

**THE EFFECT OF TRANSPORTATION ON JEWISH CONVICTS IN
VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.**

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts with Honours

University of Tasmania

Hobart

1994

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Introduction

The history of the Jewish convicts in Van Diemen's Land is one that provides the researcher with a wide area to consider. The most important question however would be , what effect did transportation have on the Jewish convict? Was their sense of identity overwhelmed by the artificial Christian emphasis 'offered' by colonial penal society? The evidence perhaps in most cases would suggest that assimilation, induced by environmental factors was the end result of transportation.

There were at least two hundred convicts transported to Van Diemens Land who can be easily identified as been Jewish, with a further one hundred possessing the 'characteristics' of the Jewish convicts (that is , names, aliases, places of birth and trades.) ¹The majority were under thirty, unmarried ² and from the poorer districts of London. Their exposure to their religion would have been limited (having no wives and children of their own) even though the majority were from an Ashkenazi / Orthodox - traditional background. They were exiled mostly for non-violent crimes. Receiving stolen goods, picking pockets and housebreaking/shop stealing were common crimes amongst the Jewish convicts.

The unusual crimes included a courtmartial for desertion (Levy Frankland), ³ wilfully setting fire to premises (Harris Rosenberg), ⁴ forging Russian banknotes (Jacob Friedeberg)⁵ and a highway robbery in Christchurch, Middlesex (Solomon Lyons).⁶ Several convicts were re-sentenced to death for a second crime in Van Diemens Land whilst many were sent to Norfolk Island, Macquarie Island, Port Arthur, New South Wales and other places of secondary punishment. Jewish convicts were stationed on the remote probation stations, such as Wedge Bay as well as the major towns. This displacement helped to contribute to their sense of isolation. The Majority of convicts if they married, married out of the faith and several converted to Christianity. Many children born to convict women (and men) were inevitably baptised.

Those convicts lucky to have family in Van Diemen's Land or whom were married to Jewish women before being transported were the convicts most likely to survive as Jews, religiously and ethnically. It was this vital connection to their identity that most Jewish convicts lacked. Those that intermarried usually

¹expanded in appendix 1.

² see appendix 2.

³CON 14/30

⁴Con 33/36

⁵CON 33/98

⁶CON 17/2

became less involved with the community perhaps because of the guilt felt by marrying out of the faith, a practise rarely pursued in Jewish life. The Christianity of their spouses was often more acceptable to the mainstream than their own religion. All these factors combined to draw the Jewish convict unconsciously away from Judaism and to create a system of 'passive' genocide, a genocide initiated by government policy and the unique social environment of Van Diemen's Land.

The Jewish community that convicts encountered in Van Diemens Land from 1803 to the 1830's was very different from the one which they had left behind. What remained familiar were the attitudes of the Government and the public which resembled those of their counterparts in England, the only differences being the concentration and the focus on the perceived problems in such a small environment. The Jewish community, initially made up of convicts and emancipists did not possess the necessary framework to counter anti-semitic claims of the public or request what were seen as necessary freedoms from the colonial government.⁷

It was not until the arrival of free Jewish settlers in the 1830's that the community became viable in Van Diemen's Land. Before this important development, the direction that the Jewish convict took would not necessarily reflect his ethnic and religious past. To understand the response to transportation up to this point then, it is necessary to look at the society which the Jewish convicts had come from and the society they entered. Without this knowledge we cannot possibly understand the psyche of the Jewish convict.

⁷ Levi, J. & Bergman, G.F.J. *Australian Genesis 1788-1850*. Rigby, Adelaide, 1974. p.257. Levi claims that this was due to apathy and disinterest amongst the Jewish convicts and not the lack of community framework.

Chapter 1. Anglo-Jewish History :The Background to Transportation.

The London that the Jewish convicts had experienced was, outside of their own world, alien, unwelcoming and strange. Jewish history in the British Isles had been short and violently tragic. There has been at least two periods of 'settlement', the first ending with their banishment from England in 1290 c.e. and the second beginning with the arrival of Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel of Amsterdam in 1655 c.e.⁸ hoping to facilitate trade and restore friendly relations. During the period of dispersement many converts to Christianity remained as did individual Jews, eventually assimilating into the Gentile community.

Evidence from the past suggests that the first Jewish community was not welcomed especially by the clergy as, in 750 an injunction was sanctioned in the Canons of Ecgbright, Archbishop of York, who declared that '*... no one should Judaize or eat with a Jew.*'⁹ They were exotic strangers in a Christian hegemony, distrusted and disliked by private citizens but protected by those who held power and who profited by the situation. As in other lands Jews were restricted. They traditionally took on the role of money lender as this was a job forbidden to Christians. With unrest amongst the masses the leaders of the land could regularly fine the Jewish community for fictional unrest or crimes that they had committed whilst providing them with protection. Thus both communities survived because of this symbiotic relationship. The Jewish community, despite the unrest did 'thrive' especially during the leadership of the first three Norman Kings.¹⁰

Like all symbiotic relationships if one is exploited they both suffer the consequences. The Jewish populations protection gradually diminished as their wealth became less. Their importance within the economic structure of the society, which had previously insured their survival decreased. They were seen as a liability that needed to be removed. Heavily exploited, the Jewish communities wealth diminished and the number of accusations directed at them by Christian peasants increased. This peaked with the unfortunate death of a 'skinners' apprentice called William on the eve of Easter in 1144. This death would precipitate the series of 'ritual murder' accusation not only in the British Isles but as far East as Poland and Russia:

It was bruited about ... that he was a victim of the Jews, who had enticed him away from his family and crucified him after Synagogue service on the second day of Passover ... This was the first recorded instance in the

⁸ Weale, J (ed.) *London Exhibited in 1851*. published by John Weale, London, 18? p.531.

⁹ Ibid. p.531

¹⁰ Ibid. p.532

medieval world of the infamous ritual murder accusation, which subsequently caused the Jews throughout Europe untold misery. A wave of religious exaltation swept throughout the city; the child's body was buried with all solemnity in the cathedral, where miracles were said to be wrought at the graveside ... Down to the time of the reformation, the relics of William of Norwich were venerated as those of a saint and martyr, and he remained...popular...in the hagiology of the Eastern Countries.' ¹¹

This incident changed the psyche of the guilt ridden illiterate Christian peasants. Their suspicion of the small Jewish community increased and climaxed with the Crusades and the increasing isolation from mainland Europe. When finally the economic viability of the community diminished the king cast aside the symbiotic relationship in 1290 and ordered their banishment. Without official protection from the crown many communities were slaughtered.

A renewed Christian interest in the study of the *Torah* ¹² in the original Hebrew in Protestant England helped to restore Jews as welcome guests in the land. It is also interesting to note that it was the fear of the inquisition and the dislike of Roman Catholics that resulted in this shift to reinstate Jews to their former position in society. Despite official overtones of welcome in 1609 c.e. individuals perhaps jealous of their apparent wealth repeatedly called for their dismissal from the country. Whilst the majority of Christians were not 'violently antagonistic' towards the Jews they '... were by no means benevolently disposed, and accusations of varying credibility were brought up from time to time - occasionally with unpleasant results.' ¹³

It was Rabbi Mennaseh Ben Israel's visit in 1665 that facilitated the permanent settlement of the Jews in England. These Jews, like those from the first wave of settlement pre - 1290 were *Sefardim*. ¹⁴ whom had survived the horrors of the inquisition and escaped to the Netherlands either with their identity intact or as *conversos (marranos)*. ¹⁵ These Spanish Jews had a proud history and tradition that had survived centuries of persecution. Their settlement in England provided them once again with a recognised official place in society and with a 'stable' environment.

The second group to arrive much later on English soil were the *Ashkenazim* ¹⁶ fleeing from the chaotic and violent *pogroms* ¹⁷ of Eastern

¹¹ Roth, C. *A History of Jews in England*. Oxford at the Clarendon Press. Glasgow, 1964 p.9.

¹² Pentateuch- first five books of Moses.

¹³ *ibid* p.191

¹⁴ Sefardim- describes Jews from the Southern half of Europe eg Spain, Italy, Middle East etc. From the Hebrew word for Spain - Sefard.

¹⁵ Those Jews whom had 'converted' to Christianity in order to stay in Spain after the expulsion order of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain or during the Inquisition. Most kept Jewish practices and belief but took on Christianity externally in order to survive.

Europe. Their experiences, customs and traditions differed greatly from the Sefardim. Roth notes that the differences between the two groups were noticeable and divisive and '... socially and economically the new settlers generally belonged to a distinctly stratum than their precursors, who indeed refused to intermarry with them, to the amusement of the outside world...' ¹⁸

The 'Jew Bill' of 1753 gave the Jewish community the ability to own land in their own right. Although they had the 'right' to become subjects before this Bill, it was a long and often painful process. This new path to naturalisation had the potential to open new doors for the Jewish community, however it failed to achieve its' potential as it also opened up a 'Pandora's box' of Christian insecurity and underlying anti-semitic feelings and emotions that probably emanated originally from the William of Norwich story that had always and often still is seen as a factual rather than fictional story. Baptism was seen as the only step that one could take to become a British subject.

Underneath the satire and jest of the newspapers of the period there is a real fear and despair that the England of 1753 was to be stolen or lost irretrievably to the Jews. Protestant Englishmen were afraid of what 'equality' would bring and it is realistic to suggest that they were afraid that eventually the Jews would exercise their rights and dominate society as the following contemporary article suggests:

'The following song is recommended to be sung by the few Christians that may be remaining in the country one hundred years hence ...

When mighty roast pork was the Englishmans food,
It enobled our veins and enriched our blood.
And a Jews dish of foreskins was not understood.

Sing oh! The roast Pork of old England,
Oh! the old roast pork.

To circumcise all is most cruel and fell;
Then such a desire let us boldly repel;
For but give them an Inch, and they'll take an ell,

Those Foes to the pork of old England,
Oh the old English Roast Pork.

¹⁶ Ashkenazim- describes Jews from Northern Europe eg Germany, Poland, Russia etc. Most Askenaxim spoke Yiddish - a mixture of German, Polish and Hebrew. From the Hebrew word for Germany - Ashkenaz.

¹⁷ an organised massacre, usually by Government aligned forces- common in Eastern Europe.

¹⁸ Roth, op cit. p.200

Then Britons be wise at this critical pinch
And in such a cause be not cowards and flinch,
But the best of your property guard every inch.

From the foes to the Pork of old England,
Oh! the old English roast pork.¹⁹

Hatred of the Jews thus increased and was often greeted by violence so much so that H. Maty's New Review reflecting on the events of 1753 and the continuing attitude in 1782 declared that:

'The world will not hear it (truth), and the proof is very evident from this abominable spirit that rages against the Jews. I expect in a little time they will be massacred ... We are now treating the Jews just as the Mohammedans treat the Christians...' ²⁰

The 'Jew Bill' was repealed in the December in 1753.

The reign of George the Third, according to Roth, brought about a new 'dawn' for Anglo - Jewry. It was during this period that the London Committee of deputies of british Jews (forerunner to the Board of Deputies of British Jews) was formed and would play an important role in the interaction of the Jewish community and the British Government.

By 1815 the Jewish community had reached around twenty to thirty thousand with the majority residing in London. ²¹(In 1851 the population was reported to have risen officially to 35,000 with only 18 000 residing in the greater London area). They were 'restricted' to the East End, To the poorer areas of the region such as Cheapside and Houndsditch. A characteristic of this period is the widening division of wealth. Sefardim such as Sir Isaac Goldsmid and Sir Moses Montefiore could well afford their residences at Ramsgate in the West End. The new immigrants unfortunately could barely afford to live at all.²² They had arrived in England unskilled and penniless sometimes without family support mechanisms to fall back on, hence cultural dislocation was a great problem amongst the newly arrived. Although men such as Sir Moses Montefiore were generous and supported many Jewish charities, many turned to a life of crime to support themselves or their growing families.

A characteristic of the Ashkenazim was the fact that, unlike the Sefardim or no-Jewish immigrants such as the Huguenots, they failed to assimilate or

¹⁹ Perry p.199

²⁰ Rothp. op cit. p.218

²¹ Levi, J. Australian Genesis. Rigby, Adelaide p.10

²² see appendix 3-Maps showing areas inhabited by a large percentage of Jews.

blend into general society They were distinctly Jewish with their alien mannerisms, speech, traditions and dress. The absorption of so many of these migrants into London helped to awaken latent anti-semitism in the psyche of most Englishmen.

So what type of society were those Jewish convicts forced into permanent exile leaving behind? By 1851 the community was highly organised and had been for several decades. There existed at least seven Synagogues in London. These included The New Great Synagogue, Great S. Helen's, Bishopsgate (which would not have existed when the majority of convicts departed), The Great Synagogue, Duke's Place, St. James, Aldgate, The Hambro' Synagogue, Fenchurch street, The Portuguese Synagogue, Bevis Marks, S. Mary Axe, The Polish Synagogues in Gun Yard and Cutler Street, Houndsditch and in the West End the Western Synagogue, St. Albans Place, Haymarket, The Maiden Lane Synagogue, Covent Garden and a 'Reform Synagogue' in Margaret Street, Cavendish Square called The West London Synagogue of British Jews or the Reform Synagogue.²³ Few Jewish convicts would have experienced the type of Anglicised and 'christianised' Judaism offered there.

There existed also several educational institutions in London which catered for Jewish students (both male and female) in the east and west ends, and were sustained by voluntary contributions provided by the wealthier Sefardim and Ashkenazim. The busiest was The Jews Free School in Bell Lane, Spitalfields which in 1851 catered for 1 200 male and female schools. In Houndsditch was an Orphan school for 400 infants and in Goodman's Field an Orphan asylum. Unlike the poorer schools the Jewish schools in the West End were segregated by sex.²⁴

The Beth Din (Rabbinical Court) provided the community with two Chief Rabbis, Reverend David Meldola (sefardi) and Reverend Doctor Nathan Marcus Adler (Ashkenazi). This unique arrangement was needed to deal with the differing Halachic problems that were unique to each community. The Beth Din also dealt with complaints within the community. If this had not been the case many disputes that previously were solved by the rabbonim within the community would have been dealt with by public prosecutors ignorant of Jewish law. Undoubtedly the Beth Din reduced the number of Jewish criminals transported to the penal colonies.

When one compares the large numbers of Jewish convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land and the other penal colonies with the relatively small Jewish community in England it would not be hard to come up with the idea that their ethnic group was very much involved in criminal activity. This simply was not the case. There were many factors involved in the development of this phenomenon. To survive people (Jews and non-Jews) had to resort to

²³Weale, J. op cit p.536

²⁴ibid. p.536

committing 'crimes'. This, combined with the attitude of London's constabulary, considerably more Jews were arrested per head of population than any other population group. A magistrate during this period believed that the Jews of London were naturally inclined to take up illegal activity. That they were '...educated in idleness, from their earliest infancy...' and that '...they acquire every debauched and vicious principle which can fix them for the most complicated acts of fraud and deception.'²⁵ Anti-semitism combined with necessity, created this picture of abnormal criminal activity.

²⁵ Levi, J. op cit. p.7

Chapter 2. Public and Private attitudes in Van Diemen's Land.

Government Attitudes.

The Jewish community that the convicts encountered in Van Diemens Land from 1803 to the 1830's was very different from the one which they had left behind. What remained familiar were the attitudes of the Government and the public which resembled those of their counterparts in England, the only differences being the concentration and the focus on the perceived problems in such a small environment. The Jewish community, initially made up of convicts and emancipists did not possess the necessary framework to counter anti-semitic claims of the public or request what were seen as necessary freedoms from the colonial government.

The colonial government had a formula on how to treat convicts and quite often emancipists in Van Diemens Land however, many of the policies depended on who the Lieutenant Governor was at the time. Israel Getzler in *Neither Toleration nor favour* sees three distinct phases in the governorship during the convict era each affecting the infant Jewish communities of Hobart and Launceston and most importantly the Jewish convicts. The road that these convicts would take greatly depended on the policies of the governors and also, perhaps more importantly, the attitudes of the comptroller generals.

The first era was that of the Lieutenant Governor George Arthur (1820 - 1836). He believed that the Church of England had the legitimate right to 'reform' convicts of any religion, and within the prison system only the Anglicans could perform this task. Thus the intervention of other religions including Judaism on matters pertaining to the convict system were not greeted with enthusiasm. Within the system mainstream protestantism was compulsory. Non attendance of Church musters or inappropriate behaviour was punishable, usually with a flogging or solitary confinement. Many Jewish convicts such as Emanuel Levy²⁶ and Abraham Barrett ²⁷, suffered from the punishments inflicted for their objection to attending a Christian religious service. Others, too broken or indifferent to react to the injustice attended without complaint.

On the public front however Arthur tried not to discriminate between the Christian religions recognised in the colony and their churches. In 1832 Henry Davis applied for an allotment of land in the township of Launceston after '... having met with the misfortune of loosing an infant and having been compelled from necessity to enter its remains in a private ground belonging to myself, there been no consecrated burial place for the Hebrew persuasion on this side of the island...' ²⁸ Getzler suggests that Arthur did not reject the request of

²⁶ CON 31/28 per *Indefatigable*, 1811.

²⁷ CON 33/4 per *Hindustan*, 1840

²⁸ CSO 1/613 Archives of Tasmania, Hobart.

Henry Davis' application for land because of religious intolerance but because he refused to deviate from the law determining religious freedoms believing that the community was too small to warrant a separate burial ground. Arthur did however in his reply to Davis, state that even though '... further...land cannot be granted, but any spot required will be put up for sale...' ²⁹ Thus Launceston received its first cemetery on Cataract Hill not through assistance received from the government, but through Davis, the first free Jewish settler to Van Diemen's Land³⁰

The second phase came with the arrival of Sir John Franklin and his wife in the 1830's. Van Diemen's Land during this period evolves into Franklins perception of how a Christian state should operate. To a great extent he was 'supported' , even dominated by the attitude of the comptroller general of convicts, Captain William Forster. During this period many issues were raised in the newspapers of the colony, including the death of Jewish convict Lewin Caspar (Casper) and the ramifications of this, and also the refusal to allow Jewish convicts the privilege of having the Sabbath and Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) off in order to attend to their religious duties.

During Franklins reign the free and emancipist Jewish community began to increase and the building of a community infrastructure was begun. In the spirit of Bernard (Barnard) Walford, the emancipist who in 1828 applied for a burial ground for Jews in Hobart (or perhaps more accurately for himself,) the communities in Launceston and Hobart began to formally request grants of land and funding from the Colonial Government for the purpose of erecting Synagogues. Both communities were quite large and many of its members were emancipists, their children and Ticket of leave men who had survived the Governments attempts at proselytation. On the fourth of May 1843, Louis Nathan, a free arrivalist and President of the newly formed Hobart Hebrew Congregation, applied to the Colonial Secretary, Bicheno for '... some pecuniary aid for the accomplishment of a desirable undertaking...' ³¹, that is, the building of a Synagogue in Argyle Street on land donated by Judah Solomon (per *Castle Forbes*, 1820) Bicheno's reply was that the Church act enforced in Van Diemens Land did not allow for aid to non-Christian religions as the said act was '... not sufficiently comprehensive to sanction the giving of the aid applied for...' ³²

In Launceston, the second request forwarded by B. Francis, M.Moss (per Lotus) and D.Benjamin for land and financial assistance was refused despite their claims that '... their number has of late greatly increased in the Northern division of this land and that there is every possibility of an accossion to their

²⁹Getzler, I p.55

³⁰ Levi, J *The Forefathers: A Dictionary of Biography of the Jews of Australia 1788-1830*, Australian Jewish Historical Society, 1976. p.35

³¹ CSO 8 / 165, 4 May 1843, Nathan to Bicheno.

³² ibid. reply from Bicheno to Nathan 30. May 1843.

number yearly by emigration and otherways...'³³ This refusal surprisingly raised much unrest in the anti-Franklin papers in the colony especially *The Cornwall Chronicle* and the *Launceston Advertiser*. The remarks perhaps reflected the new liberality and religious tolerance that was slowly increasing in European society:

'The spirit of illiberality which would exclude the Jews from a participation in the common rights of mankind is despicable in the extreme. But no such spirit exists in England, for we find, that such has been the rapid advance of liberal principles that Jews are permitted to occupy offices under Government of highest calling. If all Christian nations were nations of Christians such liberality would be more predominant throughout the world. With every wish for the success of the petition, we take the liberty of remarking that in some respects its style is impolitic, and rather calculated to defeat its' object.'³⁴

The petition points out that in Governor Arthur's period, the Jews of Hobart had been granted a plot of land to be used for the purposes of a burial ground even though their numbers had been small and their community unorganised. There is some indication that, contrary to Franklin's beliefs, the community was increasing yearly, mainly through the growth of Emancipists, their families and the presence of convicts in and around Launceston's police districts. Many of the petitioners hoping to erect a Synagogue in 1843 had at some period in their lives been convicts or had a connection to the world of the convict. These included men such as Cashmore Israel (per *Prince Leopold*), the forefather of ex Auditor General of Australia, J.W. Israel and notorious convert to Christianity, Samuel Hyams (per *Ruby*).³⁵ The hostility to the Jewish community at the time must have been easily recognised as the petitioners argued that they '...in justice did not warrant the ... hostility...' ³⁶ that their attempts at attaining assistance was bringing.

Sir John Franklin's apparent attitude towards Jews is quite distinctly different from what his counterparts in other colonies. Other Governors appear to have ignored their own Church Acts, granting land to Jewish communities that had requested assistance. Franklin argued that his Church Act and his ideals

³³ Memorial: To Sir John Franklin from members of Jewish persuasion residing in Launceston.

³⁴ 'Launceston Advertiser.' p.69

³⁵ other petitioners with the same names of known Jewish convicts were, Elias Levy, Joseph Aarons, Moses Philips, Isaac Isaacs, Moses Wolff, Abraham Alexander, Morris Whyle, Samuel Levy, Joseph Benjamin, Benjamin Henry, Isaac Abrahams, George Marks, Saul Solomons and Aaron Abrahams.

³⁶ A.J.C.P., Reel no. 520, see also correspondence file titled 'Jews' in Hobart Library Archives.

of a Christian state effectively placed the Jews in a position of 'second class citizens'. They had a natural place in society but because of their rejection of Jesus their fate, if the rejection continued, was effectively sealed:

'By the Acts of Council which provide for the erection of places of divine worship the Jews are excluded from all participation in the assistance granted by the public for the purpose, and whatever claims the members of the persuasion may have to an equality in civil rights, and to the protection which the Government is desirous to extend alike to all Her Majesty's subjects, I have not felt myself justified in countenancing and propagating at the public expense a religion essentially hostile to all of Christianity, until I shall be honoured by your Lordships instructions upon the subject.'³⁷

Lord Stanley upheld Franklins decision despite the intervention of Sir Moses Montefiore on behalf of the Launceston community.

The third era of convictism was to emerge in Van Diemen's Land with the ending of Franklin's, 'Christian State' ideal and the dawning of liberalism imported by the new Lieutenant Governor, William Dennison and the death of the despotic comptroller general Forster. His replacement, Doctor J.S.Hampton did not share his views on prisoner reform and punishment. The Hobart Hebrew congregation sensing the new school of thought amongst the authorities in the colony approached the comptroller general with the specific aim of obtaining concessions for the well behaved and controllable convicts. Up until this time it was compulsory for all prisoners to attend church and muster on a Sunday. The Jewish community hoped to obtain permission for Jewish prisoners to attend Synagogue on the Jewish Sabbath and to have the opportunity to keep the *Yomim Tovim*³⁸ as well. The minutes of the synagogue record the positive answer received by Hampton:

'The President stated that an application by him to the Comptroller General for permission to be given that prisoners of the Jewish faith may have the privilege of attending the Synagogues at Hobart and Launceston and to refrain from work on Sabbaths and Holydays, such application had been favourably received, and that all prisoners of the Hebrew persuasion not actually under a sentence would have leave to refrain from work and attend Synagogue in Hobart and Launceston on Sabbaths when present in these townships and all pass-holders to refrain from labour at the stations on Sabbath.'³⁹

³⁷ Getzler op cit p.60

³⁸ Yomim Tovim- High Holy Days eg. Yom Kippur, Rosh HaShannah

³⁹ Hobart Hebrew Congregation Minutes. 22.April 1847.

This new interaction between the Jewish convict and Jewish community would be a determining factor in the religious and social path that the individual convict would take. During Forsters reign as comptroller general, the only contact that was permissible for these convicts was if they were fortunate to be assigned to a co-religionists or family whom had followed them to the Penal colony as assisted or free settlers.

Public attitudes.

Public attitudes towards Jewish colonists and convicts was unlike that of the colonial government. Their view reflected the norms of their social station and standing, cultural baggage that had followed them willingly to the colony. Attitudes towards Jews In England had evolved little over the period of transportation amongst the ordinary citizen. They recalled folk myths and stories in order to form their ideas. Thus Jews were primarily seen not as productive citizens but a collective disease that refused to be cured. Stereotypes evolved and solidified into general consensus.

Within the boundaries of Van Diemen's Land public attitude changed daily depending on the circumstances that were 'visible' around them. Anti-Semitic language appears quite regularly in the earlier newspapers. But was this a reflection of hatred common in the Gentile community or had this type of language become so intrinsically bound into the English language that it was used without conscious hate? This is a possible answer but each event needs to be judged on its own merits.

When the ship S.S.Palambam arrived into Hobart Town on the 14 December 1832 , the Jewish community had begun to increase in size and more notably wealth. In such a small township the size of the infant Jewish community (to those Christians not originating from the London region) must have appeared overwhelming. Four days after the arrival of the Palambam an article appeared in the *Colonial Times* questioning the arrival of such 'large' numbers of Jewish colonists:

Is it true that the importation of Jews by the Palambam is owing to strong representations made by their beardless fraternity here, to their brethren of Monmouth St, Seven dials? It appears that they have informed them of the great advantages to usurers in this colony, and of the anxious desire to hand over their money connections to them, receiving not IOUS, because such humbugs are only useful on some occasions, but valuable considerations. The Shylocks we have, might have been content with fobbing their pelf [sic.] and sneaking out of the colony, without burthening [sic.] us with more of the same race, who like an incubus have fastened, or who rather as vultures have preyed on its vitals ... Is it true that the

recent live cargo by the Palambam, finding the market here already forestalled by the beardless Shylocks, with whom we have swarms, have wisely determined to proceed to New South Wales, justly considering that a better harvest awaits them than here, by reason that the greatest part of our wealth is regularly leaving us for that well governed, thriving colony. When will these things mend?' ⁴⁰

Up to one hundred Jewish souls have been reported to have arrived aboard that ship, however, the passenger list only reveals several Jewish passengers. They were Hannah Solomon, the wife of Judah Solomon (per *Castle Forbes*) and their two daughters, Sarah and Rebecca, Samuel Benjamin, A.Moses, his wife and four children, Israel Myers and his wife. (possibly several of the other passengers were Jewish) ⁴¹ Attitudes appear to have evolved or were dormant when the ship *Mayflower* arrived in 1841 with nine Jewish passengers including the wife of newly arrived convict, Emanuel Moses. (per Lord Lyndoch 3) ⁴²

Frequent references that could be perhaps described as being benignly anti-Semitic, in so much that they did not incite hatred but rather reflected social norms and attitudes that already existed, were repeatedly printed in the newspapers in Van Diemens Land. They were often satirical pieces written about fictitious Jews. Peddlers and hawkers were the favourite subject of such pieces as many Jews had adopted these unskilled professions not only in England but in the penal colony. These include articles that appeared in the *Colonial Times* ⁴³ and *The Hobart Town Advertiser* including stories titled 'The Jew, the Constable, and the Magistrate' and 'A Horse Dealers Dying Advice to his Son.' and The latter reflected how Gentiles viewed Jewish trading practices and ethics as this following example shows '... I've werry little more to say to you Samyul 'cept that if you does the best for yourself an' the worst for your customers you shall always do purlitely...' ⁴⁴ If a victim of crime happened to be Jewish the Hobart Town newspapers would quite often print a story concerning the event often painting the the victim as a person who ultimately deserved the 'punishment' given to them by the assailant. The victims are sometimes described as 'cunning Israelites' and called by their first names whilst the aggressor is respectfully addressed by his surname. ⁴⁵

⁴⁰ 'The Colonial Times', Tuesday, 18 December 1832, vol.17, no.869

⁴¹ This includes those with non descript names - Emanuel Wall, Catherine Phillips, Mr. Leonora and wife, Mr. Bainish, his wife and two children and G.E.Sasgrun.

⁴² The passengers were Hannah, Sarah and Lewis Abrahams, Elizabeth Davis, Henry Abrahams and Sarah, Rachel, Mary and Rebecca Moses.

⁴³ 'The Colonial Times', December 4, 1832 vol.17, no.867., Hobart Town Advertiser, September 20, 1842.

⁴⁴ 'Hobart Town Advertiser.' 13 June 1843.

Levi suggests that at least one in four of businessmen in HobartTown were Jewish.⁴⁶ Many emancipists took over leases of public houses ⁴⁷ and gradually made their way up the business ladder. Many of these convicts had been involved as peddlers and hawkers or came to the colony equipped with useful skills (for example, dentistry, shoemaking, watchmaking, bakers and tailors. Very few had agricultural skills,) so it was not unusual that they should turn to business rather than farming as a living. But has already been stated, the public perception was one of hostility towards Jewish businessmen whom were seen by Christian society to be distrustful and more importantly, dishonest: Public reaction to a non Jewish businessmen proposal to erect a 'Jews Bazaar' in Hobart Town was not well received by the public or the *ColonialTimes* in 1832:

'We understand that Mr Loane is about to possess himself of some property in Bathurst St. and to commence forthwith the building of a Jews bazaar. What a grand effect a row of that kind will have. It will also be convenient to the police offices, rendering it altogether most desirable headquarters for the Jewish fraternity.' ⁴⁸

Whilst 'Jew Usury' and the imagined business practices were frowned upon there were more enlightened attitudes prevalent in some sections of society especially in the later half of the transportation era. Many non-Jews gave generous donations towards the building of the Synagogue in the South including two individuals who anonymously signed their donations, ' a friend to the chosen people.' ⁴⁹ Money was also given to support the impoverished Jewish community in Jerusalem during the famine that raged through the land in 187 . His excellency, Sir W.T. Denison, The Lord Bishop of Tasmania, His worship, the Mayor and The Venerable, the Archdeacon all contributed as did the poorer and humble members of the community including one who strangely signed his contribution, 'a goi yet a friend to Jews.' ⁵⁰ This terminology suggests that the interaction and or knowledge of Hebrew phraseology was common in Hobart Town.

This reflection of tacit support in the later period with the constant

⁴⁵ 'Hobart Town Advertiser', Tuesday Morning, September 20 1842.

⁴⁶ Levi,J. & Bergman, G.F.J. op cit. p.258. Census of 1842 show that there were 259 individuals who identified as Jews.

⁴⁷ for example Rheuben Barnett (Rising Sun 1846, The Caledonian Hotel 1848), Oscar Davis (The Belmont Inn 1835, King of Prussia 1824, 1829, Kings Arms 1821) Benjamin Henry (Wilmot Arms 1846-1849), Israel Hyams (Rose and Crown 1838-65)

⁴⁸ 'The Colonial Times'. Tuesday, December 18, 1832, vol.17, no.869. p.2 c.3

⁴⁹ 'The Hobart Town Advertiser,' September 8, 1843, Friday morning no.34, vol.7

⁵⁰ 'The Hobart Mercury.' 30.8.1854. (Goi is the Hebrew term for stranger. It is often used as a derogatory or common usage for non-Jewish male.)

rejections faced by the Jewish convicts and community during the Franklin era. *The Hobart Town Advertiser*, like *The Launceston Advertiser*, was a discernable critic of the governments overall attitude. The paper believed that each case put forward to the Government needed to be judged on its individual merits and believed that that was not occurring especially in the case of not allowing the Jewish convicts some religious freedoms and refusing to give Ellis Casper (per *Lord Lyndoch* 3) permission to attend the funeral of his son. It was believed that the governor was dictated to by the comptroller general Forster, over matters that concerned the welfare of convicts and that his actions were unnecessary:

'It is well known that the great Day of Atonement ... is a fast of the most solemn character observed with the utmost severity, and considered to have a most serious effect upon the character and circumstances, and future happiness or misery of the succeeding year ... any attempt therefore to interfere with it would, we might suppose, be carefully avoided in this , the era of tolerance ... Be it known that in both instances, no indulgence was requested. It was the liberty to perform a serious, painful, and saddening religious function. The consequence of the refusal to allow the men to attend to the religious duties was, that the men were working whilst observing a strict fast of twentyfour hours, one, in the belief, implicating their future salvation. Oh! What an outcry there would have been had the slaves in the West Indies been prevented from attending to their prayers on a Sabbath.' ⁵¹

The arrest of the legendary Ikey Solomon in 1829, a dispute between Barnard Walford and Reverend Bedford ⁵² and the death of the Chief Rabbi Solomon Herschell in London⁵³ also were covered in an unbiased light to the point that the Rabbi was highly praised for his achievements as a 'Hebrew scholar' and for his role in Judaism.

⁵¹ 'The Hobart Town Advertiser.' September 20, 1842.

⁵² 'The Colonial Times.' November 9, 1831.

⁵³ 'Murray's Review.' June 2 18?

Chapter3. The Effect of Transportation.

How did Jewish convicts interact in such a diverse society as Van Diemens Land whilst under sentence or after receiving their certificate of freedom? How did transportation affect their lives after departing from England? Did transportation affect their development as Jews in such a foreign and initially hostile environment? Some convicts such as the Solomon brothers, Judah and Joseph did prosper and become involved in the community but the majority of convicts did not escape from the quagmire of desolation and isolation that the penal system created. The whole course of their lives were changed irreversibly forever. They were removed from family influences and community infrastructure. Usually their existence in London had been perilous but institutions existed to cope with poverty and their interaction with non-Jewish society was usually only on a business level.

'Jewish Countenance' and 'Christian Jews': Were they Jews?

Exiled away from the support mechanism offered by London Jewish society, the convict exposed to the 'missionary' path of Christianity and Gentile practices often married out, accepting the 'normatives' of Christianity with or without conversion. The children born to female convicts were often baptised and brought up as non-Jews. Those who did convert to Christianity were few in number considering the total amount of Jewish convicts. At least one of their number was recruited by the London Society dedicated to the conversion of Jews to Christianity. Samuel Hyams. (per *Ruby*), a Launceston 'employee' of the society who converted for the financial gains that were on offer, that is, a hawkers license and a job as Church sexton ⁵⁴ He was hardly reformed by his new position in society, for his record reveals that he was repeatedly admonished for an offense such as 'harboring run away convicts' ⁵⁵ and in 1843 he signed the petition requesting funding for a Synagogue in Launceston.⁵⁶

John Smitherman (per *Admiral Cockburn*), like Hyams was a 'converted Jew', illiterate, and also had received several convictions whilst in Van Diemens Land including one of a seven year sentence. At the time of the offense he was fifty-five years old, a cook, and was very much alone having left behind in London, a mother called Sarah and his sister Betsey. He was not married and had no family in Van Diemen's Land and probably died all alone without anyone to say *Kaddish* ⁵⁷ for him. Samuel Belasco married a Christian woman after he

⁵⁴ Levi, J The Forefathers op cit p.48

⁵⁵ CON 31/8

⁵⁶ AJCP reel 520

⁵⁷

was baptised in 1837.⁵⁸ He was very involved in the municipal affairs of New Norfolk. Belasco and Rheuben Joseph (per *William Miles*) signed a petition concerning the mismanagement of water in New Norfolk.⁵⁹ It is doubtful that their change in religion improved their social standing, ridding themselves of the stigma of being Jewish. Even when religion was listed on official documents such as convict indents, they were like Smitherman, usually listed as 'Converted Jews'.

Other convicts simply described themselves as being Christian when they arrived in the penal colony. Abraham Reuben or Rheuben (per *Bengal Merchant*) was sixteen when he left England in 1828. Perhaps he was informed that he would receive better treatment from the authorities if he described himself as Protestant. Previously he had been a tailors apprentice with eleven months experience but had received seven years transportation for picking a pocket, relieving the owner of 'a sovereign and a half'⁶⁰. In 1842 he was listed as a member of the Hobart Hebrew Congregation and a subscriber of the benevolent society formed in 1847 despite the fact he married out in 1837.⁶¹ (his first marriage is not listed in the records of the congregation.) His children, Esther (1838), Louise (1840), Moses (1842), Philip (1844), Rheuben (1846) and Solomon (1850) would not have been Jewish.

Jacob Burnstein was listed as Protestant. He was born in Prussia around 1827 to parents Isaac and Hinda Burnstein and in 1848 he was known to have six brothers and three sisters presumably still living in his native place as no family is listed living in England. He was sentenced to seven years transportation in 1848 for stealing a '... silver plate, spoons, and forks...' ⁶² In 1848 and 1851 he was found to be hawking goods without a license and in 1852 his sentence of transportation was extended by eighteen months when he was discovered attempting to leave the colony on the ship 'Rebecca' bound for Port Phillip and in 1853 he was stationed at the probation station at Bridgewater with the gang building the causeway across the Derwent River. There is no indication that Burnstein was Jewish except for his place of birth, his parents name and the professions that he adopted whilst in Van Diemens Land. He never joined the congregation and there is no indication of what happened to him once he was released.

Joseph Levy despite his Jewish name was most likely telling the truth when he described himself as being Roman Catholic. He was one of the youngest

⁵⁸baptism- RGD 32/?/8111, New Norfolk born 25.3.1806, registered 1837. Marriage RGD

36/?4268, New Norfolk 22.3.1838. Death RGD 35/? 659 New Norfolk 9.12.1875

⁵⁹ 'The Hobart Town Advertiser,' June 6, 1843.

⁶⁰Con 31/34

⁶¹Tasmanian Hebrew Benevolent Society 5608-1847, printed by William Pratt and Son, Hobart Town.

⁶² CON 31/26 'record book', convict no. 20641

of the group of convicts studied for this thesis. He was only ten years old when the judge in the Berrima Supreme Court sentenced him to seven years gaol on the twentyfirst of September, 1841.⁶³ He had been born in Sydney to a father who was himself a former convict and a non-Jewish mother. For perjury he was sent to Point Peur. After he served his sentence he was returned to his father in Sydney. The ten years spent imprisoned at Point Peur would have altered the young boy even though his had not been a serious crime. He had refused to stand as witness against a man whom he had reported for cruelly beating his animals.⁶⁴

Another problem faced when researching Jewish convicts is the number of men described as having a 'Jewish Countenance'⁶⁵. Were they actually Jews or were they the 'victims' of Government officials? Those listed under such a religious description were Henry Abrahams, George Dudfield and Douglas Edward Browne.

Henry Abrahams was listed as being Jewish and having a Jewish countenance. Abrahams was a native of Colchester, a lath reader and at the time of his arrest in 1826 and was twenty four years old. His marital state is not listed. He is described as having two tatoos on his arms, one reading 'Without hope man is nothing' and 'Home sweet home, be it ever so Komely' (sic.)⁶⁶ Douglas Browne was, before transportation, a native of Blackheath and a clerk. Blackheath was not one of the centres of Jewish immigration, however it is possible that a community did exist. He is described as being dark in complexion but apart from this there is no indication of Jewish ancestry.⁶⁷

The same problem replicates itself with the convict George Dudfield (per *Medina*). On his indent his religion is written as being of a 'Jewish Countenance'. He is described as originally being a publican and a native of St. Brides, London. He also, like Browne, had a 'dark complexion'. Unlike the others Dudfield was fortunately well known to the police and the public in London and Van Diemens Land Known as the 'notorious Dudfield' he was transported on the *Medina* less than four months after his trial. On the fourteenth of september 1825 he arrived in Hobart with his reputation preceding him. This was not forgotten or forgiven when seven years later in 1832 he became the goalkeeper at Oatlands⁶⁸.

⁶³ CON 16/1 indent record, convict no. 1400 also in: Levi, J *The Forefathers*, op cit. p.78

⁶⁴ Levi, J & Bergman. G.F.J. *Australian Genesis*. op cit.

⁶⁵ These were written in the section reserved for religion rather than in the section reserved for a prisoners description.

⁶⁶ CON 23/1 'record book' convict no.245

⁶⁷ CON 23/1 description list. convict no.866

⁶⁸ CSO50/7 (1832)

'His happy star placed him at Oatlands where he did not remain long before he became extremely useful, and a ticket of leave was procured him much sooner than is usually the case with men similarly situated. On the dismissal of the late gaoler what was the surprise of every man woman and child in the colony, to find George Dudfield- a ticket- of- leave- man thus becoming the keeper of one of his majesty's gaol- preposterous!' ⁶⁹

It had been rumored that when he arrived in the penal colony he possessed a substantial amount of money, no doubt the profits of crime. He was probably described as having a Jewish Countenance not because of his dark features but because of his 'occupation' as a criminal. Sadly there was a popular belief amongst non-Jews that the criminal class was primarily Jewish. This attitude can be seen reflected in Charles Dickens, 'Oliver Twist'. Dickens himself stated that '... Fagan in Oliver Twist is a Jew, because it unfortunately was true of the time to which the story refers, that the class of criminal almost invariably was a Jew...' ⁷⁰

The reactions of Individual Jewish Convicts to the System.

Like every other convict transported to Van Diemen's Land, the opportunity to redeem their tarnished character existed. Indeed some convicts did succeed to rise above the situation in which they were placed. These men included Abraham Reuben (previously mentioned) who became an Alderman of the Hobart Council, the Solomon Brothers and Ellis Casper despite the tragedies that had befallen him and his family. The majority slipped away into obscurity whilst others such as Abraham Aaron and Abraham Abrahams did not survive their term of imprisonment. These were the tragedies of the transportation system, individuals whose lives were dramatically altered because of the isolation and the rigors of exile. The question really is then, if they had not been convicted and sent to a penal colony, would they have survived as better human beings? The answer has to be that transportation did dramatically change their behaviour patterns when comparing them to their Christian counterparts. If transportation had not brought about change, the convicts' descendents would have retained their identity as Jews. Cultural dislocation impacts greatly on small isolated communities and quite often initiates the destruction of identity and assimilation into mainstream society.

There is not much written on the record sheet of Lazarus Levy who arrived in Van Diemen's Land either on the *Isabella* or the *Cockburn* on the fourteenth of January, 1818. The first and last entry on his crime sheet during his seven year sentence was the report that he was to receive 200 lashes and be sent

⁶⁹ 'The Colonial Times.' December 25, 1832. Tuesday,

⁷⁰ Levi, J. & Bergman, G.F.J. *Australian Genesis*. op cit. p.8

to Newcastle for '... attempting to commit a rape...' ⁷¹ Whether this is the same Lazarus Levi listed in Levi's *The Forefathers* is not altogether clear as this convict was listed as Levy instead of Levi (a common mistake) and arrived in New South Wales per *Isabella* on September the first, 1818. Levi's crime did not take place until he had spent some years in Van Diemen's land. His original crime, marital status and age on listed.

Homosexual 'relationships' were not uncommon in situations where there was an extreme sex ratio imbalance, not just within the convict system, but within the colony. Within all sections of society (not just within Judaism), this type of 'anti- social behaviour was not acceptable and was, if caught, punishable with hard labour, solitary confinement or a lashing. Despite a religious law prohibiting sodomy or homosexual sex, the crime sheets of several Jewish convicts reveal that conditions of isolation were so extreme that they were forced into a situation where it was inevitable. Rheuben Barnett had been married with one child when he was convicted in the Central Criminal Court in the October of 1843. Whilst being employed as a watchmaker in London he had received stolen goods described as '... Indian Silks valued at £ 100...' from Ellis and Hetherington, St. Pauls Church Yard. So at the age of 28, this Polish Jew, whose family were still living in Poland, found himself transported to Van Diemens Land to serve a seven year sentence. ⁷²

It was noted that his right shoulder was higher than his left, a physical deformity that perhaps would have been useful in a penal colony, where physical labour was expected of all but the sickest of convicts. He committed few offenses whilst still under sentence except on four occasions when he was admonished for misconduct. He was recommitted for trial when it was reported that on the twentieth of December, 1846 he was caught in Hobart '... undertaking indecent liberties with Patrick Connor...' ⁷³ a fellow prisoner. For this he received a sentence of nine months hard labour, during which he was to be '...deprived of his peace...' This was an extremely light sentence when compared to the sentence received by Lyon Levy for a similar crime in 1849. Levy received a sentence of ten years to be spent at Port Arthur, a place of secondary punishment. Levy, according to official records was greatly affected by his experiences at Port Arthur for in November of 1827 he received one hundred lashes for the crime of '... indecently exposing his person...' ⁷⁴ His imprisonment lasted for the rest of his natural life as he was committed to the hospital at Port Arthur where he was listed as being an invalid with 'chronic Ophthamlia' ⁷⁵

⁷¹ CON 31/28

⁷² CON 14/21. Indent, convict no. 15569.

⁷³ CON 33/65. record book, convict no.15568

⁷⁴ CON 3/102. record book

⁷⁵ Levi, J. *The Forefathers*. *ibid*

Isaac 'Ikey' Solomon.

Transportation affected Isaac 'Ikey' Solomon (per *William Glen Anderson*) in a much different way. Evidence from newspaper reports and his sudden flight from the country without being detained, suggests that he had a prosperous career as a fence and a receiver of stolen goods. His 'adventures', like that of George Dudfield, were well known and kept alive by public interest. Charles Dickens reportedly based his character of Fagan on the exploits of Solomon, a distinction that would undoubtedly haunt him. After his arrest in Van Diemens Land and the transportation back to England for a retrial, writings based on his life began appearing.⁷⁶ Lofty titles attempted to entice the reader into purchasing them. Unfortunately for Solomon they often appeared to be genuine accounts of his life including the following, titled:

'The life and exploits of Ikey Solomon; Swindler, forger, fencer and brothel keeper with account of flash and dress houses, flash girls and coves of the hatch, now on the town. With introductions how to guard against hypocritical villains [sic.] and the lures of abandoned females, also particularly of Mrs Ikey Solomon and the gang who infested London for 19 years.'⁷⁷

Was Isaac Solomon the colourful character that the contemporary stories paint him as? Like Dudfield he probably gained his notoriety through the lucky escapes from fate and his apparent success as a receiver. The fact that he was Jewish could only have added to the already 'fictional' plot of the Ikey Solomon story. We do know that he was born in Houndsditch, London approximately in 1784 and was one of nine children. His father reportedly acted as '... a broker to the great Goldsmid who lent Mr Pitt 300,000 [pounds] during the revolutionary wars.'⁷⁸ He married Ann Julian, the daughter of an Aldgate coachmaster, Moses Julian. Julian was reported to be instrumental in helping his son-in-law escape from the clutches of the law as the following statement given by the keeper of Newgate prison revealed:

'He was taken by Habeas Corpus to the Kings bench to be admitted to bail; When the bail having been rejected, he was ordered to be returned to Newgate. The hackney coach into which they got in Palace Yard Westminster, has been since ascertained to have been owned, and driven by Solomon's father-in-law and under the pretext of making a call (which

⁷⁶ Often these publications contained few substantiated facts.

⁷⁷ Hebron, M. *The Life and Exploits of Ikey Solomon*. Printed and published by Edward Duncombe, Middle Row, Holburne (3) - known as pamphlet 1, held in Mitchell Library.

⁷⁸ *ibid*.

the turnkeys improperly permitted), they went out of the road, and upon the coach stopping, the door was opened by a party of friends and he was rescued from the custody of the turnkeys.' ⁷⁹

His relationship with his wife Ann must have been a close one as whilst safely continuing life in Rio de Janeiro as a fugitive from the law, he must have heard that she had been arrested and sent to Van Diemen's Land to serve her sentence for not long after her arrival in the penal colony Solomon arrived in Hobart under the name of Sloman. It is assumed that because of common knowledge concerning his escape from the law and his illustrious career, he was soon recognised. Legally, Governor Arthur could not arrest him and deport him to England since according to law the '... magistrates in Van Diemens Land have no authority to enquire into a felony committed in England' ⁸⁰

Despite the position of the law on the matter, Arthur had Solomon arrested and after a lengthy legal discussion carried out by the Colony's legal fraternity (and described in the colony's newspapers), he was sent back to England under the watchful eye of Police Constable, Mr Capon.⁸¹ On the first of November, 1831, Ikey Solomon at the age of forty-seven returned to Hobart as a prisoner of the crown under sentence of fourteen years. The strain of imprisonment seems to have permanently scarred the relationship between Ann and Isaac Solomon. Ann's convict record for 1835 revealed that '... disturbances having continued in the family was, since the warning given them of the third of July, and appearing to arise from a combination between the mother of the children against the father...' ⁸²

Judah and Joseph Solomon.

Judah and Joseph Solomon (per *Castle Forbes*) received great prominence in Van Diemens land during and after their sentences. Both men were married to Jewish women before their arrest in 1819. With foresight, Joseph Solomon granted his wife a *Get* (Jewish divorce), allowing him and his wife to remarry if they so wished. Judah however left for Van Diemen's Land a married man, leaving behind his children and pregnant wife. This would eventually lead to impeding Judah's attempts to climb the social ladder. He made the mistake of initiating a liaison with Elizabeth Howell who would eventually give birth to his illegitimate son, Joseph.

His living arrangement with Elizabeth must have been common knowledge in a small community such as Hobart Town. Many such similar

⁷⁹ Wontner - J.M.Capper, 22 April 1829, enclosed in Twiss- Arthur, 7 May 1829 GO 2/5.

⁸⁰ 'The Tasmanian and Asiatic Review,' February 5, 1830, p.413, c.2

⁸¹ 'The Colonial Times,' January 29, 1830. p.2, c3

⁸² Con 40/9 July 20, 1835.

'marriages' must have occurred amongst the convicts and freed men who sometimes had no legal right to return to England and no proof of a wife's death. (it was common amongst convicts to claim that their wives had died during their incarceration in England) Unfortunately for Judah his legal wife arrived in the colony aboard the S.S. Palambam in 1832 as the Colonial Times reported:

'Amongst the passengers per Palambam, is Mrs Solomon, the wife of Judah Solomon, Merchant of this town We understand that this lady has proceeded to the Colony to join her husband after many years separation with her two lovely daughters. Report states that her arrival has produced some little embarras (sic) of a delicate nature; but we trust, considering the situation of the parties, that an eclairsissement may take place, and that Mrs. Solomon will be permitted to enjoy the magnificence and splendour of the Temple.' ⁸³

Upon learning of his living arrangements Esther Solomon seemed determined to be an obstacle in the path of Judah's certificate of freedom, lodging complaints against her husband⁸⁴ and admonishing his lack of morals. She probably succeeded in stopping her husband from receiving a full pardon as he was recommended for a free pardon on the fifth of October, 1843. This recommendation probably did not eventuate as scrawled next to it is written '...no answer rec'd at this office.' ⁸⁵ In the same year Judah had requested the assignment of a female convict for his wife but their marital instability had forced the government to reply that because they had been '... living apart from one another and though Solomon may be living generally now from what I have seen and heard it is likely any control would be exercised over a female servant.' ⁸⁶

Up until 1851, the two brothers had been involved in business together. Their first public business was set up in Argyle street in 1821 under the name of J and J Solomon selling mainly drapery and spirits and unusual items such as instruments and jewellery ⁸⁷ From this shop they sold 'spirits without a license.' ⁸⁸ much to the distress of Reverend Robert Knopwood. Their

⁸³ 'The Colonial Times,' December 18, 1832. vol.17, no.869. (Temple House was the name of his residence in Argyle street, Hobart)

⁸⁴ Levi, J. & Bergman G.F.J. *Australian Genesis*. op cit. Esther complained to the Lieutenant Governor that her husband threatened to kill her and claimed in 1845 that 'Although my husband was one of the highest in the colony as regards to wealth he was one of the lowest in morals' p.264

⁸⁵ Con 31/38 record book, convict no.216

⁸⁶ CSO 22/68 p. 1507

⁸⁷ 'Hobart Town Gazette'. January 20, 1821.

⁸⁸ Con 31/38 Record Book, convict numbers 217 and 216.

combination of illegal activity and business continued for much of the period resulting in the brothers being fined regularly. In 1827 Joseph opened up the northern branch of J and J Solomon by setting up shop in Cameron street, Launceston, followed by the establishing of a store in Evandale.

As a result Joseph moved to Evendale, effectively severing his ties with the Jews of Hobart Town. But both despite their backgrounds were very successful and '...1840 the brothers had acquired considerable property, both owning more than one house and having interests in several commercial firms, or as ... agents for more than one ship. Judah is well known to have added money lending to his commercial pursuits.'⁸⁹ In 1833, however, Joseph married a Mrs. Eliza Backhouse in St.Johns Church, Launceston effectively severing not only his Christian family from the concerns of the Jewish Community but also his Jewish children who had left England to be with their father. His great grandson, Albert Edgar Solomon, became Premier of Tasmania in 1909.⁹⁰ Thus intermarriage took its toll on the successful emancipists as well.

⁸⁹ Letter from Mrs. V.W.Hodgeman, Technical College, Launceston, 5.10.1959. Archives- 'Solomon file.'

⁹⁰ Levi, J. & Bergman, G.F.J. *Australian Genesis*.ibid. p.265.

Chapter 4. Inter-marriage, Assimilation and Isolation: Their effects.

Inter-marriage and assimilation were the two killers of the community. Today the results are perfectly clear. There are many Cohens, Levys and Solomons listed in the telephone directories of Tasmania, but not one of these individuals would be halachacally Jewish or in some cases be aware of their unique ancestry. There is a story well known in the observant Jewish community of Hobart about a man whose surname was Cohen. He unfortunately was involved in the clothing trade in the same street which contained the Launceston Synagogue. The story goes that Jewish visitors wanting to look at the Synagogue, would arrive at his premises asking to be shown through it. The poor man could not understand why this kept occurring as he himself was Christian as had been many generations of his family and had no knowledge of the origins of his name.⁹¹ Over the years who knows how this story has changed or exaggerated but it stands as a testimony of the direction most converts took.

Bernard (Barnard) Walford an Austrian Jewish convict, originally sent out to New South Wales with the third fleet was one of those who married out, but not because he intended to marry out but because of the need for human interaction. His son, Bernard the younger, made an application to the Synagogue on his death bed to be allowed to be buried in the Jewish cemetery despite having a Christian mother because he claimed he was a '...a Jew in belief...' His application was refused because to agree to such a request would ultimately '... be contrary to the laws of the congregation and the rites and customs of the Jews...' ⁹²

On the tenth of February, 1848, Judah Solomon made an application on behalf of his non-Jewish son to marry the non-Jewish daughter of the late Henry Davis. He further requested that, because of their connection to Judaism through their fathers, they be allowed to become 'a Ger and Geris(t) according to the laws of Moses' before their marriage. This was put by the community's Rabbi who accepted that further more that the 'brides' sister '...Miss Catherine Davis be admitted as a Geris according to the Mosaic rites in the same manner as her sister.' ⁹³

Surprisingly few Gentile wives of Jewish men underwent conversion. According to the Marriage certificates belonging to those who had a Jewish wedding only two of the women had the name of Sara bas Avraham Ovinu. (the Hebrew name that most female convertees undertook.) John Davis, possibly the convict who arrived on the Argyle in 1831, and his wife had no children born to them in the colony whilst the other women and her husband Abraham Marks

⁹¹ Story told by Mr. David Clark, Jewish Resource Centre and Mikveh, Hobart.

⁹² Hobart Hebrew Congregation Minutes, July 16, 1846.

⁹³ Hobart Hebrew Congregation Minutes, February 10, 1848. Ger and Geris are male and female converts to Judaism.

had seven children born to them in a ten year period.

As has already been surmised, most married without seeking a conversion for their wives mainly because of isolation from the main community, fear of rejection or because of their ignorance of Jewish law. Hence, applications for the rite of Bris (circumcision) for non-Jewish male children appeared in the minute book of the Hobart Hebrew Congregation more than once. Edward Casper, the son of emancipist Ellis Casper put to the board that he had received from a 'friend' a letter asking whether '... circumstances would be permitted to perform the ceremony of circumcision of a child of Mr Nathan Joseph of Launceston, borne to a christian woman...' ⁹⁴ The community was lucky enough to have a Rabbi that was in the position to answer the questions received from the aspect of *Halacha*. Whatever the outcome of that particular request, we know that in July of 1854 there were enough Jewish children in the precincts of Hobart Town to warrant the discussion of establishing a Jewish school.

After arriving in the Colony most convicts had the opportunity, if their behaviour was satisfactory, to have their wives and children brought out, and indeed many convicts took advantage of the system and requested a reunion whilst those wealthy, or desperate enough paid their own way in the hope that their relative would be assigned to them. ⁹⁵ This perhaps was Hannah Moses intention when she set sail on the *Mayflower* on the ninth of November 1840. Perhaps she realised that her husbands advanced age and physical condition warranted a four months long sea voyage, as steerage passengers, for her and her three daughters. Unfortunately he died just after their arrival in the colony. Fortunately his daughters, Rachel, Mary and Rebecca found Jewish husbands in the community. The two eldest possibly married ex convicts, Philip Levy and Samuel Levy.

Others such as Harris Rosenberg remained estranged from his wife and children, For his crime of '...wilfully setting fire to the house... viz a jewellery and furrier shop...' ⁹⁶ in which he had lived, he received a sentence of life. Perhaps the memory of the great fire of 1666 remained in the folk memory of many in London. His first three years in the colony were spent labouring at the Cascades probation station. When he emerged from the hard labour gang in 1846, he was assigned to several Jewish residents in Hobart Town including, M.Solomon of Elizabeth st., R. Joseph of Liverpool st., J. Franknell of Liverpool st. and L.Levy of Murray st. Aware of the position in which he had left his family he wrote to the congregation '... requesting the assistance of the committee to further his views in obtaining the removal of two children now under the guardianship of Mr Joseph of Chester, to be under the probation of Mrs.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, August 17, 1851.

⁹⁵ Occasionally convicts in N.S.W. were allowed to join their families in V.D.L. Example - Moses, Jacob 1821. see CON.13/2 p.401- correspondence between Goulbourn and Sorell.

⁹⁶ Con 33/36

Rosenberg or that of Mr Phillips of Liverpool, his friend...' The board agreed that in order for Mr Rosenberg to achieve his aims, a letter of his good conduct would '... be given him from the president.' ⁹⁷

Rosenberg's convict record has no misdeemenors listed up until the date he received his conditional pardon in 1853. He was on the list of subscribers of the Hebrew Benevolent Society and in 1854 he donated two pounds and two shillings in aid of the Jews in Jerusalem. ⁹⁸ In 1855 he found himself back inside a courtroom because he had allowed firewood, belonging to him, remain on a public road. ⁹⁹ At the time of his death, two years later in 1857, he had once again become a prisoner in the house of correction. He must have been ill enough to have been removed to the hospital at Hobart Town where he lingered until he passed away '... by the visitation of God in a natural way to wit of effusion of the brain produced by mania...' ¹⁰⁰

When John Davies (per *Argyle*) died in 1872, he was buried as a Christian, having severed all ties with the Jewish community. Like his father and brother Edward, he arrived in the colonies as a convict, having been caught buying goods under false pretences. His early period in the colony is almost unknown as his conduct record no longer resides in the archives, presumably having been 'lost' or stolen last century. He was allowed to leave Van Diemens Land for Port Macquarie whilst still under sentence, to join his father and his newly arrived family.

When he returned to Van Diemen's Land permanently in 1851 he immediately clashed with the Jewish community. They probably saw him as a ruthless man and a troublemaker, no doubt having knowledge of his journalistic exploits in N.S.W and Victoria. They refused his request for membership noting that he had married out of the faith thus breaking one of the laws of the community. Davis replied arguing that not only did the law not apply to him because of his marriage date, but that other members had broken the rule and were participating as full members.¹⁰¹ This break down in communication between Davies and the congregation perhaps gave him the motivation to drop Judaism, without the guilt, and attempt to be accepted by Tasmanian society as P.F. Bolger points out:

'His reputation as emancipist, as Jew, as former publican and as an actor, was against him. His low- class unpleasantly grating accent compromised his position in society... Davies chose to make himself more British than

⁹⁷ Hobart Hebrew Congregation Minutes, November 15, 1846.

⁹⁸ 'The Hobart Mercury,' 30.8.1853.

⁹⁹ 'The Hobart Mercury,' January, 1855.

¹⁰⁰ SC 195/ 40 inquest no.4089

¹⁰¹ Bergman, F.J.G. 'John Davies 1813-1872: A Jewish Convict, Journalist, Actor, Policeman, Publican, Parliamentarian.' in: T.H.R.A. 26-27 Mar.-Dec. 1979-1980 p.95

the Governor, more Anglican than the Bishop and more patriotically conservative than either.' ¹⁰²

Neither of his children were Jewish thus were denied rights within the community. Maybe this is one of the factors leading Davie's continual withdrawal from Judaism. His father however remained active within the Sydney even becoming a respected member. John, however found it hard to excuse his family's convict past to the point that he denied his brothers existence to a courtroom. ¹⁰³ He was so successful in hiding his past in fact that when the Mercury celebrated one hundred and thirty-nine years of operation there was no mention of Davies' Jewish convict background.

¹⁰² *ibid* p.105

¹⁰³ His brother was Edward 'Teddy the Jew Boy' Davies who escaped whilst under sentence in N.S.W. and became a bushranger. His exploits led to his hanging. John claimed that his father had adopted an orphan boy, thus the executed davies was no relation. *ibid.* p.93

Chapter 5. Focus on Individuals.

Michael Abrahams , 1836.

Records that survived the passing of time often reveals the personal affairs of many convicts. Memorials were often presented to the Home Office and the Colonial Government requesting knowledge of family or seeking mercy for their loved ones. Usually little was achieved by these letters written by distraught mothers, fathers and wives. The memorial sent from Phoebe Abrahams from her Regent Street address in London requested knowledge of her youngest sons fate after she had news of his arrest in Sydney and his subsequent transportation to van Diemens Land in 1836.

Her son Michael had fallen into bad company whilst in Sydney. He had left the protective gaze of his older brother in the east Indies after he left following an argument. He proceeded to Sydney where he was received by his mother's relation a Mr George Robert Nicholls, part proprietor of the 'Australian' newspaper. Without close family to direct him in life he was soon led astray by new acquaintances:

'That your memorialists last named son [Michael] thus secured from the protection of his parents and the advise and ends of zealous friendship, youthful and inexperienced as he was, unhappily deviated from a safe course of conduct and embarked in a traffic of low characters viz, the sale of spirits ... that your memorialist though she entertains no doubt that the conduct of her unhappy son had been criminal ... humbly pleads for him upon the grounds of his youth, his being placed in vicious society.' ¹⁰⁴

She argued that if Michael was returned to her he would be amply disciplined or alternatively if his return was impossible she and her friends would '... provide for him abroad and do everything within their means to restore him to society...' ¹⁰⁵ Franklin and Forster must have firmly believed in continuing with his punishment as her request was rejected. If Michael Abrahams survived his sentence his mother or family would have returned him either to civilised Sydney or London. There is no mention of this name in connection with the Synagogue.

Ellis and Lewin Casper. (per Lord Lyndoch 1841.)

The story of Ellis and Lewin Casper (Caspar) was tragically similar to many other convicts' lives only better documented. They were a father and eldest

¹⁰⁴ GO 1/29 pp.45- 56 Glenelg to Franklin.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*

son sent out to Van Diemens Land with another Jewish man Emmanuel Moses. Their crime was quite significant when compared with the crimes of other Jewish convicts. They were accused of stealing 'gold dust' which was reported to be worth in excess of two hundred pounds. Their trial lasted three days according to Ellis Caspers convict record after which the two older men received fourteen year sentences and Lewin, seven years for his minor role of '...inciting others to steal the gold dust...' All three presumably had an orthodox background as they had beards, which were common amongst the 'frum'¹⁰⁶ community but not secular society. What motivated them to commit this criminal act is impossible to say, but the consequences of the act would affect their lives forever.

The men embarked on the *Lord Lyndoch* (3) in London and arrived in Van Diemens Land on the fifth of March, 1841. Behind them they had left large families. Casper had, besides Lewin, nine children and a wife whilst Emmanuel Moses had eight children including a daughter that had received four months for receiving stolen goods. Upon arrival the three men were separated, Moses to the hospital at New Norfolk, Ellis to Hobart Town and Lewin to a probation station at Brown River.

Mrs Casper wrote a memorial in 1842 requesting that her husband and son not be separated because of '...advanced age ... and dangerous state of health...' The distress of Ellis's wife is quite evident in the memorial forwarded to Franklin by the Marquis of Normanby:

'In accordance with the point of law termed 'probation' of your Lordships petitioners were immediately on their arrival in this colony consigned to a description of hard labour which their dilapidated physical powers can impossibly sustain, in addition to which unsupportable bodily hardships, the gloomy aspect of their doom, in been torn from wife, mother, children, sisters and brothers, who are, from such bereavement, suffering the agonies of the most piercing privations, unprotected and sinking into an abyss of grief and distress falls a burthen upon your lordships petitioners, under which the most inevitably droop, thus laden with the shackles [sic.] of slavery, and the most agonising and heartbreaking miseries which have already dangerously affected the minds and constitutions of your Lordships petitioners they would humbly pray that your Lordship will be pleased to look compassionately upon the unbounded anguish and misfortunes of an aged parent and child, whose names were spotless up to the time of the charge for which they are enduring the pains that must speedily terminate their existence... Ellis Casper would humbly pray that his son Lewin Casper... be permitted to join his father... in order that altho

¹⁰⁶frum- orthodox

in depths of calamity... may be allowed the consideration of his child.' ¹⁰⁷

It was not the father that was in danger of death. Lewin Casper was transferred a month later on the fourth of March, 1842 to Hobart, but not to be with his elderly father as Lewin's mother had hoped. He was sent to the prisoner's hospital adjoining the male house of correction, suffering from the effects of heart disease, which inevitably 'rendered him incapable in taking much exercise.' He died on the thirteenth of June when he was '...attacked with all the symptoms of malignant scarlatina which terminated his existence.' ¹⁰⁸ According to the formal inquest held after his death he was very well attended during his illness and had the privilege of having a doctor visiting twice daily whilst in hospital. But the time spent at Brown River must have accelerated the disease.

Ellis Casper's remaining family made their way out to Van Diemen's Land probably shortly after hearing of Lewin's fate. ¹⁰⁹ A ticket of leave was solicited by Ellis in 1845 for his 'praiseworthy conduct'. ¹¹⁰ He established his own business in Murray Street in Hobart Town and by 1846 he had been given the contract to supply the Supreme Court in Hobart Town with clocks. ¹¹¹ His children whom had come out with their mother became very active in the Jewish community in Hobart. His youngest daughter Mathilda married Emanuel Moses Myers in 1853 and his sons George and Edward ¹¹² were included on the list of subscribers for the Benevolent Society that had been established in 1847.

Today there would appear to be no direct descendents of the Caspers living in Tasmania. They probably like so many other religious Jews before them continued their personal exodus onto Sydney or Melbourne where their *Yiddiskeit* would have been assured. Because of the unsteady and fluctuating community base that existed in Van Diemen's Land, those who remained behind would inevitably be lost to mainstream society.

¹⁰⁷ GO 1/56 pp.797- 806.

¹⁰⁸ SC 195/9 inquest no. 693

¹⁰⁹ The free arrivals index does not contain their arrival date, however Edward arrived on the ship Tasmania. (date unknown)

¹¹⁰ Wayn index, Archives, Hobart Library - no reference given.

¹¹¹ 'The Hobart Town Courier,' 28.10.1846

¹¹² Edward Casper left V.D.L. on the 29.12.1851 per City of Melbourne.

Chapter 6. The Female Convicts.

Not much has been written concerning the fate of the female Jewish convicts. Their numbers were inevitably fewer than their male counterparts making it difficult to assess differences between the groups. There were approximately eleven women identifiably Jewish with another smaller number bearing Jewish names, but who cannot be identified as such because of insufficient data. Another problem is that many of the indent records have not survived over the years thus destroying the most reliable sources of information. But those whose records remain have proved to be an interesting, though hardly unique group.

Esther Henrietta Botibol was only seventeen when she was tried at the Central Criminal Court (12 May, 1851) for 'stealing a gold ring and a dress' to the value of five pounds. She was described as been a native of Portica, North of Italy or according to another report, of Portugal. There is no mention of her parents although she had a brother Isaac and a sister, Phoebe Catherine residing in London. She was a dressmaker by trade and extremely short in stature.¹¹³ As a convict she was unco-operative and disagreeable and her offenses in Van Diemens Land included absconding four months after her arrival, disobedience of orders, misconduct and larceny under five pounds. This type of behavior would not have been unusual amongst convicts as to survive one probably had to obtain goods illegally. Frustration would also have been a major factor in behavioural problems.

She was assigned to Jewish households early on in her sentence perhaps to settle her unruly behaviour, but by 1853 she had misbehaved to the extent that she was sent to the infamous Female Factory at Cascades although for which offense is not clear. She was repeatedly sentenced to extra hard labour for her actions in the factory including, 'refusing to keep her bed and refusing to allow the nurse to apply remedies prescribed by the medical officer.'¹¹⁴ It is suggested on her conduct record that she be discouraged from residing within the boundaries of Hobart Town.

Esther gave birth to a daughter, Mary Ann Eliza in Hobart on the twenty-ninth of March, 1872 and was married, in a Christian ceremony, the following year to the child's father, Thomas Simmons. 'Domestic bliss did not settle her as in 1876 and 1877 she was again sentenced for committing larceny and imprisoned for a total of eighteen months. There appears to be no further information past this date concerning this convict or her family.

Maria Benjamin, a widow, was not as wild as Botibol. She was tried at the Middlesex General Delivery on the twenty sixth of October 1826 and sentenced to seven years transportation for stealing a 'leghorn hat'. She committed only two

¹¹³ CON 15/6

¹¹⁴ CON 40/1 convict no.1136

misdeemeanors whilst under sentence, one being out after hours in 1827 and absconding herself from her master's service in 1829. Reasons had not been given. She was sent to the House of Correction but in the same year was given permission to marry Thomas Miller of Launceston. There would appear to have been no children baptised from the marriage as children under both names do not appear on the index. Perhaps she did not wish for them to be baptised as Christians.¹¹⁵ There is no indication also whether there was much interaction with her brother, Solomon Symons (Simons), a convict whom arrived in New South Wales aboard the '*Atlas*'¹¹⁶ and was a resident of Van Diemen's Land by 1819.¹¹⁷

Prostitution was a common activity of the female convicts, most having spent some time 'on the town', either in Van Diemen's Land or in England. Ann Davis (David) alias Hannah Moses at the age of thirty three had spent an incredible 'ten years on the town'. Because of her behaviour in the colony she was banned from certain areas on the island. She had originally been sentenced in the Central Criminal Court in 1845 to be transported for ten years for 'stealing 9/6 from a person in Spitalfields for clothes.'¹¹⁸ Like so many in her position she was a repeat offender. No marriage or births exists on file.

Catherine Solomon, the daughter of a hawker by the name of Jacob Solomon did marry even though like Davis, she had spent some time as a prostitute in England. She was sent out for seven years for stealing '... pieces of calico prints from a shop.'¹¹⁹ in London. Her brother Simon Solomon (per *Morley*) had been transported to N.S.W. in 1816 under a sentence of life. He had arrived in Van Diemen's Land aboard the *Cockburn* whilst still under sentence. He had married a Christian woman by 1821¹²⁰, spent twelve months at Port Arthur in 1833 and was listed as a shopkeeper in 1842. According to Levi, after receiving his free pardon in 1843 Solomon returned to England. Catherine however remained behind in the colony, and was twice assigned to the interior for her absenting herself from her place of assignment.

The fate of Sara Jacobs child born to her in the Female Factory at Launceston sometime in 1836, is sadly not known. Her conduct record reveals that she was constantly in trouble with the authorities for being in public houses, for drunkenness and absenting herself frequently from her place of assignment.

¹¹⁵ During this early period children were registered by individual churches when they were baptised.

¹¹⁶ According to Levi this man's sister was Catherine Solomon but the records show that her brother was a Simon Solomon (arrived V.D.L. per *Cockburn*) and not Solomon Simon.

¹¹⁷ Levi, J *The Forefathers*. op cit. pps, 109,117-118.

¹¹⁸ CON 41/9 Record book. convict no. 718.

¹¹⁹ CON 40/9 Record book

¹²⁰ Solomon married Mary Gould in Hobart on 25.6.1821. RGD 36/?/475

On June the eleventh she was '... found in then Dolphin public house at 10 oclock in the morning...' ¹²¹ On the fourteenth of October 1833, she was again found to be drinking in a public house. This misdemeanor caused her to be sent to the female house of correction in Launceston where she presumably gave birth. Perhaps this is the same Sarah Jacobs alias Standerling, alias Lawson known as the 'Bull pup' who burnt to death in 1862 after her dress caught on fire whilst preparing soup at the 'Gordon Castle' public house in Melville Street? ¹²²

Mary Baker (per *America*) received seven years for 'stealing from the person.' When she arrived in 1831 she was unmarried and had no children. She was listed as being a housemaid, but to survive she had spent eighteen months on the town. ¹²³ Unlike most convicts there is no record of her family except that her native place was Tottenham Court Road. She married James Condon in Launceston in 1841 but no children are listed as been born to this marriage.

London and its precincts is the most common place of abode amongst Jewish convicts however, there were a few exceptions. Elizabeth Waring (per *Tasmania* 2) a forty year old widow from Dublin was convicted on the fourteenth of march, 1845 of involvement in a robbery. Her indent reveals that all of her family were in America and as such she was forced to bring up three children without support. The children did not accompany her on the boat, but presumably remained behind in Dublin.

Sophia Mendoza (per *Harmony*) also had three children to care for when she was charged and convicted of the crime of stealing from a 'customer.' If the children had come with her they would have been placed in the Queens Orphanage in Hobart Town as she was not in a position where she could care for them. She was frequently caught drunk and punished for her frequent absenteeism. Her insolence to her master and mistress got her confined to George Town in May of 1833 '...until she can be sent to the female house of correction in Hobart Town where she is to be imprisoned 3 months...' Not long after her release from the factory she was found in the Military Canteen public house and sentenced to ten days solitary confinement on bread and water. ¹²⁴

In 1835 she was sent to the Female Factory in Launceston with instructions for her not to be assigned for two years. In 1845 at the age of forty six she married John Wilson, a man fourteen years her junior. Perhaps the children that she gave birth to in London were left behind to be brought up by her father, Daniel Mendoza '... the noted bruiser', her mother and her six sisters. ¹²⁵

Perhaps the most well known of the female convicts was Ann Solomon (per *Mermaid*), the wife of Ikey. She was transported for receiving stolen goods

¹²¹ CON 40/5 record book. per *Mermaid* 1828.

¹²² inquest no.5401, 13.9.1862

¹²³ CON 40/1 record book. convict no.191

¹²⁴ CON 40/5? record book

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

and at the time of her trial she had a reputation of being a 'notorious receiver of stolen goods.' She received fourteen years for her criminal activity and was allowed to take with her, her four youngest children. Ikey had already fled to South America:

'My husband I believe has gone to America. I have two sons in Sydney, Jonathan 21 and Moses 18, a gentleman, to settle. My husband was a jeweller- lived in Bell Lane.'¹²⁶

Her children, David 9, Ann 6, Sara 5 and Mark 2 survived the ocean crossing on the ship 'Mermaid' in 1828, and it was noted in the ships log that '*... the children have behaved very well during the voyage and all have improved in reading...*' Unlike most convicts Ann Solomon had, by 1828, a support network consisting of her eldest sons and her fugitive husband. Before her husband was returned to London he was responsible for her assignment to friends, thus making her sentence easier. But upon his return as a convict their relationship failed and they frequently clashed:

'Drunkenness and violent conduct toward his family at sundry times during the last 10 days - equal blame existing on part of Solomon and his family, they are adm[onished]d that upon repetition of such conduct both Solomon and his wife will be punished.'¹²⁷

Female convicts were faced with living in a hostile environment. They were as a rule treated differently from their male counterparts. (The experiences that most women had quite often affected their outlook on life and position in society thus transportation, undoubtedly, changed their lives forever.) Sexual exploitation of female convicts became the 'norm' in the penal colonies of New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Diemens Land. As Christopher Sweeny in *Transported in Place of Death* argues, this sexual exploitation was caused by the imbalance in the sex ratios of the colonies. More men than women received the sentence of transport than women as '*... women on the whole, committed less crime.*'¹²⁸

The underlying belief amongst the authorities, was one of complacency. The women exiled were seen to have 'loose morals' and usually acquainted with prostitution especially those from London as L.L.Robson claims this was '*...characteristic of some of the poorer parts...*' of the city.¹²⁹ Convict indents

¹²⁶ *ibid*

¹²⁷ CON 31/39

¹²⁸ Sweeny, C. *Transported in Place of Death*. Macmillan, Melbourne, 1981 p.136

¹²⁹ Robson, L.L. *The Convict Settlers of Australia*. Melbourne University Press, London, 1965, p.75

reveal that thirteen percent of female convicts had spent time in that profession¹³⁰, although Sweeny records that at least one in five had been prostitutes.¹³¹ Their behaviour in public and the Factories, however caused one Hobart Town magistrate to exclaim '...their fierce and untamable audacity would not be believed... they (have) open and shameless vices.'¹³²

Upon arrival they would normally be assigned to families who had requested female servants. But frequently the assignees would 'fight' with their masters and mistresses. Sara Jacobs was constantly being admonished for this offense. Her insolence was rewarded with several visits to the female factory firstly in Hobart, then in Launceston.

The children born to convict women or those brought with them from England often ended up in the Queens, to be visited rarely (often not by choice) by their mothers. Legitimate and illegitimate children were unceremoniously thrown together making the system quite unacceptable for some colonists such as Reverend Fry who believed that it should be 'renamed', 'school for illegitimate children of convicts. The Governors wife, Jane Franklin believed that whilst the children of convicts and colonists were endowed with the same qualities when taken from their mothers at birth, the work achieved by the orphanage was quickly ruined when the child of a convict was allowed contact with their mothers.¹³³

Jewish children were possibly born in the Female Factories and several Jewish children at one stage lived in the Queens orphanage. Three children with the surname of Cohen were admitted on the tenth of January, 1834. Fanny Cohen, three years old when admitted died on the third of April, 1835. The causes were not given. Her brother Stephen (4) and sister Sarah (8) were withdrawn from the orphanage two months later, presumably by their mother at the expiration of her sentence. Although she was listed as a prisoner there is no record of her. Also admitted are three other groups of children with possible Jewish backgrounds. Levi Moss was admitted twice to the orphanage by his convict mother, in 1834 and in 1835, presumably because she found she was unable to care for him. Margaret (6) and Thomas Levy (2 years, 6 months) were admitted in 1844 and were redeemed by their mother and possibly their father when the children both reached the age of eight or nine. Rebecca Wolfe appears to have been a parentless child when she was admitted in July 1834.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ *ibid.* p.77 - This is an overall estimate although, numbers in Van Diemens Land may have been higher as the worst type of convict was usually transported there.

¹³¹ Sweeny, C. *op cit.* p.

¹³² *ibid.* p.137

¹³³ letter from Jane Franklin to Elizabeth Fry. 3.4.1841- correspondence held in Archives office, Hobart.

¹³⁴ SWD 7 27.12.1841 - 27.12.1851 daily journal of admission and discharges to Queens Orphan School.

Unfortunate incidents were known to occur throughout history when Jewish children were removed from the care of their parents. The two eldest daughters of Henry Lewis Lazarus (convicted in the Supreme Court, Hobart, 1837) were placed in the orphanage when their mother found she could not cope, especially with their father having been recently convicted. After some months the religious instructor had managed to persuade the eldest, Mary Ann to convert to Christianity and without her parents permission, baptised her. The incident is recorded in the minutes of the Hobart Hebrew Congregation:

'The President had put before the meeting the complaint to him of Mrs Hannah Lazarus that a Chaplain of the Queens Orphanage had, without her consent, baptised her daughter Mary Ann, who was only 14 years of age - the president also produced copies of correspondence with the Lieutenant Governor therein and the answer of his excellency being satisfied in reference to Her Majesty's Government on the subject. The committee unanimously approved the steps taken by the President on the matter. It was resolved that a letter from the president accompanied with the copies of correspondence on the subject be forwarded to Sir Moses Montefiore Bart., President of the Deputies of British Jews. It was further resolved that copies of the whole correspondence be transmitted to the Reverend Dr. Adler, Chief Rabbi for his information.' ¹³⁵

The women and children physically survived the world into which they had been thrust more so than the men. They had more to offer in way of companionship and marriage. Their identity as Jews however, was eventually destroyed by intermarriage. Their children were Jewish according to Jewish religious laws, yet they usually had little or no contact with the Jewish community. Their children were baptised and raised as Christians. Perhaps this 'passive' genocide was the tragedy of the penal system.

¹³⁵ Hobart Hebrew Congregation minute book, August 13, 1846. This event was probably quite significant for the Jewish community as children baptised against their parents will were often taken from their parents to be raised as Christians.

Chapter 5. Conclusion.

The fate of convicts often remains a mystery even though their lives were often well recorded by the administration of the colony. Once these individuals became free, the interest in their lives ceased and often it seems as though individuals have just disappeared from the bureaucratic system without leaving any trace of themselves. Records concerning arrivals and departures from Van Diemen's Land are not complete. Unless a researcher has the time to go through individual convict records it is hard to establish dates of death of those who died whilst still under sentence. They were often not issued with death certificates. As a result surviving inquests provide the only insight into the convicts life and death.¹³⁶

The inquests that survived provide us with a window into their lives which death certificates do not.¹³⁷ Samuel Levi, '... a man subject to fits...', fell into a fireplace at the 'Hibernia Inn' in Launceston and as a result, died.¹³⁸ He may have been the same Samuel Levi who signed the petition in 1843, but as the death certificate does not provide the age of the deceased such a conclusion would be pure speculation.

There were three William Abrahams sent out as convicts to this penal colony. One was killed by natives and another died in a shooting accident whilst in the employ of Mr. F.W. Von. Stieglitz. At the time of his death Abrahams was a free man and employed as a shepherd at Great Swan Port. He survived at least four days alone in the 'bush' after the shooting accident until he was found by a neighbours shepherd John Quick, a ticket of leave man. When he was discovered he had probably reached the point where death was inevitable as can be seen by the testimony of Quick:

'Deceased complained of cold and wished to be taken to Mr Butler's in order to warm himself. It was necessary to pass Mr. Butlers to get to Mr. Stieglitz. Deceased was taken to Mr. Butlers - he was very faint. Deceased bled very little upon when he was found until his death. Witness heard deceased explain the manner in which the accident happened ... He was very exhausted until he died which took place on Friday morning. Before he died he was quite insensible.'¹³⁹

The fate of the third William Abrahams is unknown.

We know that convicts once released participated in most aspects of

¹³⁶ This happened in the case of Emanuel Moses and Lewin Casper.

¹³⁷ see appendix 4 for supreme court inquests

¹³⁸ Inquest no.2379, 17.9.1850. There were seven Samuel Levys or Levis registered as convicts.

¹³⁹ SC 195/11 inquest no. 909. - 26.6.1843.

society. They assisted those who were needy, not just by contributing to the Hebrew benevolent society, but by giving money to non-Jewish charities or building funds.¹⁴⁰ Then there were those who never left the prison system or were killed or executed during their sentence. The executions of unruly male convicts and repeat offenders are recorded on the conduct sheets. Such was the fate of Abraham Aaron and Abraham (Abram) Abraham. Some were allowed to leave Van Diemen's Land whilst others stayed on, having created a family in this new environment.

If they had not been subject to the rigours of exile and had served their sentences in England their identity and the identity of their children would not have been so affected by this system of 'passive' genocide. Benjamin Walford's mother would most likely have been Jewish, as would the wife of John Davies. The upheaval caused by the change in environment had altered the life of so many convicts that assimilation was inevitable. No longer would they or the generations after shout out the centuries old cry at *Pesach* ¹⁴¹ of 'Next year in Jerusalem.'

¹⁴⁰ Hobart Town Advertiser. June 9, 1843. subscriptions to St.Mary's Catholic Cathedral and to the completion of St.Joseph's church presbytery and school house and Hobart Town Advertiser. June 13, 1843, to the Widow of Constable Ward who was killed by a bushranger.

¹⁴¹ Passover

APPENDIX 1.

JEWISH CONVICT/MARRIAGE RATIO 1803-1855.

* = married

Age/marriage ratio of Jewish convicts.

Ages in years.

10 **
11
12 *
15 ****
16 *****
17 *****
18 *****
19 *****
20 *****
21 *****
22 *****
23 *****
24 *****
25 *****
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30 *****
31 *****
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Appendix 2

List of Jewish Convicts found in Van Diemen's Land.

* Those also mentioned in: Levi, J. *The Forefathers; a Dictionary of Biography of the Jews of Australia 1788-1830*. The Australian Jewish Historical Society, 1976.

Italics denotes those not identified as Jewish.

C.C.C- Central Criminal Court, London.

Middx-Middlesex

G.D.-General Delivery

Ass.-Assizes.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Native</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Convicted</u>	<u>ship/port</u>	<u>arrival</u>
A?			Hampstead			Phoenix	7.7.1824
page torn							
Aaron, Abraham*					7.10.1823	Phoenix	7.7.1824
Aaron, Abraham*							4.2.1825
Abrahams, Ab.*	17	London	carter		7.4.1817	L.Castlereigh	7.4.1818
Abrahams, Frd.*	16		shoemaker		7.10.1820	Cs.Harcourt	7.4.1821
Abrahams, Hyam*					7.8.1826	Gov.Ready	7.7.1827
Abrahams, Isaac*	27	Maidstone	muscian		12.9.1825	Earl St. Vincent	13.8.1826
[see also p.191]					Middx, sess.	London	
Abrahams, Henry	24	Colchester	lath reader		26.10.1826	Gov.Ready	2.8.1827
[see also p.192]					Old Bailey		
Abrahams, Jos.eph	29	London	cotton		6.4.1822	Caledonia (2)	6.11.1822
[see also p.189]			wickmaker		Bristol		
Abrahams, Lewis	31	Warsaw	renovator of			Neptune	28.8.1835
		Poland	old clothes				
Abrahams, Michael	25	Strand	kitchen,		17.3.1836		
			garden & gent. servant		Sydney		
Abrahams, Wm.	24	Essex	bricklayers		9.6.1827	Asia (3)	7.12.1827
[see p.131 & p.214]			labourer		Norwich ass.	Portsmouth	
Absalom, Joel							
[see also p.188]							
Addams, Thomas	16	Leicester	gardners'		7.7.1826		
[see Lewin]			boy		Leicester		
Alexander, Abr.*	22	Oldgate	pedler		22.10.1823	Chapman (1)	2.7.1824
Also Abraham, Alexander					Middlesex	England	

Allen, David [Davis]	25	Strasburg	coach painter	25.10.1841	Triton	19.12.1842
Allen, Isaac*		Spitalfields		7.9.1826	Layton	7.10.1827
Baker, Mary	18	Tottenham Court Road	housemaid		America	9.5.1831?
Banden, Isaac	16	Mile End	tailor 2 years	22.10.1835 C.C.C.	Egyptian (1) London	23.8.1839
Barnett, Charles	25		groom		York (2)	29.12.1832
Barnett, Isaac* [free when in V.D.L.- join brother 1834]	15	London	errand boy	7.10.1826		
Barnett, Rheuben	20	Warsaw Poland	watchmaker	23.10.1843 C.C.C.	Mt.St.Elphin. London	9.6.1845
Barnett, Samuel	22	Bishopsgate	labourer	12.6.1843 C.C.C.		
Barnett, Joseph*	19	Houndsditch	hawker & pedler	20.9.1822 Middlesex		
Barnett, Lewis	26		coachman & groom	Sydney, Castlereigh st.		
Belasco, Samuel	22	London	hawker	7.7.1825	Layton	7.10.1827
<i>Belfield, Aaron</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>Macclesfield</i>	<i>silkweaver</i>			
Benjamin, Joseph*	18	Whitechapel	labourer	19.2.1823 Middlesex	Sir G. Webster London	1.9.1823
Benjamin, Maria*	30	Houndsditch	straw bonnet maker	26.10.1826 Middx G.D.	Persian (1) London	5.8.1827
Bertram, Nathan	26	Charles st. London	labourer, cook & clerk ?	4.1.1840 Sydney		
Botibol, Ester Henrietta [14?]	17	London	dressmaker/ servant	12.5.1851 C.C.C.	Anna Maria	26.1.1852
Braham, John	22	Whitechapel	5.7.1847			
Brown, John	19	Petticoat lane London	sailmaker	30.1.1843 C.C.C.	Henrietta 13.7.1843	19.11.1843
Brown, John	23	Chester			Minerva (2)	1.4.1838
Browne, Douglas Edward Francis	28	Blackheath	clerk	9.4.1825 Middlesex	Medway (2) Downs	14.12.1825

<i>Burnstein, Jacob</i>	19	<i>Prussia</i>	<i>labourer</i>	7.7.1846 <i>York, Hull.</i>		
Carr, John	23	Mill End London	guilder	23.8.1841 C.C.C.	Candahar Spithead	21.7.1842
Casper, Ellis	56	London	watchmaker clockmerchant	17.7.1839 C.C.C.	Lord Lyndoch (3)	5.2.1841
Casper, Lewin			clerk	17.7.1839		
Cohen, Abraham	69	Whitechapel	dealer & labourer	18.10.1832 Middlesex	Lotus Portsmouth	16.5.1833
Cohen, Enoch	11			13.2.1872 Hobart Tn.		
[native]						
Cohen, Henry*						
[free].						
Cohen, Isaac	30	Houndsditch	tailor	4.3.1844 C.C.C.	Maria Soames London	30.7.1844
Cohen, Isaac	32	Whitechapel	labourer	18.10.1832 Middlesex	Lotus Portsmouth	16.5.1833
Cohen, John	27		furrier whaler 2 yrs	6.2.1843 Sydney		
Cohen, Mordechai*	14	London		7.5.1818 London	Dromedary England	10.1.1820
Cohen, Moses*	18	Whitechapel	errand boy	20.2.1822 Middlesex	Arab (1) England	6.11.1822
Cohen, Samuel	19	Botolph	bread baker	24.11.1834 C.C.C.	Mangles London	1.8.1835
Coleman		St.Lukes London	tailor & scourer		Persian	7.11.1830
Cowen, Nathan	21	London	smith	17.7.1824 Surrey	Cs Harcourt	7.7.1824
Daniels, Joseph	17	Aldgate		22.8.1842 C.C.C.	Cressy Plymouth	20.8.1843
David, Ann	33		Housemaid	24.10.1845 C.C.C.	Emma Eugenia	
real name-Hannah Moses						
Davies, John	18	London	2nd ? clerk	6.12.1830 Middx. G.D	Argyle Plymouth	4.8.1831
<i>Davies, Oscar</i>	30	<i>Prussia</i>	<i>labourer</i>	7.3.1815 <i>Chester</i>		
Davis, Abraham*	27	Reading Berkshire	labourer	12.1.1826 Middlesex	Earl St. Vincent London	13.8.1826
[see p.139]						
<i>Davis, Isaac</i>	20	<i>chepmany</i>	<i>farmer</i>			
[alias Samuel Fix]		<i>lane, Wilts</i>	<i>ploughman</i>			

Davis, John	55				Lady Franklin	26.11.1845
					Norfolk Island	
Davis, Jonathan	25	London				
Davis, Moses*				27.3.1811	Guilford?	7.1.1812
Davis, Oscar*		Prussia		7.3.1815	Fanny	7.1.1816
[Asher or Osa]						
Davis, Samuel*	23	London		7.9.1818	Hibernia	75.1819
Davis, Samuel	25	St.Georges	labourer		Waterloo	3.3.1835
Desizer, Levy						
Dudfield, George		St.Brides	publican	27.12.1824	Medina	14.9.1825
		London		Surrey	Sheerness	
Fischell, Saul	22	Danzig,	tailor	15.9.1844	Mt.St.Elphin	9.6.1845
		Prussia		C.C.C.	London	
Forster, James	22	Holland	french	12.9.1848	Lady Kennaway	28.5.1851
[Isaac Barnish]			polisher	Clerkenwell	Portsmouth	
Francis, Benjamin*	23	London	clerk	7.3.1818	Recovery	7.12.1819
free to V.D.L.				Somerset Ass.	to N.S.W.	
Frankland, L	30	Bradford	blacksmith	11.10.1844		
				Crt. Martial		
Friedeberg, Jacob	20	Russian	furrier	31.7.1848	Wm.Jardine (2)	14.11.1850
[Kollman, Lieb,H?]		Lowlands		C.C.C.	Portland-Dorset	
Garcia, Daniel*	21	London		7.7.1814	Morley?	
Garcia, William*	21	London		7.5.1815	Kangaroo	
Golder, John*				7.3.1821	Phoenix	7.5.1822
Harris, Isaac	34	Hampshire	labourer	22.10.1849		
				Hobart		
Harris, Isaac*	16	Portsmouth	errand boy	7.12.1826	Buss. Merchant	18.1.1830
[see also p.208]				Middlesex	Downs	
Harris, James	50	Berlin	seaman		Norfolk	28.8.1835
Harris, Joseph	20	London	pickpocket	7.2.1822	Arab	7.7.1822
Harris, Raphael*	45	Hungary	stiller	14.10.1828	York (1)	28.8.1829
				Devon Ass.	London	

<i>Harris, Saul</i> <i>alias Wm Parker</i>	18	<i>Chealsea</i>	<i>labourer</i>	7.8.1837	<i>L.WmBentinck</i>	
Harris, William*		Spitalfields London	barber	16.2.1826	Layton	7.10.1827
Hart, Abraham*	27	Canterbury		7.1.1817	L.Castlereigh	7.4.1818
Hart, Goodman [see also p.158]		Portsea	chemist & druggist	2.10.1839 Launceston		
Hart, Henry*	15	Westminster	watch & cane guilders	9.9.1818	Cs.Harcourt	7.4.1821
Hart, Joseph*		Whitechapel London		3.7.1827 Essex	Marmion	7.3.1828
Hart, Phillip [see also p.158]	25	Aldgate	groom	30.8.1850		
Hart, Phillip	19	Oldgate London	baker	29.9.1841 C.C.C.	Hobart Gaol Candahar Spithead	21.7.1842
Hart, Lazarus	22	Dover	boatman	10.3.1849	Lady Montague Maidstonehall Plymouth	9.12.1852
<i>Hart, William</i> <i>[Abraham ?]</i>	24	<i>Aldgate</i> <i>London</i>	<i>tailor</i>	<i>8.9.1831</i> <i>Middx. G.D.</i>	<i>Cth.Stw.Forbes</i> <i>London</i>	<i>16.7.1832</i>
Henry, Benjamin*					Dromedary	7.1.1820
Hill, Henry	16	Lambeth	labourer		Sir Henry Peel	26.12.1844
Hyams, Henry	28	London	labourer & glasscutter	20.10.1834 Devon [Plym]	Mangles London	1.8.1935
Hyams, Henry	18	London	watchfixer	10.5.1841 C.C.C.	Barossa (1) Sheerness	13.1.1842
Hyams, Henry	62	London	dentist			
Hyams, Israel*	23	London	ladies' shoemaker	13.9.1820	CsHarcourt	7.4.1821
Hyams, Joseph* prt Arthur 1834	24	London	dentist	7.10.1813		
Hyam, Marks [Marks, Hyam?]	20	Whitechapel London	labourer & dealer	12.9.1843 Sydney		29.10.1843
Hyams, Samuel*	17	London		26.10.1808	Ruby	
<i>Ingram, Daniel</i>		<i>Boston</i> <i>America</i>	<i>labourer</i>	<i>7.1.1833</i> <i>Lincoln, Holland</i>	<i>Emp.Alexander</i>	<i>12.8.1833</i>
Isaacs, Alexander*				4.4.1818	Surrey	7.3.1819
				Bristol		

<i>Isaacs, Colin</i>	21	<i>London</i>	<i>shoemaker</i>	3.7.1832 <i>Devon</i>	<i>Moffatt (1)</i> <i>Plymouth</i>	9.5.1834
Isaacs, Henry*	27	London		21.2.1827	L.Harewood	7.7.1829
alias Adlam						
Isaacs, Isaac*	12	London	old clothes man	15.7.1824	Asia	7.11.1827
<i>Isaacs, Isaac</i>	29	<i>Belgium</i>	<i>labourer</i>	20.10.1831 <i>Middx. G.D.</i>	<i>Cth.Stw.Forbes</i> <i>Plymouth</i>	16.7.1832
<i>Isaacs, James</i>	22	<i>Mile End</i>	<i>labourer</i>	17.10.1833 <i>Middlesex</i>	<i>Arab (2)</i> <i>Portsmouth</i>	30.6.1834
Isaacs, John	26	Bishopsgate	shopman &	20.12.1840		
[also Jones]		London	clerk	Hobart		
Isaacs, John*	18	America	watch? & hawker	12.9.1821 Middlesex	Richmond Downs	30.4.1822
Isaacs, John*	13				Calcutta	1803-1804
Isaacs, Jonathan		London	gentlemans' servant	25.3.1833 Surrey Ass.	Stakesby Portsmouth	4.9.1833
Isaacs, Michael	44	Whitechapel	finisher ? & dealer	3.4.1843 C.C.C.	Ansom H.M.S. Plymouth	4.2.1844
Isaac, Michael*	20	London	soldier	6.8.1818 Surrey Ass.	Hibernia	7.5.1819
<i>Isaacs, Robert</i>	14	<i>Aberdeen</i>		19.11.1836 C.C.C.	<i>Royal Sov.</i> <i>Downs</i>	8.1.1830
<i>Isaacs, Samuel</i>	19	<i>London</i>	<i>Pastry cook</i>	28.6.1832 <i>Middlesex</i>		
Isaacs, Solomon*				19.10.1829	Southwarth (2)	7.10.1830
<i>Isaacs, Thomas</i>	19	<i>Mile End</i>	<i>Lithographic</i>	15.2.1832 <i>London G.D.</i>	<i>York (2)</i> <i>Plymouth</i>	29.12.1832
[alias- Thomas Isaacs Bentone]			<i>printer</i>			
<i>Isaacson, John</i>	20		<i>farm</i>	12.3.1834 <i>Cambr. Ass</i>	<i>Wm. Metcalf</i> <i>Portsmouth</i>	4.9.1834
<i>Isaacson, William</i>	18		<i>labourer</i>			
			<i>farm</i>	12.3.1834 <i>Cambr. Ass</i>	<i>Wm. Metcalf</i> <i>Portsmouth</i>	4.9.1834
			<i>labourer</i>			
Israel, Cashmore*	18	London		7.12.1817	Pr.Leopold	
Israel, Maria*				7.4.1789		
[free V.D.L.]						
Jacobs, Abraham*				12.4.1820	Maria	7.7.1820
Jacobs, Benjamin*	42	Drury lane London	baker	27.12.1828 Surrey	Thames	7.11.1829
Jacobs, Charles*	17	London		13.9.1820	Phoenix (2)	7.7.1824

Jacobs, David*	20	Whitechapel	porter	4.3.1822	Arab	7.11.1822
Jacobs, David*				15.3.1819	Dromedary	7.1.1820
Jacobs, David [or Levy]	16		labourer	11.5.1840 C.C.C.		19.1.1841
Jacobs, Hyam*	19	Whitechapel	hawker	10.4.1828 Middx. G.D.	Manlius (1) London	9.11.1828
Jacobs, Isaac		Lynn	watchmaker	1.11.1832	Atlas	24.8.1833
		Norfolk	2 years	Derby?	Plymouth	
Jacobs, James*			fruit seller	31.7.1823	Phoenix (2)	7.7.1824
Jacobs, John*		Whitechapel		6.6.1821	L.Hungerford	7.12.1821
Jacobs, John*	25	London	watchmaker	10.1.1816	P.Leopold	
Jacobs, John	28	Moorfields	fishmonger labourer	6.9.1832 Middx. G.D.	Enchantress	31.7.1835
Jacobs, John	26	Barbados	Able seaman	13.10.1834 Middx. G.D.	Mangles	7.8.1834
Jacobs, John	22?	Aldgate London	labourer &hawker	14.8.1837 C.C.C.	L.WmBentinck	
Jacobs, John		Oxford London	ploughman	3.1.1831 Oxford		
Jacobs, Joseph*	21	Halifax	cotton spinner	17.7.1826 Lancaster ass.		
Jacobs, Joseph*		Whitechapel		16.2.1826	E.St.Vincent	7.8.1826
Jacobs, Ralph*	21	London	watchmaker & fishmonger	30.10.1816	Almorah	7.8.1817
Jacobs, Samuel*	15		tailor	17.9.1800	Calcutta	1803/1804
Jacobs, Samuel		Shouditch	bricklayer labourer	26.11.1839 C.C.C.	Asia (6) Portsmouth	21.8.1841
Jacobs, Samuel	18	Oxford London	boy	17.6.1833 Middlesex	Southworth (2) Downs	14.1.1834
Jacobs, Sara*	25	London	prostitute needlewoman		Mermaid Downs	27.6.1828
Jacobs, William	21	South- hampton	butcher	10.7.1834 Sthhamp.Ass.	Waterloo	2.3.1835
Jacobson, Nissan*	24	Libau	cigar maker	16.4.1817	L.Castlereigh	7.5.1818

<i>Jewson, Richard</i>	25	<i>Drury Lane</i>	<i>labourer &</i>	<i>2.4.1835</i>	<i>Bardaster</i>	<i>13.1.1836</i>
		<i>London</i>	<i>drover</i>	<i>C.C.C.</i>		
<i>Job, William</i>	31	<i>Coventry</i>	<i>labourer</i>	<i>6.4.1838</i>		
				<i>C.C.C.</i>		
<i>Joel, Mark*</i>	60	<i>Whitechapel</i>	<i>labourer</i>	<i>10.9.1829</i>	<i>Clyde</i>	<i>18.12.1830</i>
				<i>Middlesex</i>	<i>London</i>	
<i>Jones, George</i>	36	<i>Kent</i>	<i>coachman</i>		<i>Lady Franklin</i>	<i>1846</i>
					<i>Norfolk Island</i>	
<i>Jones, Thomas</i>	21		<i>couchman</i>	<i>1.7.1839</i>	<i>Asia (6)</i>	
				<i>Portsmouth</i>	<i>17.4.1841</i>	
<i>Jones, William</i>	26	<i>Westminster</i>	<i>baker & cook</i>		<i>Lady Franklin</i>	<i>1846</i>
			<i>pastry cook</i>		<i>Norfolk island</i>	
<i>Jones, William*</i>	21	<i>London</i>	<i>labourer</i>	<i>10.8.1829</i>	<i>Sir Ch.Forbes</i>	<i>7.7.1830</i>
<i>[or Benjamin]</i>				<i>Devon</i>		
<i>Jones, William</i>	28	<i>Leadenhall</i>	<i>baker</i>	<i>30.10.1840</i>		
<i>[or Lewis Meyer]</i>		<i>South</i>				
<i>Jones, Wiliam</i>	21	<i>London</i>	<i>labourer</i>	<i>10.8.1829</i>	<i>Sis Ch.Forbes</i>	<i>27.7.1830</i>
<i>[alias Isaac Myers]</i>				<i>Devon</i>	<i>London</i>	
<i>Johnson, Samuel</i>	17	<i>Spitalfields</i>	<i>labourer</i>	<i>28.1.1845</i>		
				<i>Clerkenwell</i>		
<i>Jordan, James</i>	24	<i>Worthing</i>	<i>gardener</i>	<i>29.7.1839</i>	<i>Canton</i>	
<i>Lazarus</i>			<i>nurseryman</i>	<i>Sussex</i>		
<i>Joseph(s), Phillip*</i>				<i>1.3.1820</i>	<i>Caledonia(1)</i>	<i>7.11.1922</i>
<i>alias Joseph, Moses</i>						
<i>Joseph, Rheuben*</i>	38	<i>London</i>	<i>tailor & jew</i>	<i>25.10.1827</i>	<i>Wm. Miles</i>	<i>29.7.1828</i>
<i>[Rheuben, Joseph]</i>			<i>sailsman</i>	<i>Middx. G.D.</i>	<i>Down</i>	<i>24.3.1828</i>
<i>Joseph, Samuel*</i>	18			<i>1.12.1819</i>	<i>Maria (2)</i>	<i>7.12.1820</i>
<i>Joseph, Udin*</i>	31			<i>21.4.1819</i>	<i>Dromedary</i>	<i>7.1.1820</i>
<i>Karney, Emanuel</i>	26	<i>Bethnall</i>	<i>labourer</i>	<i>31.10.1836</i>	<i>Recovery</i>	<i>8.10.1837</i>
		<i>Green</i>	<i>hawker</i>	<i>Norfolk</i>	<i>Downs</i>	
<i>Lazarus, David</i>	40	<i>Portsmouth</i>	<i>stonecutter</i>	<i>12.10.1844</i>		
				<i>Sydney</i>		
<i>Lazarus, David</i>	38	<i>Southark</i>	<i>shoemaker</i>	<i>7.4.1835</i>	<i>Waterlily</i>	<i>16.7.1845</i>
<i>[see also p.93]</i>					<i>C.C.C.</i>	
<i>Lazarus, Henry*</i>	22	<i>Houndsditch</i>		<i>16.9.1801</i>	<i>Calcutta</i>	<i>1803/1804</i>
<i>alias Henry Ellis/ Lewis</i>						
<i>Lazarus, Henry*</i>				<i>1-15.5.1837</i>	<i>Maria Ann</i>	<i>1833</i>
<i>Lewis [arr. V.D.L. free]</i>				<i>Hobart</i>		

Lazarus, Henry	26	Carnarthan	watchmaker	1-15.6.1837		
[also known as Lewis or Levy see. p.181]				Hobart Court		
Lee, Michael**				7.2.1788	Estramina	1808
tried as Abraham -free V.D.L.						
Lee, John				6.6.1821	L.Hungerford	7.12.1821
alias Levi, Samuel						
Lefevre, Isaac	21	Whitechapel	bricklayer &	27.2.1837		
		London	plasterer	C.C.C.		
Levi, George	22	Warsaw,	tailor, dyer	6.4.1840	Duncan	18.4.1841
		Poland	& scourer		Sheerness	
Levine, Solomon	53	? Goodmans	general	29.11.1841	Susan (2)	24.7.1842
		field	agent	C.C.C.	Plymouth	
Levison, Myer	39	Holland	optician	17.8.1835	Asia (4)	21.2.1836
Jacob				C.C.C.	Sheerness	
Levy, Andrew*	38			12.7.1797		1808
Levy, Elias	31	Middlesex	boot &	29.11.1832	Lotus	16.5.1833
[see also p.176]						
Levy, Emanuel*	17	shoemaker	London	Portsmouth	13.12.1832	
				30.10.1811	V.D.L. by 1815	
Levy, Isaac	18	Petticoat lane	labourer	8.4.1844		
				C.C.C		
Levy, Isaac	20	Glouster	tailor	14.6.1847	WmJardine (2)	14.11.1850
				C.C.C	Portland-Dorset	
Levy, Isaac	16	Hackney rd	Carpenter	30.1.1843	Equistrian (1)	2.5.1844
			appren 9m	C.C.C.	London	
Levy, Jacob	67	London	labourer	17.2.1834	Wm.Gl.Anders.	
				Middx. G.D.		
Levy, John	24	St.Marys	tailor	1.3.1841	Somersetshire	13.5.1842
		Whitechapel		C.C.C.	Plymouth	
Levy, Joseph	10	Sydney	boy	21.9.1841	Marion Watson	21.10.1843
			labourer			
Levy, Joseph**	16	London	watchmaker	2.9.1809		
in N.S.W.- father of Joseph Levy						
Levy, Lazarus	24	Whitechapel	labourer &	17.8.1835	L. Lyndoch (2)	20.8.1836
		London	pencil maker	C.C.C.	London	
Levy, Lazarus	16	London	Labour boy	16.5.1833	Isabella	14.11.1833
[see also p.177]				Middlesex	Plymouth	
Levy, Lewis	21	Oldgate	labourer	15.12.1834	Mangles	1.8.1835
[see also p.178]				C.C.C.	London	
Levy, Lyon*	17	Leadenhall st.	tailor &	9.9.1818	Richmond	30.4.1822
			errand boy	London	Downs	
Levy, Phillip*	28	London	shoemaker	15.7.1829	Surrey (2)	14.12.1829

Levy, Phillip*	16	Petticoat square	spectacle maker	22.5.1822	London Morley (4)	7.1.1823
Levy, Phillip*	18	London	blacklead & pencil maker	10.9.1829	Mary (2) London	10.4.1830
Levy, Samuel*	35		old clothes man	18.7.1824 Middlesex	Sir Ch. Forbes	7.4.1825
Levy, Samuel*	39		labourer	13.8.1806		c.1808-9
alias Lazarus, Jones & Lawrence				Staff. Ass.		
Levy, Samuel	36		dyer	1.7.1841 Kent	Tortoise HMS Plymouth	19.2.1842
Levy, Samuel	26	Whitechapel	farrier	17.8.1846 C.C.C.		
[see also p.81]						
Levy, Samuel	20	Oldgate	clothes dealer	22.8.1842 C.C.C.	Cressy Plymouth	20.8.1843
Levy, Samuel	19	Borough	bricklayers' labourer	15.5.1834 Middx. G.D.	Waterloo	2.3.1835
Lewin, Thomas	17	Leicester	gardners boy	7.7.1826 Leicester Boro.		
[maybe Levin]						
Livy, Elijah	21	Bishopsgate	tailor	24.2.1845		
[Eliazur ?]		London		Hobart Town		
Lyons, Catherine					Waverly (3)	
Lyons, David	20	Mill Yard London	labourer	29.10.1829 Middx. G.D.	John (1) London	29.1.1831
Lyons, Emanuel*	22	Houndsditch London	hawker fruit seller	6.12.1820	CsHarcourt	7.4.1821
Lyons, Joseph	31	Whitechapel Middlesex st.	fishmonger	23.8.1841 C.C.C.	Candahar Spithead	21.7.1842
Lyons, Lewis	23	Whitechapel London	hatter	7.4.1831 London G.D.	Lord Lyndoch Sheerness	18.11.1831
Lyons, Samuel*	23	London	tailor	16.2.1814		1816
Lyons, Solomon	37	Christchurch Middlesex	dealer			
Marks, Charles	23	Fleet street	tailor	27.11.1843 C.C.C.		
Marks, Hyam	20	Whitechapel London	labourer & dealer	13.9.1843 Sydney	Sir John Byng	10.11.1843
Marks, Joel	61	Whitechapel London	labourer			

Marks, Mark	42	Bishopsgate	gold & silver refiner	3.7.1843 C.C.C.	Ansom H.M.S Plymouth	4.2.1844
Marks, Phillip*		Houndsditch		7.12.1822	Asia (2)	7.1.1824
<i>Mafsey, Israel</i> <i>[Massey]</i>		<i>Woolwich</i>		<i>3.1.1831</i> <i>Chester</i>	<i>Gilmore</i>	<i>22.3.1832</i>
Mendoza, Aaron	24	Commercial rd.	tinman & brazier	17.8.1840 C.C.C.	Duncan	18.4.1841
Mendoza, Isaac	25	Kensington	shoemaker	4.7.1833	John (2)	1.12.1833
[see also p.185]			18 months	London	Spithead	
Mendoza, Sophia*	35	London	servant of all work	29.5.1828	Harmony	7.1.1829
<i>Messenger, Hnry</i> <i>alias Messengberg</i>			<i>farm labourer</i>	<i>10.2.1832</i>	<i>L.WmBentinck</i>	<i>29.8.1832</i>
<i>Michaels, George</i>	25	<i>Paris</i> <i>France</i>	<i>cook</i>	<i>5.6.1835</i> <i>C.C.C.</i>	<i>Asia (4)</i>	<i>21.2.1836</i>
Michaels, Michael*				17.2.1802		1802-3
Mitchell, John	36	Stepney	tailor	29.1.1849		
[maybe James?]						
Moss, George	21	Old Gravel	labourer	26.10.1830 Middx G.D.	Argyle Plymouth	4.8.1831
[see also p.182]						
Moss, Martin	30	London	labourer [farm]	29.11.1832 Middlesex	Lotus Portsmouth	16.5.1833
Mordechai, Jonas*						1803
return. N.S.W.	1816					
Morris, Aaron	18	London	labourer	14.10.1833 Middlesex	Arab (2) Portsmouth	30.6.1834
Morris, John*	18		watchmotion maker	18.9.1816	Pilot	
Moses, Abraham*	17	London	fruit seller	2.7.1817	L.Castlereigh	7.5.1818 To N.S.W.
Moses, Abram	19	London	fruiterer		London	7.7.1817(47)?
Moses, Abraham	35	Houndsditch	shell dealer	1.2.1841 C.C.C.	Isabella (2) Woolich	21.5.1842
Moses, David*	20	London	labourer	5.4.1827 Middlesex	Marmion Portsmouth	8.3.1828
Moses, Emmanuel	60	Peterboro	labourer & b publican	17.6.1839 C.C.C.	Lord Lyndoch (3) London	5.2.1841
Moses, Jacob*	18		fruit dealer	28.6.1820	Asia (2) N.S.W.	2.12.1820
brother in V.D.L.						
Moses, John	18	Bishopsgate	errand boy	9.5.1842	D.of Northum.	18.11.1843

					Sheerness	
Moses, John*	20	London		7.7.1820		
Moses, Moses*	18	London		14.7.1813		1816 V.D.L.
Moses, Solomon*	10	London	messenger boy.	16.2.1814		c1817 V.D.L
Murray, Joseph	24	Edinburgh	upholsterer		Pe/Bomangee	19.5.1847
Myers, Charles	21	Whitechapel London	labourer	3.7.1834 London G.D.	Augusta Jes. (1) Portsmouth	22.1.1835
Myers, David**	26	London	watchmaker	20.8.1816	Pilot	
Myers, Edward	29	London	clerk	15.5.1851 Adelaide		
Myers, Felix	28	Dusseldorf Prussia	muscian & prof of languages		Neptune	8.1.1838
Myers, Herrick	22	Tauton	bricklayers labourer	26.2.1833 Devon	Atlas	24.8.1833
Myers, Jonas*	16	London	pen cutter	12.4.1820	Maria (1)	7.12.1820
Myers, Lewis	19	Aldgate London	labourer	7.4.1831 Middx. G.D.	Lord Lyndoch	18.11.1831
Myers, Michael*	48	London	slops seller	7.4.1813	Campb.Macqu.	
Myers, Sarah*	17		prostitute	7.12.1820	Providence	7.12.1921
Nathan, Abraham*		Houndsditch		4.1.1824	Chapman	7.7.1824
alias Solomon Nathan		London		Newgate		
Nathan, Nathan	21	Spitalfields	hawker	15.6.1840 C.C.C.	Lady Raffles Portsmouth	17.3.1841
Omer, Edward	23	Bishopsgate London	labourer	16.10.1834 Middx. G.D.	Aurora	8.10.1835
Pahle, William	32	Hannover	draftsman in the army		Red Rover	
Parker, James	24	Copenhagen	ship steward	10.6.1844 C.C.C.	Robert Peel London.	9.9.1844
Phillips, Louis	30	?bury square	diamond dealer		Lady Franklin Norfolk Island	12.11.1849
Phillips, Michael				Hobart	arr. free	

Phillips, Moses*	26	London	watchmaker	3.8.1820 Surrey	Medway (1) England	7.7.1821
Phillips, Phillip**	42	Leadenhall	st. die maker seaman, glass cutter	25.10.1820	CsHarcourt	7.4.1821
Phillip, Phillips	75	London		19.4.1849 Hobart		
Phillips, Phillip	25	Margate	labourer	10.5.1847 C.C.C.		
Phillips, Samuel*	14	London	shoemakers' boy	10.9.1823	Medina	7.9.1825
Phillips, William	37		slipemaker	16.12.1844 Liverpool		
Raphael, Joseph*	17			20.4.1802	Calcutta	1803-1804
Rayson, John	18	Eastbourne	shoemakers' boy	31.5.1827 London G.D.	Georgianna	18.4.1829
Reeves, Daniel F		Paris France	trunkmaker & coachman	7.4.1819 London	Coromander	7.2.1826
Reuben, Abm.* [see also p.196]	16	London	tailors boy	31.5.1827 Middx. G.D.	Ben. Merchant	10.8.1828
Richards, Alex.		New York America	seaman	30.4.1821 Southampton	Plymouth	25.3.1828
Rosenberg, Harris	45		silversmith	7.4.1842 Aberdeen	D.of Northum Sheerness	18.11.1843
Samuel, William	44	Layton, Bedford	tailor	10.3.1824 Bedford	Prs.Charlotte	7.7.1824
Saul, William			painter	12.1.1820 Middlesex	Woodlark	
Schwartz, George	21	London	baker	15.9.1825	Providence (2) Downs	16.5.1826
Simmons, Hudson	20	Sunderland	seaman	11.8.1827 Durham,	Wm.Miles	
Simmons, Joshua	35	Spitalfields	dealer	20.8.1849 Glasgow		
Simons, Asher	27	Hamburg Germany	hawker	2.1.1833 Lancaster	Isabella (1) Plymouth	14.11.1833
Simons, Solomon	20	London	watchmaker	10.5.1815	Atlas (3)-N.S.W.	
Smith, William	26	Sevendials	tailor	12.10.1843 Middx/clerkmwell		
Solomon, Ann*	36	Aldgate		13.9.1827	Mermaid	7.6.1828

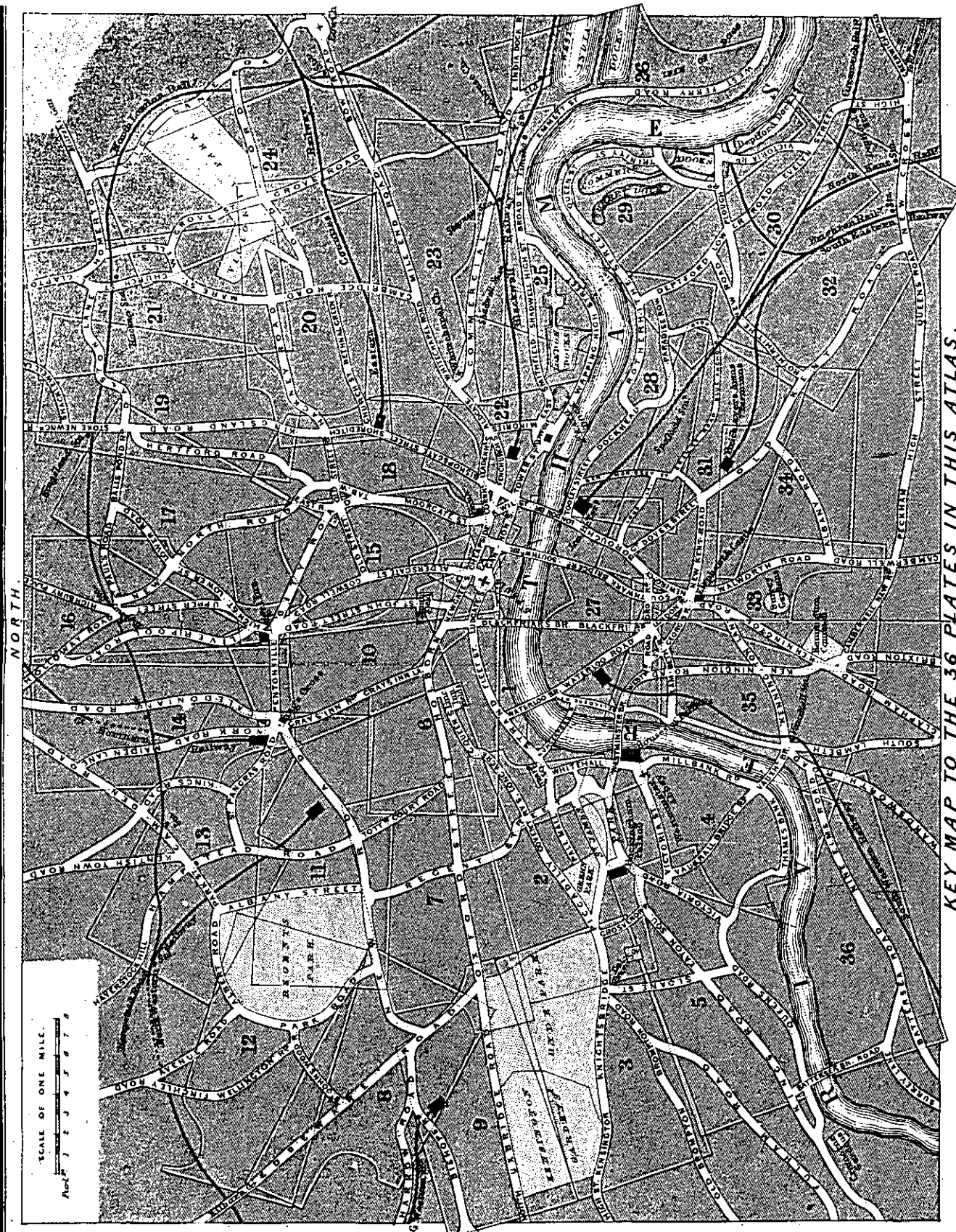
Solomon, Aaron*	24	London	labourer	7.7.1811	Indefatigable	19.10.1812
				London	England	
<i>Solomon, Barnett</i>	29	<i>Spitalfields</i>	<i>watchmaker</i>	20.2.1822	<i>Morley</i>	<i>11.1.1823</i>
<i>Jonas [alias Youner Barnett]</i>				<i>London</i>	<i>Downs</i>	
Solomon, Catherin*	24	Bethnall	servant of	4.1.1828	Mermaid	27.7.1828
		Green	all work	Old Bailey	Downs	
Solomon, David*	42	London	old clothes	20.2.1822	Arab	7.11.1822
			man			
Solomon, Emanuel*	17	London	pencil	7.8.1817	Lady Castler.	11.6.1818
			maker	Durham		
Solomon, Goodman*	17	Whitechapel	tailor	25.10.1822		
[see also p.154]					London	
Solomon, Isaac*	47	Aldgate	dealer	8.8.1830	Wm. Glen Anderson	1.11.1831
[see also p.100]				Middx.		
<i>Solomon, Jerome</i>	44	<i>Berlin</i>	<i>watchmaker</i>			
		<i>Germany</i>				
Solomon, Joseph				1822	Morley (4)	7.1.1823
Barnett						
Solomon, Joseph*	35	London	labourer	7.8.1819	Castle Forbes	7.7.1820
			& dealer	Kent Ass.		
Solomon, Judah*	38	London	labourer &	7.8.1819	Castle Forbes	7.7.1820
			dealer	Kent Ass.		
Solomon, Lewis*				19.2.1806		
Solomon, Mark*	18		fruiterer	7.9.1817	Lady Castle	11.6.1818
				London		
Solomon, Michael	27		clerk	7.7.1847		
				Hobart		
Solomon, Nayben	16		pencil	7.8.1817	Lady Castle.	11.6.1818
[maybe- Mayben , Nathan?]			maker	Durham		
Solomon, Samuel*	36	Norwich	tailor	11.4.1810		
				London		
Solomon, Simon	25	London	servant	29.5.1816	A. Cockburn	7.7.1819
				London		
Solomon, Simon*	22	London	labourer	7.7.1815	Kangaroo	7.7.1816
				London		
Solomons, Ann	35	London	dressmaker	7.9.1827	Mermaid	27.6.1828
				Old Bailey	Downs	
Solomons, Solomon	31	Portsmouth	dealer			
[real name- Saul solomons]						
Solomons, Solomon*	21	London	butcher	7.4.1817	Lady Castle.	11.6.1818
				London		

Smitherman, John	55		cook	20.8.1840		
				Hobart		
Steadman, James	15	London	errand boy	9.5.1825	Asia	
[Isaac Isaacs]				London G.D		
Steinbourne, Aaron	26	Warsaw	labourer	18.8.1845	Lady Kennaway(2)	28.5.1851
		Poland		C.C.C.		
Taylor, Thomas	43	Stepney	whaler	28.11.1843	Cressy	
				C.C.C.		
Thomas, Ann	50	Paris	cook			
		France				
Toolman, John				13.2.1843		
				Montreal, Canada		
Walden, Ben.	18	London	willow--	20.2.1822	Arab	2.2.1822
			weaver	Middlesex		
Walford, Barnard		Vienna	engraver	28.10.1789		
[Bernard] sent from Norfolk island						
Waring, Elizabeth	40	Dublin	dairywoman	14.3.1845	Tasmania(2)	3.12.1845
				Down		
Wassel, Sara	30	Oxford	insane	5.3.1827	Sovreign	19.11.1827
[Jacobs]				Southhampton	London	
Waterman, Jos.	24	Frankfurt	clerk	9.5.184	D.of Nortum.	18.11.1843
		on the maine		C.C.C	Sheerness	
Wilbraham, Th.	17	Spitalfields	tailors' boy	23.10.1822		
		London		Middlesex		
Williams, George		Amsterdam	shipwright	7.1.1818	E.Henrietta	
		Holland		Liverpool		
Williams, Isaac	51	Poland	dealer	17.3.1849		
				Exeter Ass.		
Wilson, James	55	London	tailor	18.10.1832	Lotus	16.5.1833
				Middlesex	Portsmouth	
Wilson, Joseph	16	Islington	fruiterer	13.9.1820	Medway (1)	13.3.1821
				Middlesex	England	
Walford, Barnard*		Vienna	engraver	28.10.1789		
		Austria			Norfolk Island	
Wolff, Aaron*	56	Riga	jeweller	24.10.1839		
		Russia	watchmaker	Sydney Gaol		
Woolf, James*	16	Whitechapel	silkweaver	6.4.1822		
alias Mordechai				London G.D.		
Wyle, Morris	27	Meeklenburgh	hawker	7.1.1833	Isabella (1)	14.11.1833
				Lancaster G.D	Plymouth	

Appendix 3.

Areas in London with large Jewish population 1803-1855.

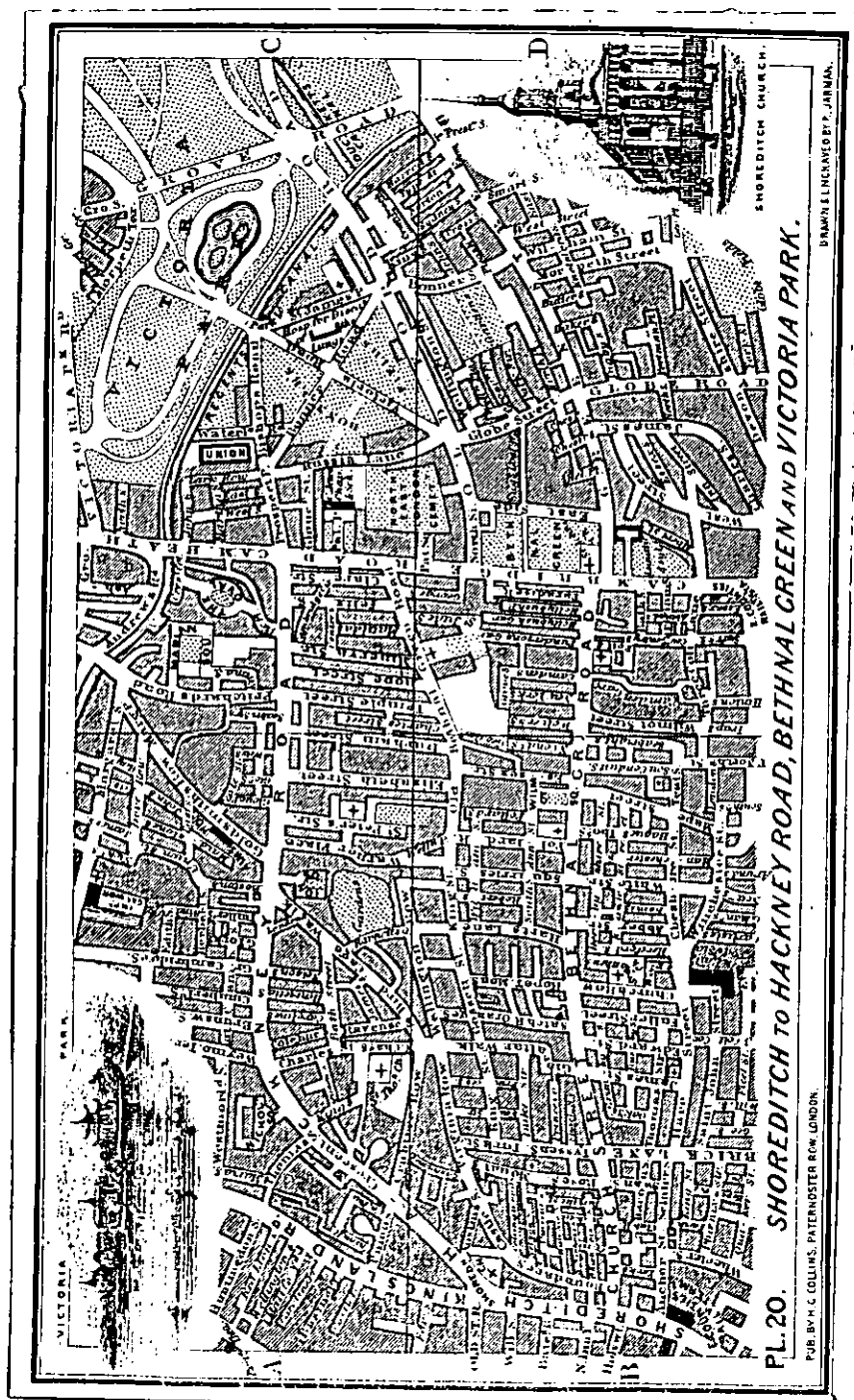
Collins' Illustrated Atlas of London. Leicester University Press, New York, 1973.



NORTH

SCALE OF ONE MILE.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

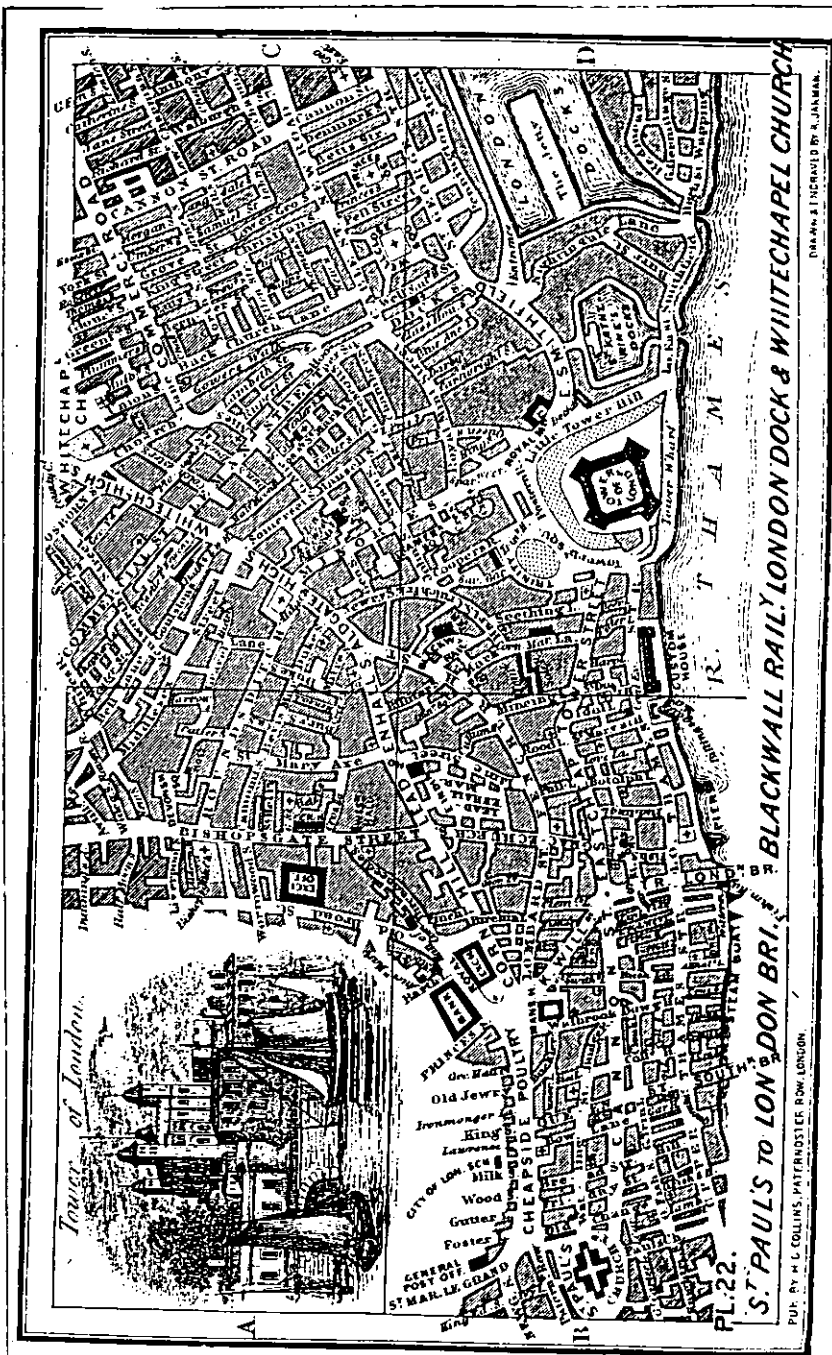
KEY MAP TO THE 36 PLATES IN THIS ATLAS.



PL. 20. SHOREDITCH TO HACKNEY ROAD, BETHNAL GREEN AND VICTORIA PARK.

PUB. BY H. C. COLLINS, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

DRAWN & ENGRAVED BY J. J. J. J.



Supreme Court-Inquests.

SC 195/	inquest no. 2379	Levi, Samuel
SC 195/40	inquest no. 4089	Rosenberg, Harris
SC 195/56	inquest no. 7254	Cohen, Henry
SC 195/16	inquest no. 1275	Hyams, Joseph
SC 195/	inquest no. 5401	Jacobs, Sarah
SC 195/42	inquest no.4306	Phillips, Phillip
SC 195/11	inquest no.909	Abrahams, William
SC 195/33	inquest no.311	Barnett, Joseph
SC 195/9	inquest no.693	Lewin, Casper
SC 195/49	inquest no. 5947	Cohen or Murphy, Daniel
SC 195/7	inquest no.536	Cohen, Benjamin (missing)
SC 195/26	inquest no.2202	Harris, Isaac Henry
SC 195/47	inquest no. 5405	Hart, William
SC 195/	inquest no. 2816	Jacobs, John
SC 195/	inquest no.2379	Levi, Samuel

PRIMARY SOURCES.

(1) In the Archives Office of Tasmania.

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Convicts' Memorials for Indulgences (listed under Government Office-GO.)

Land Surveys Department.

Male and Female Convict Registers.

Supreme Court Inquests.

Van Diemen's Land Musters.

Non-State Papers.

Convicts' Memorials for Indulgences. (listed under Non-state NS.)

Hobart Town Hebrew Congregation, Minute Books, Births, Deaths and Marriages records.

Female Factory (Cascades) File.

(ii) Newspapers.

Hobart Town Gazette.

Illustrated Tasmanian Mail.

Tasmanian Mail.

The Colonial Times.

The Hobart Town Advertiser.

The Hobart Town Courier.

The Hobarton Mercury.

The Launceston Advertiser.

The Tasmanian and Austral-Asiatic Review.

(iii) Other.

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Hobart Town, 5608-1847.

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Davies, John

Dudfield, George

Jews.

Solomon, Isaac

Solomon, Judah and Joseph.