

# THE IPSWICH JEWISH COMMUNITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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THIS PAPER ATTEMPTS to collate the available information on the little-known Jewish community centred on Ipswich in the 18th and 19th centuries, and make accessible for the first time a translation of the memorial inscriptions in its equally unfamiliar cemetery.

## I: THE IPSWICH CONGREGATION AND ITS SYNAGOGUE, c.1731-1877

The medieval Jewish community in Ipswich was extinguished with Edward I's expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290 (Davis 1890). When Jews were officially permitted to re-enter the country in 1656 they settled first of all in London, and it was not until the 18th century that they began to establish themselves again in provincial towns (Roth 1950, *passim*). It is likely that the earliest Jewish settler in Ipswich in modern times was Sarah Lyon, who died in 1807 at the advanced age of 105 (*I.J.*, 7 Nov. 1807). Traditions preserved among her descendants held that she had emigrated from the Netherlands with a nine-month-old son. Her house in Ipswich was inscribed with a quotation from *The Haggadah*, 'Let all who are hungry enter and eat'. Lord George Gordon, the Scottish nobleman who converted to Judaism, took this as a cue to cultivate her friendship while visiting Ipswich in about 1785, and Sarah's family visited Gordon while he was imprisoned for seditious libel from 1789 until his death in 1793 (Gollancz 1895, 110-12; *J.C.*, 19 Jun. 1896, 3 Jul. 1896; Roth 1950, 71-72). Sarah Lyon's son, Isaac Abraham, lived in St Peter's Street in 1796, and his portrait was painted by John Constable in 1803.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1818 at the age of eighty-seven, which suggests that he was born in 1731. If he was the son who accompanied Sarah from the Netherlands, it is possible that there was a Jewish presence in Ipswich from that early date.

It appears that the leading member of the early community was Simon Hyam, who was born in Germany in the city-state of Hamburg on the Elbe, about 1740. He came to England as a pedlar, settling in Ipswich about 1760.<sup>2</sup> Between 1774 and 1785 he occupied a house in Fore Street rated at £7 – an average valuation for that area of town, before moving in 1789 to a house rated at £8 in Carr Street, then known as Cross Key Street.<sup>3</sup> Hyam may have operated a network of pedlars, one of whom, Benjamin Isaac, met a tragic end, never satisfactorily explained. Isaac lived in Saxmundham and peddled a box of gold rings and similar trinkets in the area around Yoxford, Aldeburgh, Dunwich and Southwold. In the summer of 1776 he disappeared, and Hyam advertised in the *Ipswich Journal* for information as to his whereabouts, describing him as wearing a cinnamon-coloured greatcoat and a red plush waistcoat (*I.J.*, 27 Jul.-3 Aug. 1776). More than thirteen years later, road menders found the remains of a dead man in a roadside bank between Leiston and Theberton. He was identified as Benjamin Isaac by his clothes and beard. It was remembered that, shortly after his disappearance, a Leiston woman had disposed of trinkets of a similar kind to those he would have sold, at less than a quarter of their value, before

going to London. Efforts were made to trace the woman, but it is not known whether or not she was apprehended (*I.J.*, 12 Dec. 1789; *B.N.P.*, 16 Dec. 1789). The question of whether Isaac was murdered, or whether he simply died of natural causes and the woman or other discoverer of his body purloined his stock-in-trade, was apparently never resolved.

Subsequent arrivals in Ipswich included a Samuel family. From 1781 Aaron Samuel lived in a house in Fore Street with a rateable value of £2. Ten years later Samuel Samuel moved into a dwelling near St Clement's church. In 1801 their houses accommodated eight and nine people respectively.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 31 – Detail from Edward Monson's map of Ipswich, 1848, showing the sites of the Jewish cemetery (no. 42, upper left) and the Synagogue (no. 49, lower right).

The contemporary press provides two vignettes of Jewish commercial life in Suffolk. Workmen at Benacre in 1786 unearthed a jar containing 920 Roman coins. Many were 'sold to a Jew' (presumably a pedlar) 'who retailed them at a low price in the neighbourhood' (Anon. 1786). In 1790 a certain J. Smith stole goods from his employer, the ironmonger Benjamin Nathaniel Folkard of the Buttermarket, Ipswich, and took them to a Jewish shopkeeper. Suspecting that the items were stolen, the shopkeeper conferred with his daughter in a language described as 'Hebrew' (although it seems more likely that he would have used Yiddish), telling her to summon the constables. He then claimed that religious restrictions prevented him from purchasing the goods until later in the day. Smith returned to find the constables waiting for him. The newspapers said that there would be fewer thieves if everybody followed the Jew's example (*B.N.P.*, 20 Oct. 1790; *I.J.*, 23 Oct. 1790).

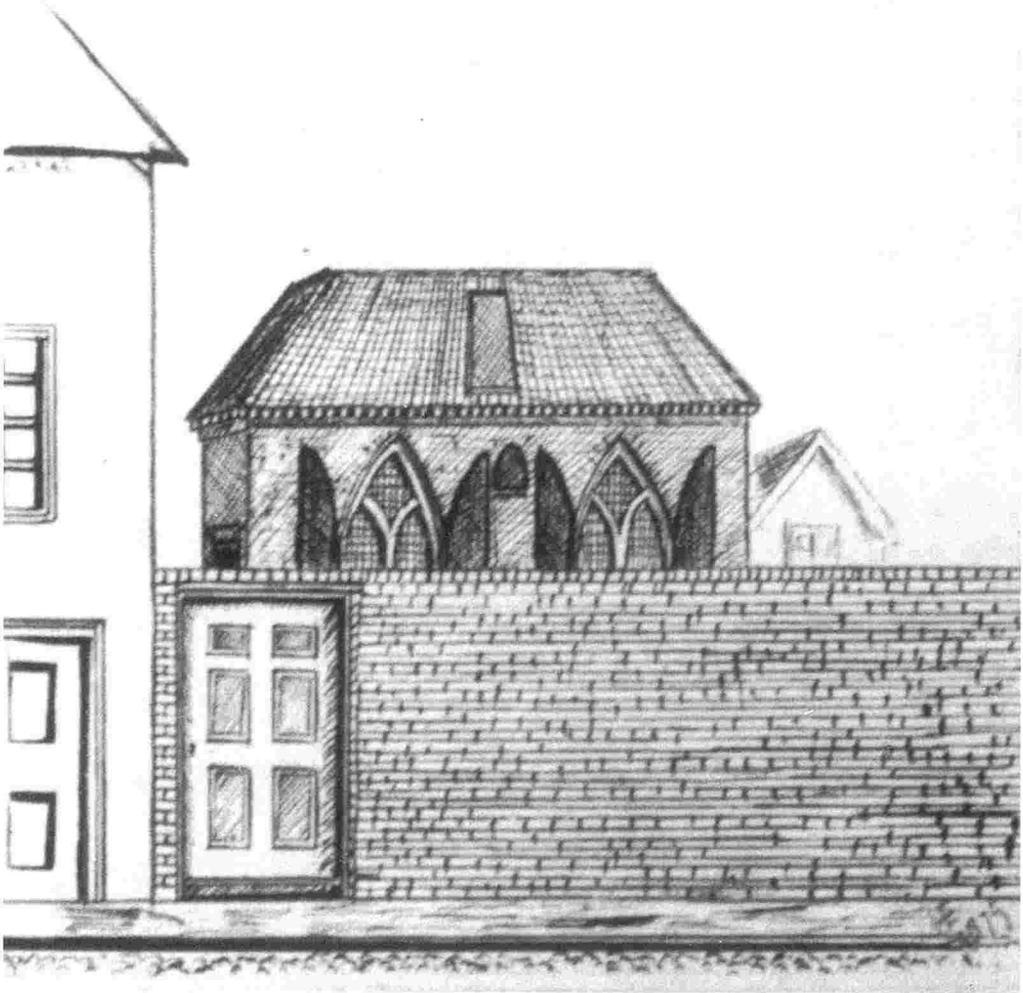


FIG. 32 – The Synagogue in the Rope Walk, from the Revd James Ford's grangerized copy of Clarke's *History and Description of Ipswich* (by permission of the Suffolk Record Office).

A congregation (i.e., an assembly of Jews with a corporate identity) had formed in Ipswich by the end of the 18th century. It may have met for worship in a room in a house in St Clement's parish until 1792, when a synagogue was built in Rope Walk, an area of the town then under development. Work began in August, financed by Simon Hyam and a certain Lazarus Levi, and may have been complete by January 1793. The architect and builder was John Gooding, a brickmaker who lived next to Simon Hyam's house in Carr Street.<sup>5</sup> The building remained the property of the Gooding family, rented by the congregation.<sup>6</sup> The synagogue stood on the north side of Rope Walk, 21 yards (19.2m) west of the modern Dove Street, and occupied a floor area 22 ft (6.7m) square, in a yard measuring 28 ft (8.5m) east to west. Built in brick, it had two pointed 'Gothick' style windows in the south wall and a skylight in the roof (Figs 31 and 32).<sup>7</sup>

In September 1793 the members of the congregation showed their loyalty as British subjects by placing in the synagogue a tablet inscribed with a prayer for the Royal Family (Clarke 1830, 319). That autumn, however, disorderly elements created disturbances outside the building during the Sabbath, shouting abuse as the congregation left. The civic authorities ordered the constables to prevent this, 'since in this country every man has the liberty of reverencing the Deity in that manner most consonant with his conscience' (*I.J.*, 14 Sept. 1793).

Once the synagogue was built, the congregation went on to acquire a cemetery. In 1796 they purchased a 999-year lease on a plot of ground south of Fore Street, a quarter of a mile (400m) south-west of the synagogue, from Benjamin Blasby, a bricklayer, for £28 and a peppercorn rent.<sup>8</sup> Eight cemetery trustees were appointed, headed by Simon Hyam and Lazarus Levi, and including Simon Hyam's son Hyam, Joseph Levi, Israel Abraham and Ansell Ansell, with two Colchester residents, Levi Alexander and Samuel Levi. It was arranged that when only three trustees survived, new ones would be appointed (Gollancz 1895, 134–36).



FIG. 33 – Wolf Samuel, from Samuel Read's early Victorian sketchbook, published in 1980 (by permission of Dr. J.M. Blatchley).

Members of the Ipswich congregation seem to have worked as shopkeepers and tradesmen, particularly in the traditional Jewish occupations of garment selling and watch making. It is probably no coincidence that many lived in the commercial area of the town.

Joseph Levi was resident in St Margaret's parish in 1796, and from 1800 Lazarus Levi traded in watches from premises in Carr Street rated at £3 10s. (*I.J.*, 29 Mar. 1800, 7 Feb., 28 Mar. 1801). Israel Abraham appears as a resident of St Margaret's between 1792 and 1796; in 1803 he advertised his acquisition of a stock of clothes from London (*I.J.*, 10 Sept.). From 1801 Ansell Ansell resided in a Fore Street house rated at £2.<sup>9</sup>

The Levi family may have moved from Bury St Edmunds. Lazarus Levi, the co-founder of the Ipswich synagogue, may perhaps have been the person of that name who occupied a house rated at £4 in Eastgate Street in Bury between 1787 and 1789. In 1791 the *Ipswich Journal* announced the marriage of Samuel Levi of Bury St Edmunds and Kitty Abrahams at the Colchester synagogue. Samuel may have been one of the first cemetery trustees. Moses Levi, the shopkeeper, gave his birthplace as Bury St Edmunds in the 1851 census.<sup>10</sup>

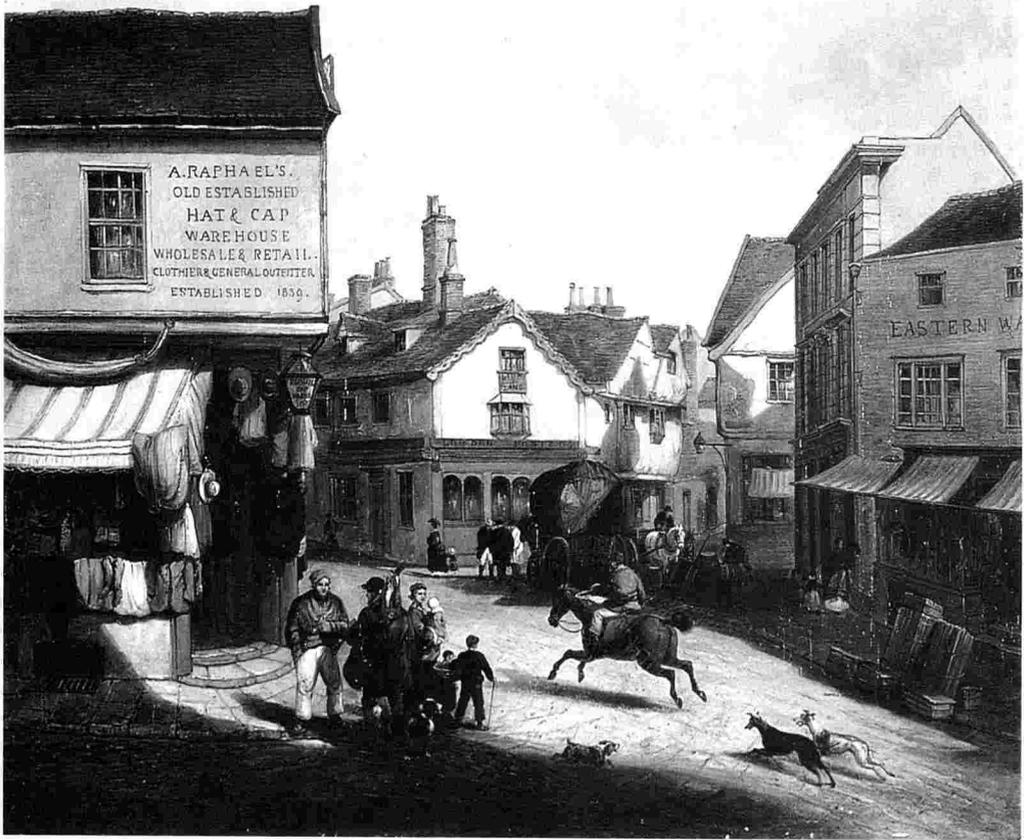


FIG. 34 – Abraham Raphael's clothing shop in Fore Street, as shown in Thomas Smythe's painting of Angel Corner (by permission of Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries).

The Hyam family emerge as the most dynamic and enterprising members of the Ipswich congregation. Simon and Hyam Hyam were trading in partnership, selling clothes, watches, gold, silver and jewellery by 1798, then expanding into pawnbroking in 1800 (*I.J.*, 13 Oct. 1798, 3 May, 4 Oct. 1800, 23 May 1801). Simon died in 1824, aged eighty-four (*I.J.*, 3–10 Apr. 1823). His will, by which he left his estate in trust to his wife Rose, provides few details of his financial affairs, but he was evidently a man of some wealth, for a £500 loan is mentioned, and he left £50 each to three of his grandchildren. He may have had some standing in the Anglo-Jewish community, for he named Solomon Hirschell, the Chief Rabbi, as his executor.<sup>11</sup>

Hyam Hyam opened his own shop in 1803, opposite the 'White Horse' in Tavern Street, with a stock of watches from London (*I.J.*, 29 Jan., 12 Feb., 15 Oct. 1803). Moving to Colchester in 1817, he continued trading as a pawnbroker, jeweller and clothier. In 1826 Simon Hyam's younger son Lawrence opened a shop in Bury St Edmunds at 30 Buttermarket, where he confidently advertised a warehouse selling clothes, ready made and bespoke, at low prices 'not to be exceeded by any other shop in the kingdom'.<sup>12</sup> Hyam's elder son Benjamin, born in Ipswich in 1810, moved to Manchester in 1832, where he pioneered the mass-tailoring industry, becoming one of the wealthiest and most influential members of the Manchester Jewish community. Benjamin's brothers, Moses and Simon, born in Ipswich in 1814 and 1815 respectively, established a clothing factory in Colchester, which functioned until 1976 and is commemorated in the town by Hyam's Walk.

By 1838 the Hyam family business had spread to Bristol, Birmingham, Leeds and Liverpool, becoming a leading trade supplier (*B.N.P.*, 17–31 Oct. 1838, 2 Oct.–20 Nov. 1839). The Hyams extended their operations to London in 1845, when Lawrence Hyam became manager of the family's *pantechmica* in Gracechurch Street, leaving his Bury St Edmunds shop in the management of one Joel Gale. As the family prospered they moved to London and Manchester, severing their links with Ipswich, before changing their name to Halford in 1872 (Williams 1976, 67–69, 382–83; Sharpe 1995; Brown 1996a, 128–34).

Other Jewish families appear to have remained locally based. Moses Samuel, who had become a silversmith and jeweller in Bungay in about 1792, took over a watchmaker's shop in Carr Street in Ipswich in 1807, leaving his Bungay shop in the care of one Simon Aaron (*I.J.*, 10 Jan., 7 Mar. 1807, 23 Jan. 1808). When he died in 1846, Wolf Samuel, presumably a son, took over the business. He appears in Samuel Read's Ipswich Sketchbook of 1837–38 (Blatchly 1980, 139) (Fig. 33). From 1812 Emmanuel Moses was resident at a house rated at £4 10s. in St Margaret's Street. By 1825 he had moved to Fore Street, where Moss Moses was a close neighbour.<sup>13</sup> Harris Isaacs, the earliest known Rabbi of the Ipswich congregation, took office in about 1816, earning his living as a schoolmaster (Anon. 1842).

By 1841 only three cemetery trustees survived: Israel Abraham, Hyam Hyam and Moses Levi. Eighteen new trustees were therefore appointed. Harris Isaacs, as Rabbi, was included. Lawrence, Simon and Moses Hyam took office, although no longer resident in Ipswich. Five members of the Samuel family and six of the Levis appeared, including Moses Samuel and Moses Levi, who were 'toy dealers and fancy wholesalers' in Upper Brook Street and St Matthew's Street. Moss and Philip Moses and David Ansell were also trustees (Gollancz 1895, 136–38; White 1844, 104, 106, 115–16). Assuming that most trustees were heads of families, the numbers accord with an estimate, made eleven years previously, that the congregation totalled no more than fifty people (Clarke 1830, 319).

During 1842 Rabbi Harris Isaacs was planning to emigrate to Palestine (Anon. 1842). This was so much regretted by his congregation that he postponed his departure. Shortly afterwards he advertised that he had moved his school to 'healthful and commodious premises' in Fore Street to teach 'a limited number of pupils' at £22 per annum for those

aged between six and eight, and £24 for those aged up to ten. But in 1844 he finally left for Jerusalem with his wife, carrying introductions from the Chief Rabbi, Moses Montefiore, and Ipswich Town Council (*J.C.*, 15 Apr., 13 May 1842; *Voice of Jacob*, 7 Jun. 1844).

In 1845 the Chief Rabbi of England initiated a Jewish census of the British Empire, although only Ashkenazi congregations were surveyed. The Ipswich congregation contained five *Baalei Batlim*, or vestry members (wealthier householders, who financed and governed the synagogue); three *Toshavim* (seatholders); and nine individual members. A certain Mr Sternberg, who had been *shochet* (ritual slaughterer of animals) and *cantor*, had moved to Montreal in Canada, and one Mr Kalish had taken his place (Susser 1975). Five years later John Glyde, the Ipswich statistician, recorded five Jewish families, with twenty-three members, in the town (Glyde 1850, 220).

The Ipswich congregation apparently halved in size between 1830 and 1850. Never particularly large or prosperous, none of its members (with the exception of the Hyam family, who moved away as they became more wealthy) achieved prominence in civic or commercial life, or in the Anglo-Jewish community. It is possible that other members of the congregation were drawn, like the Hyams, to cities with larger Jewish populations, such as London or Manchester, which may have presented greater opportunities (Clarke 1830, 319; Brown 1993, 232). The dispersal extended to North America. The Jewish cemetery in Charleston, South Carolina, contains memorials to Samuel and Joseph Sampson, born in Bury St Edmunds *c.* 1789 and 1800, who emigrated to the U.S.A. in 1817 (Elzas 1903, 71–72). Isaac and David Morris, born in Ipswich in 1815 and 1824 respectively, emigrated to Jamaica, where they were active in Jewish ceremonies (Andrade 1941, 210).



FIG. 35 – The Jewish cemetery: general view (photo author).

The 1851 census suggests that the Ipswich congregation had by then been reduced to four households. Wolf Samuel, Samuel Samuel and Moses Levi lived in Upper Brook Street, Fore Street and Tavern Street respectively. A later arrival to the community was Abraham Raphael, aged forty-two, who came from London. His clothes shop in Fore Street appears in Thomas Smythe's painting of Angel Corner (Fig. 34). The only depiction of Jewish business premises in Ipswich, it shows a small shop, crammed with fabrics and clothing.<sup>14</sup> On the day of the census four itinerants were staying at the 'Lion' Inn in St Margaret's Street: Isaac Levi, a journeyman watchmaker and Mier Levi, a traveller in jewellery, both born in Ipswich and aged thirty-three; Abraham Aaronson, aged twenty-nine, from Cracow, a traveller in Sheffield goods; and Hayman Raphael, aged nineteen, from Posen, a watch dealer. The same year's Census of Religious Worship showed the synagogue containing seven rented and thirty free seats (probably as many places as it would accommodate). On the morning of Sunday 30 March only ten people attended worship there (Timmins 1997, 111).

To this period belongs the literary portrayal of 'Moses Levi, the travelling Jew' of Ipswich, from John Heigham Steggall's autobiographical *Real History of a Suffolk Man* (1857), written in collaboration with Richard Cobbold. Steggall was curate of Great Ashfield from 1823, and later rector. He was visiting Eliza Berens, a parishioner, when there was a knock at the door.

In came Moses Levi, the travelling Jew. He made a respectful bow to me, and as I had seen him many times on his journeys from Ipswich into the villages around. I knew him to be a seller of trinkets, knives, scissors, cotton, and various other little articles. He had brooches so like gold, that, were it not for the price, you would think them to be so. A fourpenny brooch is now before me, which, if Lady Freshwater had on, might be supposed to be worth twenty, thirty or forty guineas. The pattern is the very newest, and these our poor village girls are tempted to vie in splendour with their superiors . . . Girls take cloaks and pay for them by instalments, get themselves down in a travelling peddler's account book, and so become his debtor.

'I see,' said Mr. Moses Levi, 'that you do not want a brooch for your daughter, Mrs. Berens, but do you want a pair of scissors, or a bodkin, or a thimble for yourself?'

'Not any I thank you, Mr. Levi'.

'Would you give me a glass of water, Mrs. Berens, for the day is warm, and I am tired . . . Water, you know, is a great treasure in our country'.

There follows a description of Palestine, and a discussion of the merits of Judaism and Christianity, in which Steggall claims to be a Jew by adoption (Steggall 1857, 277–88).

John Heigham Steggall's co-author, Richard Cobbold, is better known as the author of *The History of Margaret Catchpole*, published in 1845. Although Margaret Catchpole was an historical character, Cobbold elaborated and even invented many episodes in the narrative. He may have taken similar liberties with the story of John Heigham Steggall. Nobody named Berens can be traced in the Great Ashfield parish registers or census returns, while Moses Levi may have been so called because this was a generic Jewish name. Nonetheless, this literary sketch provides a credible description of a Jewish pedlar, written for a readership that must have been familiar with such itinerant tradesmen.<sup>15</sup>

Levi Lamburgh is mentioned as Rabbi of Ipswich in 1855 (White 1855, 84). But a decade later so few observant Jews remained in the town that the synagogue was no longer used (*J.C.*, 23 Aug. 1867; White 1874, 64). The building was allowed to deteriorate, and by 1877 had become unsafe. The Levi family therefore agreed to its demolition, the Scrolls

of the Law being transferred to the North London Synagogue. Thus Suffolk lost its only fully documented Jewish place of worship (*I.J.*, 20 Mar. 1877; *J.C.*, 20 Apr. 1877). When Hermann Gollancz visited Ipswich in 1895 Abraham Raphael's son and 'the Misses Levi' were still resident in the town. Twenty years later the Ipswich Jewish community was nothing but a memory (Gollancz 1895, 107–08; Vulliamy 1912; Roth 1950, 74).

## II: THE IPSWICH JEWISH CEMETERY

In the late 19th century the cemetery was being used as a poultry yard and refuse dump, but by 1912 it had passed into the custody of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.<sup>16</sup> It was preserved when adjoining tenements were demolished after the Second World War, and it now stands in a business car park at the southwest end of Fore Street, enclosed by a red brick wall. Grass, neatly cut, grows around the tombstones (Figs. 31, 35 and 36). It lies at the meeting point of St Helen's, St Clement's and St Margaret's parishes, and there are boundary marker stones on the inner sides of the cemetery walls. Such a location was probably a conscious choice.

Legend tells of the 'pigeon tomb' in the cemetery. Two pigeons were slaughtered there for a ritual meal. As they ran around the enclosure after their throats were cut, it was decided that they were human souls, transmuted into bird form in punishment for their sins. They were therefore given burial with appropriate ceremony. The story may have arisen through misunderstanding of a folk practice whereby birds were buried in new



FIG. 36 – The Jewish cemetery: tombstone with still-legible inscription (*photo: author*).

cemeteries prior to human interment (Margoliouth 1851, III, 136–38; Roth 1947, 73).

*The Bury and Norwich Post* recorded on 21 November 1821 that the wife of a Jew called Chapman had died in Newmarket, and that her body had been sent to Ipswich for burial the same night. It is possible that the Jew was a chapman (a travelling tradesman) by profession, rather than by name.

Samuel Harris visited Ipswich in 1826. Born in Warsaw in 1807, he travelled to England as a pedlar. He converted to Christianity, taking the surname Harris, and wrote an autobiography describing Jewish life for Christian readers. On his visit to Ipswich he was told that a Jewish woman had just died, having requested that two people watch her grave for four nights after her burial. Harris therefore spent four nights with another person reading and praying in a house with a window overlooking the cemetery, for which pious duty he received £1 (Harris 1833, 17–19).

When Hermann Gollancz visited the cemetery in 1895 he counted thirty-three tombstones, and was able to copy inscriptions from twenty-four. One of the present authors has counted thirty-five, but this includes two small footstones, which Gollancz may have decided not to mention. It therefore appears that no stones have been removed, although some are now so badly weathered that the inscriptions are indecipherable.

The cemetery contains memorials to one person from London, three people from Colchester (including Levi Alexander, one of the original cemetery trustees), and two from Harwich. The Ipswich congregation may have maintained links with Colchester, where there was a small Jewish presence from the mid-18th century. A Colchester synagogue (possibly in the house of an Isaac Abrahams) is mentioned from 1791, but there is no reference to it after 1794, and the Colchester Jews may have looked to Ipswich for spiritual guidance in the 19th century.<sup>17</sup>

The modern Ipswich municipal cemetery, opened in 1859, contains a Jewish area in the north-west corner, near the Woodbridge Road entrance. The memorials include that to Solomon Marcus Schiller-Szinessy (1820–90), reader in Rabbinic and Hebrew at Cambridge University (Loewe 1967).

#### APPENDIX: MEMORIAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE IPSWICH JEWISH CEMETERY

In 1895 Hermann Gollancz transcribed the inscriptions in the Ipswich cemetery in the original Hebrew (Gollancz 1895, 138–40). In 1995 the late Rabbi Bernard Susser translated these into English. His translation is published here for the first time.

Row	Stone	Inscription
I	3	5558 [=1838]
	5	Samuel ben Mesullam 5564 [=1804]
	6	The woman . . . 5565 or 5568 [=1805 or 1808] [possibly Sarah Lyon's memorial]
II	1	And Moses went up to God [Exodus 19:iii] Moses ben Moses Aaron died Friday the eve of the Holy Sabbath, Shushan, Purim March 13th 5606 [=1846]
II	2	Elizabeth Rebecca, daughter of Moses Levi of Ipswich. 20 May 5609 [=1849]
I	3	Morris Levy, son of Lazarus Levy of London. Died Jany 8th, 5610 [=1850], aged 32
III	1	And Elijah went up in the storm to Heaven [II Kings 2:xi]. The child Elijah Ben Asher died Wed the eve of Passover and was buried on the morrow of Thur the first day of Passover 5567 [=23 April 1807]. Aged 22 months
	3	Levi Alexander, late of Colchester; Died Feb. 10th, 5571 [=1811]. Aged 63 years

Row	Stone	Inscription
	5	A generous man who walked uprightly, his deeds were perfect in faithfulness. Jacob Abraham Asher ben Meir the Levite, he dwelt in loving kindness and truth with the living and the dead. 5574 [=1814]
III	6	The woman Sarah Breina bat Joseph (?) the Levite
IV	1	Rachel bat Simha in the year ——. 'A voice was heard in Ramah, krying [ <i>sic</i> ] for her children'. Aged 64 years
	3	An upright man, Yochanan ben Jacob Juda, 5584 [=1824], Aet. 23
	4	Aged 83 years
	5	Aged 76 years
V	2	From Colchester
VI	1	Jacob ben Isaac the Levite. Jacob Levy of Harwich. Died Aug. 6th, 1829 aged 57 years
	3	5591 [=1831]
	4	Rachel, relict of Jacob Levy, late of Harwich. 5591 [=1831]
VI	5	A generous man who walked uprightly. Eliezer ben Isaac the Levite 5592 [= Lazarus Levy 1832] Aged 86 years
VII	1	Joseph Hyam, beloved son of Hannah and H. Hyam of Colchester Died 5597 [=1837]. Aged 45 years
	2	Asher Anshell ben Moses. 5595 or 5594 [=1835 or 1834]. 77 years old
	3	An elder, full of years. Israel ben Abraham. Obit 12 Feb 5602 [=1842]. Aged 86 years
VIII	1	Julia, daughter of Lawrence and Caroline Hyam of Bury. Died May 30th, 5600 [=1840]. Aged 5 years and one month
	2	Rachel, beloved daughter of Lawrence and Caroline Hyam of Bury. Died June 19th 5600 [=1840]. Aged 3 years and 4 months

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### NOTES

- 1 Brown 1996 b, citing St Peter's parish ratebook 1795–1803, S.R.O.I., FB 101/G9/6.
- 2 Simon Hyam's obituary (*I.J.*, 10 Apr. 1824) states that he had lived in Ipswich for sixty years. In 1872 Simon Hyam's grandson, Benjamin, changed the family name to Halford. In 1936 Henrietta Adeline Green (née Halford) (1859–1946), compiled a genealogy of the Hyam/Halford family. Her father, Frederick Benjamin Halford (1836–1914), was Benjamin Halford's son. She may therefore have had opportunities to acquire family traditions.
- 3 S.R.O.I.: C.R., 1773–86, FB 98/G12/11–13; M.R., 1788–1823, FB 93/G4/7–11. Carr Street was known as Cross Key Street before 1809, but the modern name has been used throughout this paper to avoid confusion.
- 4 S.R.O.I.: C.R. 1781–1801, FB 98/G12/13–15; FB 98/G7/1.
- 5 John Gooding's obituary, *I.J.*, 29 Jun.–6 Jul. 1805; S.R.O.I., M.R., 1788–1809, FB 93/G4/7–9. St Helen's parish ratebooks, 1780–1813, FB 96/G1/2–4 mention a brickyard that he owned.
- 6 *I.J.*, 18 Aug. 1792, 2 Feb. 1793; Clarke 1830, 319; Anon. 1842; Brown 1993, 229–30, 234.
- 7 White 1844, 74; Edward White's map of Ipswich, 1848, B.L., Add. MSS 31323; there is a drawing of the synagogue in a grangerised copy of Clarke 1830, from the collection of the Revd James Ford, S.R.O.I., S.Ipswich 9.

- 8 Benjamin Blasby appears as a bricklayer in Fore Street between 1785 and 1844. S.R.O.I., C.R. 1785–1830, FB 98/G12/13–16; FB 98/G5/3–68; White 1844, 100.
- 9 S.R.O.I., C.R. 1809–30, FB 98/G5/3–58; M.R. 1788–1835, FB 93/G4/7–11.
- 10 S.R.O.B., St James's parish ratebooks, 1785–89, N 3/7/3; *I.J.*, 11 Jun. 1791; Suffolk Family History Society, 1994, XIV, iv: 27.
- 11 P.R.O., P.C.C. Erskine, PROB 11/1683, 226–27.
- 12 *B.N.P.*, 3 May 1826; S.R.O.B., St James's parish ratebooks, 1825–47, N 3/7/9–19.
- 13 S.R.O.I., M.R., 1812–29, FB 93/G4/10–11; 20–21.
- 14 Suffolk Family History Society, 1994, XIV, iv: 27; v: 30, 50–51; P.R.O., 1851 census, HO 107/1/1800, 241, 252, 315, 346, 493–94. Gollancz (1895, 107) identified Abraham Raphael's son as Jewish.
- 15 Brown 1993, 219–20 quotes a passage from the first chapter of George Borrow's *Lavengro* (1851), in which the author meets a Jewish pedlar, as 'the only verbal portrait of a Jewish presence in the East Anglian countryside during this period'. Steggall's rather lesser known autobiography provides a second such literary reference.
- 16 *J.C.*, 25 Jul. 1879; 22 Aug. 1879; Gollancz 1895, 107–08; Vulliamy 1912; London Metropolitan Archives, file on the Ipswich cemetery, ACC 3121/B2/3/4.
- 17 *I.J.*, 11 June 1791; Roth 1957. A Colchester synagogue is mentioned with Isaac Abraham's house in the poor rates for August 1794: E.R.O.C., St Martin's parish ratebooks 1794–1805, DP 325/11/1; Harvey scrapbooks, E.R.O.C., ACC/C/210, vi: 89.

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#### Abbreviations

- B.L. British Library.
- B.N.P. *Bury and Norwich Post*.
- C.R. St Clement's parish rate books, Ipswich.
- E.A.D.T. *East Anglian Daily Times*.
- E.A.N.Q. *East Anglian Notes and Queries*.
- E.R.O.C. Essex Record Office, Colchester Branch.
- I.J. *Ipswich Journal*.
- J.C. *Jewish Chronicle*.
- M.R. St Margaret's parish ratebooks, Ipswich.
- P.C.C. Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
- P.R.O. Public Record Office.
- S.R.O.B. Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch.
- S.R.O.I. Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch.