church of England', and only in August 1897, when he was 'old enough to understand things for himself; was he baptised by the Rev. Mr. Brocas-Waters, curate of Holy Trinity, Albany Street, London. A few months before his death he became a member of the Church of Rome. In December 1905, he married as his first wife Dorothea Frances Markham Drummond-Black. His second daughter, Pamela (1908–1967), the novelist, who was active in aiding Jewish refugees from Germany, was told by her father that he was bored by her rushing to identify herself with the Jewish race, particularly when he had taken the trouble to provide her with a

Christian mother. Pamela, who once described herself as a half-Jewish lady of the Catholic faith, remonstrated with her father for taking his Jewish blood more light-heartedly than she took her half-share. On 9 May 1933, Gilbert wrote an article in the *Daily Express* entitled 'As a Jew I am not against Hitler'. He, however, denied Ernst Toller's reference to him as a Blackshirt. See Gilbert Frankau, *Self-Portrait* (London, 1941), pp. 8–9, 79, 97; Pamela Frankau, *Pen to Paper* (London, 1961), pp. 159, 199–200, 202–3, 219.

17 See *supra*, p. 55.

18 *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 January 1901.

19 *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, ed. Oscar Thompson, *s. v.* Temple, Hope; see Mrs Aria, *My Sentimental Self* (London, 1922), p. 206.

20 In the obituary notice of *The Times* of 11 May 1938 there is nothing to suggest that she was of Jewish origin; it merely mentions that she was 'born in Ireland of English parents'.

21 *Dublin Directories*, 1860–75.

22 See *infra*, p. 172.

23 *Dublin Directories*, 1860–80.

24 P. R. I. rep. D. K. 30 (App.), p. 185.

25 Franklin, *Records*, p. 159.

26 *Dublin Directory*, 1848.

27 *Dublin Directories*, 1840–52.

28 P.R.I. rep. D.K.30 (App.), p.262.

29 Minutes Book, 24 February 1844.

30 *Dublin Directory*, 1866.

31 Minutes Book, 27 September 1866.

32 *Ibid.*, 3 February 1878.

33 *Ibid.*, 15 July 1880.

34 *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 September 1898.

35 Minutes Book, 9 October 1854.

36 See *supra*, p. 94.

37 See *supra*, p. 78 where it is recorded that the Hyams sisters of Cork moved to Sydney about 1840.

38 *Dublin Directory*, 1840.

39 *Ibid.*, 1848.

40 Minutes Book, 11 December 1864.

41 *Dublin Directory*, 1848.

42 See *supra*, p. 133.

43 Minutes Book, 29 April 1846.

44 *Dublin Directory*, 1867.

45 *Dublin Directories*, 1840–67.

46 Minutes Book, 27 May 1862.

47 *Dublin Directory*, 1867.

48 R. A. Cohen, 'A General History of Dentistry, from the 18th Century, with special reference to Irish Practicioners', in the *Irish Journal of Medical Science*, sixth series, No. 315, March 1952, p. 133.

49 See p. 237 (246). Here Joyce deliberately confuses Joseph Bloom, the dentist, with Leopold Bloom.

50 Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York, 1959), p. 375.

51 P. R. I. rep. D. K. 30 (App.), p. 276.

52 *Dublin Directories*, 1845–54.

53 *Ibid.*, 1855–67.

54 *Ibid.*, 1855–62.

55 Alexandra Lee Levin, *Vision: A Biography of Harry Friedenwald* (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 29. In 1939, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, author, historian and first chief of the Library of Congress Division of Manuscripts, founded the Friedenwald Foundation for the Promotion of Higher Learning at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, in memory of his parents, Moses and Jane Friedenwald. See *ibid.*, p. 391 and letter to me from Mrs. Isaac Hamburger, 5 January 1970.

56 See *supra*, p. 106.

57 See *infra*, p. 145.

58 Minutes Book, 7 May 1851.

59 G. A. Figgis was the uncle of Darrell Figgis (1882–1925), author and politician.

60 Minutes Book, 3 April 1842.

61 *Ibid.*, 2 July 1843.

62 *Ibid.*, 30 March 1845.

63 *Ibid.*, 24 August 1845.

64 *Ibid.*, 8 September 1845.

65 A. Levy, *The Origins of Glasgow Jewry, 1812–95* (Glasgow, 1949), p. 38.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

67 Minutes Book, 17 July 1845.

CHAPTER XVIII

1 See *supra*, p. 107.

2 See *Misc. J. H. S. E.*, IV., p. 108.

3 *Alumni Dublinenses (1593–1860)*, p. 697.

4 *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 November 1893.

5 See *supra*, p. 101.

6 *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 May 1907.

7 See *supra*, p. 95.

[8] See *supra*, p. 94.

[9] *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 August 1895.

[10] *Dublin Directory*, 1867.

[11] Letters to me from Hubert C. Wine, 20 July 1962, and Mrs. Esther Silver, 1 January 1963.

[12] See *infra*, p. 172.

[13] See *infra*, p. 172.

[14] *Ulysses*, p. 799 (683).

[15] *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 November 1922.

[16] *Dublin Directories*, 1855–70.

[17] A. Levy, *The Origins of Glasgow Jewry, 1812–95*, pp. 38, 46.

[18] See *infra*, p. 147.

[19] According to R. F. Browne, a Sligo contemporary, Henry Franklin remained a Jew till he died, although another source indicates that he was converted on marriage and that his children were brought up as Christians.

[20] *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 January 1890.

[21] See p. 171 (179). See also p. 543 (560), where the dancing academy is referred to as Levinstone's.

[22] There died in Dublin in 1865 one Joseph Rosenberg, a native of Gorsd, Poland, but he was in no way related to the family of musicians.

CHAPTER XIX

[1] *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 April 1901.

[2] Bethel Solomons, *One Doctor In His Time*, pp. 26–27.

[3] Minutes Book, 7 January 1855, 26 November 1861.

[4] Franklin, *Records*, pp. 102, 115.

[5] *Dublin Directories*, 1860–75.

[6] Minutes Book, 21 May 1876.

[7] *Ibid.*, 28 June 1864.

[8] See *infra*, p. 149.

[9] Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 238 and footnote, pp. 238–9; see also *Letters of James Joyce*, Vol. II. Edited by Richard Ellmann (London, 1966), pp. 189, 194, footnote 3.

[9a] Mary and Padraic Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce* (London, 1959), p. 55. See also Ellmann, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[10] See illustration facing p. 104 in William York Tindal, *The Joyce Country* (Pennsylvania, 1960).

[11] See p. 211 (166).

[12] *Letters of James Joyce*, ii., p. 194.

[13] See *Estella Solomons: Portraits of Patriots with a Biographical Sketch of the Artist*, by Hilary Pyle (Dublin, 1966) and *infra*, p. 197.

[14] See Beatrice, Lady Glenavy, *To-day We Will only Gossip* (London, 1964) p. 36.

[15] Oliver St. John Gogarty, *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street* (London, 1937), pp. 65, 70–71; Sinclair *v.* Gogarty (1937), I. R., 377; Ulick O'Connor, *Oliver St. John Gogarty* (London, 1964), pp. 276–285.

[16] In a comment in the same issue, the editor wrote that Lady Desart's marriage to the late Earl was not consistent with the common acceptance of religious conformity as 'a staunch and practising Jewess', whatever her personal pride in her faith and race.

[17] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 July 1933; *The Times*, 30 June 1933.

[18] Emden, *Jews of Great Britain*, p. 537, note 1.

[19] Franklin, *Records*, pp. 155–156.

[20] See *supra*, p. 99.

[21] See *supra*, p. 110.

[22] See *supra*, p. 111.

[23] See *supra*, pp. 130–132.

[24] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 May 1880.

[25] See *supra*, p. 107, and *infra*, p. 206.

[26] *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 December 1886.

[27] See letters in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, marked A.2 (Archives of the Chovevei Zion in Great Britain).

[28] See *supra*, p. 101.

[29] *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 November 1877.

[30] I. Abrahams, *The Birth of a Community* (Cape Town, 1955), i., p. 150, quoting S. A. Rochlin, *Zionist Record*, 8 November 1954. For further details on Bender's career see Abrahams, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–134.

[31] K. O'Brennan, 'Famous People I Have Met', in *Irish Digest*, January 1942, pp. 59–60.

CHAPTER XX

[1] *Voice of Jacob*, 5 January 1844, p. 52.

[2] V. D. Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England: 1850–1950* (London, 1954), p. 187.

[3] Roth, *The Rise of Provincial Jewry*, pp. 110–111.

[4] Lipman, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[5] Minutes Book, 7 September 1854.

[6] Census of Population of Ireland (1936) (Dublin, 1939), iii., pp. 15–19.

[7] *Dublin Directory*, 1867, p. 198.

[8] I have noted three omissions: Lewis Joel (b. 1824), Matilda Marcus (b. 1837), and Maurice Freedman (1875–1951), who was to become, in 1934, as Maurice Freeman, Mayor of Johannesburg.

[9] *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, XI., p. 156.

[10] See obituary notice of Lewis Aronson, of Bangor, in Wales, in *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 January 1925.

[11] See *supra*, p. 49.

[12] Report of a lecture by John Wyse Power on 'The Jews in Ireland in the Middle Ages', in the *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 15 February 1909. See *infra*, p. 185.

[13] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 September 1860, p. 5.

[14] Henriques, *The Jews and the English Law*, pp. 261–3.

[15] See *supra*, p. 132.

[16] Minutes Book 31 December 1848, 11 April 1849, 23 April 1854, 28 May 1854.

[17] Minutes Book, 15 and 27 December 1847; see also *supra*, p. 122.

[18] *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 October 1865, p. 6.

[19] See *supra*, p. 124.

[20] Minutes Book, 13 November 1859, 11 April 1860.

[21] See *supra*, p. 147.

[22] See *supra*, p. 99.

[23] See *supra*, p. 110.

[24] See *supra*, p. 147.

[25] See *infra*, p. 165.

[26] *Voice of Jacob*, 23 December 1842, p. 84.

CHAPTER XXI

[1] Census of Population in Ireland in 1936, iii., pp. 15–20.

[2] I. Goldstone, of Warrington, Lancashire, in *Jewish Guardian*, 17 October 1930.

[3] 23 October 1886.

[4] See *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 October 1886.

[5] See *Jewish World*, 18 September 1896.

[6] *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 October 1892.

[7] See *supra*, p. 143.

[8] *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 October 1892.

[9] *Hayehudi*, 23 January 1902, Vol. 5. No. 17; see *supra*, p. 143.

[10] *Ibid.*, 30 January 1902, Vol. 5. No. 18.

[11] See *supra*, p. 151.

[12] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 January 1902.

[13] *Ulysses*, p. 596 (471).

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 233 (183).

[15] Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 38 and Robert M. Adams, *Surface and Symbol* (New York, 1962), p. 105 and note 6.

[16] Robert Boyle, S. J., 'A Note on Reuben J. Dodd as "a dirty Jew"' in *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 3. No. 1, Fall 1965, pp. 64–6.

[17] In his comment in the *James Joyce Quarterly* referred to in the previous note, Father Boyle, in the main, corrects the view expressed by R. M. Adams that Bloom and the other passengers in the funeral cortège believed Dodd to be a Jew and that Joyce also judged this to be the case. The solution to the problem of why they speak of Dodd as a Jew he finds in the Dubliners' story 'Grace', where one Harford, a moneylender, is spoken of bitterly by his fellow-Catholics as an Irish Jew. Father Boyle suggests that Harford is the pseudonym which Joyce gave to Reuben J. Dodd.

[18] *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 February 1910.

[19] *Ibid.*, 27 February 1885.

[20] *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 November 1885.

[21] Myer Joel Wigoder, *My Life* (Leeds, 1935). Translated by Louis Wigoder and edited by Samuel Abel. The manuscript was originally written in Hebrew, then translated by the author himself into Yiddish, from which the English translation was made.

CHAPTER XXII

[1] Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 706 footnote.

[2] *Ulysses*, p. 655 (544).

[3] Even Dublin had its Wailing Wall in 1904. The story is told of Mrs. Bessie Light (d. 1916), an old Jewish lady in Dublin, who insisted on coming regularly to see each of her grandsons off as they left, in succession, at the turn of the century for South Africa, from the North Wall of the River Liffey, whence Joyce also made his hegira. The old lady would bemoan her fate near a pole at the wharf popularly known by the Irish porters as the 'Wailing Wall'. Letter to me from Mrs. J. S. Bloom, of Seattle, 1 June 1968.

[4] M. Shulomowitz is probably identical with the M. Shmulovitch (d. 1940) who appears in *Thom's Directory* for 1905 as secretary of the Jewish Library at 57 Lombard Street West; as Isaac Myer Shmulowitz, he was the Dublin correspondent of the London Hebrew weekly, *Hayehudi*, who left for South Africa in 1904. See *Hayehudi*, 15 October 1904. Shmulowitz returned to Ireland some years later and settled in Cork, where he married Anne, daughter of the Rev. Meyer Elyan, Minister of the Cork congregation.

[5] Joseph Goldwater lived at 77 Lombard Street West, and Harris Rosenberg at No. 63. At the close of the nineteenth century, the Dublin Hebrew Young Men's Association met at the Rooms at 77 Lombard Street West, its officials in 1899

being Honorary Secretary, I. M. Shmulowitz, Committee, Isaac Shein (d. 1931), M. Chitron (sic) -Light, H. Greentuch, and Solomon Bloom. See *Jewish World*, 10 March 1899. Morris Citron (d. 1931) was Honorary Secretary of the Dublin Jewish Literary and Social Club in 1905–6. See Jewish Year Book 5666 (1905–6).

[6] Moses Herzog, after whom Saul Bellow's *Herzog* is almost certainly named, was a one-eyed bachelor who left for South Africa in 1908. His sister-in-law Marion Rachel, wife of Isaac Herzog, had died on 8 March 1900, at the age of fifty six. Herzog lived at 13 St. Kevin's Parade, a few doors away from Citron and Mastiansky, and traded as an itinerant grocer. His name appears three times in the *Cyclops* episode. See *infra*, pp. 186–187

[7] M. Moisel, who appears thus in *Thom's Directory* for 1904 and 1905, is probably a misprint for N. Moisel, the 'Nisan' Moisel who told Bloom about the price and quality of citrons. See *infra*, pp. 188, 190.

[8] J. Citron, who appears thus in *Thom's Directory* for 1905, is a misprint for I[srael] Citron (1876–1951) who lived at No. 17 and not at 28 St. Kevin's Parade. See *Thom's Directory* for 1905 and *Ulysses*, p. 156 (122). See also *infra*, pp. 174, 188. He was a brother of the Morris Citron referred to in note 5 above.

[9] Minnie Watchman, my great-aunt, is recorded in *Thom's Directory* for 1905 as the tenant of 20 St. Kevin's Parade, as her husband, Jacob Leib, was in Dundalk in 1904 setting up a business. She wrongly appears in the *Directory* with the prefix 'Mr', and Joyce, by including her name in the list of the circumcised, was probably having his own little private joke on the *Directory*. For similar errors noted in the *Directory*, see J. F. Byrne, *Silent Years*, p. 154.

[10] O. Mastiansky is probably a misprint for P. Mastiansky, who according to *Thom's Directory* for 1905, lived at 16 St. Kevin's Parade. He is supposed to be the same person as Julius Mastiansky, who figures in *Ulysses* as one of Molly Bloom's lovers (see p. 863 (731)) and one of the former friends of Bloom with whom he had discussions on various subjects in 1892 and 1893 (see p. 778 (667)). The name Mastiansky, which is unknown in the Dublin Jewish community of the time, is a misprint for Masliansky (see *infra*, p. 189).

[11] The Reverend Leopold Abramovitz, Chazen, is identical with Abraham Lipman Abramovitz (d. 1907), Reader of the Lennox Street synagogue. An ordained rabbi, he arrived in Dublin in 1887 and served the community as shochet (ritual slaughterer), chazan (reader), mohel (circumciser) and Hebrew teacher. See his obituary in the London Hebrew weekly, *Hayehudi*, 10 October 1907. See also *infra*, p. 193. He was the grandfather of Robert Kahan (1893–1951), a Dublin civil servant and a keen student of Joyce.

[12] By excluding flowers, Joyce showed his familiarity with orthodox Jewish custom, which forbids the placing of flowers on graves. See A. J. Leventhal, 'The Jew Errant', *The Dubliner*, Vol. 2, Spring 1963. No. 1, p. 21.

[13] *Thom's Directories*, 1890–1905.

[14] *Ulysses*, pp. 139(110), 617(487); Census of Ireland, 1901.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 193 (153).

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 638 (523).

[17] Bloom's father, Rudolph, who came from Hungary, anglicised his family name Virag, which means 'flower' in Hungarian, as Bloom.

[18] Letters to me from Mrs. Mabel Rothband, 14 November 1963, and Mrs. Dorothy H. Goldstone, 8 February 1969. Franks was a great-grandson of Isaac Franks, married in Dublin in 1781 and a grandson of Jacob Franks, who died in Dublin in 1846. See *supra*, p. 301, note 13.

[19] See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, pp. 238, 778, note 38.

[20] Marriage Certificate B 5 42 No. 156 at the General Register Office, now changed to Oifig an Ard-Chláraitheora, Custom House, Dublin.

[21] The marriage of John Joyce to Mary Jane Murray took place at the same church on 5 May 1880. See Ellmann, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

[22] *Thom's Directory*, 1899.

[23] Ellmann, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

[24] *Letters of James Joyce* [vol. 1] ed. Stuart Gilbert (London, 1957), p. 174.

[25] *Thom's Directory*, 1899.

[26] See R. M. Adams, *op.cit.*, p. 62.

[27] Gorman, Herbert. *James Joyce* (London, 1941), pp. 176–177.

[28] *Letters of James Joyce*, [vol. 1], p. 55, C. P. Curran, *James Joyce Remembered* (London, 1968), pp. 48–49 and Ellmann, *Ulysses: A Short History*, pp. 707–708, appended to the first Penguin edition of *Ulysses*, 1968.

[29] It may be of interest to record that a Leopold Andrew Walshe Hunter graduated as a B. A. at the Summer Commencements of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1904.

[30] *Ulysses*, p. 704 (613).

[31] Letter to me from Mr. D. Sexton, Deputy Registrar of Marriages, etc., Cork Health Authority, 9 April 1969.

[32] In her marriage certificate at the General Register Office, Custom House, Dublin, Sarah is recorded as 'a minor'. 1870 was the year of Molly Bloom's birth.

[33] See *Palestina:* Chovevei Zion Quarterly, No. 6, December 1893.

[34] *Ulysses*, p. 719 (624).

[35] In the Census of Ireland, 1911, Sarah Bloom is described as a widow.

[36] *Ulysses*, p. 875 (740).

[37] Interview with Mrs. Janie Davis and Mrs. Rebecca Miller, 1969.

[38] Letter to me from Samuel Garber, 16 March 1970.

[39] Letter to me from Philip Sless, 8 January 1970.

[40] Letter to me from S. H. Leventhal, 17 September 1968.

[41] Interview with Mrs. Rose Spiro, formerly Mrs. Rose Yodaiken, 1969.

[42] Interview with Laurence Elyan, 1968.

[43] *Ulysess*, pp. 74 (61), 653 (542).

[44] Letter to me from Samuel Garber, 12 August 1970.

[45] Census of Ireland, 1911.

[46] Interview with Mrs. Rebecca Isaacson, 1969.

[47] Census of Ireland, 1911.

[48] Letter to me from Samuel Garber, 16 March 1970.

[49] Interview with Joseph Birkhan, 1969.

[50] Letter to me from A. J. Leventhal, 19 November 1969.

[51] In the Register of the Dolphin's Barn Cemetery she appears as Bassa Bloom but her death certificate records her as Sarah Bloom, housekeeper of 36 Victoria Street.

[52] Interview in 1968 with Mrs. Rachel Grossman (1885–1969), former resident of Jerusalem, and daughter of Rabbi Isaac Meyer Yosselson of Dublin; letter to me from Arthur Robinson, 19 July 1968, formerly of 36 Lombard Street West and now resident in Johannesburg.

[53] Letter to me from Max Nurock, 28 July 1968.

[54] *Thom's Directories*, 1892–1912. In the directories from 1892 to 1894 he appears as T. Bloom and from 1895 to 1911 as J. Bloom.

[55] For some oddities of *Ulysses*' time-pattern see Adams, *Surface and Symbol*, pp. 186–187, where he refers to Joyce's inconsistency in making the Blooms live in Lombard Street West early in 1893, moving them to Raymond Terrace early in March of the same year, making them live in the City Arms Hotel at 54 Prussia Street late in the year 1893 and early in 1894 and recording them as still in Lombard Street West in 1894.

[56] Memorandum of Mrs. Rebecca Ita Isaacson, 23 July 1969.

[57] *Ulysses*, p. 331 (258).

[58] J. F. Byrne in his *Silent Years: An Autobiography with Memoirs of James Joyce and Our Ireland* (New York, 1963), pp. 18–19, was misled in regarding as a Jew 'the bookseller of *Sweets of Sin*', Josh Strong, who is unnamed in *Ulysses* and from whom Bloom purchased for himself *Aristotle's Masterpiece* which Molly called the "Aristocrat's Masterpiece". See *Ulysses*, pp. 303–304 (236–237), 686 (586), 913 (772).

[59] J.F. Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 19, has the following note referring to the occupant of the main shop of 26 Wellington Quay which some years before had been occupied by Simon Marks: '(It) was rented by one Figatner, another wealthy Jew and jeweler. Fig was altogether a different character from Josh. He had the reputation of being well versed in Oriental languages. I was told he had lectured in those languages in Trinity College, this I never verified. He always wore a black hat, frock coat, flamboyant waistcoat with a gold chain like a hawser, and spats. Somewhere around 1894, he was married to a young Irish girl, daughter of the caretaker of the local Workmen's Club on Wellington Quay. In *Ulysses*,

Chapter XV, Josh Strong and Figatner are referred to, the former as "the bookseller of '*Sweets of Sins*' ".

60 *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1895.

61 *Ulysses*, p. 334 (259).

62 A. J. Leventhal spoke with Joyce of the Jewish families mentioned in *Ulysses*, of one with the incongruous name of Higgins, whom Joyce had related to Bloom. See *supra*, p. 143 and Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 527.

63 *Ulysses*, p. 375 (290).

64 Interview with Mrs. Leah Gruson, 1969.

65 At the close of the nineteenth century there lived in Dublin an Isaac Bloom who was apparently non-Jewish. On 27 February 1898, Thomas Edward Bloom, soldier of Richmond Barracks, son of Isaac Bloom, painter, married Elizabeth Gillespie of 34 Denzille Street at the Roman Catholic Church of St. Andrew's. A son John was born in the Coombe Hospital on 28 May 1898.

66 Ellmann, 'The Backgrounds of *Ulysses*, *The Kenyon Review*, Vol. xvi, Summer 1954, No. 3, p. 381.

67 *Dublin Directories*, 1904–1905.

68 *Ibid.*, 1895; see Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 17 and footnote.

69 *Ibid.*, 1901–1903.

70 Census of Ireland, 1901.

71 *Dublin Directory*, 1905.

72 *Dublin Directories*, 1908–1915.

73 Interview with Mrs. Rebecca Isaacson, 1969.

74 Census of Ireland, 1901.

75 Letter to me from S. H. Leventhal, 27 October 1968; interview with Mrs. Leah Gruson, 1969; Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 386.

76 Interview with Mrs. Rebecca Isaacson, 1969. This information came to her from Hannah Berman, resident in Dublin at the time.

77 *Ulysses*, p. 198 (156).

78 Letter to me from Philip Ordman, 25 September 1968.

79 Interview with Mervyn Hool, 1969.

80 Letter to me from Philip Ordman, 4 March 1969.

81 Interview with Mrs. Rebecca Ita Isaacson, 1967.

82 Letter to me from Dr. Ivor Citron, 12 October 1969.

83 *Ulysses*, p. 599 (475).

84 *Ibid.*, p. 436 (336).

85 Pesach is Hebrew for Passover; he had never anglicised his name. In the 1901 Census his name appears as Paisax.

86 Letter to me from Mrs. J. S. Bloom, 21 August 1968.

87 See *Ulysses*, p. 518 (396); letter to me from Max Nurock, 8 December 1968 and *Ulysses*, p. 174 (138).

[88] See the *Evening Mail*, 16 June 1904, *Evening Telegraph*, 16 June 1904, *Freeman's Journal*, 17 June 1904 and 12 July 1904, reporting that Wought was sentenced to twelve months with hard labour. The case was heard in the Southern Court before Mr. Swifte, K. C., and not before the Dublin Recorder, Sir Frederick Falkiner, whom Joyce intentionally introduced.

[89] Robert Bloom (born 1876), eldest son of Pesach, emigrated to Seattle, America, in 1897 and later settled in Fairbanks, Alaska, during the Gold Rush (see Mrs. Robert (Jessie S.) Bloom, The Jews of Alaska in the *American Jewish Archives*, Vol. XV, No. 2, November 1963). He and his wife now (1971) reside in Seattle. Pesach's younger son, Nathan Meyer (1888–1944), joined his brother in Alaska in 1906. In the First World War he was a member of the Alaskan contingent in the American Army and on his discharge moved to South Africa to join his brother Solomon (1885–1966), who emigrated to Johannesburg in 1905 and was nicknamed 'Pat' because of his pronounced brogue.

[90] *Ulysses*, pp. 162 (127), 417 (322).

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 852 (723).

[92] *Jewish Year Book*, 5657–5662: 1896–1903. On 7 February 1899, Alfred Bloom, soldier of Old Barracks, Fermoy, County Cork, son of Samuel Bloom, stoker of the Royal Navy, deceased, married Margaret McAuliffe of Fermoy. This Bloom family was apparently of non-Jewish origin.

[93] *Jewish Year Book*, 5657: 1896–1897.

[94] See *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 April 1969, p. 43.

[95] *Ulysses*, pp. 322 (250), 582 (455).

[96] Census of Ireland, 1911.

[97] Adams, *Surface and Symbol*, p. 62.

[98] *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 December 1906. A native of Lithuania and son of a rabbi, Lipsett, anglicised from Lipschitz, emigrated to Ireland, where he became a journalist, writing for the *Dublin Daily Mail* and the London *Jewish Chronicle*, in which he published a series of sketches of life in a mythical Lithuanian village which he called 'Pavenda'. His novel *Didy*, published in 1912, is mentioned in the Rev. Stephen J. Brown's *Ireland in Fiction* (Dublin, 1916), p. 147. Lipsett married a Gentile, is said to have turned convert and missionary, and left for New York in 1908. See *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 November 1921.

[99] In a letter dated 27 January 1969, A. J. Leventhal writes: 'There is a story (he [Edward Lipman] told me himself) about his returning to Dublin on leave during the First World War, towards the end of it, and entering the 'Bailey' in Duke Street where Griffith and his friends used to meet. He was in the R.A.M.C. dressed as an officer. He was coldly received by the occupants of the pub and quickly left. He had hardly covered 50 yards when he was overtaken by a panting Griffith who said he had not noticed him when he came in and rushed to tell him that his uniform in no way interfered with his friendship. I don't think Lipman ever met Joyce but

he was very friendly with Frank Budgen and treasured a copy of the latter's work on Joyce'.

100 *Jewish World*, 1 January 1909.

101 *Ibid.*, 15 January 1909.

102 See Appendix X(b), pp. 362–363.

103 Unlike Edelstein, Bloom in *Ulysses* stands up for his own Irishness, and calls himself an Irishman not only in public as in the *Cyclops* episode:

'What is your nation if I may ask, says the citizen'.

'Ireland, says Bloom. I was born here. Ireland',

but also in his deepest and most inward thoughts.

104 E. R. Lipsett, using the pen-name of 'Halitvack', has the following remarks on the term 'Jewman': 'They have coined here a term which is nowhere else in circulation. Nowhere else is the term "Jewman" known; here we hear nothing else, and infrequently we see it, too. It is a piece of vulgarity that has crept into print unconsciously; though instances are not lacking where it has been pushed in on purpose. Often have I seen the "Jewman" staring up from placards in the street. The bill on the editor's board is not made up by the creeping process. Often, too, one may hear the "Jewman" drop informally from the lips of highly-placed personages and officials.' 'Halitvack', *loc.cit.* A.J. Leventhal (born in Dublin in 1896), in an article, 'What it Means to be a Jew' published in *The Bell*, edited by Séan O'Faoláin, Vol. 10, No. 3 (June 1945), p. 209, writing on the significance of the term 'Jewman' to him while still in his 'teens, remarks: 'I did not know that this was a word current only in Ireland, where the English variants "sheeny" and "Jewboy" had never found a home. "Jewman" was obviously formed on the analogy of Frenchman, Englishman, etc., and in parts of the country one can still hear "Russianman". The term was not, in the first instance, pejorative. I have even heard a mother teach a babe in arms his first lesson in racial differences by pointing me out as a Jewman. Synge was the first writer to print the word . . . in "The Playboy of the Western World" [1907].' (A. J. Leventhal later became a university lecturer and a dramatic and art critic. See Appendix X(b), p. (285).

105 Ellmann, *James Joyce*, pp. 407–8.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 722.

107 See Frank Budgen, 'James Joyce', in *James Joyce: Two Decades of Criticism*, edited with a new introduction by Seon Givens (New York, 1963), p. 23. This article originally appeared in *Partisan Review*, March-April, 1941.

108 Interview with Maria Jolas, 1966.

109 Frank Budgen, *loc.cit.*, p. 23.

110 Frank Budgen, 'James Joyce', *Horizon*, III, February 1941, p. 107.

111 Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 384 footnote.

112 'The Jew in Search of a Son', in the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, xxiv, 1948, p. 109.

113 *Jewish Chronicle Quarterly Supplement*, No. 1, 25 December 1959, p. 2.

114 The following pertinent and authentic story illustrating native Irish wit is worth recording here. In the 1870s, the Rev. Philipp Bender, Minister of the Dublin congregation, took a party of friends to the lovely Glen of the Dargle, near Bray, County Wicklow. A car was hired for the day. Paddy, the driver, was a typical Irish wit and got on very well with the Jewish cleric, who was himself a born humourist. At the end of the day's hire, Mr. Bender, who was the soul of generosity, gave the driver, on behalf of himself and his friends, a sovereign above the required fare. The astonished recipient assured his benefactor that he knew him for a 'rale gintleman' as soon as he had set eyes upon his features, and Mr. Bender thought that he might improve the occasion by a gentle lesson on Jewish generosity. 'See, Pat', said he, 'have you ever had such a tip before?' 'No, your honour', was the reply. 'Well, then', said Mr. Bender, 'remember that you have been employed by Jews'. 'Jews, is it?' was the immediate pious exclamation, '*would to Christ ivery wan was Jews*' (My italics–L.H).

115 For the symbolic significance of Jewishness in the American context see Albert Goldman, 'Boy-Man Schlemiel', in *Explorations*, ed. by Murray Mindlin with Chaim Bermant (London, 1967), pp. 5–7, where reference is made to Leopold Bloom.

116 R. M. Adams, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

117 Herbert Howarth, *The Irish Writers* (1880–1940), p. 24.

118 See Webb, *Compendium of Irish Biography* and *Dictionary of National Biography*, *s.v.* Lucas, Charles; see also J. T. Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, iii., p. 39.

119 See *Ulysses*, p. 176 (139).

120 *Ibid.*, p. 428 (330).

121 *Ibid.*, pp. 179–81 (141–3).

122 Victor Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* (Paris, 1902–3, 2 tomes); see also Gilbert, *James Joyce's Ulysses*, pp. 54–5 *et passim*.

123 See essay by George Steiner, "Homer and the Scholars" in *Language and Silence* (London, 1967), pp. 209–210.

124 Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses'* (Bloomington, 1960), p. 170.

125 *Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Gilbert, p. 146.

126 See *Finnegans Wake*, p. 228.

127 See Book I, sec. xv. Keating's book was translated into English by Father Patrick S. Dinneen (1860–1934) and published in 1908 for the Irish Texts Society.

128 See *op.cit.*, pp. 136–7.

129 See *Ulysses*, pp. 806–7 (688–9).

130 See *supra*, pp. 1–2 and Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1899), p. 48, quoted by Howarth, *op.cit.*, p. 260.

131 See *supra*, p. 105.

132 *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 15 February 1909, for a report of a lecture on 'The Jews in Ireland in the Middle Ages', by John Wyse Power, friend of Joyce, who dwelt with much pleasure on the fact that Daniel O'Connell himself, a kinsman of the Joyce family, had the obsolete Statute 'De Judaismo', which prescribed a special dress for Jews, formally repealed in 1846; see also G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe* (London, 1907), p. 323.

133 See Ellmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 280–283 *et passim*.

134 See *infra*, pp. 221–223.

135 See *supra*, p. 149.

136 See *supra*, p. 148.

137 See *supra*, p. 63.

138 See *Thom's Directory* for 1905.

139 *Ulysses*, pp. 577–8 (448–9).

140 See *infra*, pp. 190–191.

141 See *infra*, p. 190.

142 See *infra*, pp. 186–187.

143 Byrne tried to assist Zaks in finding employment in New York when his Jewish friend emigrated to the United States in 1911. Letter to me from Jacob G. Zaks of New York, 18 October 1962.

144 *Silent Years*, p. 182.

145 James Joyce, *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (new edition, London, 1942), p. 206.

146 *Jewish World*, 19 January 1900.

147 *Silent Years*, p. 179. David Baker, who later moved to Leeds, was Vice-Commander of the Dublin Chovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) in 1900. See *Hayehudi*, 1 November 1900.

148 *Silent Years*, pp. 183–84 and *Jewish World*, 31 January 1908.

149 Messrs. Joseph Edelstein, Philip Wigoder, Philip Baker, Moses Leventhal, Jacob Zlotover and Falk Ginsberg took part in the discussion that followed Byrne's lecture.

150 See *infra*, pp. 212–217.

151 See Marvin Magalaner, 'The Anti-Semitic Limerick Incidents and Joyce's "Bloomsday"', in *PMLA* (December 1953), LXVIII, pp. 1219–23.

152 Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 285.

153 See *infra*, p. 185.

154 *Notes and Queries*, 3rd. ser., xi., p. 377.

155 *Ulysses*, p. 44 (36).

156 See *supra*, p. 3.

157 Interview in 1966 with his widow, Mrs Rachele Dlugacz, and his daughter, Mrs. Hemda Sassover, now (1971) resident in Haifa.

[158] See David Daiches, 'James Joyce's Jew', *Jewish Chronicle Quarterly Supplement*, 25 December 1959, pp. 2–3, where Dlugacz is regarded as a highly improbable and wholly imaginary character. R. M. Adams, *Surface and Symbol*, pp. 101, 215, regards him as a renegade Hungarian Jew whose name seems to have been adopted from that of a Polish historian, Jan Dlugosz (1415–80). Richard Ellmann makes no mention of him in his monumental biography of James Joyce.

[159] Dlugacz's rabbinical diploma dated 21 Sivan (June) 1898, and signed by Rabbi Israel Shevach Lerner, Head of the Beth Din (Ecclesiastical Court) of the community of Dinevitch, in the Ukraine, is in the possession of his widow.

[160] Joyce, who had his wife, Nora, painted by the Triestine artist Tullio Silvestri, in 1913, inscribed the portrait, at the suggestion of Dlugacz, with the words 'Mora ma bella' from the Song of Solomon, 1,5. Dlugacz was presented with an autographed copy of *Dubliners* soon after its publication on 15 June 1914. Interview with Mrs. Hemda Sassover.

[161] Interview in Trieste in 1966 with Giuseppe Fano, Director of the 'Ufficio Palestinese', of Trieste, in 1918 and one of Joyce's creditors in 1912 for stationery requisites. See *Letters of James Joyce*, ii., p. 299.

[162] Interview in 1966 with Arthur Freud, Hebrew pupil of Dlugacz in Trieste in 1912, now (1971) resident in Jerusalem.

[163] Interview in 1966 with Arrigo Barac (formerly Blitz), Hebrew pupil of Dlugacz in 1918 in Trieste, now (1971) resident in Haifa.

[164] See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 140.

[165] Letter from Alessandro Levi-Minzi, of Trieste, 10 February 1966.

[166] See *supra*, p. 171 and *infra*, p. 285.

[167] Ellmann, *op. cit.*, p. 527; see *supra*, p. 171.

[168] *Ulysses*, p. 807 (689).

[169] Stenographisches Protokols Der Verhandlungen des XII Zionisten Kongresses In Karlsbad von 1 bis 14 September, 1921 (Berlin, 1922), p. 6.

[170] *Ulysses*, p. 83 (68).

[171] See *supra*, p. 289, note 18.

[172] See *infra*, pp. 196–197.

[173] *Ulysses*, p. 328 (254).

[174] See *infra*, p. 200.

[175] See *infra*, p. 201.

[176] *Ulysses*, p. 436 (337).

[177] *Ibid.*, pp. 444–5 (342).

[178] Healy, Parnell's lieutenant, staunchly stood by his leader in the O'Shea divorce scandal after Parnell had been repudiated by Davitt, Gladstone and the Church hierarchy. Healy, using Mosaic imagery commonly applied to Parnell, declared that the leader should not be abandoned 'within sight of the Promised Land'. Later Healy joined Parnell's opponents, whereupon the nine-year-old

James Joyce wrote a poem denouncing Healy under the title, 'Et Tu Healy?' In his attitude to Jews, Healy was not consistent either. In 1914, some time after the O'Brien-Devlin case, when appearing in the District Courts on behalf of licensed traders, he publicly attacked Sir Matthew Nathan, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, as a German Jew.

179 See *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 November 1914.

180 Interview with Mrs. Rebecca Ita Isaacson, 1967. The story is told of Moses Herzog that when a matchmaker tried to marry him off to an unattractive lady he is alleged to have replied: 'Even one eye wants to see something decent'.

181 See 'Joyce's Notes on the End of *Oxen of the Sun*', edited by Alan M. Cohn, *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 4, Number 3, Spring 1967, pp. 195–6.

182 This information came to Mrs. Isaacson from Simon Eppel, one of Herzog's Dublin contemporaries.

183 *Ulysses*, pp. 376–8 (287–8).

184 A. J. Leventhal, *What it Means to be a Jew*, *loc.cit.*, p. 209.

185 See Harry Blamires, *The Bloomsday Book* (London, 1966), pp. 121–2.

186 'The Hero as Jew: Reflections on "Herzog"', in *Judaism*, vol. 17, Number 1, Winter 1968, p. 42.

187 'Moses-Bloom-Herzog: Bellow's Everyman', in the *Southern Review*, Winter 1966, Vol. ii. New Series. January 1966, Number 1, pp. 65–6.

188 Ellmann, *op.cit.*, p. 408.

189 For more on the significance of the East in Bloom's thought, see Gilbert, *James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, pp. 43, 135–6, 143–5; Leo Shapiro, 'The "Zion" Motif in Joyce's *Ulysses*', in *Jewish Frontier*, xiii, No. 9 (September 1946), pp. 14–16.

190 See S. L. Goldberg, *The Classical Temper: A Study of James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (London, 1961), p. 258.

191 *Ulysses*, pp. 70–1(59).

192 The farm at Kinnereth, commonly called the 'training farm', was founded by the Palestine Land Development Company on 8 June 1908, to train Jews as agricultural workers and to prove that a farm employing Jewish workers could be profitable. It was to serve as a model (hence 'model farm') for similar projects to be established later. The farm being completely isolated, the wall and an iron gate were built to ward off the attacks of hostile Bedouin and fellahin in the neighbourhood

193 The Palestine Land Development Company also circularised a prospectus in German from its Berlin address at Bleibtreustrasse 34/35. This two-paged prospectus could have been one of the large pages of cut sheets with the photograph of the model farm at Kinnereth which Joyce contrived as piled on Dlugacz's counter. The prospectus announced the establishment of a Jewish Garden City in Palestine; it also proposed the erection of a sanatorium to utilise the sulphur springs in the vicinity. The project on the lake shore of Kinnereth was first broached by Theodor Herzl in his book *Altneuland* and would be, the prospectus comments,

the realisation of Herzl's dream. This, therefore, could be the factual background for Bloom's speculation on the originator of the scheme above.

194 'Agudath Netaim' (Company of Plantations), the original Hebrew form of 'Agendath Netaim' (planter's company) as it appears in *Ulysses*, is anachronistically referred to in the novel, as it was still one year from its foundation. It was established in Palestine only in the summer of 1905 by Aaron Eisenberg, of Rehovoth. Incorporated as a Turkish company under the name of 'Societé Ottomane de Commerce, d'Agriculture, et d'Industrie', its aim was to save the prospective settler the initial hardships involved in setting up a farm by itself buying land, developing it and planting trees for him. 'Agudath Netaim' laid out such plantations, between 1905 and 1914, at Hefzibah, near Hadera, at Rehovoth, near Jaffa, and at other places. In 1906, Professor Otto Warburg of Berlin, as a member of the Zionist Executive, then known as the 'Inner-Actions Committee', founded a plantation company called "Pflanzungsverein 'Palästina' " which, in Palestine, was sometimes referred to as 'Agudath Netioth' or 'Agudath Netaim, Erez Israel' but which never used the Hebrew designation as its letter-head. There was no official connection between the Berlin company and Eisenberg's 'Agudath Netaim' but there was a very friendly relationship between them. Thus, in a brochure entitled 'Die Anlage von Pflanzungen in Palästina' published by Warburg's department in or about 1909 and republished in 1912, small capitalists who intended to start a plantation in Palestine were advised to carry out the work through 'Agudath Netaim'. This is the sort of brochure which Joyce may have seen in the home of one of his Triestine Jewish friends.

195 As the Hebrew word 'Netaim' is plural, the possessive form of its English equivalent should be 'plantations'.'

196 A small amount of almonds was sent annually by the plantation company to its shareholders so as to establish a real link between them and their plantation in Palestine.

197 Bleibtreustrasse, 34, the Berlin address of 'Agendath Netaim' in the novel, does not appear in any of the voluminous records pertaining to Eisenberg's 'Agudath Netaim' preserved in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, and was apparently borrowed by Joyce from one of the advertisements or propectuses of the Palestine Land Development Company, the Immobiligengesellsch, Palästina m.b.H. ('Palestine Real Estate Corporation, Ltd.') or the Tiberia Land-u. Plantagengesellsch.m.b.H. ('Tiberias Land and Plantation Corporation, Ltd.') which had their Berlin officers at 34, Bleibtreustrasse, W.15, because it fitted in with the themes of infidelity and betrayal in *Ulysses*.

198 *Ulysses*, p. 72 (60).

199 See *supra*, p. 168.

200 *Ulysses*, p. 73 (60) and *infra*, p. 190.

201 See *infra*, p. 190.

202 *Ulysses*, pp. 72–3 (60–1).

203 See the London Hebrew weekly, *Hayehudi*, 4 October 1900, where its Dublin correspondent, Isaac Myer Shmulowitz, reported the arrival in Dublin of several hundred citrons from Gan Shmuel, Palestine.

204 *Ulysses*, p. 73 (61).

205 Philip's brother, Isaac, appears in *Thom's Directory* for 1902 as Isaac Maslidusky (*sic*) of 63 Lombard Street West.

206 MS. Register of Marriages of the Dublin Hebrew congregation from 15 April 1891 to 25 February 1914, p. 16, No. 31.

207 Interview in 1968 with Mrs. Rachel Grossman (1885–1969), former resident of Jerusalem and daughter of Rabbi Isaac Meyer Yosselson of Dublin.

208 See A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music* (New York, 1948), pp. 447–453 and Ruth Rubin, *Voices of a People* (New York and London, 1963), pp. 270–271.

209 In or about 1902 *Bar Cochba* was produced at the Abbey Theatre by the Dublin Amateur Operatic and Dramatic Society with Mr. L. Briscoe taking the title role, Mr. Antanovski as Pappus, the dwarf intriguer, and Miss Minnie Cohen as Dinah. *Shulamith* was produced at the Abbey Theatre in June 1908. See *Jewish World*, 19 June, 10 July 1908. In May 1910, the Operatic and Dramatic Society produced *Die Zauberin* at the Abbey Theatre under the directorship of the Rev. Simon Steinberg, Reader of the Lombard Street West synagogue, formerly professor and musical director of the Berlin Academy of Music, who later emigrated to South Africa. See *Jewish World*, 20 May, 8 July 1910.

210 *Ulysses*, pp. 70–1 (60–1).

211 See *supra*, p. 182.

212 *Silent Years*, p. 65.

213 Zevi Hirsch Masliansky was the Hebrew teacher of Chaim Weizmann, first President of the State of Israel (see *Trial and Error*, Illustrated Edition of the Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann, London, 1950, pp. 39, 42). By a remarkable coincidence, of which Joyce would have been delighted to know, he was a boyhood friend of Aaron Eisenberg, founder of the plantation company 'Agudath Netaim' in Palestine, whose prospectus Bloom picked up in the Dublin butcher shop of Moses Dlugacz, and Dlugacz, as a Zionist, was present at the XII Zionist Congress in Carlsbad in 1921 which the Rev. Hirsch Masliansky also attended. See *supra*, p. 185.

214 Letter to me from Mrs. Shulamit Schwartz Nardi, 6 January 1970.

215 Interview with his granddaughter, Mrs. Rebecca Ita Isaacson (née Moisel), in 1967.

216 See R. M. Adams, *Surface and Symbol*, pp. 186–7, for chronological inconsistencies concerning Bloom's residence at Lombard Street West.

217 The Rev. Louis Newman, shochet of the St. Kevin's Parade synagogue, was the father of Arthur Newman (1874–1968), prominent communal worker in the first half of the century.

218 See the London Hebrew weekly, *Hayehudi*, 21 July 1904.

219 See *infra*, p. 347.

220 *Ulysses*, p. 204 (162).

221 *Ulysses*, p. 68 (57).

222 See Irene Orgel Briskin, 'Some New Light on "The Parable of the Plums"' in the *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 3. No. 4, Summer 1966, p. 247 footnote 20.

223 *Ulysses*, p. 155 (122). See Joseph Prescott, 'Notes on Joyce's *Ulysses*,' in *Modern Language Quarterly*, vol. XIII (June 1952), p. 152; Arnold Goldman, *The Joyce Paradox*, pp. 130–2.

224 *Ulysses*, p. 830 (707).

225 See W. B. Stanford, 'Ulyssean Qualities in Joyce's Leopold Bloom', in *Comparative Literature*, vol. V., No. 2 (Spring 1953), p. 136; see also Gilbert, *James Joyce's Ulysses*, p. 366.

CHAPTER XXIII

1 The Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem preserve the archives of the Chovevei Zion in Great Britain, which include 40 items, comprising reports, balance-sheets, and manuscript letters from Dublin and London headquarters, covering the period 10 August 1890 to 7 August 1894, 12 items from Cork from 3 September 1893 to 11 April 1895, and 8 items from Belfast from 28 December 1897 to 9 June 1898.

2 See *infra*, pp. 194–195.

3 See *infra*, p. 198.

4 See *supra*, p. 151.

5 See *infra*, p. 195.

6 See *infra*, p. 199.

7 See *supra*, p. 168.

8 Isaac Noyk was the father of Michael (1882–1966), a native of Dublin, who had a distinguished academic career at Trinity College, graduating as a solicitor. Michael Noyk defended many Sinn Fein nationalists during the Irish War of Independence and was a close friend and legal adviser of Michael Collins and other illustrious figures in that struggle. At his graveside, full military honours were accorded by the men of the Dublin Brigade of the Irish Republican Army. He was a Life Councillor and Honorary Solicitor of the Dublin Hebrew congregation.

9 Simon Cornick, who was a life-long supporter of the Jewish National Fund, settled in Palestine in 1934.

10 Joshua and Ethel Cristol, parents of David, settled in Palestine in 1893.

11 Leon Spiro acquired a second-hand printing press and some type from the Pearl Printing Office of Exchequer Street in 1893 and set up as a job printer at Charlotte Street. He was the proprietor and publisher of the 'Dublin Guide',

which gave information on the musical and theatrical performances in the city. During the 'troubles', his printing office, where Oscar Traynor, the Irish Republican leader, worked as a compositor, printed a paper issued by the Irish Republican Army. Leon Spiro was the father of Abraham (1880–1931) and Charles (1884–1956), who had brilliant academic careers at Trinity College. Abraham, after graduation, taught classics at St. Joseph's College, Ballinasloe, for a year, and was then appointed Assistant Secretary of the London Jewish Board of Guardians. After the First World War he returned to Dublin to manage his father's printing works, becoming Honorary Secretary and later Vice-President of the Dublin Jewish Board of Guardians. Charles graduated as a barrister-at-law in 1910, when he left for Johannesburg to practise his profession. He returned to Dublin in 1931 after the death of his brother, Abraham, to manage the family business and became Manager of the Zion National School and a leading member of the Talmud Torah Council and of its Education Committee.

[12] This is the William Nurock named in the dedication. His elder son, Max, was the first, and, so far, is the only Jew to have won the University Studentship of Trinity College, as First Senior Moderator in Classics and Philosophy, with Double Large Gold Medals; presently in the Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs with the personal rank of Ambassador. William Nurock's son-in-law, Leonard Abrahamson, also named in the dedication, was the first and, so far, the only Jew to be appointed Professor of Medicine in the Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland; he was the second Jew to become President of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland,

[13] Minutes Book, 3 December 1848, 28 May 1854, 10 September 1865.

[14] *Jewish Chronicle*, 31 July 1874.

[15] *Ibid.*, 13 September 1872.

[16] Letter dated 1 November 1893, in Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, marked A.2(Archives of Chovevei Zion in Great Britain). See also *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 June 1895, and Israel Klausner, 'Adam Rosenberg', in *Herzl Year Book*, vol. 1, edited by Raphael Patai (New York, 1958), p. 265.

[17] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 June 1895; see also Hebrew letter in *ha-Zewi*, 2 Iyyar (May) 1895, in which J. Schor, of Manchester, and J. S. Rubinstein, of Dublin, thank Baron Edmond de Rothschild and his officials for the assistance given to them during their visit to Palestine.

[18] Abraham Pushinsky emigrated to America in 1902. Letter from his son, Joseph M. Purcell, of Lynn, Massachusetts, 13 January 1966.

[19] Joseph Solomon Rubinstein settled in South Africa in 1904; he changed his name to Robinson and was the grandfather of Edana Romney, film actress, who played in 'The Corridor of Mirrors'.

[20] See Israel Klausner, *Chibbath Zion be-Romania* (Jerusalem, 1958), pp. 275, 296–301, and Klausner, *loc.cit.*, pp. 269–273.

[21] See *infra*, p. 223.

[22] *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 August, 1888.

[23] *Ibid.*, 28 June 1872. See *supra*, p. 110.

[24] *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 December 1892.

[25] See *supra*, p. 100.

[26] See *Ulysses*, p. 328 (254); J. F. Byrne, *Silent Years*, p. 48.

[27] See Bethel Solomons, *One Doctor In His Time*, pp. 17–19.

[28] See *infra*, p. 198.

[29] Bethel Solomons, *op.cit.*, pp. 11–16; Jessie S. Bloom, 'The Old Days in Dublin: Some Girlhood Recollections of the '90s', in *Commentary* (New York), July 1952, pp. 29–30.

[30] See *supra*, p. 43.

[31] See *supra*, p. 197.

[32] *Letters of James Joyce*, Vol. II., pp. 53, 59.

[33] See *supra*, p. 124.

[34] See *supra*, p. 126.

[35] See *supra*, p. 128.

[36] See *supra*, pp. 128–130.

[37] See *supra*, pp. 130–132.

[38] *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 November 1913, 29 May 1914, 26 May 1916.

[39] See *supra*, p. 189.

[40] See *supra*, p. 136.

[41] See *supra*, p. 168.

[42] See *supra*, pp. 152–153.

[43] *Halapid* (Dublin), May 1953, p. 6.

[44] *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 January 1895.

[45] See *supra*, p. 200.

[46] *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 December 1925.

[47] See *supra*, p. 185.

[48] *Jewish Chronicle*, 11, 18, September 1908.

[49] In a speech at a Zionist meeting in Dublin in 1915, William Field declared that Ireland had the proudest record of any nation in regard to religious persecution. Ireland sympathised with the Jewish religion and ideals because Ireland, like the Jews, was persecuted. See *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 June 1915.

[50] *Ulysses*, pp. 43 (35), 407 (314).

[51] Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 113.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 298 footnote.

[53] See *infra*, p. 218.

[54] Once while travelling in a train to Greystones in County Wicklow, where he lived for a time, he was taken off the train by the Black and Tans and arrested on suspicion of being de Valera himself.

[55] From memorandum by his son, Victor, dated 12 September 1968.

[56] In a dictated memorandum on his father, dated 12 September 1968, Sir Victor Elyan writes: 'I recall, as I look at the name of Jim Larkin, my father speaking of the strike involving (perhaps *inter alia*) the Jabob's Biscuit Factory—a very important source of employment at the time—I think 1912—in Dublin. The strike apparently had continued for a very considerable time, the labour leader of the strike being Jim Larkin. Employers and employees eventually agreed that they would negotiate but they could not agree for quite a while on an umpire to preside over the negotiations. My father was eventually selected by mutual agreement and achieved, as I understood it from what my father said, a settlement of this strike. Indeed, it used to be a source of minor amusement at home in Dublin on the very infrequent occasion when mention was made of this, that the St. James' Brass and Reed Band paraded outside our home playing for some considerable time, whilst my father was eventually encouraged to present himself at the open window somewhere in our home in order to receive a vociferous applause from those who had gathered outside the house'.

[57] In a letter dated 5 September 1968, Max Nurock writes: 'At the Passover of 1916, I was on furlough from the British Army, staying with my parents at 79 South Circular Road. The Easter rising broke out, and I reported for anti-insurrectionary duty to Wellington Barracks. In the summer of 1921, I was again in Dublin, on vacation from my job in the Palestine Secretariat. Suddenly, one afternoon, there was an irruption of three youthful gunmen. Had they come for a tardy reckoning with me on account of my unheroics in 1916? Or was it, as one of them protested behind a shaky revolver, to see if there were any boycotted Belfast goods in the house? They made off before we found out, at the approach of a posse of soldiers who cycled down from the same Wellington Barracks at the summons of our faithful maidservant, herself a doughty Republican. But we had to know. If this had been an 'official' warning from the Irish Republican Army, if, for any reason whatsoever, the Nurock family was blacklisted in that quarter, life in Dublin would be impossible for it. So we asked a trusted intermediary to enquire of Michael Collins whether we had come under nationalist ban. And we sat grimly at the bay-window of our front parlour, awaiting his return. Within hours, he came back, with total reassurance. That intermediary was Jacob Elyan'.

[58] Letter dated 16 July 1968, from Laurence Elyan, nephew of Jacob Elyan.

[59] Letter from J. O. Harte, Grand Secretary of A. F.& A. Masons of Ireland, dated 7 August 1968. See also *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 October 1937.

CHAPTER XXIV

[1] See *supra*, p. 10.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 78–79.

[3] See *supra*, p. 73.

[4] See *supra*, p. 79.

[5] *Voice of Jacob*, 19 December 1845, p. 253, quoting an extract from the *Belfast Protestant Journal.*

[6] See p. 137.

[7] See Appendix V (b).

[8] See Appendix V (b).

[9] *Belfast Directory*, 1850.

[10] See Appendix V (a).

[11] The Jaffe family, whose descent can be traced for sixteen generations, derives from Mordechai Jaffe (1530?–1612), author of a number of well-known Hebrew works.

[12] *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 July 1871.

[13] See *supra*, p. 156.

[14] Minutes of the Cemetery Committee of the Belfast Corporation, 21 September, 1869, 5 September, 3 October 1870.

[15] *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 January 1889.

[16] See Appendix V (a).

[17] *Belfast Directory*, 1870.

[18] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Dundee', in *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 November 1953.

[19] *Jewish World*, 5 January 1912.

[20] *Ulster Contemporary Biographies*, edited by W. T. Pike (Brighton, 1910), p. 121.

[21] *Belfast Directory*, 1870.

[22] *Jewish World*, 18 January 1877.

[23] See *supra*, p. 101.

[24] See Appendix V (a).

[25] See *supra*, p. 151.

[26] *Belfast Directories*, 1863, 1870.

[27] *Belfast Directory*, 1870.

[28] See *supra*, p. 204.

[29] See *supra*, p. 204.

[30] *Ulster Contemporary Biographies*, p. 43.

[31] Herbert Jefferson, *Viscount Pirrie of Belfast* (Belfast, 1947), pp. 54–61.

CHAPTER XXV

[1] See *supra*, p. 103.

[2] Census of the Population of Ireland in 1936, iii., p.17.

[3] See *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 April 1884.

[4] *Ibid.*, 7 March 1902.

[5] Moses Moizel was the son of Wolf Moizel, half-brother of Nisan Moisel, an acquaintance of Leopold Bloom. See *supra*, p. 190.

[6] *Ulysses*, p.746 (644).

[7] Ibid, p. 320 (329).

[8] Robert M. Adams, *Surface and Symbol, pp.* 103–4.

[9] See Marvin Magalaner, 'The Anti-Semitic Limerick Incidents and Joyce's "Bloomsday" ', in *PMLA*, lxviii (December 1953), p.1221, quoting the *All Ireland Review*, v. (7 May 1904), p.224.

[10] *All Ireland Review*, v. (14 May 1904), p.232. Edwin M. Solomons (1879–1964) agreed to my suggestion that his mother, Rosa Solomons (1843–1926), who was active in Jewish affairs, almost certainly wrote the letter signed 'A Jewees'. See *supra*, p. 197.

[11] *Ulysses*, p.746 (644).

[12] See *supra*, p. 45–46.

[13] See *supra*, p. 46.

[14] A native of Tels, Lithuania, Elias Bere Levin became an ordained rabbi in his teens and at the age of 19 was appointed to his first rabbinical post in Vilna, where he earned a reputation as an expert *sofer* or scribe. In 1882 he settled in Limerick, where he ministered until 1911, when he moved to Leeds as Reader, ritual slaughterer (shochet), and spritual head (Rebbe) of the Central Synagogue. He later transferred to the Belgrave Street Synagogue. His youngest son, Salmond (born in Limerick in 1905), studied law at Leeds University and at Lincoln's Inn. A former President of the University Zionist Federation, General Secretary of the Jewish National Fund for Great Britain and Ireland (1930–37), Chairman of the London Board of Jewish Religious Education, and Chairman of the Governors of the J.F.S. Comprehensive School, London, he is a Vice-President of the United Synagogue, London.

[15] See pp.431-32 (332).

[16] Letter from S. S. Levin, 22 October 1968.

[17] *All-Ireland Review*, v., p. 200.

[18] At Davitt's funeral—he died on 31 May 1906—the Jewish community of Dublin sent a wreath in grateful remembrance of his efforts on behalf of the one race which has suffered more than the Irish. See F. Sheehy-Skeffington, *Michael Davitt* (the Fitzroy Edition, London, 1967), p.214.

[19] See *supra*, p. 190. Elyah Wolf Moisel lived at 24 St. Kevin's Road. According to family tradition, the Limerick affair is said to have caused him terrible heartbreak, hastening his death on 8 March 1904, at the age of 48.

[20] Marcus Joseph Blond died in Dublin on 2 April 1905, aged 40. His family remained there till 1916, when they moved to Manchester. His two sons are in the family business, Harold in Eastbourne and Leslie in Liverpool. Neville Blond,

C.M.G., O.B.E. (1896–1970), adviser on North American trade to the Board of Trade (1949–51), was his nephew.

21 It was not until 15 October 1965 that the Vatican Ecumenical Council ruled that the Jews could not be held collectively responsible for the death of Jesus. See *supra*, p. 127.

22 It was only on 31 October 1965 that the Vatican acquitted the Jews of Trent of the alleged ritual murder of Simon in 1475.

23 For the influence of the Limerick incident on Joyce, see *supra*, p. 183; on the episode itself see also Abbott, *Israel in Europe* (London, 1907), pp.467–472; 'Jew-Baiting in Ireland', *Globe*, 19 April 1904; 'Limerick and the Jews', leading article in *Liverpool Post*, 12 April 1904; 'Boycott of Jews at Limerick', *Spectator*, 23 April 1904.

24 Father Creagh died at the Redemptorist Monastery of St. Gerard in Wellington, New Zealand, in January 1947, aged 76. *See Cork Weekly Examiner*, 1 February 1947.

CHAPTER XXVI

1 See *supra*, p. 72.

2 See *supra*, p. 72.

3 See *supra*, p. 72.

4 See *supra*, p. 124.

5 See *supra*, p. 160.

6 Minutes Book of the Dublin congregation, 18 October 1864.

7 *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January 1875.

8 *Ibid.*, 30 December 1881.

9 *Jewish Graphic*, 24 February 1928.

10 *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 October 1882.

11 *Ibid.*, 16 March, 1888.

12 *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 May 1894.

13 Archives of Chovevei Zion in Great Britain in Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem.

14 *Ibid.*, 10 September 1893, and *supra*, p. 195.

15 Professor Hartog came from London. He was a member of a family several of whose members became eminent; his parents were Alphonse Hartog, a language teacher, and Marion Hartog (née Moss), writer and teacher. Of their other children, Numa, the eldest son, was Senior Wrangler at Cambridge University; Philip Joseph (later knighted) became a distinguished professor of chemistry; one daughter, Mme. Arsène Darmesteter, became a portrait painter, and another, Cecile, a pianist and composer.

16 See *Nature*, cxiii, 1924, p.243.

[17] *Jewish Chronicle*, 14, 21, March 1913.

[18] *Ibid.*, 11 March 1898; see *supra*, p. 175.

[19] See *supra*, p. 211.

APPENDIX I

[1] Burnet, *Life of Bishop Bedell* (2nd. ed., Dublin, 1736), p.16.

[2] *The Life and Death of William Bedell*, by his Son (London, 1871), p.16.

[3] A. Clogie, *Speculum Episcoporum, Life and Death of Bedell*, ed. E.S.Schuckburgh (Cambridge, 1902), pp.86-7.

[4] Marsh's Lib. cat. MSS., p.71.

[5] *Trans. J.H.S.E.*, XVII., p.41.

[6] Printed in *The Whole Works of Archbishop Ussher*, ed. Elrington and Todd (Dublin, 1841–64), xiv., pp.119–523.

[7] *Misc. J.H.S.E.*, IV., pp. 62–6.

[8] See H.J. Lawlor, 'Primate Ussher's Library before 1641', in *R.I.A. Proc.*, ser. 3, vi., No.2, pp.216–264 (Jan. 1901).

[9] See *D.N.B.*, *s.v.* Ussher, Ambrose.

[10] See *Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.*, vii. (Jan.-March, 1901), p.31.

[11] Marsh's Lib. cat. MSS., p.11. It appears that this bequest never actually came into effect as there is no mention of it in the list of benefactions to the College. See also 'A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable Sir Maurice Eustace Kt. Late Chancellor of Ireland at St. Patrick's Dublin, the fifth [the seventh?] day of July, 1665, together with a short account of his life and death by W.S.B.D. sometime chaplain to his Lordship': (Dublin 1665). In Marsh's Library, Dublin.

[12] See *Menorah Journal*, October 1916, p.210.

[13] See *Pub. A.J.H.S.* xx., pp. 36, 51, 57–8.

[14] The original letter in Hebrew is printed in A.M. Schurman, *Opuscula Hebraea, Graeca, Latina, Gallica, Prosaica, et Metrica* (Utrecht, 1662), p. 160. A translation in English is given in the *Voice of Jacob*, 5 January 1844; another is found in Margoliouth, *A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers*, ii., p. 426, of which the above is a reproduction with slight changes.

[15] Stokes, *Some Worthies of the Irish Church*, p. 40.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[17] See *supra*, pp. 14–15.

[18] See Stokes, *op.cit.*, pp. 112–37, for a chapter on 'Marsh's Library: its History and Contents'.

[19] See Stokes, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–3.

[20] For the first seven manuscripts see Marsh's Lib. cat., pp. 7, 59, 67, 82.

[21] See *supra*, p. 25.

[22] See *supra*, p. 20.

[23] Myer Joel Wigoder (see *supra*, p. 221) was the first of the Dublin Jews to 'discover' Marsh's Library in 1896 (see *My Life*, p. 58), and the minister of the Dublin Hebrew congregation, the Rev. Louis Mendelsohn (see *supra*, p. 273) gives the following account of some of the Hebrew books in the library and the impressions of his visit: 'It was our great delight to discover a library of Hebrew literature presented by Archbishop Marsh to St. Patrick's Cathedral about the end of the seventeenth century. Most of the books were bought from Bishop Stillingfleet and some of the books bear the signature of the donor, while a few have a few words of comment from Dean Swift. The books, being mostly of the Spanish authors, proved very interesting to the Jews here, and as many as fifty visited it on one day. It was a picturesque sight to see a number of foreign Jews poring over books in a non-Jewish library, whilst one discovers a valuable find and drops it with disgust when he finds it to be a "Trefé-Possul", literally, ritually unclean. The beautiful Venetian type of the Sepher Immanuel, of some of the Shaalos Uteshuvos, of the Midrash, of the Nitzachon, etc., renders them objects of more than passing interest. Of course, the Emunos Vedeos, the Milchamos Hashem and the works of Kimchi and Ibn Ezra find a place here. The Syriac authors which appear in big clear type serve to throw much light on the Aristotelian study of the Nestorians and on the popular translations of the Fables, and show us exactly the sources of the literature of the thirteenth century. Naturally, Latin translations of Surenhusius and Pococke and the work of Wagensiel *Taeda ignea Satanae* would be found among the books of a pupil of Selden. It would be a thankless task to mention all the books, but it would be a gross ingratitude to the donor, as well as those in charge of the library who are more than kind, to leave those precious books unnoticed'. (see *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 July 1896). Since all visitors must sign into the library, the Visitors' Book contains a large number of signatures of these Jewish visitors, some of them written in Hebrew. It also contains accounts of the visits of the rabbi of St. Kevin's Parade synagogue and members of his congregation on 27 June and 4 July 1896, as well as of their long and careful examination of the Hebrew books. R.M. Adams (see *Surface and Symbol*, p. 125) remarks that James Joyce makes much of Stephen Dedalus as a student of esoteric literature poring nightly over ancient tomes in Marsh's Library, but that his own acquaintance with the library was not so extensive. He had visited the library just twice—on 22 and 23 October, 1902—to read the prophetic books of Joachim Abbas, the *Vaticinia* (Venice, 1589): '. . . the stagnant bay of Marsh's library where you read the fading prophecies of Joachim Abbas' (see *Ulysses*, p. 49 (39)).

[24] The first examples of Hebrew type in England occur in Wakefield's 'Oratio de utilitate trium linguarum' published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1524. See Roth, *Jews in England*, p. 146.

[25] She was the mother of the Hon. Robert Boyle (1621–91), a correspondent of Menasseh ben Israel and one of the greatest natural philosophers of his age. Bishop Burnet, preaching at Boyle's funeral, said: 'He carried the study of Hebrew very far into the Rabbinical writings and other Oriental languages'.

[26] See E.R.McC. Dix, 'Earliest Printing in Dublin in Foreign Types', in *R.I.A. Proc.*, vol. xxviii., sec. C, No. 7, pp. 152-3 (July 1910). An interesting Hebrew grammar printed in Ireland in 1831 is worth mentioning here. Of its author and printer, John Synge, Kathleen C.Synge, in 'The family of Synge or Sing', writes: 'The Rev. R.S. Brooke, D.D., in his "Recollections of the Irish Church", describes him as follows:- "I have spoken of Glanmore Castle as one of the houses where we met. Its master was an eminently accomplished man—a traveller and an artist. He was a skilled Hebraist, and had written for the use of his two sons an excellent grammar of that language, which he had himself drawn up and printed in his own house, possessing a press and a font of Hebrew types, working the sheets off himself." ' The title of the book was 'An easy introduction to the Hebrew language on the principles of Pestalozzi'. By Parens. (London, 1831). The author's grandson was John Millington Synge (1871–1909), the famous dramatist, who won prizes in Hebrew and Irish in Trinity College in 1892. The author, in the preface to his work, says: 'The following work originated in the convictions of a Parent, that if a dead language be the proper material for training the early powers of the human intellect, Hebrew ought undoubtedly to be the first dead language presented to the mind of the Christian child'.

[1] Roth's translation of the letter from my transcript of the British Museum MS. Harley, 7013, f.95, published in his *Anglo-Jewish Letters*, pp. 87–8, has been revised in parts from corrections made by J.Maitlis, 'London Yiddish letters of the early eighteenth century', in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. vi. (1955), pp. 153–165, 237–252.

[2] This deposit was provided by the one or the other party concerned in confirmation that the conditions entered upon would be kept.

[3] See Psalms, lxxxix, 1, and I Kings, iv, 10, 11.

[4] This is a reference to the prohibition introduced by Rabbenu Gershom ben Judah (*circa.* 960–1040).

APPENDIX V

[1] The date is not given in the Register.

[2] See *supra*, p. 36.

[3] See *supra*, p. 105.

[4] See *supra*, p. 93.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See *supra*, p. 103.
[7] See *supra*, p. 101.
[8] See *supra*, p. 95.
[9] See *supra*, p. 140.
[10] See *supra*, p. 137.
[11] See *supra*, p. 106.
[12] See Minutes Book, 30 May 1841.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Born in Dublin in 1912, Louis Hyman graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and is a member of its senate. He has lived in Haifa since 1935 and now heads the English Department of the 'Hugim' Secondary School there. As a member of the Haganah he participated in the liberation of Haifa in April 1948 and later in the War of Independence. Inspired by memories of his early years in Dublin he decided to research the history of Jewish settlers in Ireland. This led him to a study of Joyce's *Ulysses* where he has done much to unravel Joyce's Jewish arcana. In June 1969 he read a paper on 'The Jewish Backgrounds of *Ulysses*' at the Second International James Joyce Symposium in Dublin, and he was invited to chair a panel on 'Joyce and Judaism' at the Third Symposium at Trieste in June 1971. He is married to an Israeli and has two sons, both officers in the Israel Defence Army.