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## Upper Frederick Street burial ground and the leading families of eighteenth-century Liverpool UK Jewry

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**Abstract:** The headstones of the Upper Frederick Street burial ground in Liverpool (active from 1773 to 1802) are the earliest surviving Jewish memorials in the north of England. In 2022 an archaeological project was undertaken to investigate who was buried in Upper Frederick Street. Thirteen part or complete headstones or memorial stones were located. All but one of the legible stones are linked to the Joseph and Samuel families; the genealogy of those families and their contributions to the Liverpool community are described. Finally, the question of how many burials actually took place in total is considered.

### Background

The headstones of the Upper Frederick Street burial ground in Liverpool are the earliest surviving Jewish memorials in the north of England.<sup>1</sup>

In 1923, all the extant headstones at the burial ground (active 1773 to 1802) were moved to the far end of the Broadgreen cemetery,<sup>2</sup> to join the stones from the Oakes Street cemetery which had been relocated in 1904.<sup>3</sup> During 2022 the relevant area of Broadgreen cemetery was tidied and an archaeological project undertaken to clean, photograph, and study these stones; the stones found were numbered by the project as 501 to 513. This process has led to an investigation into who was actually buried in the Upper Frederick Street burial ground. This paper presents the results of that examination and also discusses the genealogy and nature of the leading families in the Liverpool Jewish community of the late eighteenth century in the context of the investigation.

### Cemetery History

The first Liverpool synagogue was housed in a property which had been erected in 1745 by Joseph Clegg, who was mayor of Liverpool in 1748.<sup>4</sup> It is not clear whether this building, located in Cumberland Street off Stanley Street (now within the footprint of the 'Metquarter' shopping mall in Liverpool City Centre), was built as a synagogue or subsequently adapted to be one, but the former seems more likely. A street list of Liverpool for 1752 includes 'Synagogue Court' – so the building's use as a synagogue was clearly sufficiently well-established and widely known about by that date.<sup>5</sup> There was land surrounding the building where it appears burials took place,<sup>6</sup> but no records or evidence for this survives.

However, on 21 October 1773, Leigh Wearing sold to Peter Ferguson, a silversmith, a piece of land, 8 yards by 4½ yards (7.3m by 4.1m) between Pitt Street and Upper Frederick Street 'in trust nevertheless for a Jews' burial ground'.<sup>7</sup> At that time it was unclear whether Jews were permitted to own land (as was the case in the European countries from which most had migrated) and it was normal practice to use a Christian intermediary to purchase land on their behalf. Indeed, later in the same document, Peter Ferguson confirmed that he had made the purchase on behalf of Simon Joseph, Ralph Samuel, Elias Joseph, Michael Levy, Henry Solomon, Simon Nathan, Samuel Joseph, Isaac Davies, and Lemon Nathan. This land was the Upper Frederick Street burial ground. The burial ground was expanded in January 1794, through the purchase of the adjoining property, allowing an area 4½ yards by 5½ yards (4.1m by 5.0m) to be added.<sup>8</sup> (Figure 1 shows the burial ground on the 1849 Ordnance Survey map). That is, the cemetery was then sufficiently large to accommodate only about 15 plots. Indeed, when Liverpool Corporation compulsorily purchased the site in 1923, based on the then position of extant headstones, it appears that the cemetery was 3 plots wide by 5 plots deep<sup>9</sup> (see Figure 2).



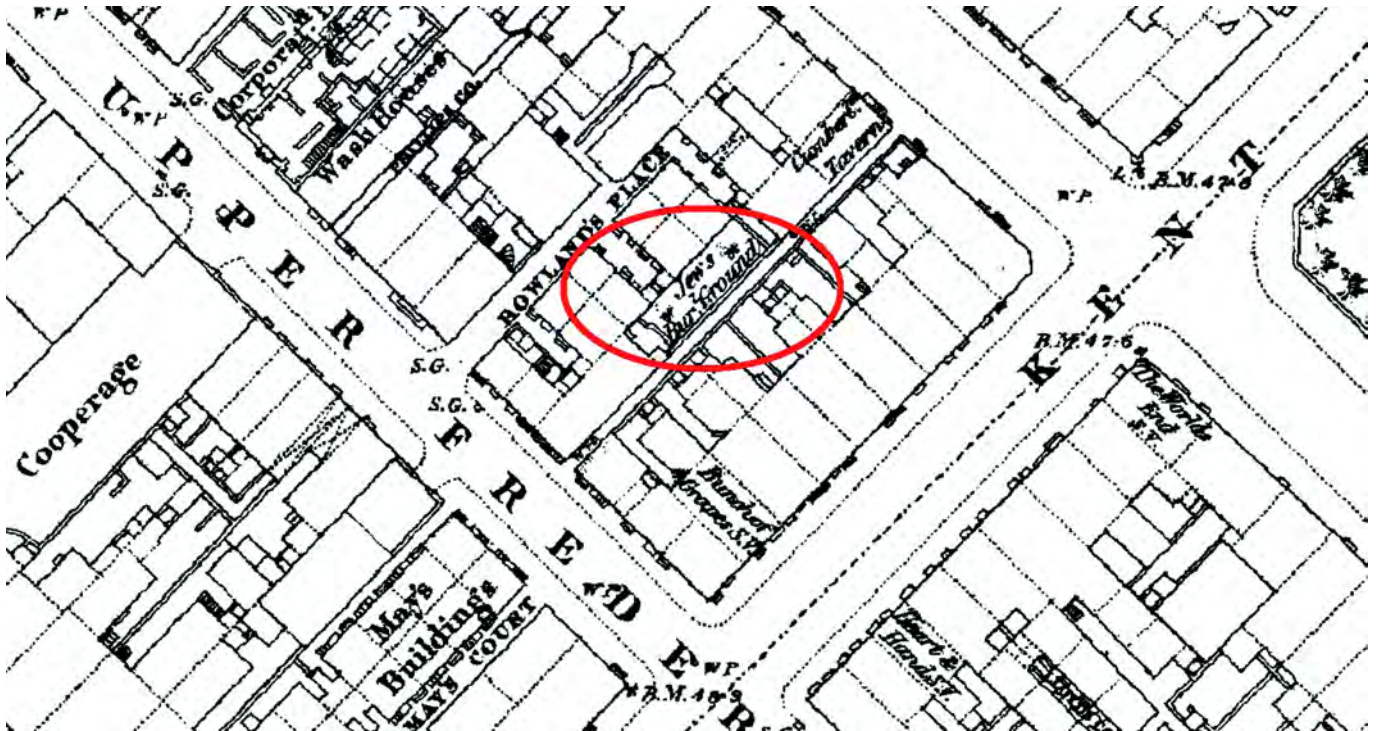


Figure 1. 1849 Ordnance Survey map showing the burial ground.

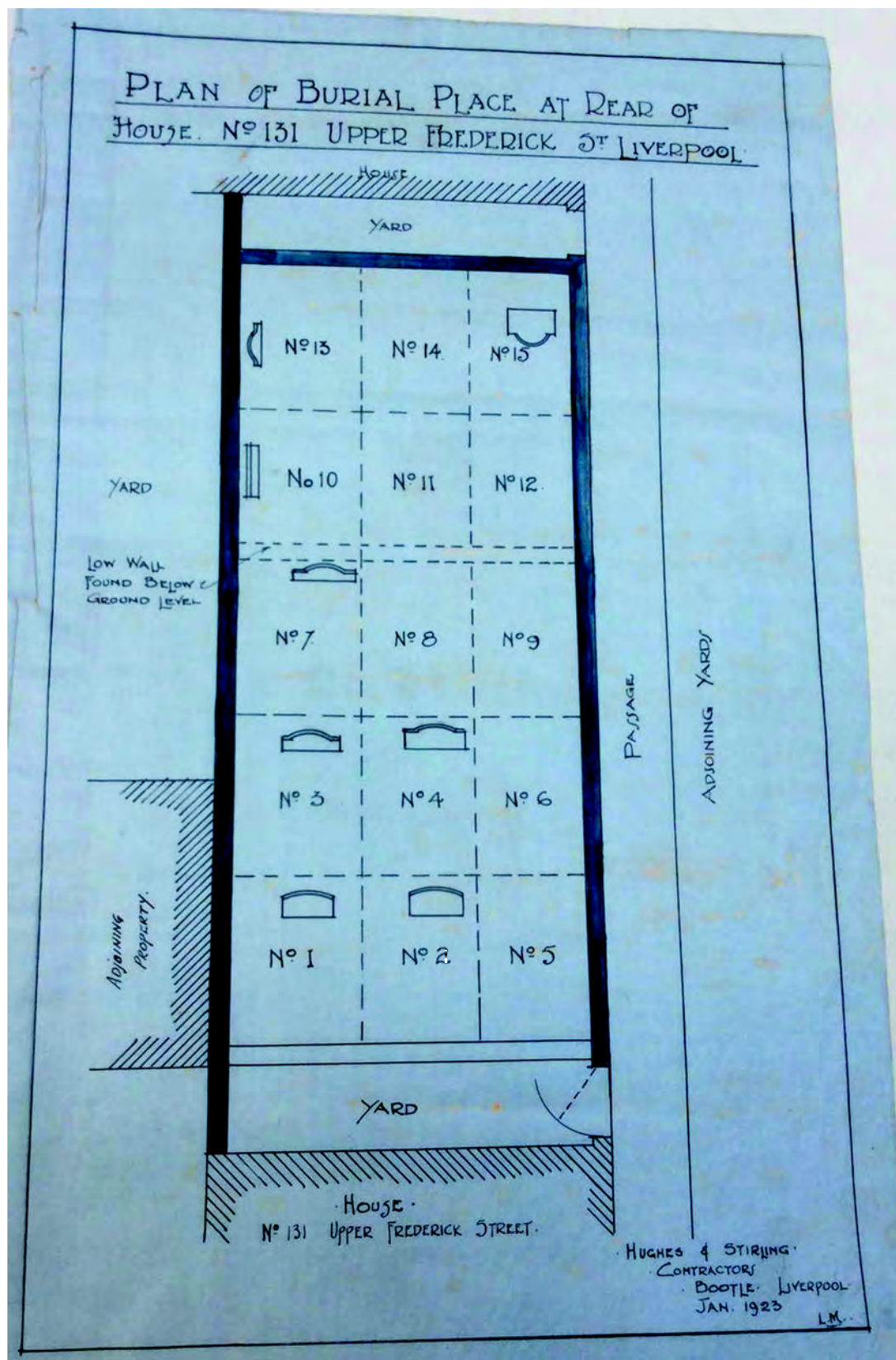


Figure 2. Survey plan of Upper Frederick Street burial ground in 1923.



In 1802 the congregation acquired land in Oakes Street as a new cemetery,<sup>10</sup> so the Upper Frederick Street burial ground was in use for about 30 years. The question arises as to how many burials took place in that period. We have two rather differing assessments of this. The first is provided by Margoliouth:<sup>11</sup> 'Their new cemetery in Frederick Street was filled, and covered again and again, until at last the door was blocked up, and the key thrown over the wall'. A footnote enhances this as follows: 'The Jews never bury two corpses in one grave. When a cemetery is filled up, they generally procure another. In particular cases, however, the replenished cemetery is covered over with a thick layer of earth, and graves are dug anew. This expedient was had recourse to three times, as regards the Frederick-Street burial ground'. Moses Margoliouth was born to Jewish parents in 1815 in Poland. However he later adopted Christianity and was baptised in Liverpool in 1838 and became an Anglican priest; he was certainly resident in Liverpool until the 1850s.<sup>12</sup> We might therefore assume that he had personal knowledge of the Upper Frederick Street situation. However other sections of his books include fanciful and implausible comments<sup>13</sup> (and [Figure 2](#) shows the doorway as still accessible); nevertheless, according to his account there could have been up to 60 burials in the cemetery.

However, Hudaly<sup>14</sup> wrote: 'In 1923 – after a period of 134 years – the human remains in the ancient burial ground in Upper Frederick Street, which had been closed in 1807, were removed to Broadgreen. There were only eight graves, and it was impossible to trace to whom they belonged'. It is not clear what Hudaly meant by the last phrase, as some of the headstone inscriptions remain legible today; possibly he was stating that no extant family could be found.

Hudaly's description is more in line with the photograph of the cemetery, taken in 1903 by Richard Eastham<sup>15</sup> (see [Figure 3](#)) – which appears to show four headstones 'in situ' and a further two or three propped against the back wall.

Note that no burial register has survived, so we are reliant on the physical evidence available today.



**Figure 3. Richard Eastham's photograph of Upper Frederick Street burial ground in 1903.**

### Transfer to Broadgreen Cemetery

As already mentioned, the Upper Frederick Street site was compulsorily purchased in 1923. Any headstones were moved to Broadgreen cemetery, and placed at the far end of the cemetery, in front of those already transferred from the Oakes Street cemetery in 1904. It is not clear to what extent any earth or remains were also transferred as, based on the position they were found in in 2022, the stones were not placed in ordered rows. As it seems unlikely that associated remains were placed under each stone (as was the case with the Oakes Street exhumation), the Upper Frederick Street stones have been re-organised and re-orientated into two rows. The forward row consists of eight part or whole headstones (six of which have legible inscriptions); the rear row being formed by five other stones (or groups of fragments) – three of which are legible. Our assessment is that the second row are not headstones, but commemorative plaques in memory of people who died and were buried elsewhere – after Upper Frederick Street burial ground was no longer in use. These stones are thought to have been mounted on the wall at Upper Frederick Street (most probably on the rear wall of the building used as the synagogue, as they do not appear in the 1903 photograph). So, who are these headstones and memorial stones associated with?

### The earliest stone

The earliest legible stone (numbered 508 – see [Figure 4](#)) belongs to an adult male called Gavriel ben Eliezer (Gabriel son of Eliezer). The stone is wholly in Hebrew and his date of death appears to be Monday, 26 Iyyar, in the Hebrew Year 5537 (6 June 1777). The year is not fully clear, but seems to be the digits 'Taf, Kuf, Lamed, Zayin' (5537), and 26 Iyyar in that year was indeed a Monday. Unfortunately, we know nothing else about this person.



Figure 4. Stone 508 (Gavriel ben Eliezer) photographed 2022.



### Stones associated with the Joseph family

Some of the biographical information included in this and the following section of the paper has been taken from the 'Register of the Jews of Liverpool'.<sup>16</sup> That document is not a formal register of births, marriages and deaths, simply a list of the families and the individuals within those families, together with some information on births, marriages and deaths, of persons able to afford membership of the Liverpool synagogue. It was compiled over the 1805 to 1816 period.

Three of the known burials at Upper Frederick Street cemetery were members of the Joseph family. This family was headed by Simon Joseph, a silversmith,<sup>17</sup> and his wife Zipporah. He was born in Germany in 1722, she in Hamburg in 1725; they were married in London in 1754 before settling in Wakefield. Their children, five sons and at last a daughter, were born there between 1756 and 1766<sup>18</sup> (see Figure 5). By 1773 (when Simon and two of his sons assisted in the purchase of the burial ground) the family had moved to Liverpool where, in 1780, their eldest son Elias married Frances Delesser.<sup>19</sup> The family lived/worked in premises in Pool Lane (later called South Castle Street) and in Castle Street in the heart of the town centre.<sup>20</sup>

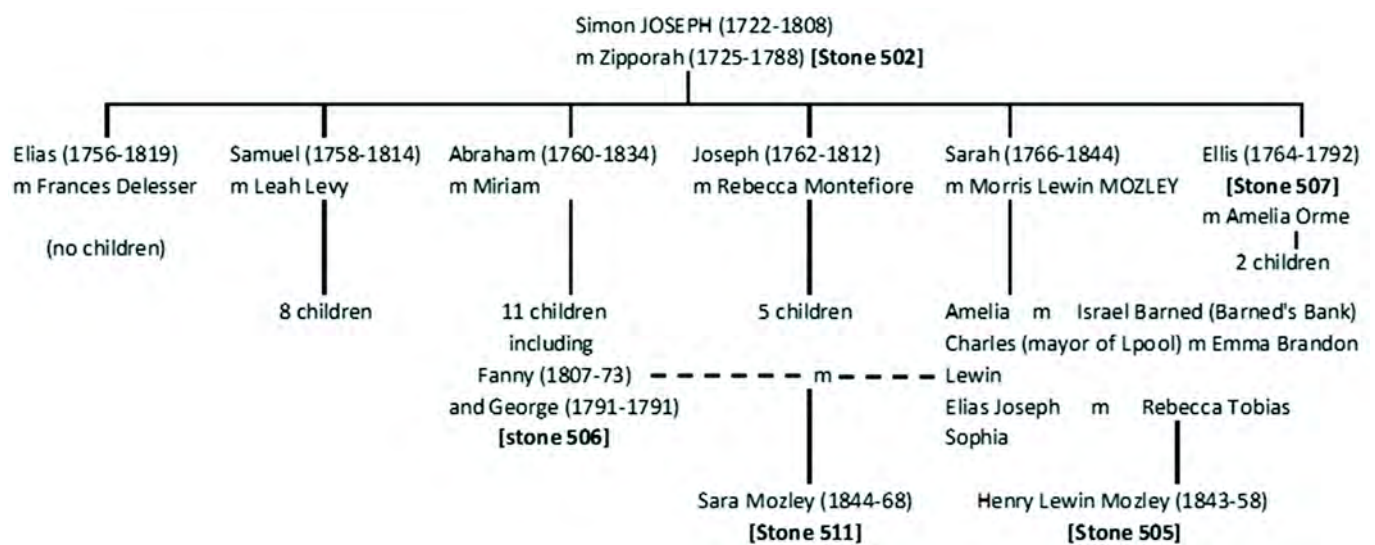


Figure 5. Joseph/Mozley family tree showing Upper Frederick Street stone numbers.

Such was their status as the leading family within the Liverpool Jewish community that Simon Joseph's family is the first listed in the 1805-16 register of the Liverpool Congregation;<sup>21</sup> the family of his eldest son Elias is listed second. (The register lists about 60 families plus some unattached individuals – about 350 persons in total).

Their fourth son, Ellis, born in 1764, having married Miss Amelia Orme, died in Liverpool in 1792, therefore aged about 28. He was buried in Upper Frederick Street (stone '507' – Figure 6). Despite the register nominally covering the years 1805 to 1816, the death of Ellis (and indeed also his mother Zipporah who died in 1788 – stone '502' – Figure 7) are included in the register. It seems likely that the Joseph family actually oversaw the drawing up of the register.



Figure 6. Stone 507 (Ellis Joseph) as photographed in 1903.





**Figure 7. Stone 502 – Zipporah Joseph as photographed 2022.**

The other three sons all took up the family craft of silversmith<sup>22</sup> and all married: Samuel (b 1758) to Leah Levy in London in 1788;<sup>23</sup> Abraham (b 1760) to Miriam (surname unknown) in Portsmouth in February 1790;<sup>24</sup> and Joseph (born 1862) to Rebecca Montefiore (aunt to Sir Moses Montefiore, British financier and banker, activist, and philanthropist) in May 1799 at Canonbury House, London.<sup>25</sup> Their sister Sarah (b 1766) married Morris Lewin Mozley in Portsmouth in June 1785.<sup>26</sup> Sadly, Abraham and Miriam's eldest child, George (Hebrew name Binyamin), died on 7 November 1791, prior to reaching his first birthday – he is another of the known burials at Upper Frederick Street (stone 506 – [Figure 8](#)). All of Simon and Zipporah's surviving children were active in the life of the Jewish community in Liverpool. Indeed, when the congregation acquired the house at 133 Upper Frederick Street, for use as their synagogue in 1778, three of the nine men who put up the money (£50) for the purchase were Simon Joseph and his sons Elias and Samuel.<sup>27</sup>





**Figure 8. Stone 506 – George Joseph as photographed 2022.**

In 1804, Elias Joseph was the driving force behind the project to develop a synagogue in Seel Street, and was elected Secretary and Treasurer to the scheme subscribers. Indeed, he pledged £100 towards the project; his brother Samuel pledged £60 and the other brothers (Abraham and Joseph) pledged £36 each. It should be noted that all the other subscribers pledged between £6 and £24.<sup>28</sup> Note also that £100 in 1804 is roughly equivalent to about £13,000 today. When the synagogue opened in 1807, the seats closest to the ark (the ornamental chamber in the synagogue that houses the Pentateuch scrolls) were allocated to the Joseph family, such was their status within the community.

Elias did not restrict himself to Jewish issues. Each year, from 1803 until his death in 1819, notwithstanding that he was a Jew, he was elected to the Liverpool Parish Vestry – which was, in effect, a form of local government which oversaw communal fundraising and expenditure relating to the spiritual and physical welfare of residents of the parish and Borough of Liverpool by taking responsibility for items such as the care of the poor, the maintenance of roads, and minor law enforcement.<sup>29</sup>

The matriarch of the family (Zipporah) had died in 26 March 1788, and was buried in Upper Frederick Street (stone 502). The patriarch Simon died in 1808 and his headstone can be found in the Oakes Street cemetery area. Three of his sons died not long after their father – Joseph in 1812, Samuel in 1814, and Elias in 1819. Abraham died in 1834.<sup>30</sup> Their sister Sarah (Mozley) survived until 1844 and is buried in Deane Road cemetery, in Liverpool. That cemetery opened in 1838 as the Oakes Street cemetery was then full; it is still in existence.

So what became of the family:<sup>31</sup>

- Elias and his wife Frances had no children (which may explain their ability to be so financially generous to the community). As well as his skills as a silversmith and watch maker, Elias was also a 'bill discounter' – a rudimentary banker – a career which his nephews, the sons of his sister Sarah, subsequently took up. As a result, Elias was able to leave an estate valued at £25,000.<sup>32</sup>
- Samuel and his wife Leah had eight children, born in Liverpool between 1789 and 1802 – Sophia, Miriam, Harriet, Ellis, Samuel, Henry, Eliza, and Lawrence.<sup>33</sup> Henry died aged 6 in 1805 and can be found in the Oakes Street area. The family moved to London, and the other children were baptized there in 1814<sup>34</sup> (about 6 weeks prior to their father's death) and did not return to Judaism or Liverpool.
- Abraham and Miriam had 11 children, born in Liverpool between 1791 and 1807.<sup>35</sup> As already noted, the first (George) died in infancy and was buried at Upper Frederick Street. The ninth and tenth William and Sophia also died in infancy; Sophia's stone can be found in the Oakes Street area, but William's has not been identified. Nathaniel, Silvester, and Elias took the surname Sylvester<sup>36</sup> (though I have not been able to ascertain why) moved to London and then the USA.<sup>37</sup> In 1829, the youngest surviving daughter, Fanny (b 1807) married her first cousin Lewin Mozley<sup>38</sup> – the son of her aunt Sarah (nee Joseph) and Morris Lewin Mozley. The other daughters – Ellin, Sarah, and Elizabeth did not marry and lived together in Liverpool<sup>39</sup> before moving to Penge in Surrey.<sup>40</sup>
- Joseph and Rebecca's family used the surname Montefiore Joseph. Two of their children, Silvester and Sophia died in their teens; their headstones can be found in the Oakes Street area. Their sons Morris, Ellis, and Joseph did not marry and lived together in Dingle Lane.<sup>41</sup> Ellis and Joseph were cotton brokers; all three brothers and their mother are buried at Deane Road.
- It was Sarah Joseph and her husband Morris Lewin Mozley and their children who maintained the Joseph family's position as the leading family of the community. Their elder daughter Amelia married Israel Barned; their younger daughter, Sophia, died aged 12;<sup>42</sup> and their sons Lewin B, Elias J, and Charles married their cousin Fanny Joseph (as mentioned above), Rebecca Tobias, and Emma Brandon respectively.<sup>43</sup> The three brothers and their brother in law were all active both within and beyond the Jewish community. Within the community, they held office in the Old Hebrew Congregation and were involved in the purchase of the Deane Road cemetery.<sup>44</sup> In the public sphere, he and the three brothers were not prevented from joining the elite Athenaeum Club in 1798, only months after its inauguration and, having amassed a property portfolio, created Barned's Bank around 1830.<sup>45</sup> Charles Mozley became the sole Jewish mayor of Liverpool in 1863/64.<sup>46</sup> However, after the death of his brothers and brother in law, Barned's bank collapsed in 1866;<sup>47</sup> Charles Mozley then left Liverpool for London, effectively bringing to an end the 'reign' of the Joseph/Mozley family.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to the Upper Frederick Street headstones, as already mentioned, some commemorative stones dedicated to people who died elsewhere have also been found. Two legible ones are associated with the Joseph/Mozley family: Lewin B Mozley and Fanny Joseph's daughter Sara who died near Genoa in 1868, aged 23, and was buried in Nice; and Elias J Mozley and Rebecca Tobias's son Henry Lewin Mozley, who died and was buried in Frankfurt in December 1858 aged 15 (see Figure 9).



Figure 9. Memorials to Henry Lewin Mozley (505), Sara Mozley (511), and Henry Hesse (510).



It is difficult to understand why these commemorative stones should be found (at Broadgreen) amongst the Upper Frederick Street headstones if they were not originally mounted somewhere at Upper Frederick Street. However, the people commemorated died long after the burial ground was in use (indeed after its successor Oakes Street was also no longer in use), and the adjoining building in Upper Frederick Street (though still in use as a mikvah – ritual bath) had long since ceased being used as a synagogue. In Henry Lewin Mozley's case, his mother Rebecca Mozley nee Tobias had herself passed away only two months prior to his demise – so it is surprising that he was not simply remembered on his mother's headstone in Deane Road cemetery.

Overall, therefore, of the nine headstones or memorial stones with a legible inscription, five are associated with the extended Joseph family.

### Stones associated with the Samuel family

Only the very lowest part of another stone (503) has been found (see [Figure 10](#)). Just the final three lines of the Hebrew part of the inscription are included – but this provides the name Shmuel ben Rafuel (Samuel son of Raphael or Ralph). We know, from the 1805-16 Register of the Jews of Liverpool, that Ralph and Polly Samuel had a son Samuel who died on 23 February 1796 (14 Adar I 5556), aged 23 years.<sup>49</sup> Samuel Samuel's Hebrew name would have been Shmuel ben Rafuel, so we can be content that this headstone belongs to Samuel Samuel.



**Figure 10. Stones 503 and 509, photographed 2022.**

Stone 509 (also [Figure 10](#)) is dedicated to a boy (HaYeled) Eliezer ben Rafuel. The date is also reasonably clear as Yom Gimel (Tuesday) Hey (5<sup>th</sup>) Shevat Taf Kuf Mem Gimel (Hebrew Year 5543) – Tuesday 7 January 1783. The only Rafuel known to have been in Liverpool in the 1780s was the Ralph Samuel mentioned above. Eliezer thus appears to have been a brother to Samuel Samuel. Ralph Samuel and Polly Levy were married in London in 1769, and their known children were born in Liverpool between 1771 and 1785<sup>50</sup> (see [Figure 11](#)). However, there is a gap between their children Henry (b 1775) and Rosetta (b 1780).<sup>51</sup> It is thus very plausible that they had a son Eliezer who was born 1777/78 and died, aged about five, in 1783.

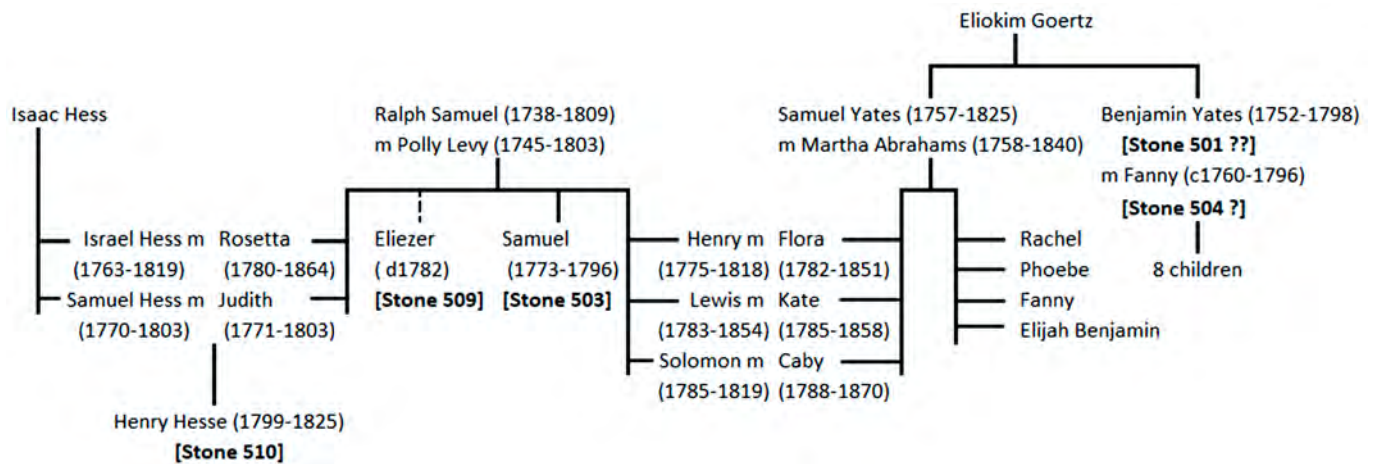


Figure 11. Samuel/Yates family tree

Ralph Samuel was born in 1738 in Germany. He married Polly Levy (born London 1745) in London in 1769, and between 1771 and 1785 they had seven children (if we include Eliezer), the others being Judith, Henry, Rosetta, Lewis, and Solomon (and the already mentioned Samuel).<sup>52</sup> It is possible that all their children were born in Liverpool. Ralph was a 'slop seller' – that is, he sold cheap ready-made or sometimes second-hand clothes. This was not necessarily a lowly profession; in Ralph Samuel's case he combined his main occupation with being a jeweller and silversmith.<sup>53</sup>

Ralph Samuel and his family were considered as second only to the Joseph family as regards their position in the Liverpool Jewish Community. Like the Joseph family, Ralph Samuel was one of the trustees for the purchase of 133 Upper Frederick Street and the burial ground.<sup>54</sup> He was also a subscriber to the Seel Street building fund (£24), as were his sons Henry (£30) and Lewis (£18).<sup>55</sup>

It is not possible to discuss the details of the Samuel family further without a brief diversion into the Yates family. The spiritual leader of the community (the 'Jews high priest' as recorded in Gore's Liverpool directories) in the latter part of the eighteenth century was Benjamin ben Eliyakim Goertz, anglicised to Benjamin Yates.<sup>56</sup> In addition to his community duties he was also a seal engraver and jeweller. Benjamin appears to have arrived in Liverpool in the early 1780s, followed by his brother Samuel, who was resident in Liverpool by 1790, and followed a similar trade; Samuel became the community's mohel (circumciser) in 1801 (his record book of circumcisions survives) and held high office in the community, and was also a subscriber to the Seel Street building fund (£18).<sup>57</sup> Samuel Yates and his wife Martha nee Abrahams are the branch of the Yates family relevant to the examination of the Ralph Samuel family, as three of the Yates daughters married three of the Samuel sons.<sup>58</sup>

Ralph and Polly Samuel's children married as follows:

- Judith (b 1771) to Samuel Hess; Henry (b 1775) to Flora Yates; Rosetta (b 1780) to Israel Hess; Lewis (b 1783) to Catherine/Kate Yates; and Solomon (b 1785) to Yochebed/Caby Yates.<sup>59</sup> That is, the three sons married three Yates sisters; and the two daughters married two Hess (or Hesse) brothers who had been born in Lichtenfeld in Germany, and were both silversmiths (note - there is nothing to suggest that the brothers' parents were ever in Liverpool).

The third member of the Samuel family whose name can be clearly read on a stone from Upper Frederick Street was Judith and Samuel Hess's son Henry Hesse (see Figure 9). He died in Buenos Ayres on 21 December 1825, aged 27. This memorial stone, as with the others previously discussed, commemorates a death well after Upper Frederick Street ceased to be an active cemetery.

The Samuel family was prominent in the life of the Jewish community. Henry Samuel laid the foundation stone for the Seel Street synagogue in 1806 and held office in the congregation.<sup>60</sup> Lewis and Solomon Samuel also held office in the congregation, and all three brothers were silversmiths.<sup>61</sup>



All of Henry Samuel's children who married, married their first cousins, children of Lewis or Solomon. Henry Samuel's son Ralph Henry Samuel was a leading light in the community, holding congregational office and also associated with a number of philanthropic and educational institutions. He was a merchant with strong connection to Brazil.<sup>62</sup>

Four of the seven children of Lewis Samuel who married, married their cousins. As his maternal grandfather Samuel Yates had no other surviving grandsons, Lewis's son Ellis added Yates to his name, becoming Ellis Samuel Yates. He was a merchant and held office in the Old Hebrew Congregation.<sup>63</sup> His daughter Clara married Edwin Louis Samuel (from a different Liverpool Samuel family). He was a banker, and established, in London, with his brother Sir Samuel Montague the banking organisation Samuel, Montague, and company.<sup>64</sup>

Finally, two of the three children of Solomon Samuel who married, also married cousins.<sup>65</sup>

So, we have seen that, with the exception of the earliest legible stone from Upper Frederick Street, all the other legible headstones and memorial stones are associated with the leading families of the community – Joseph and Samuel.

### Who else might be buried in the burial ground

In addition to the legible stones, four other stones – two headstones and two memorial stones – have been located. The stone referred to as No 501 is small and only a few Hebrew letters are still legible. The one referred to as 504 is larger and just parts of a few Hebrew words remain legible (see Figure 12). However, when Richard Eastham photographed the cemetery in 1903 more of the inscription was intact. Examination of that part of the 1903 photo which shows the stone has not revealed a name, but it is possible to learn something from the inscription. The start of each line seems to read (translation to the right):

עלית ואת חיל עשו בנות רבות Many women have done superbly, but you surpass them all

(2<sup>nd</sup> line not readable)

אל עזבה ימיה בחצי ביתה her home in half her days she left for ....

her body is not broken .....

returned to ....

her soul ...

The top line is from Eshet Chayil (Proverbs, Chapter 31), and this is clearly a woman's headstone.



Figure 12. Stones 501 and 504 photographed in 2022, and 504 photographed in 1903.

The 1805-16 register lists only one other pre-1802 death not already accounted for – that of the spiritual leader Benjamin Yates who died in 1798.<sup>66</sup> He must have been buried in Upper Frederick Street, and the same applies to his wife Fanny, who predeceased him by two years. Stone 504 includes a very-long (six line) eulogy and it clearly belongs to a religious woman whose life was apparently cut short ('in half her days she left for'). Fanny Yates, wife of the spiritual leader died aged only about 36, so it seems quite likely that 504 could be her headstone. Whether stone 501 belongs to Benjamin Yates (or whether one or both stones belong to other people) we are unlikely ever to know.

The other two stones are merely fragments. However both stones (numbered 512 and 513) are much thinner than the headstones – so it has been concluded that they are almost certainly memorial stones to persons who have died elsewhere; indeed it is possible that the fragments are part of three stones rather than two. We are unlikely to be able to ascertain whom they commemorate.

We also need to consider who else might have been buried in Upper Frederick Street, but are not associated with the legible stones. We know that the Oakes Street cemetery was in use from 1802, and we know that the earliest two burials there with legible inscriptions were of two people with rather similar names – a four-month old child, Martha Isaacs, who died 19 July 1802, and a 42 year old woman, Martha Isaac (sister of a Mrs Samuel Joseph) who died 6 February 1804.<sup>67</sup> Just because a funeral took place at Oakes Street in July 1802 does not necessarily mean that there were no interments at Upper Frederick Street after that date. Although the Register of the Jews of Liverpool nominally covers the years 1805 to 1816, some earlier deaths are included, though the list may not be complete. It mentions only one other death in 1802 – Michael Duke on 11 July – that is prior to Martha Issacs' interment. Although the average number of deaths for 1805-1816 was 3½ per annum, there were four (in addition to Martha Isaac) in 1804, and an extraordinary number in 1803 – nine. These nine included members of the some of the leading families – Polly and Judith Samuel, who were the wife and daughter of Ralph Samuel; Sophie Mozley (sister of Lewin Mozley); Samuel Hess and his wife Judith – so it is unlikely that they would not have had headstones. It thus seems unlikely that these interments took place at Upper Frederick Street – as they would have needed a further layer of plot use and, being the most recent, some headstones for that period would surely be visible in the 1903 photograph. It seems more likely, therefore that all funerals from 1802 onwards took place at Oakes Street.

There are two other people who are known to have been buried in Liverpool prior to 1802, though we would not expect to find stones for them. In 1776 a gang of five, including three Jews – Joseph Isaacs and Michael Lyon, seal engravers of London, and Alexander Solomon, a Liverpool pawnbroker – planned a series of robberies in Chester.<sup>68</sup> They were caught and Lyon turned King's evidence; the other four were sentenced to death and hanged in Chester in December 1776. According to the Manchester Mercury newspaper,<sup>69</sup> Joseph Isaacs and Alexander Solomon's bodies were taken for burial 'at the synagogue in Liverpool'. By 1776 the congregation had moved out of the Cumberland Street premises and were meeting in Turton Court (where there was no burial ground).<sup>70</sup> The Upper Fredrick Street burial ground had been acquired in 1773, so it is almost certain that Isaacs and Solomon were buried there – and it is likely that their graves would have remained unmarked.

## Conclusion

So, we are still left with the question – how many people were buried at Upper Frederick Street – no more than about 15, or as many as 60? It is likely that during the life of the burial ground there would have been stillbirth/infant deaths, but they would not have required the use of an adult plot. It is true that Eastham's photo does show a small wall in front of the plots; the surrounding wall varies from 18 to 24 bricks tall – that is between 5 feet and 6 feet 8 inches (1.52m to 2m) above the plot level. This is hardly consistent with the door becoming blocked off and the key thrown over the wall, though it is possible that there were two layers of graves. However, one would expect in that case that more headstones would have been found – particularly as those that we can date range from 1777 to 1796 (that is from soon after the cemetery was brought into use until not long before its use ceased). Note that in the most famous example of a multi-layered cemetery (in places 12 graves deep) – the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague – as each layer was covered, headstones were raised to the new surface, resulting in very closely packed stones,<sup>71</sup> whereas at Upper Frederick Street, the surveyor's plan from 1923 seems to show no more than one headstone at the head of each of the plots.

My conclusion is that there were no more than around 15 adult burials at Upper Frederick Street, and the congregation had shown exceptional foresight in acquiring the Oakes Street site before the maturity of the congregation reached the point where several deaths would be occurring each year.

## Acknowledgements

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