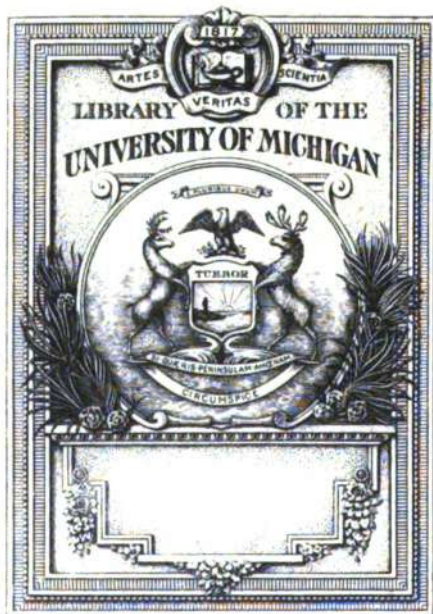


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THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE
JEWS OF AMSTERDAM
IN THE
SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES

HERBERT I. BLOOM

*Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of
Political Science, Columbia University*

THE BAYARD PRESS
WILLIAMSPORT, PENNA.
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IV

TO
PROFESSOR SALO W. BARON
WITH AFFECTIONATE RESPECT

V

"They (the Jews) are so disseminated through all the trading Parts of the World, that they are become the Instruments by which the most distant Nations converse with one another and by which mankind are knit together in a general Correspondance, they are like the Pegs and Nails in a great Building, which though they are but little valued in themselves, are absolutely necessary to keep the whole Frame together."

The Spectator, September 27, 1712.

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PREFACE

This book was completed in 1935 but due to circumstances beyond my control its publication was delayed. No data has been added since last year.

I am fully cognizant of the work's imperfections, its excuse is that it breaks ground in the field.

Numerous people have been helpful to me and to them my thanks are due. More especially am I grateful to my friend and teacher, Professor Salo W. Baron, Miller Professor of Jewish history, literature and institutions, in Columbia University, who has given me hours of his time and countless constructive suggestions and criticisms. The measure of value which this book may possess is largely due to him though the errors are mine. In spite of his crowded days he has carefully read the proofs.

I cannot forego the mention of the inspiration and encouragement afforded me by the late Dr. George A. Kohut, whose personal affection for me, whose zeal for scholarship and whose interest in the progress of this book has meant much. Among the many helpful suggestions I have received from Dutch scholars I wish especially to record my thanks to Mr. Siegmund Seeligmann. Thanks are also due to Mr. R. Bijlsma for his assistance to me in the "Rijksarchief" of the Hague and to Dr. J. G. van Dillen of the "Stedelijk Archief", Amsterdam. Professor Alexander Marx, Librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Dr. Josuah Bloch, of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library, were graciously ready to aid me in my researches. The American Jewish Historical Society's archives were constantly open to me. I wish also to thank Mrs. Milton D. Feltenstein for her aid in reading and correcting the manuscript. Without my parents' loving interest in my work and my wife's constant help this book could never have been.

HERBERT I. BLOOM
Kingston, New York
May, 1936

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK	
BGNB	Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen Boekhandel.
BMGJWN	Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Genootschap voor de Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland.
BMHGU	Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht.
BVGO	Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde.
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica.
JE	The Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGJJ	Jahrbuch fuer die Geschichte der Juden und des Judentums.
JIN	Jaarboek voor de Israeliten in Nederland.
JL	Juedisches Lexikon.
MGJV	Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft fuer juedische Volkskunde.
NIJ	Nederlandsch Israelietische Jaarboeken.
PAJHS	Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.
REJ	Revue des Études Juives.
TJHSE	Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England.
VA	De Vrijdagavond.
ZGJD	Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland.

X

INTRODUCTION

The following study proposes only to clear the ground for a more definitive investigation of the economic activities and relative status of the Jews of Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

To the best of our knowledge the present treatise, imperfect as it is, is the first presentation of this subject. In it we shall not concern ourselves with speculations as to Jewish aptitude for capitalism nor shall we deal with the psychological and sociological factors making for Jewish participation in the capitalistic order. These are general problems the solution of which can hardly be sought for in a single community. We shall merely attempt to answer the question: "Did the Jews contribute to the rise and growth of capitalism in one of its focal points: the city of Amsterdam, and if so, how great was their contribution and what was its nature?"

In our investigation we shall eschew theoretical and speculative matters and confine ourselves as far as possible to empirical data.

Since Werner Sombart's volume "The Jews and Modern Capitalism" is still the only comprehensive work in that field, his opinions must be considered. Recently Alfred Philipp¹ has collected most of the arguments presented by the critics of Sombart and advanced the pros and cons of Sombart's position. Wherever necessary brief reference to this controversial literature will be made. However, before these discussions become significant a series of careful studies on the actual economic conditions of the Jews in many lands during the early modern period will have to be made.

We shall not, therefore, deal with Sombart's belief that capitalism inheres in Jewish protoplasm. We shall not attempt an investigation of his thesis that the abstract and impersonal rationalized capitalistic society was born of the Jewish temper of mind and ethical attitude. Sombart's conclusion that Jews thrive in cities because these are modern versions of the ancient Semitic desert home is scarcely worthy

¹ "Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben, eine antikritisch bibliographische Studie zu Werner Sombart: Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben," Strassburg, 1929.

Jews of Amsterdam

of serious consideration. It is now almost a truism that Israel was not originally a commercial people. The Bible and Josephus furnish evidence of this fact. Rabbinic literature makes it plain that commerce was not the be all and the end all of Jewish life even after the dissolution of the Jewish national state. At all events, these speculations lie outside the scope of our study.

We are, however, vitally concerned with Sombart's belief that the Jews brought not only the impetus and spirit of capitalism to Europe, but that they also possessed the money necessary to originate and foster this type of economic life. The facts of the case, at least in Amsterdam, as we shall show, do not bear out Sombart's contention; although it is true that by the middle of the seventeenth century Jewish per capita wealth in that city was greater than that of Christians.²

Since post-exilic times Jews began to assume importance in commerce. In most countries throughout the Middle Ages and well into modern times they were excluded from almost every activity but money lending and trade, nor were they permitted to serve the state in a military capacity. In the later Middle Ages, as a general rule, they could not take their place on the land or carry on handicrafts, these pursuits being the prerogatives of the faithful in the Church. The Jew labored under no Christian prohibition, however, as to the taking of interest and served the state as tax gatherer, money lender and trader.

By the age of early capitalism many Christians had entered upon great trading enterprises, even previous to this, the Italian bankers and merchants had developed a complex banking and credit mechanism and fostered large scale trade. The Jews were no longer indispensable as the chief traffickers of Europe. The great trading and colonial companies of the seventeenth century were not founded by Jews. Yet, they remained active in commerce.

It is untrue to state that the greatest wealth or even the predominant capitalistic urge was created, as Sombart contends, by the seed of Abraham. Contrary to Sombart's statement: "Israel passes over Europe like the sun: at its coming new life bursts forth, at its going

² See pp. 204 ff.

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all falls into decay,"³ we agree with Brentano⁴ that, rather than Israel spreading economic prosperity like the sun, he followed the beck and call of those localities which bade fair to foster and augment his trading operations. Israel, the persecuted, went to such places as were conducive to commercial enterprise.

The stranger, from earliest times, was identified with the merchant, first because he brought foreign goods and luxuries to a given locality in such places where sustenance was provided by self sufficient social and economic units, and, second, because the stranger was not attached to the ethical sanctions of any given community but was free to carry on trade for profit in an impersonal "capitalistic" way.⁵ Since the Jew had been the proverbial stranger from medieval times onward, and since his social, political and economic status dictated commerce and trade as his major activities, he remained prominent in the realm of economic life and was ideally fitted for capitalistic society.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly, Jews were welcomed in cities like Amsterdam because the mercantilism of that age encouraged any method to augment the population and to bring more specie to the coffers of the commercially minded city or nation. The economics then current measured the wealth of a country in terms of the amount of money which it possessed. In the Middle Ages the city government sought to develop barter trade and to preserve the high quality of the product. It was concerned with the just price and the economics of sustenance rather than with the capitalistic economics of profit and unlimited enterprise. Through the evolution from city government to state government the foundations of economic life were widened and capitalistic developments were fostered.

³ *The Jew and Modern Capitalism*, London, 1913, p. 13.

⁴ L. Brentano, *Die Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus*, Munich, 1916, p. 166.

⁵ W. Roscher, "Die Stellung der Juden in Mittelalter betrachtet vom Standpunkte der allgemeinen Handelspolitik," in *Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft aus dem geschichtlichen Standpunkte*, II, Leipzig, 1875-1878, pp. 323-354. Roscher first advanced the theory, later developed by Brentano, that the stranger who has reached a higher state of civilization acts as the merchant for the less cultured group, which finally emancipates itself from the foreign merchant as it develops its own commercial organization. Roscher points out that the Jewish people, among others, has filled this rôle. See also Brentano, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

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The province of Holland where the cities and the urban citizenship gained a predominant power over other social forces was particularly fitted to further capitalism. As early as the sixteenth century half of the Dutch population was urban.⁶ With the individualism of the Dutch citizens there came a certain conservatism due to respect for, and sympathy with vested interests and the power of wealth. Feudalism and the complete hegemony of an agricultural order were breaking down; even the power of the guilds gradually waned before the influence of a steadily strengthening commercial class which was increasingly identified with the government of the city and the nation. Trade and business became so dominant in Amsterdam that from the seventeenth century onward the rule of the city lay entirely in the hands of the great merchants. The office of burgomaster in Amsterdam's classical age was usually entrusted to a wealthy man of affairs.

We have chosen Amsterdam as our field of study because it was the leading commercial and intellectual city in Europe at the time of which we speak. In the eighteenth century it developed the largest and most important Jewish community in Europe, with connections in many another Jewish settlement, and with far flung influence in the Dutch colonies. It became known as the New Jerusalem, not only because the Jews were accorded freedom of religion and residence there, but because, through their own culture and enterprise, they transformed themselves from what was a group of Marranos⁷ with little or no knowledge of Judaism, and a struggling impoverished band of German and East European Jews, into a flourishing community of international importance, economically and culturally.

The United Provinces had emerged victorious from a protracted conflict with Spain and had become one of the chief strongholds of Protestantism. We may not believe with Max Weber⁸ that the spirit of capitalism largely derives its impetus from the Protestant concep-

⁶ O. Pringsheim, *Beiträge zur wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungsgeschichte der vereinigten Niederlande im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 1.

⁷ Marranos, sometimes called New Christians or Crypto Jews, were those Jews from Portugal and Spain who accepted Christianity in public and practiced Judaism in secret. Some of the Marranos, however, were sincere in their profession of the new faith and drifted away from Judaism. See also C. Roth, *A History of the Marranos*, Philadelphia, 1932.

⁸ M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London, 1930.

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tion of work as a calling and as a part of the scheme of salvation, but it is clear that Protestantism was a business man's religion. The Calvinist kept to the old church morality in matters of sex and family relations, but there was a shift in the control of things. The Church no longer dictated the commercial policies of the city or its burghers. Sharp practices in commerce and trade were individual matters, and, though frowned upon at first, finally became the order of the day. The Dutch were eminently fitted for their rôle as commercial leaders through their knowledge of languages, their industry and enterprise. The young nation, without the decadent refinements that came with the Renaissance in Southern Europe, transformed the spirit of freedom into an urge for the acquisition of wealth, and its attendant power, to make for itself a place in the sun. Business was to be conducted on an international scale. Credit and ramified relations were tantamount to the development of a capitalistic center.

Amsterdam, with its growing prominence in the galaxy of commercial cities, welcomed the persecuted Jews, especially since they were traders, and traders who by long experience and wide international connections could bring wealth and influence to the city on the Amstel. The Jews realized the relative tolerance of the developing commercial city, and the advantages accruing from settlement in the northern metropolis. They went there because Amsterdam was the enemy of Spain and because its star was in the ascendant. It was displacing Antwerp as a commercial depot, and bade fair to become the staple market for all of Europe. It was extending its sphere of influence into the Indies and the Americas. Holland was to become the carrier of Europe by developing its merchant marine. The Dutch metropolis was centrally situated and, while it had few resources of its own, its manufacture and shipping were great because of its advantageous position in Europe. Since the wealth of Amsterdam was based on trade and not on natural resources, the Jew with his channels of commerce and credit well established, found an ideal field for his operations. It should be borne in mind, however, that Holland was the richest country north of the Alps long before the Marrano settlement.

Seventeenth and eighteenth century writers have made extrava-

Jews of Amsterdam

giant assertions about the wealth of the Jewish community of Amsterdam.⁹ These exaggerations were the result of the great number of Jews who followed commercial pursuits. Their widespread influence as brokers and middlemen, and the fact that Jews in that capacity came into contact with the general public, made them the incarnation of trade in the popular mind. Their operations on the Stock Exchange in the eighteenth century were so conspicuous that they created the impression of greater wealth than they actually possessed. If we compare the Sephardic Jew's luxurious and extravagant manner of living with the simpler and more restrained ways of the average wealthy Dutchman, the contrast is striking and serves to accentuate the traditional association between the Jew and money.

As we have said, Jewish international connections were of no small moment. The Jew felt the pulse of the international market and was quick to realize upon the state of affairs in various countries. His credit was facilitated through the network of Jewish settlements in the chief trade centers. His relations also aided in the advantageous distribution of goods. He bought from the international merchant who had deposited his wares in Amsterdam and sold them expeditiously to diverse points on the commercial horizon. Numbers of Amsterdam Jews settled in various parts of Europe, the Levant and the West Indies, and thereby fostered Dutch trade. Within the city Jews were prominent in Hebrew book publishing, sugar refining, spice trading, tobacco selling, and other occupations. The diamond and jewelry industries were largely in Jewish hands.

It must not be imagined that the Jews were unhindered because they prospered in certain pursuits. Although they were theoretically forbidden to carry on retail business, in practice the authorities countenanced them in certain trades, for instance, as apothecaries and as tobacconists. They were also excluded from almost all the guilds. There was constant complaining, both at home and in the colonies, that these strangers were undermining the rights of native-born Dutchmen. Even those Jews who bought citizen's rights did not hold

⁹ Menasseh ben Israel, Sir William Temple, J. Wagenaar, E. Luzac, I. Le Long, and De Koopman. They refer to the Jewish community in general, but speak with an eye to the Spanish Portuguese (Sephardic) group, as the German-Polish (Ashkenazic) Jews did not begin to assume economic importance until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

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civil or military office. For some time after their settlement in Amsterdam they were forced to make their religious observances as unobtrusive as possible, in order not to disturb the faithful. The Church Council in Amsterdam and in the various colonies repeatedly complained about the freedom of the Jews. Generally speaking, however, Holland gave her Jewish subjects a greater number of privileges than did her European neighbors. In 1657 Dutch Jews were accorded the right to consider themselves Dutch subjects. From that time on, their legal status in Amsterdam did not change materially until the end of the eighteenth century, when the emancipation took place. Throughout the period under consideration an ever increasing number of Jews bought "poortersrecht" (citizenship). This right, however, was not inherited by their children. As was mentioned before, most of the guild limitations still continued to be enforced, even against those who had bought citizen's rights. The Jew remained a person living under special restrictions until 1796. After the emancipation of the Dutch Jews in that year, a new era, with its own problems set in. Consequently, the present study will not deal with the last four years of the eighteenth century.

In view of the fact that the legal, social and religious status of the Jew in Amsterdam was closely correlated with the conditions of his economic life, it was thought best to elaborate upon these matters at some length in Chapter I. This is done in the hope that the background will elucidate the more strictly economic material.

In addition to the printed material a number of documents especially from the books of the Dutch East India Company have been utilized here. The MSS of the "Societeit van Suriname", and from the archives of the "Portugeesche Israelietische Gemeente" of Surinam have also yielded some pertinent information. The "Notarieel Archief" in Amsterdam, a part of the "Stedelijk Archief", has been examined with particular reference to the papers of the seventeenth century notaries Joachim Thielmans and Pieter Padthuysen.¹⁰ Unfortunately, time did not permit a more exhaustive investigation of the archive material available in Holland. There are many manuscripts

¹⁰ Mr. Mendes da Costa of the Amsterdam Sephardic Congregation and Dr. J. G. van Dillen, archivist of the "Stedelijk Archief", Amsterdam, directed our attention to these men as having had a large Jewish clientele. — A few typical documents and records are published in the Appendices.

Jews of Amsterdam

that have not as yet been consulted which would furnish ample data for further monographic treatment of various details. However, the evidence thus far gathered seems sufficient to warrant the conclusions herein stated. Access to the collection of the late Samuel Oppenheim greatly aided in the preparation of the chapter on the colonies. This collection deposited with the American Jewish Historical Society contains many copies of manuscripts from various archives in Europe and America, and other data not readily available elsewhere.

The colonial empire of Holland's golden age was, in accordance with current thinking and policy, only established to serve the mother country. It was an extension of the homeland, as it were. European quarrels were transferred abroad and the colonial possessions were frankly admitted to have their *raison d'être* in supplying goods and money to the homeland. The Amsterdam Jews were very important in fostering colonial trade, particularly in that of sugar, which brought great wealth to the Dutch metropolis. Jewish life at home and in the West Indies was connected by strong bonds.¹¹ The relative inactivity of the Jews in the East Indies, on the other hand, has long been explained by Koenen's hypothesis¹² that the Chinese usurped the Jewish position as the businessmen of the Far East.

It is frequently very difficult to determine whether a name in question is Jewish. The numerous aliases by which a person was often known complicate the problem of evaluating Jewish economic influence. This difficulty is especially apparent in the case of Spanish and Portuguese Jews. Fortunately in most instances names are proven to be Jewish because of their connection with Jewish communal life and tradition, or because they are so designated specifically. On the whole the conclusions in this work are not vitiated by uncertainty in the matter of names although it is true that a greater Jewish influence might be established if doubtful names could be proven definitely Jewish.

If we have succeeded in paving the way for further analysis of an important phase of European and Jewish economic history, we rest content for the present.

¹¹ As will be shown H. Waertjen, in *Das Judentum und die Anfänge der modernen Kolonisation*, Berlin, 1914, has decidedly underestimated Jewish influence in the Dutch colonies because he limited himself entirely to the admittedly incomplete figures and statistics of the archives of the East and West India Companies.

¹² H. J. Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1843, p. 275.

XVIII

CHAPTER I

SETTLEMENT

Whether or not there is any validity in the tradition that there were individual Jews settled in the Netherlands in very early times we have no way of knowing.¹ There were a few Ashkenazic Jews scattered sparsely throughout the Northern Netherlands in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.² Nijmegen had a ghetto and a Jewish cemetery before 1540. In 1544 the government of that city requested Maria of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, to intercede with Charles V to permit Jews to reside there. When this was refused, the city returned the money which had been paid for the privilege of residence.³ The following year some Jews were allowed to remain there for a limited time.

Some of the refugees from England and France after the expulsion of 1290 and 1306, came to Flanders and Brabant where most of the commerce had been left to foreign merchants.⁴ Because of their importance as moneylenders they were allowed to remain in the larger cities even after the decree of expulsion from Brabant in 1370.

At any rate there must have been a considerable number of Jews in Brabant in 1495.⁵ The commercial cities of Zeeland and Flanders likewise attracted Jews who carried on a lively trade with the Jewish and Marrano merchants of Lisbon.

¹ L. G. Vischer, *Chronologische Tafel voor de Geschiedenis der Israelieten in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1850, p. 5. Jews supposedly settled in Nijmegen 100 B. C.

² J. S. van Veen, "Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Joden in Gelderland," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van Getre*, X, 1907, pp. 47 ff. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, *Een merkwaardige Begraafplaats*, p. 337. Vischer, op. cit., p. 5.

³ P. C. G. Guyot, "Billijkheid in achtgenomen jegens de Joden die ten gevolge van keizer Karel's plakaat van 20 Januarij 1545 Nijmegen hadden moeten verlaten." *BVGO IV*, 1844, pp. 270 ff.

⁴ I. Prins, *De Vestiging der Marranen in Noord Nederland in de XVIde Eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1927, p. 6.

⁵ P. Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum Inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandica*, II, Ghent, 1896, pp. 286 ff. This is a MS in the "Rijksarchief", Brussels, written by the Councillor Willem van der Taverijen, of the Court of Brabant.

The commerce of the Iberian Peninsula was almost entirely in the hands of Moors and Marranos,⁶ the latter having proudly informed Emperor Charles V that they themselves maintained the entire trade of the Empire with honor.⁷ Crypto Jews had business relations with Bruges as with other commercial centers. When, in 1499, the Portuguese government established a trade depot in Antwerp, many Marranos took up their quarters there to carry on their activities, particularly in pepper and other spices.

There was no phase of trade in which the Marranos were not active.⁸ The most important Marrano merchant of Antwerp was Diego Mendes who, in 1525, formed a partnership with Johan Karel de Affaitati, another Marrano.⁹ They bought spices amounting to six, eight, and twelve hundred thousand ducats yearly.¹⁰ They had a monopoly on the wholesale and retail spice trade of Flanders and forced their important customers in France, Germany, and England to transact business exclusively with them. They were strong enough to buy entire spice crops so that the king of Portugal was financially dependent upon them.

In spite of all this, Charles V, who had ascended the Spanish throne in 1517, did his best to transfer the ecclesiastical politics of Spain to the Netherlands and became more and more incensed at any one suspected of heresy or trade with the Infidel. In 1532 the Court of Holland issued a decree forbidding the settlement of New Chris-

⁶ In 1506 the Venetian ambassador Vincenzo Quirini estimated that one-third of the entire population of Christian Spain was Semitic, Prins, op. cit., p. 23.

⁷ Koenen, op. cit., pp. 426-427.

⁸ A contemporary magistrate of Antwerp tells us that the Marranos traded in: "many kinds of merchandise, better, more precious and necessary than commonly found, such as spices, sugars, wines, oils, cotton, Brazil wood, ivory, various sorts of fruit, such as figs, raisins, and similar products, great quantities of pearls, gems, rings, jewelry, and other things." P. Génard, "De Nieuwe Christenen te Antwerpen (XVIe eeuw)," *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, *Bulletin des Archives d'Anvers*, II, 1864, p. 235. Prins, op. cit., p. 37.

⁹ As an noteworthy sidelight on the exalted connections of the Marranos, it is interesting to point out that a grandee Don Francisco D'Aragon, offered Charles V a loan of 200,000 ducats if he would use his influence to persuade the widow of Diego Mendes to give D'Aragon the hand of her daughter in marriage. Maria of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands and sister of Charles V, refused to aid in the furtherance of this marriage. Meanwhile, in 1543, the Mendes family had removed from Antwerp to Venice and thence to Constantinople. E. Ginsburger, "Marie de Hongrie, Charles Quint, les Veuves Mendes et les Néo Chrétiens," *REJ*, LXXXIX, 1930, pp. 179-192.

¹⁰ A ducat is about 3.60 guilders. Génard, "Personen te Antwerpen in de XVIe eeuw, voor het feit van religie 'gerechtelyk' vervolgd." *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, VII, pp. 114-472 and VIII, pp. 322-472. Prins, op. cit., p. 40.

tians, or the carrying on of any commercial transaction with them.¹¹ Mendes and his associates were accused of sympathy with the Turks and of fostering illegal trade relations with the Infidels. In the same year Mendes himself was put in prison but later released upon the payment of a fine of 44,000 Carolus guildens.¹² In spite of the efforts of the Antwerp city government to help matters, law-suits and the Inquisition, due to the intolerance of Charles V, made that city a highly inhospitable dwelling place for the Marranos. Notwithstanding all restrictions, they persisted in coming to Antwerp, and even went so far as to ask permission to wear the Jewish badge in common with the other Jews of the city.¹³

Middelburg, a trade center of northern Netherlands, also protested against the settlement of New Christians. There is a record of "an intensive trial of diverse persons, December 29, 1540, accused of being New Christians and recently arrived there from Portugal."¹⁴

To Amsterdam, the "Venice of the North", certain individual Marranos had already come.¹⁵ In 1549 Charles V signed a decree revoking all the privileges accorded to Marranos in his domain and ordering them to leave. The decree was not strictly heeded, for, ten years later, an order was issued forbidding sexual relations between Jews and Christian women; even prostitutes were not to cohabit with Jews.¹⁶ In the year 1560 we find mention made of a certain Marrano, Diego Perez, acting as Amsterdam representative for an Antwerp Portuguese (Marrano).¹⁷

¹¹ J. S. da Silva Rosa, "De Unie van Utrecht, 1579, Jan. 23, 1929. Haar Gevolgen voor de Joden in de Nederlanden," VA, V, January 25, 1929, pp. 267 ff. That this prohibition was not strictly observed, is apparent from its renewal seventeen years later.

¹² A Carolus gulden is about three guilders.

¹³ Ginsburger, l. c.

¹⁴ Ibid. In 1591 there were 17 Portuguese families and twenty unmarried Portuguese merchants in Antwerp. See also J. A. Goris, "De Bibliotheek van Gabriel de Nigro, Portugeesch Joodsch Koopman te Antwerpen, 1540," *Het Boek*, XI, 1922, pp. 309 ff.

¹⁵ This is evident from a decree issued by the Court of Holland, 1532, which expressly forbids transacting business and offering hospitality to New Christians. The prohibition was re-enforced in 1549. J. Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in Zijne Ophomst, Aenwas, Geschiedenissen, Voorregten, Koophandel, Gebouwen, Kerkenstaat, Scholen, Schutterijje, Gilden en Regeeringen*, VIII, Amsterdam, 1766, p. 127 inter alia. The "Gaerthuis" archives of Amsterdam mention a "Jodenstraat" in 1530.

¹⁶ H. J. Zimmels, *Die Marranen in der rabbinischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1932, p. 69. S. Ullmann, "Geschichte der spanisch-portugiesischen Juden in Amsterdam im 17. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der juedisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt, 1907, p. 28. H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1891, IX, p. 476.

¹⁷ R. Haepke, *Niederlaendische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hanse und zur deutschen Seegeschichte*, Luebeck, 1913-1923, II, p. 50.

When in 1556 Philip II succeeded his father Charles V, to the throne of Spain, the beginning of Dutch liberation was imminent. His cruelty, and that of the Duke of Alba, so oppressed his subjects that even Amsterdam, which for a long time remained loyal to the house of Habsburg, finally revolted and enrolled in the ranks of William the Silent. In 1579 a treaty, uniting the northern provinces of the Netherlands, was ratified in Utrecht. This document was destined to be significant for the fate of the Jews in the Netherlands. Article XIII of the pact stated that no one was to be persecuted for religious reasons. Such a concept was revolutionary for its time, and was the earnest of an era of relatively tolerant government. The United Provinces saw the advantage of the clause, since it permitted the settlement and trade of various religious groups within its borders. It must not be imagined, however, that religious intolerance would find no place in the Netherlands. History was to prove that sect would fight sect and faction war against faction, but Article XIII of the Union of Utrecht made it possible for Holland to offer an asylum to the persecuted Protestants throughout Europe, and furnished a legal basis for the privileges and rights accorded the Jews during the existence of the republic.¹⁸

Antwerp, on the other hand, which had made an effort to free herself from Spain, fell before the Spanish under Parma's command in 1585, and remained under Spanish rule. After Antwerp's capitulation Protestants were given four years' time to remove person and property, including ships, from the Southern Netherlands. Whosoever remained in the city was required to swear allegiance to the king and return to the Roman Catholic faith. Many merchants, particularly cloth dealers, went to England, but most of them turned their faces to the Northern Netherlands. In 1585, 19,000 merchants left Antwerp, most of whom settled in Amsterdam.¹⁹ It is reasonable to suppose that there were some Marranos in the group, although, under their Catholic cloak, they would not have been driven from Antwerp.

¹⁸ See also Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam, 1595-1925*, Amsterdam, 1925, p. XV.

¹⁹ H. Brugmans, *Amsterdam in de Zeventiende Eeuw, II, Handel en Nijverheid*, The Hague, 1901-1904, p. 15. H. C. Diferece, *Geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen Handel*, Amsterdam, p. 156.

In the same period, 1580-1601, after the defeat of the Armada, many Marranos directed their destinies toward the northern countries. Naturally, a large number of the commercially minded among them came to Amsterdam; the more so because some Marranos from Antwerp, with whom they had entertained a lively trade, had preceded them to that city. In the early seventeenth century we find some Jewish fugitives there from the Southern Netherlands, together with others who had emigrated from Portugal.

As soon as the Spanish authorities realized that the Marranos were systematically emigrating to the Netherlands, they set up an unofficial Inquisition in Zeeland. Some Marranos, therefore, journeyed in spice ships to England to await an auspicious opportunity to proceed to the Netherlands.²⁰

The records prove that the large number of Marranos who settled in Amsterdam were of Portuguese nativity. The city's "Puiboekken" (Recordbooks) of the period from 1598-1630 registered 78 Marrano marriages. 129 of the individuals married mention their place of birth: 95 are born in Portugal, 9 in Amsterdam, 3 in Spain, 3 in France, 2 in Venice, 1 in Jerusalem, 1 in Salonica, and 10 in Antwerp, five of whom came from the same household.²¹

Let it not be imagined that purely humanitarian reasons prompted the government of Amsterdam to permit Marrano settlement, and later, Jewish worship within its borders. The important commercial connections of the fugitives, their command of a certain amount of metallic wealth, and their well-known prowess in trade, made the acceptance of these New Christians a wise move economically. For instance, Manoel Pimentel, later known as Isaak ibn Jakar, who had been the playmate of Henry IV of France, tells us in his will (1616) that his money was invested in Venice, Constantinople, Spain, and Holland.²²

Amsterdam merchants were already turning their attention to the colonies in the East and West Indies, with a view to commerce. Jewish and Marrano trade relations there²³ may well have induced the city fathers to welcome the strangers in their midst.

²⁰ L. Wolf, "Jews in Elizabethan England," *TJHSE*, XI, 1924-1927, pp. 4 ff.

²¹ A. M. Vaz Dias, "De Stichters van Beth Jacob," *VA*, VIII, December 23, 1931, pp. 195 ff.

²² Zimmels, op. cit., p. 155. Incidentally, Pimentel was the first one to be buried in the Jewish cemetery at Ouderkerk.

²³ As a wholesale dealer, trading with the colonies, we know, for example, of Emanuel

Some difference of opinion exists among scholars of Dutch Jewish history as to the date when the first group of Marranos came to Amsterdam, directly from Portugal. The Jewish poet and historian, Daniel Levi de Barrios,²⁴ writing in 1684, tells us that the first Marranos were fugitives from the Inquisition in 1535 which, the author says, corresponds to the year 1593.²⁵ A story has it that Marranos were captured by pirates and were taken to England where Maria Nunez, a Portuguese fugitive was sought in marriage by an English duke. Whether the romance is fact or fiction we do not know.²⁶ At all events the tale of a Portuguese girl, captured by the English, is corroborated by one of the letters of a certain Noel de Caron, agent of the States of Holland in London, to the Dutch States General.²⁷ The next mention of Maria Nunez is the announcement of her marriage to Manuel Lopez Homen in Amsterdam, November 28th, 1598.²⁸ This year, or the latter part of 1597, is generally considered the most accurate date for the arrival of the first group of Portuguese Jews directly from Portugal to Amsterdam.²⁹

Rodriguez Vega of Amsterdam who, in 1597, carried on business with twelve Dutch merchants. This is particularly significant since he calls the attention of the Amsterdam government to the economic importance of the Marranos. (Concerning his ramified commercial relations, see also pp. 34 ff.) J. Zwarts, "De Eerste Rabbijnen en Synagogen van Amsterdam naar archivalische Bronnen," *BMG/WN*, IV, 1928, pp. 154 ff. When, in 1596, Rodriguez Vega's goods were seized by the Inquisition, he was guaranteed personal inviolability by the States of Holland and West Friesland, to prevent his debtors from putting him in prison. Prins, op. cit., pp. 176 ff.

²⁴ D. L. de Barrios, *Triunpho del Gobierno popular en la Casa de Jacob*, Amsterdam, 1684, pp. 1-2.

²⁵ One of these dates is obviously incorrect. If the reference to the Jewish calendar is accurate, the secular year would be 1590. S. Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en Historie. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der eerste Sephardim in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1927, pp. 14 ff. points this out. The year 1590 is considered the approximate date of Marrano group settlement by such scholars as Zwarts, op. cit. and Vaz Dias, op. cit., VA, VIII, December 25, 1931, pp. 195 ff. and pp. 222 ff. The latter points out two marriage announcements: 1) that of Jacome Rodrigues to Branca da Fonseca on March 15, 1600. The record states that the bride had resided in Amsterdam for the past eight years; 2) that of Rafael Cardozo Nemias to Chatarina Mendes, March 10, 1607, the bridegroom having resided in the city for the past fifteen years.

²⁶ de Barrios, op. cit., p. 5. Graetz, op. cit., IX, pp. 579 and 479 (note 11).

²⁷ Seeligmann, op. cit., p. 17. The letter is dated April 27, 1597.

²⁸ Roth, op. cit., p. 392, points out that there was another Maria Nunez married in the same year. It is difficult to decide which one is the heroine of the story.

²⁹ da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 1 ff. Prins, op. cit., pp. 163 ff., and others are in agreement with this date. Seeligmann, op. cit., p. 21, seems to think that further investigation may lead to the conclusion that the year 1604 is the year of arrival. Zwarts, op. cit., pp. 148 ff. points out that Manuel Rodriguez Vega, a relative of Maria Nunez, was instrumental in bringing the Nunez, Homen, Rodrigues, and Pereira families to Amsterdam.

A little pamphlet,³⁰ printed in 1711 and written by the grandson of Uri Halevi, tells a story to the effect that a group of Portuguese Marranos, led by Jacob Tirado, came to Emden and met Uri Halevi who advised them to go to Amsterdam if they wished to live as Jews. This group followed his counsel, settling in Amsterdam as merchants. In 1602 Uri Halevi himself became the Jewish teacher and leader of that group upon his arrival in that city.³¹

Both tales about the coming of the Marranos from Portugal seem to contain an element of truth. It is likely that one group joined by Maria Nunes had fled from the Inquisition to Amsterdam merely to seek an asylum, while the second group, after a futile attempt in Emden, chose Amsterdam merely to carry on trade unhindered in the practice of their religion.³²

The newcomers kept their Judaism a secret for a while even in Holland. As late as October 1616 a rabbi writes: "Today, the people (the Jews) are living peacefully in Amsterdam. The population is interested in the growth of the city. They have made laws and rules among which are such as accord freedom of religion to all. Everyone is permitted to live according to his creed. However, he is not to make it publicly apparent that he belongs to a religion different from that of the rest of the city's inhabitants."³³ Many Marranos in Amsterdam who were free to become Jews, remained Marranos either for business reasons or because they feared that, in the event of Spanish victory over the United Provinces, their lot as Jews would be intolerable.

The fact that there were Portuguese Marranos in Amsterdam, in 1598, is further substantiated by Hugo Grotius.³⁴ Pontanus³⁵ (whose book was published in 1611) notes that the Portuguese Jews had

³⁰ *Narração da vindados Judeos Espanhoes a Amsterdam.*

³¹ Zwarts, op. cit., pp. 167 ff. has clearly demonstrated the correctness of this date. In a prison interrogation which Zwarts found in *Confessieboeken, Rechtsarchief*, year 1603, Uri Halevi tells the authorities that he came to Amsterdam in the Spring of 1602. This find puts an end to the controversy as to the date of Halevi's arrival.

³² Mordechai van Aron de (Pinto) in *De Koopman of Bijdragen Ten Opbloei van Nierlands Koophandel & Zeevaert*, Amsterdam, 1770, II, pp. 433 ff. cites the year 1528 as the date of the first group's coming to Amsterdam. Either the author or printer was in error, since proof is advanced in the form of records, dated 1598. See also Sedigmann, op. cit., p. 14.

³³ Zimmels, op. cit., pp. 155 and 51.

³⁴ Hugo de Groot, *Nederlandische Jaerboeken en Historien*, Amsterdam, 1681, p. 330. This page is dated, 1598, in the margin. A number of the remaining Jews from Portugal fled to Amsterdam in preference to other places because of its greatness. Some of them

begun to settle there a few years earlier. In 1606, Hugh Broughton, a scholar who corresponded in Hebrew with Queen Elizabeth, published a controversial tract in Hebrew³⁶ for the Jews in Amsterdam. By 1609 there were more than two hundred Portuguese Jews in the city.³⁷

To what sort of a city did the Portuguese fugitives come? It was a city whose inhabitants were slowly awakening to the realization that the yoke of Spain would ultimately be broken. The infant nation, and the municipality in particular, were becoming more and more lusty as their confidence grew. The spirit of the enterprising, rough but crafty seaman was a fair index of the Amsterdamer's temper of mind. A sense of freedom, bitterly fought for, made individualism the order of the day. The right of a man to assert himself became sacred; it was possible now to tolerate other men's opinions so long as they were not Catholic and did not jeopardize the commercial or political development of the city or nation. We have the sentiment of a well-known political economist of the time on this subject: "Next to the freedom to worship God comes freedom to make one's living for all inhabitants. Here (in Amsterdam) it is very necessary to attract foreigners. And although this is of disadvantage to some old residents who would like to keep the best solely for themselves and pretend that a citizen should have preferences above a stranger. The truth of the matter is that a state which is not self-sufficient must constantly draw new inhabitants to it or perish."³⁸

The republic, being born, was frankly and openly after gold, considered the main assurance of economic security for a nation. Trade with foreign lands or colonies of the mother country, which would result in the accrument of increased accumulation of gold and silver, was the economic policy put into practice. It must be borne in mind that the most highly respected merchants reaped their profits by promoting what was nothing less than piracy, permitted and en-

came because they feared Portuguese investigation of their ancestral faith and others in the hope of increased profits.

³⁵ J. I. Pontanus, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodemensium historia*, II, VIII, Amsterdam, 1611. Wagenaar, op. cit., VIII, p. 127. de Barrios, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

³⁶ *Pettibegen Nubtan*. See also *Ish Ibri*, Latin and Greek versions, Amsterdam, 1606, reprinted in his *Works*, London, 1662, p. 929. E. Adler, *London*, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 84.

³⁷ Graetz, op. cit., IX, p. 488, note 1.

³⁸ Pieter de la Court, *Interest van Holland ofte Gronden van Hollands-Welvaeren*, Amsterdam, 1662, p. 38.

couraged by the government.³⁹ Any judgment of the ethics of the time should be based on an understanding of this situation.

In 1606 an English economist⁴⁰ stated that Holland had 30 walled towns, 400 villages, and 20,000 sail of ships and hoys which was more than England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Scotland, Denmark, Poland, Sweden, and Russia had all put together and "they (the Dutch) build every year 1,000 new ships having in their soil neither material to build them nor merchandise to set them forth." In truth Holland virtually became the carrier of the world, deriving its great wealth from commerce and transport rather than from material resources; although fishing and the income derived from the trade in fish was the backbone of her great commercial rise.

Amsterdam soon became the emporium of Europe, bringing southern goods such as fruit, spices, wine, and salt to the north, and Baltic Sea products such as grain, linen, and wood to the south. In the course of the seventeenth century the Dutch capital developed into the European trade center par excellence. At the turn of the sixteenth century Sir Walter Raleigh had pointed out that Holland possessed about three thousand ships trading in every port, and greatly benefited by the scarcity of supplies in any other part of the world. When England was beset by lack of necessities, Holland carried away approximately 2,000,000 pounds sterling.⁴¹ Three decades later, in 1631, the papal nuncio, Cardinal Bentivoglio, voiced the opinion that Holland had the greatest number of ships and that Amsterdam was the most frequented and businesslike city of the entire world.⁴² An eighteenth century economist⁴³ called Amsterdam the "general meeting place of commercial people" and "a common storehouse for the riches of other nations."

Much has been said of the wealth of the Marranos who settled in

³⁹ J. E. Elia, *Geschiedenis van het Amsterdamsch Regenten - patriciaat*, The Hague, 1923, p. 38.

⁴⁰ John Keymer, *Observations made upon the Dutch Fishing*, 1606. J. E. Barker, *The Rise and Decline of the Netherlands*, London, 1906, p. 250.

⁴¹ *Observations touching trade and commerce with the Hollander*. Barker, op. cit., p. 214. This estimation of Raleigh may be exaggerated since his purpose was to awaken England to the consciousness that she must wrest the trade supremacy from the Netherlands.

⁴² G. Bentivoglio, *Historical Relations of the United Provinces and of Flanders*, London, 1652, p. 12. Barker, op. cit., p. 199.

⁴³ S. Ricard, *Traité général du Commerce*, Yverdon, 1784, I, p. 67.

Amsterdam.⁴⁴ In the words of a contemporary:⁴⁵ "this freedom (of religion) brought a large number of Spanish and Portuguese Jews to our country these same Jews not only brought with them their possessions and wealth, but also their contacts with the Jews outside the country." By comparison, however, their riches represented a small portion of the total wealth of the city. Of course, the Marranos themselves wished to insist upon their importance to Holland, as is evident from the letter of an unknown Portuguese Jew to Hugo Grotius in the second decade of the seventeenth century.⁴⁶

Soon after their settlement the Marranos plunged into the teeming life of the rapidly growing city.⁴⁷ Such men as Emanuel Rodrigues Vega,⁴⁸ Ferdinand Mercado, and Anthonio Rodrigues Melo were important in commercial life at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹

In 1622, Amsterdam, including the suburbs, boasted of having 104,961 inhabitants; in 1630 there were about 115,000.⁵⁰ Exactly

⁴⁴ M. Bassege, *Annales des Provinces Unies, depuis les négociations pour le paix de Munster, avec la description historique de leur Gouvernement*, The Hague, 1719-1726. Wagenaar, op. cit., VIII, pp. 127 ff. J. J. Schudt, *Judische Merkwerdigheden*, Frankfurt, 1714, pp. 284 ff. J. P. Ricard, *Le Négoce d'Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1722, and others. I. Le Long, *De Koophandel van Amsterdam*, Rotterdam, 1753, I, pp. 2-3 comments: "It is remarkable that a commerce greater than one finds anywhere else is to be discovered in a land with so small an area."

That the Marranos, who arrived in Amsterdam were not all wealthy is a certainty: witness Diego Henriques Mello, who, in 1618, was forced to flee from the Inquisition in Toledo, where he had been imprisoned. He brought with him his old father, his sister, and her son. All their possessions had been confiscated by the Inquisition. They were forced to live in dire poverty. Vaz Dias, "Een Blik in de Marranen Historie," VA, IX, April 29, 1932, pp. 77 ff.

⁴⁵ E. Luzac, *Hollands Rijkdom*, Leiden, 1780-1783, III, p. 359.

⁴⁶ A MS in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana reads: "Since the Portuguese Nation has come to this country with her trade and commercial activity, it has brought much profit to the land." Prins, op. cit., p. 153.

Other countries took cognizance of the hospitality accorded the Jews by Holland. Schudt, op. cit., I, p. 270, remarks that Henry IV of France said to the Ambassador of the United Provinces that the favorable treatment of the Jews by the Christians in Holland was "an indecent thing for Christians to do", whereupon the Ambassador replied: "Since God could have destroyed the Jews, and did not, this was an indication that He wished these people tolerated on earth, and since they had to be somewhere, it could not be godless to permit them to live in Amsterdam."

⁴⁷ We are afforded interesting glimpses of the growth and importance of the city at the beginning of the seventeenth century by several renowned men of the day. The famous poet Pieter Cornelius Hooft says in his "Geraerd van Velsen" concerning the Amsterdam of 1610: "For one builds six hundred houses each year." *De Navoricber*, XIX, 1869, p. 354. R. Fruin, *Tien Jaeren uit den Tachtigjarige Oorlog, 1588-1598*, The Hague, 1899, pp. 235 ff.

⁴⁸ See also p. 6, note 23.

⁴⁹ Zwarts, op. cit., pp. 154 ff.

⁵⁰ Wagenaar, op. cit., I, pp. 170 ff.

how many Jews there were, we do not know, but it is roughly estimated that in 1630 they numbered a thousand.⁵¹

Once the first groups of Marranos were permitted to live peacefully in Amsterdam, the Jewish population was augmented steadily by new arrivals.⁵² However, those Portuguese Jews, who brought the most wealth to Amsterdam, arrived decades later. Much of the economic prestige which the settlers exerted they owed to their connections with richer relatives outside of Amsterdam. Menasseh ben Israel stated that the money power of the Amsterdam Jew was great because those Marranos still remaining in Portugal gradually transported their wealth to their relatives in other countries.⁵³

In 1631 a tax of one-half of one per cent was levied ("de twee-honderste penning") on all inhabitants of Amsterdam with an annual income of 1,000 guilders. There were 4,395 out of a total of 115,000 taxable individuals or 3.82 per cent of the population. The entire taxable capital was 63,500,000 guilders, or 552 guilders per capita. Of the 1,000 Jews estimated to have been in the city, 48 were taxable, or 4.8 per cent of the Jewish population. The total taxable Jewish capital was 479,000 guilders, or 479 guilders per capita.⁵⁴ According to the

⁵¹ Vaz Dias, "Over den Vermogenstoestand der Amsterdamsche Joden in de 17e en 18e Eeuw," VA, VIII, June 19, 1931, pp. 182 ff.

⁵² de Barrios, op. cit., pp. 1-2. Roth, op. cit., p. 242. Sir William Brereton, an English traveler, visiting Amsterdam in 1634, estimated the number of Jewish families there at 300. Zwarts, op. cit., p. 226.

⁵³ Menasseh ben Israel, *To His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the Humble Adresses of*, London, 1655, in "How Profitable the Nation of the Jewes are," pp. 3 ff.

⁵⁴ The following Jews are mentioned:

Bento Osorio	with a capital estimated at 50,000 guilders
Jan de Pau	with a capital estimated at 50,000 guilders
Manuel Duarte	with a capital estimated at 30,000 guilders
Thomas Nunes Pina	with a capital estimated at 25,000 guilders
Gonsalva Dias Pato	with a capital estimated at 20,000 guilders
Francisco Jorio	with a capital estimated at 20,000 guilders
5 Jews	with a capital estimated at 12,000 guilders each
7 Jews	with a capital estimated at 10,000 guilders each
1 Jew	with a capital estimated at 9,000 guilders each
2 Jews	with a capital estimated at 8,000 guilders each
9 Jews	with a capital estimated at 6,000 guilders each
2 Jews	with a capital estimated at 5,000 guilders each
3 Jews	with a capital estimated at 4,000 guilders each
1 Jew	with a capital estimated at 3,000 guilders each
4 Jews	with a capital estimated at 2,000 guilders each
2 Jews	with a capital estimated at 1,000 guilders each

Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand," VA, VIII, June 19, 1931, pp. 182 ff. J. G. van Dillen, "Vreemdelingen te Amsterdam in de eerste helft der Zeventiende Eeuw," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, I, 1935, p. 16, states that the estimated capital of both Jan

tax figures no Jew was worth more than 50,000 guilders. 160 non-Jews possessed over that amount, 20 of them owned more than 200,000 guilders. Proportionally more Jews than Christians were interested in business. The customers list of the Amsterdam Exchange Bank of 1631 mentions 1,348 accounts or 1.1 per cent of the total population. Of that number there were 89 Jewish accounts or 8.9 per cent of the Jewish population.⁵⁵

There are several records of the beginning of Jewish worship in Amsterdam. Until recently it was generally conceded that permission was granted the Portuguese Jews to build a synagogue in the year 1597, and that at that time the Marranos openly confessed their Judaism and publicly lived as Jews. The first service, under the leadership of Hacham (rabbi) Joseph Pardo from Salonica, was said to have been held on the Jewish New Year 5358 (1597).⁵⁶ As recent writers on the subject⁵⁷ point out, this date is improbable, since we know from the life of Joseph Pardo that he was in Venice until 1608 whence he immigrated to Amsterdam.⁵⁸

Another version has it that the authorities, mistaking Marranos for Catholics, interrupted a Day of Atonement service held in the house of Samuel Pallache, the ambassador from Morocco to Holland.⁵⁹ Uri Halevi, his son Aron, and Jacob Tirado were apprehended at that service and imprisoned. Tirado convinced the authorities that the worshippers were not Catholics but Jews. He pointed out that the Marranos were economically important to Amsterdam. When the officials realized their error they allowed them to pray in peace. The reason for the confusion was that in the year 1597, the eve of the Day of Atonement fell on Sunday night, the time when only Catholics held service. The fact that the worshippers had Spanish names and spoke Spanish or Portuguese added to the suspicion.

It has recently been pointed out that Pallache was not in Am-

de Pas and Andres d'Assevedo totals 50,000 guilders. The author also adds the name of Christoffel Mendes with an estimated capital of 40,000 guilders.

⁵⁵ Ibid. For later taxation figures see pp. 204 ff. and 210 ff.

⁵⁶ D. H. de Castro, *De Synagoge der Portugesch Israelitische Gemeente te Amsterdam*, The Hague, 1875, p. 4, Ullmann, op. cit., p. 17.

⁵⁷ Seeligmann, op. cit., p. 26. L. Blau, *Leo Modenas Briefe und Schriftstücke*, Budapest, 1905-1906, p. 81.

⁵⁸ The inaccuracy in the date of Pardo's first service is most likely due to a MS *Livro de eleicoes de K. K. de Amsterdam* in which all official appointments are recorded. The older dates are not to be relied upon since they are taken from De Barrios.

⁵⁹ See pp. 79 ff.

sterdam until 1608,⁶⁰ therefore, the first service in 1597 could not have been at his house. We know from the prison records that Uri Halevi did not reach Amsterdam until 1602.⁶¹ Yom Kippur eve in 1603 also fell on Sunday night. There is a probability that the service at which the Marranos were surprised took place in the home of Uri Halevi in 1603, as he was imprisoned shortly after Yom Kippur of that year.⁶²

In 1602 the group bought a burial place at Groet near Alkmaar.⁶³ Permission to establish a cemetery in Amsterdam, however, was denied the Jews, June 19th, 1605.⁶⁴ In 1614 the Portuguese congregations bought a cemetery in Ouderkerk for 2,700 guilders, 850 guilders of which they paid at once, the same amount to be paid a year later. The land was mortgaged for 1,000 guilders at 6¼ per cent. In 1664, when the congregations had increased in numbers and prosperity, they bought an addition to the cemetery for 4,000 guilders.⁶⁵

In 1606 we find the first official mention of "Joodsche Gemeente" (Jewish Congregation). The Congregation "Beth Jacob" was then founded, sponsored by Jacob Tirado.⁶⁶

After the union of the two nations in 1580 Holland had begun to consider Portugal as much her enemy as Spain. To be known as a member of the Jewish community, rather than as a Spaniard or a Portuguese, was, therefore, more advantageous socially, politically, and

⁶⁰ See p. 182. De Barrios, whose accuracy is always questionable, mentions Pallache as one of the founders of Beth Jacob. Vaz Dias, "Stichters", VA, VIII, January 3, 1932, p. 239, for lack of a better source, accepts de Barrios' statement with a note of caution.

⁶¹ See p. 7, note 31.

⁶² There is no conclusive proof of this as the prison records say nothing about the secret worship but speak of his being a "shohet" (ritual butcher) and a "mohel" (circumciser), and also accuse him of receiving stolen goods. Thus far no record has been discovered about the imprisonment of Jacob Tirado. Zwarts, op. cit., pp. 167 ff.

⁶³ H. de Castro, *Keur van Grafsteenen op de Nederlandsche Portugeetche Israelietische Begraafplaats te Ouderkerk a/d Amstel*, Leiden, 1883, Introduction.

⁶⁴ *Resolutieboek van Burgemeesteren en Ond Burgemeesteren*. Zwarts, op. cit., p. 194 claims that the refusal was dated a year later. Vaz Dias, "Stichters", VA, VIII, January 8, 1932, p. 239, shows that in 1606 and 1608 Amsterdam again forbade a Jewish cemetery within its jurisdiction.

⁶⁵ de Castro, *Grafsteenen*, p. 10.

⁶⁶ Zwarts, op. cit., pp. 196 ff. In 1607 Jacob Tirado's wife, Rachel, presented the Congregation with a silver Torah (Scroll of the Law) shield on which Tirado's name is engraved, see illustration in VA, II, August 7, 1925, p. 299. de Barrios mentions Tirado as one of the founders in *Os Criticos Espanoles de la Nacion Judaya Amstelodama*, reprinted by M. Kayserling, *Une Histoire de la Littérature Juive de Daniel Lévi de Barrios*, REJ, XIX, 1889, pp. 276 and note no. 1, p. 282. Tirado is also mentioned in a book, printed in 1613: *Los siete dias de semana*. He is called: "Parnas de la Nacion Portuguesa . . . de Amstradama."

economically. This was true because it indicated enmity, not only to Spain and Portugal, but also because of the implied hostility to Rome.

In 1606 the sponsors of the first congregation found the earlier quarters inadequate for services. They, therefore, purchased a house called "Antwerpen" which they altered inside leaving the exterior unchanged so as not to attract public notice.⁶⁷ Ten years later a contemporary⁶⁸ wrote: "This city is a convenient refuge for the Marranos. Many important ones came there and accepted Judaism. Jews also followed them thither. They built themselves a small synagogue (probably Beth Jacob) where they assembled unobtrusively. In order not to attract attention the Jews assumed names common in Holland. The Marranos did not change their Spanish and Portuguese names. In the synagogue, however, they were addressed by their Jewish appellations. In consequence of this, the Jews living here conduct themselves like Christian merchants in matters of business, wills and donations."

In 1609 we find Joseph Pardo in Amsterdam, leader of the Sephardic community "Beth Jacob" (named after Jacob Tirado). He was eminently fitted for the task of re-introducing Judaism into the lives of a community which might be called half-Christian.⁶⁹

The presence of various groups, each differing in their observance, or neglect of Jewish customs, brought about the founding of a second congregation "Neve Shalom", under the aegis of Samuel Pallache. In 1614 this congregation had half as many members as Beth Jacob.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ M. C. Parsira and J. S. da Silva Rosa, *Gedenkschrift uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 300-jerig bestaan der onderwijsinstellingen Talmud Torah en Ets Haim*, Amsterdam, 1916, p. 21. de Barrios, op. cit., mentions the following as founders of Beth Jacob: Uri Halevi, Samuel Pallache, Jozef Pallache, Jacob Israel Belmonte (alias Diego Dias Querido), Jacob Uziel Cardoza (alias Estevan Cardoza), Isak Gaon (alias Philippe dias Victoria), Samuel Abraham Sousa (alias Jeronimo Rodrigues de Sousa), Josua Habilho (alias Francisco Nunes Homen), Abraham Gabay (alias Mathias Rodrigues), Isak Franko (Medeiros) (alias Francisco Mendes (Medeiros), Moses de Casseres and Jacob Tirado. See also Vaz Dias, "Stichters", VA, VIII, January 8, 1932, pp. 238 ff. Adler, op. cit., p. 84, mentions Abraham de Herrera as one of the founders of Beth Jacob. This Herrera had been known as Alonzo when he was governor of Cadiz. When the Earl of Essex captured Cadiz Alonzo was taken prisoner but was later permitted to go to Amsterdam where he changed his name and openly professed Judaism.

⁶⁸ R. Abraham ha Levi in Eijn Mishpat N. 45, Zimmels, op. cit., pp. 155 ff.

⁶⁹ de Castro, *De Synagoge*, p. 7. Vaz Dias, "Stichters", VA, VIII, January, 8, 1932, p. 238, proposes to prove at some later date that the contention, now accepted, to the effect that the Marranos in Amsterdam were half-Christians and had forgotten much of traditional Judaism, is erroneous. Up to this writing the author has not seen Vaz Dias' proofs.

⁷⁰ Six months after the demise of Samuel Pallache in 1616, his nephew, Moses Pallache,

We know that in 1616 services were held in the house of one Jacob de Vitra.

A third congregation named "Beth Israel" came into being because of disputes among the members of existing groups. The date usually assigned for this third establishment is 1618.⁷¹ Dr. Abraham Farrar, alias Simon Lopez Rosa, was its founder. A house, in which to hold services, was purchased in that year. In 1633 another house was secured for this purpose by Josua Abas, Jacob de Palachios, Abraham Aboab, Simon Pinheiro, and Joseph de Lima.⁷² This synagogue was retained and enlarged after the union of the three congregations. Lest each group of newly arrived Jews establish a separate congregation and weaken the power of the Sephardic group, as a whole, or mix with the newly arrived Ashkenazic Jews, the older congregations set the example of unity by combining in 1639.⁷³

The earliest date on which the Amsterdam government permitted Jewish worship in public, is still uncertain. They recognized the existence of Jewish congregations, but Jews were required to worship unobtrusively as late as 1616. Four years later a place, definitely known to have been the edifice of the congregation "Beth Israel," is referred to in notary documents as the house of Joseph Pinto.⁷⁴

In 1615, a society called "Santa Companhia de dotar Orphas e Donzellas" to provide for the dowry and wedding expenses of orphans and

representing the estate, sold two Torah scrolls to the Congregation "Neve Shalom" for 1,000 guilders. Zwarts, *op. cit.*, p. 202. Concerning "Neve Shalom" see also Vaz Dias, *Spinoza Mercator & Autodidactus*, The Hague, 1932, p. 49.

⁷¹ Idem, "Losse Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Joden in Amsterdam," VA, VII, August 7, 1931, p. 304.

⁷² Idem, "Rectificatie," VA, VIII, April 10, 1931, p. 23. It was in this building that Uriel da Costa was punished and Spinoza excommunicated. For a description of its locality see Filip von Zesen, *Beischreibung der wydtberoehmde Koop-Stadt Amstelredam*, Amsterdam, 1664, pp. 262-263. da Silva Rosa, "Over de Oudste Portugeesche Synagogen te Amsterdam", *Chronicon Spinozanum*, The Hague, 1921, p. 270.

⁷³ de Castro, *De Synagoge*, p. 12, and *ibid.*, *Grafsteenen*, pp. 3-7. Mention is made of the building of a synagogue in 1609, but it is on record that in 1612 the burgomasters of Amsterdam were angered because the Jews were erecting a synagogue without their consent. This may, of course, refer to the attempt to build the second synagogue. Seeligmann, *op. cit.*, p. 43. It was formerly believed that the second synagogue had been erected in 1608, but as modern scholarship has proven that the first synagogue was built in 1609, the date of the second is uncertain. H. C. Rogge, *Amsterdam in de 17de Eeuw*, II, *Het Kerkelijke en Godsdienstig Leven*, The Hague, 1901-1904, p. 92. 1612 may refer to the building of the second synagogue ("Neve Shalom"). Zwarts, *op. cit.*, p. 242, points out that the building to be erected was not to be designated as a synagogue but as the "house of the Portuguese", a sort of consulate or community house. A building of this nature, in which services were held, existed in Rotterdam before 1612.

⁷⁴ de Castro, *De Synagoge*, p. 4. Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen", VA, VIII, August 7, 1931, p. 304.

young girls, was founded by the first Hacham, Joseph Pardo, at the behest of Jacob Coronel. Another charter member was Thomas Hernandes, alias Ephraim Abrabanel who, with his father Manuel Thomas, alias Pinchas Abrabanel⁷⁵ (the first treasurer "Gabay") of congregation "Beth Israel," directed the firm of Manuel Thomas and Thomas Fernandes, one of the largest Amsterdam Jewish business houses. At the founding of the "Santa Companhia," it numbered only twenty members but with the advent of the new arrivals, it greatly increased. In 1616, Abraham Despinosa, great uncle of Baruch Spinoza, joined the Society and in 1637, Michael, Baruch's father, was admitted.⁷⁶ In 1683 there were four hundred members and the Society possessed a capital of 50,000 guilders.⁷⁷ The prosperity of the community led to the formation of further philanthropic organizations.⁷⁸ We know that on De-

⁷⁵ Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen," VA, VIII, August 7, 1931, p. 304. Manuel Thomas came from Porto to Amsterdam, about 1608. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 24. A. Cassuto, "Neue Funde zur ältesten Geschichte der Portugiesischen Juden in Hamburg," ZGJD, III, 1931, pp. 58-72.

⁷⁶ Vaz Dias, Spinoza Mercator, pp. 6 and 15.

⁷⁷ Ullmann, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

There exists a responsum by Rabbi Jacob Sasportas (1610-1698), Ohel Yaacob N. 59, cited by Zimmels, op. cit., p. 166, on the question of the hereditary privileges of membership in this Society. If the oldest son of a deceased member happened to live as a Christian by force of necessity (Marrano), the right of membership was still reserved for him contingent upon his return to Judaism when the opportunity offered itself. But if he failed to avail himself of such an opportunity, he forfeited his right to membership which went to the oldest Jewish son.

⁷⁸ *Jaarboekje der Nederlandsche Israëlieten*, IV, 1854, pp. 11 ff., gives a list of charitable organizations of our period: "Nederlandsch-Israëlietisch Weesjongens-Collegie" ("Weeshuis"), founded in 1738, 2) "Nederlandsch-Israëlietisch Weesmeisjes Collegie", founded in 1761, 3) "Nederlandsch-Portugeesch Israëlietisch Jongens Weeshuis", founded in 1648, 4) "Instelling voor de Nederlandsch Portugeesch Israëlietische Weesmeisjes", founded in 1734, 5) "Oude Mannen - Huis der Nederlandsch Portugeesch Israëlietische Gemeente", founded in 1749, 6) "Bikoer Cholim", soon after Jews came to Amsterdam, 7) "Gebroederschap Mengil Sedaca" ("Mantel der Gerechtigheid"), founded in 1733, 8) "Gebroederschap Anagath hanegnarim" ("Tot uitspanning voor jongelieden"), founded in 1790, 9) "Gebroederschap Meschibath Nefesch" ("Lafenis der ziel"), founded about 1750, 10) "Hofje van Fernandes Nunes" (died in 1788), home for poor old women, 11) "Godsdienstige Vereeniging Jadrech Gnanaviem", founded in 1706, 12) "Gebroederschap Berith Ishac", founded since the establishment of the first congregation, 13) "Gebroederschap Noten lechem ladal" ("Geef den armen brood") mentioned by Wagenaar, 14) "Gebroederschap Tob laleget el beth ebel", founded about 1750, 15) "Gebroederschap Gemiloeth Chassadiem", founded in 1639, 16) "Doodgravers - Collegie der Nederlandsch Israëlietische Hoofd Synagoge," 17) "Gebroederschap Chesed Weemeth", founded in 1716, 18) "Companhia de Dotar", ibid, 19) "Teixeira's Fonds", from a gift of Sara d'Andrade, widow of Abraham Senhor Teixeira, died about 1660, 20) "Nederlandsch Portugeesch Israëlietisch Seminarium 'Ets Haim'", founded in 1616, 21) "Nederlandsch Israëlietisch Seminarium Sagnadath bachoerim", founded in 1708. See also J. M. Hillesum "Vereenigingen bij de Portugeesche en Spaansche Joden te Amsterdam in de 17e en 18de eeuw," *Eerste Jaarboek der Vereeniging Amstelodanum*, Amsterdam, 1902, pp. 167-183.

cember 2, 1650, Michael Despinosa was put in charge of the "Misvah do Emprestito" (The Good Deed of Lending, a Jewish loan bank) to help poor co-religionists, administered by the Jewish Congregation.⁷⁹

The Congregation's growth and economic progress necessitated a larger house of worship. After a fiery oration by Hacham Aboab 615 members raised the requisite 40,000 guilders. This money was furnished on demand. The ground was bought, December 12th, 1670. The four cornerstones were sold to the highest bidders: Moses Curiel, agent of the King of Portugal in Holland for 800 guilders, Joseph Israel Nunes for 510 guilders, Imanuel de Pinto for 550 guilders, and David de Isaac de Pinto for 450 guilders. The congregants loaned the community 28,000 guilders without interest, to which were added 5,000 guilders in gifts.⁸⁰ Abraham, son of Juda Toura, bought the former synagogue for 14,000 guilders and Jan Grill, a non-Jew, bought several silver objects for 9,112 guilders.⁸¹ War with England postponed the construction for two years but it was continued May 27, 1674. On this occasion 20,000 guilders more were given, and a further interest bearing loan from non-Jews yielded 30,000 guilders. The philanthropic societies "Ets Haim" and "Aby Yetomim" loaned the community 15,000 guilders and 25,000 guilders, respectively. The synagogue alone is estimated to have cost 186,060 guilders. This sum, huge for that time, when augmented by the thousands more expended upon furnishings and decorations⁸² indicate to what state of prosperity the Sephardim had attained.

This wealthy Sephardic community was sometimes referred to as the "Portuguese nation" and sometimes as the "Jewish nation," the word nation meaning a practically autonomous group within a group, and not a political entity with territorial borders. The Sephardim were permitted to lead their own communal life in their own way so long as it did not affect or violate Dutch law. This enabled them to punish members by fines and the ban (Cherem). In order to regulate

⁷⁹ The appointment of Despinosa was signed by Jacob de Mercado, Abraham Vaz, Samuel Salom, Abraham Pharar, Jacob Atias, Abraham Henriques Faro, Jahacob Senior and Isaac del Sotto. Vaz Dias, *Spinoza Mercator*, pp. 22 and 52.

⁸⁰ de Castro, *De Synagoge*, pp. 23 ff. and p. XI, note 51.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. III-IX, note 49, da Silva Rosa, *Ondste Portugeesche Synagoge*, p. 272.

⁸² de Castro, *De Synagoge*, p. 41. Elkone, the Hazan (Cantor) of the Jewish Congregation in Fuerth, who lived there between 1660 and 1680, was also an embroiderer. He made a curtain for the ark and a torah mantle for the Amsterdam Congregation. However, they proved too expensive and were returned to Fuerth. A. Wolf, "Etwas ueber juedische Kunst und aeltere juedische Kuenstler", *MGJV*, IX, 1902, p. 40.

the lives of the individual members of the community, the Parnassim often exerted almost absolute power. Needless to say, this was sometimes abused. But it had the salutary effect of enabling the community as a whole to fight for its rights, unite its financial resources against outside competition, combine the capital of its merchants to strengthen its credit in foreign markets and gain power as a body through leaders representing the community. Hence, it was possible to negotiate as a group with other nations, cities, or Jewish communities.⁸³

In 1610, during the Twelve Years' Armistice (1609-1621), Amsterdam Jewry asked the intercession of the burgomasters on behalf of one Simon de Mercado, who had been imprisoned in Antwerp. He was a business representative of the "Portuguese nation" of Amsterdam to the "Portuguese nation" of Antwerp. The burgomasters requested Mercado's release because he was a person of honor, and had only been incarcerated on account of his Jewish religion.⁸⁴ We do not know whether he was liberated but we know that Christian merchants were permitted to trade freely between the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands during the Armistice.⁸⁵

The Dutch government also protected the Jews from the persecution of the Inquisition.⁸⁶ The greater the wealth, the more active was the vigilance and persecution of the Holy Office since that body was as much concerned with the saving of Marrano wealth for itself as with the saving of heretical souls for eternal bliss.

We must not be led to believe that the comparative freedom of the Jews in Amsterdam meant that they were accorded the same rights as other inhabitants of the city. Their legal status was originally based upon the earlier regulations, laid down by Antwerp for the Portuguese

⁸³ This autonomy was so highly prized that many of the Jews objected to the emancipation of 1796 on the grounds that it would deprive them of some coveted privileges of government, see p. As an illustration of such negotiations we cite *Resoluties van Holland*, printed form, p. 199, dated July 27, 1649, in which "the Jewish Nation, residing within the city of Amsterdam as well as in other places under the dominion of this state, requests that it be permitted to trade in Spain..." and that it "shall not be treated otherwise than other inhabitants of his country". See also *ibid.*, March 23, 1651, pp. 152-153 which deals with the same problem, see pp. 89 ff.

⁸⁴ Vaz Dias, "Stichters," VA, VIII, January 15, 1932, p. 248.

⁸⁵ E. Ouverleaux, "Notes et Documents sur les Juifs de Belgique sous l'ancien régime", REJ, VII, 1883, p. 259, see also pp. 100 ff.

⁸⁶ On August 29, 1619 the burgomasters and government of the city of Amsterdam granted Joseph Pardo and his son David postponements of the payments of their debts, because the Inquisition had taken possession of their capital. The States of Holland confirmed that postponement, *Resoluties*, p. 211. For similar confiscations, see pp. 91 ff.

merchants there. When a quarrel arose between the two factions of the Dutch Church, the Remonstrants and the Counter-Remonstrants,⁸⁷ the former complained that the Jews, who denied Jesus, had more freedom than they. Consequently the States of Holland appointed a commission in March 1615, to draw up regulations regarding the Jews. Two plans were finally submitted, the one by Adriaan Pauw,⁸⁸ son of a burgomaster of Amsterdam, and the other by the renowned philosopher and jurist Hugo Grotius. The more important document is that of Grotius, entitled "Remonstrantie nopens de orders die in de landen van Holland en West Friesland dienen gesteld op de Joden". In his introduction he pointed out that it was poor policy to permit Jewish settlement in spite of the old decrees, without drawing up special regulations for them. He presented three of the most important questions: 1) should Jews be tolerated in Holland? 2) should they be granted freedom of religion? and 3) what are the means by which to avoid religious and political difficulties as a result of Jewish settlement (in Holland)? The first and second questions he answers in the affirmative. In answer to the third question he presents a list of 49 regulations. Chief among these are the following: The Jews should have no distinguishing marks on their clothing and no more than three hundred Jewish families were to be accorded residence in Amsterdam. Jews were not to hold political or judicial office and were only to act as notaries for co-religionists. They were not to intermarry with "the daughters of the land." Although the government of the country did not adopt these regulations as binding, they influenced the treatment of the Jews by the various municipalities. Grotius' suggestions may rightly be considered the first step in Jewish emancipation.⁸⁹ The States of Holland declared that each city, within

⁸⁷ The Remonstrants or party of Arminius favored the dominance of the State in Church matters, the Counter-Remonstrants supported the strict doctrines of the Calvinist Church including predestination and Church control.

⁸⁸ Prins, "De Oud-Hollandsche Drukkersvrijheid ten opzichte van het Joodsche boek", *BMGJWN*, V, 1933, p. 172, note no. 10, points out that Adriaan Pauw, and not the famous burgomaster Reinier Pauw, his father, was the author. His plan is found in the library of "Ets Haim", Amsterdam.

⁸⁹ da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 10 ff. Koenen, op. cit., pp. 146 ff. A. K. Kuhn, "Hugo Grotius and the Emancipation of the Jews in Holland", *PAJHS*, XXXI, 1928, pp. 173-180. The MS of the regulations by Grotius is to be found in the library "Ets Haim" in Amsterdam.

its domain, should have the right to allow or forbid Jewish settlement.⁹⁰ This gave the individual cities supreme power over the Jews living within their borders.

In 1616 the Amsterdam government forbade Jews to write or speak against the Christian religion, to convert Christians to Judaism, and to employ Christian servants. It also renewed the prohibition against marrying or having any sexual relations with Christian women, even if they were prostitutes.⁹¹ The regulations resulted from the repeated complaints about Jews, which were brought to the attention of the magistrates by the synods and the church council of Amsterdam.⁹² The Jew in Amsterdam was required to swear by special oath to heed these rules, he was also to take a particularly severe oath that he had paid his taxes on time.⁹³ In the middle of the seventeenth century

⁹⁰ *Resolutie*, December 13, 1619, p. 605: "Every city is accorded the privilege of choosing to allow them (the Jews) to live among others, to give them a separate quarter or to exclude them entirely".

⁹¹ *Handvesten van Amsterdam*, I, p. 472, November 8, 1616, one of the first official documents about Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam.

⁹² See also pp. 136 ff. J. M. Hillesum, "Uit de Geschiedenis der Joden in Amsterdam", *Elzeviers Geillustreerd Maensdriefft*, XXVII, July and August, 1917, pp. 25-33, and 112-125, p. 26 quotes a complaint of the Church Council, "because there are those (Jews) who hold school, circumcise, employ Christian servants and tempt Christians." A notary MS contains the complaint of Samuel Rosa, Portuguese merchant, that he has been unjustly accused by a Christian woman of having caused the circumcision of her son, his employee. Rosa furnishes the testimony of two Christian surgeons, as proof that no circumcision has been performed. That there were sexual irregularities between Jews and Christians, in spite of the restrictions, is evident. We cite one instance, Raphael da Silva paid Nelletje Hanssen 45 guilders, if she will say nothing about their relations as he is afraid to lose his credit and his good name. MSS in Gemeente Archief, Amsterdam, "Notarieel Archief", Index "Notaris Pieter Padthuyzen", 2888, 2890, dated December 29, 1619 and March 9, 1661.

⁹³ C. Bake, "Eed voor de Joden," *De Navorscher*, LXXI, 1922, pp. 52 ff., quotes the following Jewish oath which was laid down on November 8, 1606, according to the "Handvesten" of that year: "You swear by the Almighty and living God, who has created Heaven and Earth, and who has given His Laws through Moses, to be upright and true concerning the matter which is herewith asked and presented to you: and so, if you declare anything false or untrue, either in whole or in part, that you submit yourself to all temporal and eternal curses, plagues and punishments which the God of Israel has put upon those of Sodom and Gomorra and also upon Corah, Dathan and Abiram, or according as He has threatened all those who have called upon and used His name falsely and thoughtlessly. So truly help or punish you the Almighty and Omniscient God, Creator of Heaven and Earth."

For the oath that one has evaluated his property honestly, (Oath of Doleantie), *Groot Plakaatboek*, V, 1675, p. 98: "You swear by the Almighty and living God, who has created Heaven and Earth and who has given His Laws through Moses, to be upright and true concerning the matter which is herewith asked and presented to you, namely, that you possess not less than . . . in movable and immovable property, shares and credits, either in or outside the province of Holland and West Friesland, nothing in the world excepted, and so, if you declare anything false or untrue, either in whole or in part, that you submit yourself to all temporal and

the Amsterdam government issued an edict forbidding Jews to publish pamphlets against Protestants and Catholics. It appears, however, that the edict went unheeded.⁹⁴

The Jewish merchants soon realized that their presence was valued by the municipalities. As early as 1605 several of the more influential Jews petitioned the city of Haarlem to permit the establishment of a congregation.⁹⁵ The government of Amsterdam, not willing to dispense with their influence and their wealth, granted them privileges so that they should remain in that city. As compared with other cities in Europe, the policy of the Amsterdam government was exceptionally liberal. It accorded the Jews the right to live in whatever quarter of the city they wished, although they did remain together in a certain section voluntarily.⁹⁶ The Jew was not forced to wear any distinguishing sign on his dress and his Sabbath was respected by the government,⁹⁷ which also honored the decisions of the *Par-nassim*⁹⁸ when they were not in flagrant conflict with Dutch law.⁹⁹ Jews were allowed to carry on such trades as were contingent upon observant Jewish living, like that of butcher.¹⁰⁰ They administered their own charity organizations and their marriages were legalized and respected.¹⁰¹

eternal curses . . . etc. (rest as in previous oath). See also *JL*, Berlin, 1930, III, article "Judeneid", by S. H. Lieben, pp. 419-421 and *EJ*, Berlin, 1928, IX, article "Judeneid", by S. P. Katz, pp. 534-541, also pp. 205 ff., note 10.

⁹⁴ A. C. Kruseman, "Aanteekeningen betreffende den Boekhandel van Noord Nederland in de 17e en 18e Eeuw", *BGNB*, VI, 1893, pp. 98 ff.

⁹⁵ Seeligmann, op. cit., p. 42, says that the reason for the petition may have been that some Jews under the leadership of Francisco Mendes (alias Ysaacq Franco) objected to the un-Jewishness of the Rodrigues - Nunez - Pereira - Homen group.

⁹⁶ In 1651 the States of Holland gave the city the power to force Jews to live in a certain part of the city. This resolution was passed after the influx of the German Jews, but was never carried out in Amsterdam. See also p. 20, note 90.

⁹⁷ No Jew could be called to Court on the Sabbath.

⁹⁸ Elders.

⁹⁹ With characteristic disgust Schudt, op. cit., I, chapter on "Amsterdam", pp. 270 ff., remarks: "One of the matters in which the Jews have altogether too much freedom is that they are allowed to punish members of their own group as they see fit."

¹⁰⁰ *Handvesten*, September 2nd, 1672.

¹⁰¹ As a specimen of a Jewish marriage contract we cite the following: On June 8, 1660, Martinez, oldest son of Antonio Henriques, and Hester Sema, daughter of Jacob and Rachel Sema, appear before a notary to draw up a marriage contract. The bridegroom contributes 14,000 guilders, "at present in the hands of Abraham Isaac Pereyra", including bills of exchange with the interest thereof. The bride contributes 3,000 guilders in specie, and 1,500 guilders in jewelry, ornaments and household appurtenances. The bride will receive an additional 4,500 guilders from her husband in the event of his death whether or not there are children. MS, Padthuyzen, 2889. Two other interesting documents give us an insight into the marriage of the Portuguese Jew of that day,

On the 12th of July, 1657, the States of Holland, Zeeland and Westfriesland, declared the Jews to be subjects of the respective states. The States General followed suit on the succeeding day.¹⁰² It is evident from the text of the resolutions that the government granted this privilege to facilitate Jewish trade with foreign countries, especially with Spain and Portugal. Under the new regulations the Jews could designate themselves as a part of the Dutch nation. Yet, the Jew remained in many ways the alien and the guest.

In certain exceptional cases important merchants were granted the privilege of buying "poortersrecht" (right of citizenship).¹⁰³ In

discussed and quoted by Herzfeld, "Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Zeden en Gebruiken der Portugesche Israelieten hier te lande in het begin der 17e en 18e eeuw" *Nij*, III, 1813, pp. 47-51. The first document is an extract from the "Instructions and ordinances for commissioners on matters of marriage", 1731, in which the Portuguese Jewish nation asks the burgomasters and government of Amsterdam for permission to solemnize marriages according to their own law, because their unmarried daughters never go out and do not understand Dutch; or, if necessary, that they be permitted to announce their intention to marry before a notary or secretary who understands Portuguese. The magistrates' answer is recorded on the margin of the manuscript, dated June 15, 1622. The request is granted, but they, the Jews, must come to the City Hall besides being married by their own law. Couples, married previously, must also appear at the City Hall for the sake of straightening out the records. The second document deals with a couple, Jewishly married, younger than the age for legal marriage in Holland. As soon as they reach the age of twelve the State will allow them to consummate their marriage legally. See also G. de Haas, *Nieuwe Hollandische Consultatien, Advertissemerten van regten, memorien en andere schrifture van voornamse regtsgeleerden*, The Hague, 1741, p. 378. Menasseh ben Israel, in an address delivered in honor of a visit by Prince Frederik Hendrik and the Queen of England to the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam in 1642, said: "Now, we Portuguese, live safely and make use of liberty like the others. This is a great proof of your virtue and an even greater one of your wisdom." de Castro, *De Synagoge*, p. 18. It goes without saying that this must be taken cum grano salis. ¹⁰² *Resoluties*, July 12, 1657, *Resoluties van de Staten Generaal*, July 13, 1657, *Groot Plakaatboek*, VII, p. 60. *Kerkelijk Plakaatboek*, III, pp. 333-334 states: "Jews are truly subjects of the Government and residents of the Netherlands, these same (the Jews) must enjoy and reap the benefits from the conditions, rights, and advantages of the peace treaties, agreements, alliances, and relationships with other kings, republics, princes, potentates, states, and cities, made and obtained for the subjects of this state."

¹⁰³ Prins, op. cit., p. 177, note 3, quotes the following names from the "Poortersboeken (Citizens' books)," *Gemeente Archief*, Amsterdam:

Emanuel Rodrigues	3/31/1597, poortersboek B. 182
Antonius Rodrigues de Melo	9/ 9/1598, poortersboek B. 203
François Rodrigues de Villa Reael	12/10/1598, poortersboek B. 206
Mardocheus van Antwerpen	5/ 3/1599, poortersboek B. 210
Francisco Pinto de Britto	7/26/1602, poortersboek B. 253
Jacques Miguel	7/20/1604, poortersboek B. 289

Prins points out that there were probably many more Jewish "poorters" whose names are lost to us because the "poorters" books have not all been preserved. The early date of the list of "poorters" indicates that they were probably Marranos, rather than professing Jews. In 1598, it was resolved by Amsterdam that the Portuguese merchants might buy citizens' right "in the hope that they are Christians." Zwarts, op. cit., pp. 157 ff. and p. 249 quotes Bontemantel's MS in *Civiele en Judiciele Aanteekeningen*, "Gemeente Archief,"

the beginning of the seventeenth century the cost of "poortersrecht" was eight guilders (five for the city and three for the municipal orphanage). In 1624 it rose to eleven guilders, three stuivers,¹⁰⁴ in 1630 to 30 guilders, in 1634 to 40 guilders, and in the middle of the century the fee was raised to 50 guilders,¹⁰⁵ after which it remained stationary. The Jews could not transmit the privilege to their children. They were unable to hold office in the state or city, or to carry on retail trade.¹⁰⁶ It must not be assumed that "ingezetene" (subject) is the same as "poorter" or "burger" (citizen). In 1395 the city of Amsterdam had declared that a "subject" (non-citizen) could not hold office and in 1465 it decreed that a "subject" could not carry on trade and crafts ("poortersneringen") involving the guilds. In 1632 Jews were excluded from all "poortersneringen". The wholesale trade, and the profession of physician, surgeon and apothecary, were permitted them. Upon the presentation of proof of their status as subjects, Jews were allowed to become brokers. They were also granted

Amsterdam, IV, p. 88. J. G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van het Bedrijfsleven en het Gildewezen van Amsterdam*, The Hague, 1929, Tabel XIII, p. XLIII, cites the following "poorters", not in Prins' list quoted above: Fernando de Mercado, 1601, and Duarte Sarayva, 1604. He omits Mardocheus van Antwerpen and Jacques Miguel, mentioned by Prins. All of the "poorters", mentioned by Van Dillen, were wholesale merchants except Benito Rodriguez who became a "poorter" in 1604. He was a tailor by trade, *ibid.*, p. XXX.

¹⁰⁴ A "stuiver" is a twentieth of a guilder.

¹⁰⁵ Wagenaar, *op. cit.*, XI, pp. 54 ff. van Dillen, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. XXII ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Handvesten*, I, p. 138: "Resolutie van Burgemeesters van Amsterdam", March 29, 1632: "The Jews in this city, who have become or shall become burghers, may not be permitted to carry on retail trade. They are absolutely forbidden to start a retail business or to establish it." M. Wolff, "De Eerste Vestiging der Joden in Amsterdam, hun politieke en economische toestand", *BVGO*, IV, 1910, p. 384. In *BVGO*, V, 1911, p. 137 the same author quotes a resolution of the government and the former burgomasters of Amsterdam, dated October 23, 1654, *Resolutieboek*, 19a, in which it is stated that Jews request citizens' rights in view of the hinderance to their trade caused by the Spanish Inquisition. "This privilege shall be granted them provided that they receive the lesser citizenship and not the greater. They will not be permitted to have shops." No Ashkenazic peddlers could become citizens. Jews, wishing to buy citizenship, were required to request these rights by personal petition and be passed upon by qualified Jews. "After receiving favorable report the petitioner shall be admitted." To the resolution of 1654 is added, June 29, 1656, *Resolutieboek*, p. 94b: "Be it resolved by us the former burgomasters, because the citizenship of the Jews is to be considered individually, the burgomasters have to deliberate in what manner citizenship shall be accorded the individual Jew. Be it understood, the Jews shall not be admitted to citizenship except insofar as they are merchants of importance and, therefore, it will be demanded that the treasurer cause to be printed several statements wherein shall be contained the fact that the Jew shall only be granted citizenship in respect of his function as a merchant, and that this citizenship is for the person admitted only, and cannot be inherited by his offspring or children and that herewith no permission is given to carry on any shopkeeping."

the right to be dry grocers, dealers in fat products, tappers, innkeepers, tobacco workers and printers.¹⁰⁷ In 1668 the rights of non-Jews, with the status of "subject" were extended, but it was expressly stipulated that these regulations did not apply to Jews in the same official category.¹⁰⁸ It is obvious that these restrictions and limitations were maintained to eliminate or at least curtail Jewish competition with Christian tradesmen. Even in Calvinist Amsterdam relics of the old church law were enforced. The civil government would have accorded more liberties to the Jews, had it not been that the Calvinists and Arminians still felt the Jews to be the "enemies of Christ", in spite of the broadening influence of the Renaissance and the rebellion from Spain and Rome.¹⁰⁹

These restrictions, however offensive, tended here as elsewhere, to emphasize the individuality of the Jewish group, as they made it impossible for these none too Jewishly-minded Sephardim to mingle more freely with their Christian neighbors or to be assimilated by them.

We have already mentioned that there were individual Ashkenazic Jews in Holland who had come there for trade long before their Spanish co-religionists. As has been previously indicated these early German Jewish peddlers were exiled in the sixteenth century by order of the Emperor Charles V. We do not know the exact year, in which groups of German Jews settled in Amsterdam. It is highly probable that the favorable reports of conditions in Holland made them turn their steps thither, following the Worms and Frankfort persecutions of 1615 and 1616.¹¹⁰ Indubitably there was an influx of Ashkenazim throughout the period of the Thirty Years War, 1618-1648.

When Philip Ziegler, a pseudo Messiah, came to Amsterdam in 1623 he found many German Jews there.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ D. E. Cohen, "De Vroegere Amsterdamsche Joodsche Apothekers", *BMG/JWN*, V, pp. 86-87. Wagenaar, op. cit., II, pp. 10 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Wagenaar, *ibid.* For some trades permitted Jews after 1668, see pp. 31 ff.

¹⁰⁹ See pp. 136 ff., also H. I. Bloom, "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History, (1623-1654), based chiefly upon the findings of the late Samuel Oppenheim," *PAJHS*, XXXIII, 1934, p. 73.

¹¹⁰ *JIN*, I, 1835, p. 25.

¹¹¹ Regarding Ziegler see J. Baanage de Beauval, *The History and Religion of the Jews, being a continuation of Josephus*, Rotterdam, 1708, p. 738. Koenen, op. cit., pp. 193 ff. T. Tal, *Oranjesbloesems*, Amsterdam, 1898, p. 32. Wolff, op. cit., *BVGO*, IX, 1910, p. 381. We find evidence of the Ashkenazim in Amsterdam in 1633, *Resoluties van de Oud-Raad van Burgemeesters*, August 26, 1633, p. 99. Wagenaar, op. cit., VIII, p. 132. Simon Okes Bogues, a German Jew, is mentioned as a magician by

They formed a striking contrast to the Portuguese. They had been subjected to severe persecutions, forced to live in ghettos, and had been cut off almost entirely from social and intellectual contact with the larger world. They had remained content with their own literature for inspiration. Due to the restrictions imposed upon them they were largely engaged in money lending and petty trade. From time to time rumors of ritual murder and well poisoning arose, leading to repeated outbreaks against them. If we compare the life of the Jew in Germany to that of the Jew on the Pyrenean Peninsula, we can readily see why the Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Amsterdam remained so distinct. In Germany there was no ruling class of Moors, preferring Jews to Christians, no Crypto Judaism, enabling those of Jewish origin to partake of the culture and civilization of their non-Jewish environment, no possibility of establishing international commercial relationships with the rich trade centers of Italy and northern Africa. When we contrast the Spanish Grandee with his finery and show with the talmudic ghetto inhabitant of Germany, the difference between the two groups becomes apparent.

In 1654, after the Cossack uprising under Chmielnicki, hundreds of persecuted Polish Jews fled to Amsterdam.¹¹² Some years later, in 1656, a group of Polish and Lithuanian Jews, who had escaped from the uprisings in their respective countries, migrated to Texel and thence to Amsterdam.¹¹³ Rabbi Moses Ribkes tells us that the fugitives were

Seeligmann, "Een Joodach Goochelaar der XVIIde Eeuw te Amsterdam," VA, I, September 5, 1924, p. 371. He was in Amsterdam in 1610. Vaz Dias, "Uit het Begintijdperk der Amsterdamsche Hoog-Duitsch Joodsche Gemeente naar gegevens uit het oud-notarieel archief," VA, VIII, September 18, 1931, p. 394, also mentions Okes Boguea.

In *Libro de Ymposita da Nação* in the archives of the Amsterdam Jewish Community Okes Boguea is mentioned as a butcher. Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen," VA, IX, September 16, 1932, p. 397. We also find the record of a marriage between two Ashkenazim: Ephraim Salomon and Jans Passar in 1617. Vaz Dias, "Begintijdperk," VA, VIII, September 18, 1931, p. 394. We know that Jacob Sampson, a butcher, was born in Amsterdam in 1626.

¹¹² Wagenaar, op. cit., VIII, p. 132.

¹¹³ The "Kroniek van Medemblik," 1656, p. 105, mentions 3,000 Jews. A contemporary, A. Montanus, *'t Leven en Bedrijf der Prinsen van Oranje*, Amsterdam, 1664, p. 540, mentions that three ships brought about 3,000 Polish Jews who had embarked in Memel; they fled from Lithuania to escape the horrors of destruction. They were entirely destitute. At first the Amsterdam Jews lodged them in two warehouses and took care of all their needs later providing them with fitting shelter. Seeligmann in "Losse Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland," *Centraal Blad voor Israëlieten in Nederland*, XV, 1900, pp. 47 ff., points out that the number is probably 300 and even this may be wrong. In any event it was manifestly impossible to transport 3,000 people on three ships at that time, see also M. Henriques Pimentel, *Geschiedkundige Aanteekeningen betreffende de Portugesche Israëlieten in Den Haag en bunne Synagogen*

received, fed, dressed, and cared for by important Portuguese Jews, but that they found life in Amsterdam too expensive. With the help of the Portuguese Jews many of the refugees, well provisioned, were shipped to Frankfort.¹¹⁴ Two contracts, dated July 12 and July 19, 1656, show that the Portuguese congregation, represented, in the one case, by Sijmon De Souza, and in the other, by three parnassim: David Salom, Manuel Ximenes, and Isah de Souza, arranged for the transportation of two groups of Polish Jews, one numbering 125 to 130, and another 40 among whom were 20 children. In the first contract, the price of transportation is stipulated at 550 guilders for all, in the second, the charge is five guilders for persons over 15 years of age, two guilders, ten stuivers for children under 15, infants to be carried without charge. The first group was destined for Mainz, the second for Deutz, opposite Cologne.¹¹⁵

As a whole, the East European Jews, especially those from Poland, were better situated financially than the German group, since their position in Poland had made it possible for them to make money in the service of the aristocracy. Their influence, as compared to that of the Spanish Jews, was very small, but the fact that they had money to build a synagogue, soon after their arrival in Amsterdam,¹¹⁶ shows that all of them were by no means paupers. It may be that some of the German Jews had likewise been well circumstanced, but the fact remains that shortly after their arrival in Amsterdam they had to borrow two scrolls of the Law from the Portuguese congregation.¹¹⁷

aldaar, The Hague, 1876, p. 6, note no. 2. Pimentel calls attention to the fact that another record (he does not mention what it is) estimates the number of Jews at 300 in 3 ships. Rabbi Moses Ribkes, (who was among the fugitives) in a commentary on the *Shulchan Aruch*, of R. Josef Karo, Amsterdam edition, tells us the story of his flight and arrival in Texel.

¹¹⁴ Ribkes, *ibid.* *Hollandsche Mercurius*, VII, Haarlem, 1656, p. 63.

¹¹⁵ Vaz Dias, "Merkwaardige Dokumenten voor de Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamsche Joden," *VA*, IX, July 15, 1932, pp. 255 ff. These Ashkenazim are estimated to have left Holland. If the total of 300 is correct, it would leave more than a hundred of these fugitives behind in Amsterdam. This figure seems too small in view of their activity and other data concerning them.

¹¹⁶ Wagenaar, *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 131 ff.

¹¹⁷ Tal, "Uit de Gedenkschriften van een oude Gemara Brachoth" door haar zelf verhaald, included in lectures of *Mekor Haim*, II, 1888, p. 97. J. Hartog, "De Joden in het eerste jaar der Bataafsche Vrijheid," *De Gids*, XXXIX, 1875, pp. 116-152.

The first Ashkenazic service was held in a little hallroom, under the leadership of Ansel Rood, on the Day of Atonement, 1635.¹¹⁸ Before that time they had worshiped in the Portuguese Synagogue. Their first rabbi was Moses Weile from Prague. By 1639 the community had outgrown its small quarters and rented larger ones. Exactly where the first and second meeting places were, is unknown. In 1642, "Eleazar Moses and associates as elders of the German Jewish nation", rented a house from David Preto for 280 guilders.¹¹⁹ In 1646 a new synagogue was planned. This plan was executed when Eleazar Moses bought three houses for 3,350 guilders on behalf of the congregation. The rebuilding was estimated to cost 5,950 guilders, 3,000 guilders were to go to the carpenter and 2,950 to the mason. The payments were to be made as follows: 200 guilders at the drawing of the contract, 1,750 guilders as soon as the roof was completed, and the remaining 4,000 guilders in four installments on the four succeeding May 1sts. No one was to work on Saturday.

It is not certain whether the building was ever completed. Neighboring Christians objected to the erection of a synagogue. Although the neighbors were finally pacified, the burgomasters forbade both the building of the synagogue and the proposed annex, a slaughterhouse. It seems likely that the synagogue proper was at last built, but that the burgomasters refused to allow the erection of a house for ritual slaughter. The original prohibition against building a synagogue was a formality, probably to appease Protestant domineers, who protested whenever a proposal for such permission, or any other specifically Jewish privilege, came to their notice.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Maaran Maarssen in *Sherith Yisrael*. Vaz Dias, "Begintijdperk," VA, VIII, September 18, 1931, pp. 394 ff.

¹¹⁹ Vaz Dias, *ibid.*, and "Dokumenten," VA, IX, July 15, 1932, pp. 241 ff. D. M. Sluys, *De Oudste Synagogen der Hoogduitsch-Joodsche Gemeente te Amsterdam, 1635-1671*, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 9. We also know of another contract in the same year between David Preto and Samson Escandiana, Eliachim Bar Israel, Mose Bar Eliachim, Aser ben Nephthali, Jacob bar Juda, Ephraim bar Juda Levi, and associates, as present charity distributors of the German Jews of Amsterdam. They rent two rooms in David Preto's house for a term of six years for the sum of 180 guilders annually. Vaz Dias, "Dokumenten," VA, IX, July 15, 1932, pp. 254 ff. This contract may refer to quarters to be used for charitable purposes in the same building as the synagogue. David Pereira Preto paid 1,668 guilders for the building. Vaz Dias, "Begintijdperk," VA, VIII, September 21, 1931, p. 415.

¹²⁰ Another example of the intolerance of the Christian clergy is witnessed by the fact that on October 5, 1645, Domineer Wachtendorp complained before a meeting of his colleagues: "that he noticed, while walking in the street that the streets and the bridges were decorated with large branches in honor of the Jewish ceremony for the feast of

Since the German Jews were not permitted to have their own ritual slaughterhouse until 1672, they purchased their meat from the Portuguese Jewish abattoir. We do not know of an official permission to build such an institution but we know that there was one in 1610.¹²¹ Most probably there was ritually prepared meat in Amsterdam as early as 1603.

It would seem that a split in the ranks of the German Jews and the lack of a German Jewish slaughterhouse retarded the prosperity of the congregation. By 1651 it was faced with financial difficulties and its property sold. Meanwhile, in 1650, another German Jewish synagogue had been founded in Marken (a part of Amsterdam).

There were many factions among the German Jews. As early as 1635 there is an official record¹²² of a quarrel between the members of the congregation and its elders. This was settled by the burgomasters of Amsterdam, after due consultation with the elders of the Portuguese congregation. In 1650 another quarrel ensued. A certain Levi Bing, and one Levi Wolf are mentioned as the instigators. Two Sephardim, Manuel de Benveniste, a printer, and David d'el Sotto, a rich merchant, were called in to arbitrate. Their efforts did not avail, whereupon the civil authorities tried their hand at peace-making but met with no better success.

At first Amsterdam considered the Polish Jews as fugitives and looked suspiciously upon the German Jews as usurers, money changers and petty traders. Their strict orthodoxy labelled them as superstitious in the eyes of the Christians. In 1656 the Polish Jews were allowed to erect their own synagogue. This right was also granted to the Lithuanian Jews who had a separate place of worship for several years. In 1661 Charles Leureux rented a house and lot to Solomon Jacobs, Jacob van Emden, Mayer Gaijms, Asser Assersz, and Isax Benjamin, elders of the High German Jewish congregation, for a term of four years, for 500 Carolus guilders yearly, to be used for synagogue

Booths." The meeting decided that this was very un-Christian and determined to protest to the burgomasters. Eighth Protocol of the *Kerkeraad der Gereformeerde Gemeente van Amsterdam, Nieuwversijds kapel*, fol. 47 & 48. The burgomasters promised to look into the matter and put things to rights. Meanwhile Succoth (the Feast of Tabernacles) was over. Zwarts, "Joodsche Archiefsprokkels," VA, V, September 28, 1928, p. 411.

¹²¹ A contract exists between two Christian butchers and seven Portuguese Jews. Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen," VA, IX, September 16, 1932, pp. 396 ff. Isak Pallache, son of Joseph Pallache, agent of the king of Morocco, bought a basket of meat in the "Jewish Slaughterhouse." Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen," l. c.

¹²² *Handvesten*, June 9, 1635.

purposes. Although the contract was made for four years, if services were discontinued by the authorities, the congregation was liable only for the payment of the first year's rent.¹²³ In 1658 the German Jews floated a loan for the building of their great synagogue which was dedicated April 1, 1671, the first evening of Passover, and completed in 1686.¹²⁴ In 1670 they bought about 66,000 square feet of land for 33,000 guilders and resold about 23,000 feet for 11,000 guilders.¹²⁵ Most of the synagogue property was mortgaged. If we compare these figures with the 186,060 guilders which the Portuguese synagogue cost, of which 40,000 guilders was raised on demand, we gain some idea of the comparative wealth of the two communities.

In 1673 the government commanded the German and the East European communities to combine.¹²⁶ There were several reasons prompting the order. By this time the East European had become accustomed to the manners and language of the country. The Amsterdam government believed that it would be possible to reduce the number of complaints and divisions within the ranks of the Ashkenazic Jews if they united as one community.¹²⁷

In 1639 the Ashkenazim bought ground for a cemetery at Muiderberg near Amsterdam.¹²⁸ They already possessed a plot of ground for that purpose in Zeeburg where later only children and the poor were buried. Before that time they had interred their dead in the Portuguese burial-place.¹²⁹

The Ashkenazim were not as self-sufficient a group as the Sephardim. The former often brought their troubles to the city government for decision. For example, in 1695, they asked for the right to force Jewish merchants from Germany, Hungary and other regions, who sojourned in Amsterdam, to pay their share of the "church tax" and the charity assessment, since these foreign Jews availed themselves

¹²³ Vaz Dias, "Dokumenten," VA, IX, July 15, 1932, pp. 254 ff., and "Begintijdperk," VA, VIII, September 25, 1931, pp. 416 ff.

¹²⁴ Wagenaar, op. cit., VIII, p. 132.

¹²⁵ Wolff, op. cit., BVGO, IV, 1910, p. 379.

¹²⁶ Wagenaar, op. cit., VIII, p. 132.

¹²⁷ Zwarts, "Joodsche Archiefsprokkels," VA, V, May 18, 1928, p. 110, cites a document listing 140 charter members of the great Ashkenazic synagogue. These members empower the elders to negotiate loans for the building and upkeep of the synagogue.

¹²⁸ Wagenaar, op. cit., VIII, pp. 185 ff.

¹²⁹ For instance, we know that the children of Okes Bagues, the Jewish butcher or magician, were buried in the Portuguese cemetery at Ouderkerk. Vaz Dias, "Loose Bijdragen," VA, VIII, April 1st, 1931, p. 7.

of the privileges of Amsterdam Jewish communal life. They requested the right to use the ban as a method of enforcing payments.¹³⁰ In 1703, they asked the government for the authority to demand the "stuiver's" tax for the sale or rent of each seat in the synagogue.¹³¹

Due to a new influx of Ashkenazic Jews, two more synagogues were built the last one in 1730. Twenty years later this building had to be enlarged. The statutes of the congregation were then submitted to the city government for approval.¹³² The Portuguese Jews, on the other hand, had never published their statutes, as they considered this an infringement upon their autonomy. Very often a poor Ashkenazic Jew would hire himself out as servant in one of the Portuguese households. Sometimes he was employed as a messenger or menial worker by a rich Portuguese merchant.¹³³ The Ashkenazim could not marry among the Sephardic Jews, nor could they obtain permanent places in the Portuguese synagogue.¹³⁴

By the middle of the seventeenth century the Jews of Amsterdam had founded a community which took its lasting place in the life of the Dutch metropolis. Although constant accretions from without swelled its ranks, a nucleus was well established which felt that its fate was linked with that of the city on the Amstel. In spite of their love for Holland, even those Jews born there retained Ladino and Judeo-German as their vernacular for some time to come.

As has been pointed out, the legal status of Amsterdam Jewry did not change materially until 1796, when, under the influence of the French Revolution, the Jews of Holland were emancipated and accorded full citizens' rights. Before this time the Amsterdam government persisted in regarding the Jewry as a special group. Amsterdam was not only reluctant to admit that the Jews exercised almost complete autonomy in their community, but it would not even accord those Jews, who bought citizen's right, complete equality with the Christians. It is true that for international trade the prestige, which

¹³⁰ *Handvesten*, July 22, 1695.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, November 29, 1703.

¹³² Wagenaar, *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 135 ff.

¹³³ We find, for example, that on June 18, 1632, Izak Mendele is messenger for the well-known merchant Lopo Ramirez, alias David Curiel. Among others, Nephtali Samuelis, Jacob Magnus, Isaak van Duitz, and Jacob Levi are employed as menials. Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen," *VA*, IX, September 16, 1932, pp. 396 ff.

¹³⁴ Uri Halevi was the exception because he was said to be descended from the tribe of Benjamin. See also pp. 41 & 61 for Ashkenazim in the service of Sephardim.

came of being a Dutch subject, was valuable to the Jewish merchant but at home it did not add to his privileges.

The repeated restrictions placed in the way of the Amsterdam Jew, were both detrimental and insulting.¹³⁵ In 1668 Christians, who had sworn allegiance to Amsterdam, were permitted to carry on crafts and trades controlled by the guilds, while Jews were not accorded the same rights in spite of their protestations of fealty. However, they were absolved from paying certain tolls and were allowed to keep tobacco shops and deal in fat products, groceries and liquors. These occupations had hitherto been forbidden them. The Amsterdam government feared Jewish competition to such an extent that it often withdrew or changed privileges previously given, now adding and now cancelling restrictions. These restrictions, notwithstanding, a list of Jewish occupations, dated 1743, shows that certain Jews found means to enter occupations, ostensibly closed to them.¹³⁶ As late as 1784 prejudice against them was too strong to accord them freedom from taxation on their religious institutions, although this was granted to Catholics in that year and had been accorded to Protestants in 1731 and 1737.

It was not without a struggle that in 1796 emancipation was officially accorded to the Jews. Pamphleteers opposed the step. The cause of emancipation was further hindered by the old law granting each municipality independent control of its Jewish population. But by the end of the year in question, all restrictions against Jews were finally lifted.

The following figures indicate the growth of the Jewish population in Amsterdam from the days of the first group settlement to the era of emancipation:¹³⁷

In 1609 there were about 200 Sephardic Jews
 In 1630 there were about 1000 Sephardic Jews
 In 1655 there were about 1800 Sephardic Jews
 In 1674 there were about 2500 Sephardic Jews & 5000 Ashkenazim¹³⁸
 In 1720 there were about 9000 Ashkenazim
 In 1748 there were about 3000 Sephardic Jews & 10000 Ashkenazim
 In 1780 there were about 3000 Sephardic Jews & 19000 Ashkenazim

¹³⁵ See pp. 67 ff.

¹³⁶ See pp. 70 ff.

¹³⁷ Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche Historie vervattende de Geschiedenissen der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1792-1805, XXXV, pp. 155 ff. Wolff, op. cit., BVGO, IV, 1910, pp. 382-400.

¹³⁸ There is a difference of opinion as to the number of Jews in Amsterdam around 1674. See pp. 204 ff. and 210 ff.

In 1795 there were about 2400 Sephardic Jews & 21000 Ashkenazim
 In 1805 the total Jewish population of Amsterdam was 24000.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ See p. 11 and pp. 210 ff. The growth in the general population of Amsterdam between 1622 and 1796 is indicated by the following:

1622.....	104,961	people	1685.....	185,700	people
1630.....	111,000	"	1748.....	241,000	"
1637.....	145,900	"	1796.....	217,000	"

CHAPTER II

TRADES AND CRAFTS IN AMSTERDAM

A. INTRODUCTION

As we have seen, Amsterdam welcomed the Portuguese Jews to its shores, more by reason of their widespread influence and activity in the realm of trade, than from any large-hearted toleration. Marrano ships bearing European cargoes, made for Eastern harbors, and returned laden with the luxuries of the East, which were readily consumed by a Europe engaged in widening its sensuous appreciation no less than its intellectual and economic horizon. Perhaps never before in the history of the world had a region been so avid for luxury as the Europe of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

With the rise of the Dutch East India Company, the power of the Marranos waned in that quarter. Jews of Holland could still purchase Eastern goods; but since they were now driven to transact business through the Company, they were subject to its prices and were forced to meet the competition of Amsterdam merchants in inter-European commerce. These patrician traders, with Eastern goods at their door, first utilized Jews as their mentors in international business. Having learnt their methods and established connections, they then forced them into relatively subordinate positions, employing vast monetary resources to gain control of the trade. For this reason, some of the Marrano settlers in Amsterdam, formerly concerned with Eastern trade, sought other channels of revenue.

B. THE SILK INDUSTRY

The silk trade and industry had long interested the Jews. Their contact with the Orient made this luxurious commodity a part of their traffic in Eastern goods. As profits were large on all luxuries, the silk trade attracted Jewish merchants. When the Marrano settlement was established in Antwerp it is said that they introduced the silk industry into that region.¹

¹ van Dillen, *op. cit.*, *Inleiding*, p. XVIII.

enlarge the building and to give it to Rodrigues rent free for four or five years provided that "he instructs whosoever wishes to learn silk weaving." When Rodrigues' contract expired in 1610, it was not renewed.⁶ In September, 1605, the burgomasters of Amsterdam also granted Steven Cordosa (alias Jacob Uziel Cardoza, alias Estevan Cardoza)⁷ and his brother Diego de Vyler (Diego Davillar) permission to operate two silk mills. They were also given a house rent free for five years on condition that they too teach apprentices.⁸ We do not know whether this contract was prolonged, but other Jews seem to have been engaged in this industry and business. Five years later the Christian Hans Petersz. de Jonghe is apprenticed to Isaack Buenes for six years to learn the trade in silk and silken wares. Buenes was to receive eleven Flemish pounds yearly.⁹

The silk industry flourished in Jewish hands for about half a century. The guilds were loth to relinquish so prosperous an endeavor. By 1650 the Jewish silk manufacturers realized that the formation of a silk guild was imminent in Amsterdam. They, therefore, decided to transfer the industry to the little village of Maarssen where they had their summer residences. Twenty-five people were employed there. The project flourished for several years but finally failed.¹⁰

By 1654 the industry in Amsterdam was no longer controlled by Jews. Two years later a silk hall was established by the Amsterdam guild from which Jews were definitely barred. Their exclusion seems strikingly unjust since, as we have seen, the Marranos had established the industry and developed it into an important commercial activity. It is probable that those very Christians, who were taught the trade by Jews, later excluded them from its practice.

An eighteenth century merchant gives us an impression of the importance of this branch of manufacture. He says: "I believe that in former times the silk industry alone employed more people and

⁶ Ibid., p. 784, No. 1353. Zwarts, "Archiefsprokkels", VA, VI, September 27, 1929, p. 411 and *De Eerste Rabbinen*, pp. 189 ff. Vega went to Rotterdam and tried to establish a Jewish community there.

⁷ Cardoza was among the founders of the congregation "Beth Jacob". As early as 1602, he was a participant in the East India Company. Vaz Dias, "Stichters", VA, VIII, January 8, 1932, pp. 239 ff.

⁸ van Dillen, op. cit., p. 632, no. 1066. Vaz Dias, "Stichters", VA, ibid.

⁹ A Flemish pound equals 6.6 guilders.

¹⁰ Zwarts, "Uit het Verleden der Portugeesche Joden in de Vechstreek", *Jaarboekje 1920 van het Oudheidkundig Genootschap "Niftarlar"*, Utrecht, p. 3.

produced more profits in our land than is now the case with the entire East India Company."¹¹

Although the Jews of Amsterdam were denied the right to manufacture silk, they continued to trade in it to some extent. From 1704 to 1708 Jews bought 37,903 guilders 9 stuivers worth of silk, or 8½ per cent of the total of the Amsterdam Chamber of the East India Company's sale; and 4,634 guilders 14 stuivers worth of silk taffetas ("armosijn"), or 0.9 per cent of the Chamber of Amsterdam's sales during those years. From 1724 to 1728 Jews purchased 32,138 guilders 15 stuivers, or 1.3 per cent of the Chamber of Amsterdam's sales during those years.¹²

λ The silk industry fell into desuetude during the period of excessive speculation in the eighteenth century. In the epoch of Amsterdam's decline, Mordecai de Aron de Pinto projected a plan for the betterment of economic conditions there. Among other things he advised the formation of an association of silk-merchants for the purpose of buying up raw silk from the Levant, Italy, Naples, etc., in order to promote silk manufacturing at home. He maintained that if his plans were carried out, it would help the depreciated silk commerce, bring profit to dealers and aid the unemployed. He further advised that wool spinning be carried on in conjunction with the silk mills.¹³ The plan never materialized and the silk industry in Amsterdam finally lost its importance.

C. THE SUGAR TRADE AND REFINING

About the middle of the seventeenth century the sugar industry rose to prominence. Many Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam were involved in this trade. The West India Company brought shiploads of raw sugar to the city to be refined whence the finished product was distributed to France, England, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, Luneburg, Saxony, Brunswick, Hesse, Silesia, and other parts of Germany. Between 1650 and 1660 the sugar industry turned over a larger capital than any other. One quarter of the total amount of yearly taxes on goods weighed in the public warehouses

¹¹ Zwarts, *De Eerste Rabbinen*, p. 166 and "Archiefsprokkels", VA, VI, September 27, 1929, p. 411.

¹² "Grootboeken", No. 10405, 1700-1704, and No. 10413, 1724-1728, of the Chamber of Amsterdam, East India Company, "Rijksarchief", The Hague, see also Appendix C.

¹³ *De Koopman*, II, pp. 437 ff.

was paid by sugar refiners. There were constantly about one hundred ships in the sugar trading fleet.¹⁴

As early as 1596 we learn that Manuel Rodrigues Vega, who was also interested in the silk industry¹⁵ figured among the most important Jewish sugar merchants. He had two large storehouses in Amsterdam, one of which was used to store sugar which he received from the Island of St. Michel.¹⁶ That there was more Jewish sugar trade from that island is apparent from the assertion of Raffael Duarte and Jeronimo Nunes da Costa that a cargo of sugar from St. Michel had been damaged because of a leakage in the ship transporting the goods.¹⁷

The Jews also received sugar via Portugal. For example, in July, 1657, Simon and Luis Rois (Rodrigues) de Sousa accepted, among other merchandise, 135 cases of sugar from Antonio da Silva of Oporto, Portugal, and in November, 1658, Sebastiaan Coutinho received six cases and one barrel of sugar from that country.¹⁸ The above are merely instances drawn from records of a widely ramified trade.¹⁹

In the beginning of the eighteenth century (1704-1708) the Jews purchased 19,420 guilders 3 stuivers worth of sugar from the Amsterdam Chamber of the East India Company or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of its total importation.²⁰ If the West India Company's books had been available they would, undoubtedly, have yielded evidence of much more important Jewish transactions in this article, as the West Indies rapidly became one of the great sugar producing regions of the world, and the Jews had no small share in the development of this enterprise.

¹⁴ J. J. Recme, *De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam van het Begin der 17den Eeuw tot 1811*, Haarlem, 1908, p. 32. There was a tax on all merchandise weighed on the official scales in a special building erected for this purpose by the city ("Waaghuis"). Every city had its "Waaghuis".

¹⁵ See also p. 34, note 4. In 1610 he lived in London, he later returned to Holland.

¹⁶ Vaz Dias, "Stichters", VA, VIII, January 11, 1932, p. 247.

¹⁷ MS. Padthuyssen, 2889.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2886 and 2888. The MSS. are dated July 20 and 25, 1657 and July 1, 1659. In regard to the price of a case (500 pounds) of sugar at that time we hear that white sugar brought 161 guilders a case in 1657, and 150 guilders in 1660.

¹⁹ Abraham Franco Silbera, alias Christoval Franco, empowered a certain Captain Don Diego de Ropas of Antwerp to receive 80 guilders 10 stuivers for half a case of white sugar from Manuel Gomes Saragossa of Antwerp. MSS, Padthuyssen, 2886 and 2889, dated September 22, 1657. The latter MS states that the sugar sold for 6 "grotten" a pound. 2 "grotten" equals 1 "stuiver".

²⁰ "Grootboek", East India Company, 10405, see also Appendix C.

In 1577, the brothers Pieter and Jasper de Morimont (formerly from Antwerp), petitioned the government of the city of Leiden for permission to establish a sugar refinery. Whether or not this permission was granted is unknown.²¹ The first mention of this industry in Amsterdam is in 1597.²² In 1605 there were only three refineries in the city, in 1650 there were forty, in 1661 sixty, at the end of the seventeenth century the number of refineries had decreased to twenty, due to high taxes and foreign competition. But before 1750, after the oppressive taxes were reduced, there were as many as ninety-five refineries. In 1771 there were 110, in 1800 again only 59.²³

In 1655 Abraham and Isaac Pereira, "Portuguese merchants of the Jewish nation", petitioned the government of Amsterdam for permission to establish a sugar refinery.²⁴ A contemporary²⁵ remarks that although the resolutions of March 29, 1632 forbade Jews to enter most occupations in Amsterdam, sugar refining does not fall under these restrictions. The Pereiras included in their request to the government the opinion of several renowned lawyers confirming their right to be sugar refiners. The Christian refiners tried to prevent the Jews from entering the trade by claiming that this activity fell under the restrictions on Jews. The government sided with the Pereiras and granted them permission to establish the refinery, provided they would not sell less than 1,000 pounds of sugar or one barrel of syrup at a time. This, of course, was an assurance that the Jews would not enter retail trade. In 1656, the Pereiras bought property for their refinery amounting to 8,000 guilders. In 1658 the establishment was opened for business.²⁶ The Pereiras employed both Jews and Chris-

²¹ *De Navorscher*, XV, 1865, p. 36. Reesse, op. cit., p. 105.

²² *Ordinantie van de brand*, November 6, 1597, *Handvesten van Amsterdam*, 1613, p. 181, states that refiners of sugar must have 18 fire buckets in their factories. Reesse, op. cit., p. 105.

²³ Reesse, op. cit., pp. 47, 63 and 107. Tj. P. van der Kooy, *Hollands Stapelmarkt en haar Verval*, Amsterdam, 1931, p. 11. I. Le Long, *De Koophandel van Amsterdam*, I, p. 398. According to "Journal der reize van den agent van Nationale Oeconomie der Bataafsche Republiek, Ao 1800," *Sloet's Tijdschrift voor Staatshuishoudkunde en Statistiek*, XIX, p. 185, there were 59 sugar refineries in Amsterdam in 1800.

²⁴ Wagenaar, *Amsterdam*, IV, p. 248. *Handvesten*, 1748, p. 1173, "Keur van November 6, 1670." Concerning the Pereiras, see also *De Koopman*, II, pp. 433, 443 and 440. van Dillen, op. cit., p. 658, no. 1115, speaks about a certain Manuel Open Farrere, sugar refiner. We do not know whether this is the same Pereira of whom we are speaking or a separate concern.

²⁵ Hans Bontemantel in a MS *De Regeringe van Amsterdam 1600 in 't Civiel als crimineel en Militaire*, 1653-1672, edited by G. W. Kernkamp, p. 498.

²⁶ The building, which still stands, bears a Hebrew inscription on its gablestone, taken from Psalm 16:8, "I have set the Lord ever before me."

tians in their concern. A certain Raphael Montesinos and Dirck Plune testified about a wagon-load of sugar, worth 412 guilders 5 stuivers, purchased from the Pereiras by a grocer.²⁷ But they did not remain sugar refiners for long. In 1664 they sold their business to a Christian named Jan Diricx. The buildings brought them 42,000 guilders and the equipment 3,500 guilders. The Pereiras are described by their fellow Jews as merchants of wealth and influence who occupied an important place on the Exchange.²⁸

The Pereiras' example was soon followed by Salomon, Moses and Isaac del Pina (alias Mahhar). In 1656 they bought property from the city worth 4,000 guilders. Two years later, they built a refinery but in 1669 they too sold out to a Christian, Herman Witte. The building brought in 17,000 guilders and the equipment 2,000 guilders.

In 1657 a structure was erected by Isaac Mocado, to be used as a sugar refinery.²⁹ The business was later carried on by other members of that family.

In the same year, Abraham Davega, alias Raphael Duarte, had a sugar refinery on the Zwanenburgwal, Amsterdam. David Samson, an Ashkenazic Jew, was employed as a worker.³⁰

David de Aguilar was engaged in a similar enterprise as is attested by the fact that Balthazar Cunha bought a house which is described as located east of the sugar refinery of David de Aguilar on "Vloeyenburg".³¹

Characteristically, the Jews who so auspiciously entered this industry did not long remain in it. They may have foreseen the decline in the sugar trade following the establishment of sugar refineries in foreign countries, which limited the amount of raw products that would come to Amsterdam. The high taxes in Holland also made competition with foreign countries very difficult. Even within the short time that the Pereiras were in business, the Amsterdam government had to lessen the minimum sale requirements. It may also be that the speculative activities of the time attracted these wealthy Jews to the Exchange,

²⁷ MS, Padthuyzen, 2189, dated September 22, 1661.

²⁸ Reesse, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131. This Mocado was also a purveyor of provisions for Brazil, see p. 116, note 59 (Mocat).

³⁰ Vaz Dias, "Lousse Bijdragen", VA, IX, September 16, 1932, p. 397.

³¹ MS, Padthuyzen, 2189, dated January 5, 1660. Vloeyenburg is part of the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam.

with which they had become familiar through their speculations in sugar. Another inducement to abandon the sugar trade may have been the fact that, as the figures seem to show, they could consummate the sale of their plants to good advantage.

A century later, we find an Ashkenazic Jew, Rabbi Wolf ben Tobia from Prague, also named Rabbi Wolf Suikerbakker (Sugar-baker) concerned with sugar refining in Amsterdam. In January, 1775, the German Congregation gave him the exclusive right to prepare sugar for Passover. For this privilege he had to pay the Congregation 210 guilders annually. In order to prevent excessive prices the Parnassim stipulated that Wolf could not charge more than twelve stuivers per pound to private persons and 10 stuivers to dealers.³²

In effect, the amount of sugar refining business done by the Jews in Amsterdam was very small compared to the total amount refined in the city.

D. THE DIAMOND AND JEWELRY TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Unlike sugar refining, the diamond industry in Amsterdam has been from its inception largely in Jewish hands. Shortly after the discovery of the sea route to India, diamonds became better known in Europe. The supply was very limited, however, until the discovery of the Brazilian mines in 1728. Even then Indian diamonds were of a superior quality and therefore commanded higher prices than the American stones. Portuguese sailors brought beautiful stones to Amsterdam and sold them to the Jews. Ruben Norden, among others, grew very rich from this traffic.³³

It is said that the Fleming Lodewijk van Berkem, the inventor of diamond polishing, resided in Amsterdam as early as 1456. The first diamond worker in that city was Pieter Goos who came from the Spanish Netherlands in 1588. In 1615 there are records of Portuguese Jewish diamond polishers in Amsterdam. A year later, Salomon Franco had finished his apprenticeship as a diamond cutter, a trade which he had studied under a certain David Bulsinck.³⁴

³² D. M. Sluys, "Een Pesachmonopolie uit den ouden Tijd," VA, IV, April 22, 1927, pp. 51 ff.

³³ M. Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden bis zur Auflösung der Dreigemeinden*, Hamburg, 1904, pp. 79 ff.

³⁴ N. W. Goldstein, "Die Juden in der Amsterdamer Diamanten Industrie, *Zeitschrift fuer Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, III, December 1, 1907, pp. 178-184. E. E. Denekamp, *Die Amsterdamer Diamantenindustrie*, Heidelberg, 1895, p. 19. van Dillen, op. cit., Inleiding, p. XIX. Zwarts, "Archiefprokkels", VA, VI, September 27, 1929, p. 411.

The rich Portuguese Jewish diamond dealers became the employers of the poorer Portuguese, German and Polish Jews.³⁵ Even the workmen in this craft could not have been entirely destitute of means as in the last half of the seventeenth century master workers received from 60 to 225 guilders to instruct apprentices in the intricacies of diamond polishing. The period of apprenticeship ranged from 15 months to four and a half years.³⁶

As time went on certain Ashkenazic Jews gained wealth, towards the end of the seventeenth century three of them were called employers.³⁷ Half a century later several of them equalled the Portuguese dealers in affluence. Benjamin Simons, jeweler, had an income of 2,500 guilders yearly, and Jochem Mozes an income of 8,000 guilders.³⁸ Frequently cutters and polishers carried on jewelry trade. In the middle of the eighteenth century, we know of 23 Jewish jewelers

³⁵ The *Puiboken* of Amsterdam mention the following jewelers:

In 1663 Immanuel Aboab

In 1664 Salomon de Lima

In 1668 Pinchas Abrabanel (also mentioned as a diamond polisher)

In 1670 Geronimo Nunes da Costa

In 1680 David Bueno de Mesquita

In 1685 Jacob Pereira

In the same *Puiboken* we find the following diamond polishers mentioned:

In 1668 Isak Manuel Baruch from Venice

In 1668 Jacob Manuel Baruch from Venice

In 1668 Samuel Mendes (apprentice)

In 1674 Benjamin Franco

In 1675 David Aboab da Fonseca (born in Brazil, son of the renowned Isaac Aboab), see p. 130.

In 1675 Isak Idanha (from Dovenit)

In 1680 Isak Musafia

In 1680 Solomon Musafia

In 1681 Jacob Tixeirs

In 1681 Jacob van Abraham Rodrigues Pereira (from Seville)

In 1682 Jacob Mercado

In 1684 Benjamin de Campos (from Antwerp)

In 1685 Mordechai Abendana

In 1689 Aron Israel Nunes

Vaz Dias, "Joden in den Amsterdamschen Diamantenhandel in het begin der 18de Eeuw", VA, VII, January 31, 1930, p. 280.

³⁶ See *Algemeen Nederlandsche Diamant Bewerker Bond*, of August 22, 1913 and November 15, 1912, see also Appendix A.

³⁷ Vaz Dias, "Diamantenhandel", VA, VII, January 31, 1930, pp. 280 ff. In the *Puiboken*, dated:

1674 Isak Abrahams

1682 Gerzon Worms

1682 Eliaser Levij

³⁸ Vaz Dias, *ibid.*, also mentions the following Ashkenazic dealers who lived in Amsterdam in 1743: Ruben Levi and Salomon van Norden.

and seven Jewish diamond polishers possessing an annual income of 8,000 guilders or more.³⁹

There are two chief reasons why the Jews assumed such a prominent place in the diamond industry: for ages past Jews had been interested in precious stones and had acquired a knowledge and expertness in the trade. It also was one of the few pursuits in which competition was unhindered. Several contemporaries expressed themselves on the importance of the Jewish contributions to a trade in which "there were more jewels, gold and silver handled than in the places where they were mined."⁴⁰

As a necessary corollary to this industry an important jewelry trade developed. As early as 1617 Guillaume van Renselaar ordered Francisco Mendes (Porto) to deliver 220 round pearls bought from him through the interpreter Diego Dias for five guilders and 10 stuivers apiece.⁴¹ In 1620 Antonio Fernandez apprenticed his son Daniel Franco to "Silvester van de Hoffstadt" for five years, for the purpose of learning the goldsmith's art.⁴² At the beginning of the seventeenth century members of the Curiel and Duarte de Paz families were known as important jewelers.

Abraham de Fonseca had been a broker before 1693. Like most of his co-religionists he had more than one iron in the fire. He decided that trade in diamonds and jewelry would be more profitable than brokerage, and, therefore, directed his energies toward that field. When he died in 1712, he left a fortune in cut and uncut diamonds, pearls, precious stones, corals, gold and silver jewelry, besides 8,184.80 guilders, deposited with Abraham Semach Aboab. From his inventory we learn the names of certain other dealers with whom he had entered into partnership. His children carried on the business until 1752 when it was declared insolvent. The debts amounted to 17,359.37 guilders. A public sale was held, 2,393 rough diamonds amounting to

³⁹ Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", VA, VIII, July 24, 1931, p. 263.

⁴⁰ *De Koopmen*, II, p. 179. Luzac, op. cit., p. 353 writes: "Nowhere has the cutting and polishing of diamonds been so developed as in Amsterdam and nowhere is there a more active trade." Wolff, BVGO, I, 1913, p. 99 quotes Van der Oudermeulen, *Recherche sur le commerce*, Amsterdam, 1778 (a well-known author of the eighteenth century), p. 134 and note 60: "Often they (the Jews) are necessary in the most lucrative transactions. They are active in finance, on the Exchange, and in the jewelry and precious stones trade. . . . Many Amsterdam Jews polish precious stones, etc., above all, they work in rough diamonds. A large number of them are exclusively engaged in this endeavor. Some carry on commerce and others a sort of traffic."

⁴¹ Vaz Dias, "Loose Bijdragen", VA, VIII, August 7, 1931, p. 304.

⁴² Zwarts, "Archiefsprokkels", VA, VI, September 27, 1929, p. 412.

328 $\frac{7}{8}$ carats, were sold for 9,335 guilders and the polished diamonds brought from 65 to 100 guilders a carat.⁴³

In the years between 1700 and 1704 the Amsterdam Chamber of the East India Company imported 6,381 guilders 15 stuivers worth of diamonds of which Jews purchased 3,158 guilders 13 stuivers or 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1724-1728 it imported 7,605 guilders 15 stuivers worth of jewels of which Jews purchased 5,995 guilders 2 stuivers or 78 $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent, and 12,893 guilders 10 stuivers worth of pearls of which Jews bought 1,807 guilders 16 stuivers or 14 per cent.⁴⁴ However, these figures, by no means represent the total activity in the gem and jewelry trade for the years in question. As has been pointed out, Amsterdam merchants, especially the Jews, imported diamonds from Brazil. They also exported and imported gems to and from other countries and carried on a lively traffic among themselves. To illustrate, on February 27, 1660, Lopo Nunes, alias Teunis Smith, declared that he had consigned diamonds to Antonio de Faria, merchant of Rouen, the diamonds having come from Hamburg. Again in November, 1661, Andres Henriques complained in court that Joseph Abenjacar refused to return two heartshaped diamonds which he, Henriques, had given Abenjacar on approval. Meanwhile, Henriques had sold the diamonds to Gabriel Alvarez who insisted upon the delivery of his purchase.⁴⁵

The Leipzig Fair was an active center of the diamond trade as

⁴³ Vaz Dias, "Diamantenhandel", VA, VI, January 31, 1930, p. 283. The names of De Fonseca's associates are:

Moses Senior Henriques and Co.

Aaron Pereira

Salomon de Blocquray and Isak Pereira Belmonte

Abraham v. David de Mesquita

Jacob Nunez Henriques

Henriques de Medina

The debtors are:

Gabriel Johannes	1,575.80 guilders
Isak van Ermbden	977.14 guilders
Jacob Suerman	585. guilders
David Franco Mendes	9,108.18 guilders
Magnus Nathan Levi	1,065. guilders
Moses Curiel	491.17 guilders
Simon Nathan Levij	1,070.12 guilders
Jacob van Aron Bueno de Mesquita	917.70 guilders
Benjamin Abrahams	1,231.10 guilders

⁴⁴ *Grootboek*, East India Company, 10401, 10418, see also Appendix C.

⁴⁵ MSS, Padthuyzen, 2889 and 2890, dated November 23 and December 2, 1661.

it was of other articles. Jews from various countries were wont to attend this fair.⁴⁶

When, in the first half of the eighteenth century, there was a surplus of labor and the supply of rough diamonds diminished, three hundred Christian employees were put out of work by the Jews, who were able to work more cheaply. Thereupon, the Christians petitioned the government of Amsterdam, in 1748, to institute rules for the exclusion of the Jews: to demand that Jewish employees already in the industry be forced to pass an examination qualifying them to remain in business; to forbid the acceptance of new Jewish workmen or apprentices; to forbid the Jews to work on Sundays; and to force them to pay dues to the proposed diamond guild without deriving any of the benefits to be enjoyed by the Christian members.⁴⁷ The government refused to take action because "the Jews have established the diamond trade in this city."⁴⁸ The diamond industry continued to furnish a livelihood for hundreds of Jews. In 1750 there were 600 Jewish families living on the income from this business.⁴⁹

E. THE PRINTING AND BOOK TRADE

Both Germany and Holland claim to be the birthplace of the inventor of movable type. The Dutch maintain that honor for Laurens Jansz. Coster (about 1440) while the Germans insist that the laurels go to Gutenberg (1400-1468).

The earliest known dated book from a Dutch press was printed

⁴⁶ *Algemeen Nederlandsche Diamantbewerker Bond*, December 20, 1912, published a document, dated September 3, 1726 in which Moses Philip, jeweler, and his brother Abraham Philip, master diamond polisher, testify that they have sold diamonds to Elias Oppenheimer, merchant of Hamburg, in 1724. Concerning Jewish activity at the Leipzig Fair, see pp. 112 ff.

⁴⁷ Denekamp, op. cit., pp. 19 ff., points out that the Jews had their whole families working with them, while the Christians employed paid servants. See also Wolff, *BVGO*, VI, 1913, pp. 98 ff. It is worthy of note that in the petition for the formation of a diamond guild the Christian diamond workers said that the Jews did not follow the true Redeemer and that some day they might return to the Holy Land, with a false Messiah. This most likely refers to the excitement of the Portuguese Jews about Sabbatai Zevi, one of the false Messiahs of the previous century. So sure had the majority of Amsterdam Jews been of the truth of his Messiahship that for some time during 1665 they neglected their business and their commerce came to a standstill, because they were certain of returning to the Holy Land. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 88. M. Kayserling, "Daniel Levi de Barrios", *REJ*, XVIII, 1889, pp. 276-289.

⁴⁸ Hillesum, *Uit de Geschiedenis*, p. 121. Although there were Christian diamond workers in Amsterdam before the advent of the Jews, actual diamond trade was fostered and developed by Jews.

⁴⁹ J. H. van Zanten, "Eenige Demografische Gegevens over de Joden te Amsterdam", in *Mensch en Maatschappij*, II, Groningen, 1926, p. 2.

in Utrecht in 1473.⁵⁰ In the first years of the next century there were three printers in Amsterdam. One of the oldest known books printed there appeared in 1506.⁵¹ From then on, for two centuries, the number of printers steadily increased.⁵²

The printing business in Amsterdam was accelerated by the presence of Protestant propagandists. The industry suffered a decrease at the hands of Spanish censorship and persecution. After Holland shook off the yoke of Spain, printing once more flourished. In the seventeenth century Dutch presses probably produced more books than those of all the other European countries together. It is estimated that in Amsterdam's period of greatest affluence not less than 30,000 people earned a living from the book industry and trade.⁵³

Among the activities in which the Portuguese Jews participated printing was in the foreground.⁵⁴ The cultural interest of this group, the freedom from censorship,⁵⁵ the constantly increasing concern with

⁵⁰ Most incunabula are undated. P. Burger, "Het Nederlandsche Boek tot in de zeventiende eeuw", *Catalogus der Tentoonstelling van de Ontwikkeling der Boekdrukkunst in Nederland*, Haarlem, 1923, pp. 15 and 19. The title of this book is *Historia Scolastica*.

⁵¹ N. de Roever, "Amsterdamsche Boekdrukkers en Boekverkoopers uit de Zestiende eeuw", *BGNB*, V, 1892, pp. 189 ff. The title of this book is *Wandelinge der kersten mensch* (The Wanderings of a Christian).

⁵² A. C. Kruseman, "Aanteekeningen betreffende den Boekhandel van Noord-Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw", *BGNB*, VI, 1893, p. 497.

From 1440-1499 there were 2 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1500-1549 there were 18 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1550-1599 there were 38 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1600-1624 there were 96 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1625-1649 there were 134 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1650-1674 there were 190 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1675-1699 there were 273 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1700-1724 there were 215 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1725-1749 there were 191 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1750-1774 there were 141 bookprinters in Amsterdam

From 1775-1799 there were 179 bookprinters in Amsterdam

⁵³ Luzac, op. cit., I, p. 352, II, pp. 329 ff., III, p. 404, IV, pp. 422 ff. *Diferece*, op. cit., p. 152. M. M. Kleerkooper and W. P. van Stockum, *De Boekhandel te Amsterdam, voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw*, The Hague, 1914-1916, pp. 361-362.

⁵⁴ Schodt, op. cit., I, p. 284, becomes indignant and says about the Jewish printers of Amsterdam: "One of the matters in which the Jews have altogether too much freedom is that the Jews there (in Amsterdam) have their own printing presses." He refers to a blasphemous book by Menasseh ben Israel and says that the Old Testament is shamefully distorted in translation. He also adds that Christians give money to Jewish printers.

⁵⁵ Hugo Grotius in article XVI of his *Joden Reglement* writes the following: "Jews may have, utilize and cause to be printed in this country any book, with the exception of those which contain words of blasphemy or contempt." No Jew required the permission of the city to publish his thoughts or sentiments. No Jew was persecuted or hindered by the non-Jewish authorities in the preparation, printing or circulation of the products of the Jewish press. The Church Council of Amsterdam, supported by such men as Vortius and Maresius tried to censor books printed by Jews but the government would

Hebrew literature and the extensive commercial contacts with other parts of the world, constituted the reasons for a prosperous and important Hebrew printing industry among them. Another cause of the world-wide fame of the Amsterdam Hebrew press was the decay of the Venetian Hebrew printing houses and the slackening of southern and eastern European Hebrew presses.

Although the city authorities did not hinder or censor Jewish publications, the Portuguese congregation required that no Jew publish a book in Hebrew or a foreign language without permission from the heads of the Jewish community under penalty of a fine, the proceeds of which were to go to charity.⁵⁶

In 1617 the heads of the Jewish school, "Talmud Torah", voted for the establishment of a printing press and appropriated 539 guilders 11 stuivers for its equipment which also included Latin type.⁵⁷

On the first of January, 1627, the first known Hebrew book printed in Amsterdam⁵⁸ appeared from the press of the renowned Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel.⁵⁹ This press existed from 1626 until 1656. Menasseh himself managed it only until 1643, when it was taken over by Eliahu Aboab of Hamburg, who in turn managed it until 1645 during which time Menasseh acted as proofreader. His son, Joseph, took charge in 1646 and at his death in 1648, another son, Samuel, assumed proprietorship until 1652. The press helped to augment Menasseh's inadequate income from the congregation.⁶⁰ He did not have the wherewithal to publish many books, his largest output occurred in the

not hear of it. Prins, "De Oud-Hollandsche Drukkersvrijheid", *BMGJWN*, V, 1933, pp. 147-176.

⁵⁶ This rule was embodied in article 37 of the *Huisbondelijk Reglement* of the Portuguese community in 1639. Prins, *ibid.*, De Castro, *Synagoge*, p. XL.

⁵⁷ Hillelsum, "Hebreeuwsche Druk in Nederland", *Catalogus der Tentoonstelling van de Ontwikkeling der Boekdrukkunst in Nederland*, Haarlem, 1923, p. 177.

⁵⁸ A daily prayerbook, according to the Sephardic ritual, published by Abraham Sarphati and Aphraim Bueno, corrected by Hacham Aboab. M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin, 1931, nos. 2129 and 2703. Kruseman, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 100. *JE*, I, New York, 1901, art. "Amsterdam", p. 539.

⁵⁹ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, III, no. 2703. In a Spanish letter, dated January, 1648, to a Christian friend Menasseh gives an interesting diary of his day's work: teaching, preaching, proofreading, consultations and other official duties. E. N. Adler, "A letter of Menasseh ben Israel", *TJHSE*, V, 1902-1905, p. 183.

⁶⁰ M. Kayserling, "Menasse Ben Israel, sein Leben und Werke", *JGJ*, II, 1861, pp. 85-188. Cardozo de Bethencourt, "Lettres de Menasseh ben Israel à Isaac Vossius, (1651-1655)", *REJ*, XLIX, 1904, pp. 98 ff. Menasseh ben Israel, *De Termino Vitae*, Amsterdam, 1639, pp. 236 ff.: "The salaries of our Synagogue are not quite excellent." After twelve years of service, in 1634, his salary was no more than 200 guilders annually. C. Roth, *Menasseh ben Israel*, Philadelphia, 1934, p. 33. See also p. 69.

years 1631 and 1635. He published six books in each of these years and five books in each of the following years: 1642, 1646, and 1647. In the years 1629 and 1653 Menasseh did not publish a single volume. Within the first twenty years of its existence Menasseh's press printed altogether sixty works.⁶¹ His most important task was the printing of correct editions of the Bible, prayerbook and his own works written in several languages. His fellow rabbis appreciated the fine quality of Hebrew printing he produced.

It is recorded that Menasseh was the only Jew among 159 Christians to attend the bookdealers' fair in Frankfort in 1634. Nevertheless, when he applied for membership to the Booksellers' guild in 1648 this right was refused him.⁶² We know that on March 4, 1631, he employed Christian workmen in his printing establishment, for he made a two years' contract with a certain Bartholomeus Laurensz. to help with the printing at the rate of six stuivers per ream, or half that amount if he had an assistant. On November 7, 1645, two Christian merchants contracted with Menasseh to print an edition of 4,000 octavo copies of the Mishnah, with vowels for which he was to receive 2,200 guilders. He was obliged to help selling them at a minimum price of two guilders per copy. After all the books were sold he was to get an additional 150 guilders. This work appeared in Amsterdam in 1646 "with a glossary of strange words by Menasseh ben Israel." It was punctuated by Rabbi Jacob Juda Leon Templo.⁶³

⁶¹ Da Silva Rosa, "Menasseh ben Israel (1604-1657) als Grondlegger der Hebreuwische Typographie in Nederland", *VA*, III, January 7, 1927, p. 230. Da Silva Rosa, *Catalogus der Tentoonstelling in het Portugeesche Israëlitisch Seminarium 'Ets Haim', ter herinnering aan het Drieonderd-Jarig Jubileum van het eerste door Menasseh ben Israel te Amsterdam gedrukte Boek*, Amsterdam, 1927. Hillesum, "Bijdrage tot de Bibliographie van Menasseh Ben Israel's Geschriften," *Het Boek*, 1927, pp. 353-363.

⁶² Hillesum, *Uit de Geschiedenis*, p. 28, quoting "Resolutieboek van Heeren Burge-meesteren der Stad Amsterdam", April 29, 1648.

⁶³ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, no. 1999, Kleerkooper, *op. cit.*, p. 1385 and pp. 410-412. The contract reads as follows: "November 7, 1645, The honorable Arent Diricksz Bos and Ameldonc Leeuw, merchants of Amsterdam on their part, and the honorable Menasseh ben Israel on his part, make a contract concerning the printing of the Hebrew book called Mishnayot. Manasse shall order and deliver the said book upon good clear paper, worth at least 50 stuivers per ream. . . . That he himself and no one else shall correct and examine the final proofs of the book. . . . That he shall make a dictionarium alphabeticum of all the difficult words with Hebrew explanations which glossary shall be appended to the back of the book. . . . That he shall print 4,000 octavo copies of the said book. . . . That he shall have the 4,000 copies printed in eight successive months after the type is cast which must be accomplished two months from the date of this contract, totaling ten months. . . . That he shall sell the copies to the best advantage of the above mentioned merchants, each book at a minimum of 2 carolus guilders or forty stuivers. They may be sold for more but not for less. . . . That he shall also

In 1627, shortly after the establishment of Menasseh's press, another press was founded by Daniel de Fonseca. Having speedily published Meir Aldabi's *Shebile Emuna* (The Paths of Faith) it claimed priority over Menasseh's first publication. De Fonseca also printed *Ene Abraham*.⁶⁴

Emanuel Benveniste, originally from Venice, instituted a printing press in Amsterdam, 1641-1659.⁶⁵ We know that there was great capital backing him and that he became a dangerous rival to Menasseh ben Israel. In 1643 he arranged with the Christian binders Magnus and Spanceerder to deliver 8,000 bound Hebrew prayerbooks in six weeks. The large number of books implies considerable export trade.⁶⁶ He was responsible for the printing of the famous uncensored Amsterdam edition of the Talmud, 1644-1648.⁶⁷ Jews and Gentiles worked together in Benveniste's plant.⁶⁸ The decorations used became models for all fine printing in Europe.

In 1658, one year after the death of Menasseh ben Israel, the twenty-three year old Joseph Athias set up a Hebrew printing press in Amsterdam.⁶⁹ He was the first of the Jewish printers to engage in letter casting, publishing and book selling. Most probably he was also the first to employ periodicals ("Amsterdamsche" and "Haarlemsche Courant") for the purpose of advertising the different letter types used in his books. His taste and care gained him a reputation

be bound to print the said book in Hebrew with vowels together with Latin or other languages in which it may be translated in as many copies as the merchants require. The merchants, on their part, shall be obliged to have the book printed by him and by no one else for the above mentioned price.

For all the above mentioned the said Manasse ben Israel shall enjoy and the above mentioned merchants shall give him the sum of 2,200 guilders to be paid in four payments, the first quarter to be paid at once, so that the letters and vowels may be cast, the second quarter when the first third of the work shall be completed, the third quarter when the second third of the work shall be completed and the fourth quarter when all copies are finished and delivered into the hands of the merchants. . . . (Menasseh signs: 'Menasseh ben Israel'.)"

⁶⁴ Steinschneider, op. cit., III, no. 8099.

⁶⁵ Ibid., III, no. 7893.

⁶⁶ Kruseman, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 101.

⁶⁷ Steinschneider, op. cit., I, nos. 1411a and 2137, III, no. 7893.

⁶⁸ Kleerkooper, op. cit., p. 1150, mentions a document, dated October 9, 1646, in which Benveniste, "Master printer", Levy Marcus, "Master printer Apprentice", Johannes van Clebergen and Samuel Levy "co-workers" in the printing establishment testify to the good behavior of a certain Joseph Moyses, also printer's apprentice, who has been working with Benveniste for six years. This must have been from the very outset of his operations in Holland.

⁶⁹ Steinschneider, op. cit., III, no. 7828.

far beyond the borders of Holland. In 1661 he was admitted to the booksellers' guild.⁷⁰

In spite of his apparent success Athias seemed to have been short of funds, as he borrowed money from Christoffel van Gangelt for which he offered his books as security.⁷¹

During the second Anglo-Dutch War, in 1667, a cargo of one hundred packages of English Bibles (printed by Athias in 1661 and 1662) were taken by the enemy before they reached their destination in England. At the conclusion of the war, the shipment of books found its way to English purchasers.⁷² That this was only part of what had been sent, we gather from Athias' own words: "For several years I myself printed more than a million Bibles for England and Scotland. There is no plow boy or servant girl there without one."⁷³

In 1667 the States General took cognizance of his excellent work by presenting him with a gold chain and medal as a token of the country's esteem.⁷⁴ Three years later, it granted him a fifteen year monopoly on the printing and sale of English Bibles.⁷⁵ In 1673 the

⁷⁰ Da Silva Rosa, "Jozef Athias (1635-1700). Uit het leven van een Joodsche koopman-industrieel in de 17e eeuw", VA, IV, November 18, 1927, pp. 534-537. Da Silva Rosa, "Joseph Athias, (1635-1700) ein berühmter juedischer Drucker", *Soncino Blätter*, III, 1930, pp. 183-188. Kleerkooper, op. cit., p. 10. In a newspaper of 1667 "Courante vryt Italien en Duytsland", XXVII, quoted in *De Nieuwicheit*, VI, 1856, pp. 297-298, we find the following advertisement: "Joseph Athias, living in the St. Antonis Breestraat, has printed with much labor and expense and is going to publish the long awaited Hebrew Bible in large Octavo, on fine Medaen paper with Hebrew notes and Roman numbers on the margin, dividing the contents of the text for the greater comfort of all nations, in order that they may investigate everything easily. This Bible has never before been printed in this correct manner, not a single error can be found in the entire Bible (which is indeed wonderful). It has also been entirely read through and examined by the Rabbis of the Jewish Synagogue and approved by them and the professors of the Universities of Leiden, Utrecht, Groningen, Franeker. The entire work, revised by Johannes Leusden, professor in Utrecht, is dedicated to the States General and has been accepted by the Honorable Sirs because of the worthwhileness of this work. It is honored with a large gold chain and medal."

⁷¹ Scieszneider, op. cit., III, no. 9401. Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 1135 ff.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Athias made this remark in an introduction to a Hebrew-Yiddish Bible of 1687. Hillem, *Hebreuwische Drak*, p. 180.

⁷⁴ *Resolutie Staten Generaal*, June 10, 1667. The text of this resolution reads in part that this Bible is "the most correct and exact edition that had ever been published."

⁷⁵ The monopoly reads: "The States General, etc., makes it known that Joseph Athias, merchant of Amsterdam, has shown us that he has set up in Amsterdam the entire Bible in the English language in very neat Roman letters with much labor and difficulty and has expended many thousands. He has made these Bibles in 12° and 24° as is apparent from the accompanying copy and pages. He has undertaken this work, not to make profit for himself, but only to serve the inhabitants within and outside the country. In order to make it pleasanter and more agreeable for purchasers he added singing psalms [what this means is not clear, most likely musical notation is added to the text.]

monopoly was renewed.⁷⁶ Athias also had the exclusive right to print a Yiddish Bible,⁷⁷ much to the detriment of Uri Phoebus Halevi, an Ashkenazic printer of Amsterdam.

It was the practice of printers to procure exclusive rights for the sale of their books. Unless such protection was offered anyone might make reprints of their edition and naturally be able to undersell the original printers. These monopolies did not hold beyond the borders of the country in which they were obtained. In order to be granted a monopoly in Amsterdam, proof of the printer's right to it had to be established. The advice of the printers' and booksellers' guild was always solicited.⁷⁸

In 1681 Athias purchased a letter casting plant from Elzevier. This concern had become involved in a dispute with the guild. Wishing to protest against the purchase of the plant, the master letter-casters and their apprentices refused to work for Athias, imposing a fine of 100 silver ducats upon anyone employed by him. The strike resulted in financial difficulties and Athias settled with his creditors for twenty per cent of the total of his debts. With the help of a Jewish Maecenas of that time, Moses Machado, Athias was enabled to continue his business. The trouble with the letter-casters guild was

A fine paper edition, unbound, will bring 15 stuivers, a cheaper paper edition unbound, 13 stuivers. The consumption of paper used in the publication of this Bible will bring and add profit to this country. In order that the petitioner may attain results from his work and that this work may not be taken from him by others, he requested the exclusive right and permission to print, have printed, to vend and sell, the said complete English Bible in 12° and 24° or any size the petitioner shall deem advisable for a period of 15 years within these provinces. We hereby forbid all and any bookprinters, booksellers, bookbinders, and all other inhabitants in the said, our land, during the said period to reprint, have reprinted, publish and sell in whole or in part, large or small, the said Bible or to have reprints of it brought into this country to be sold. In the event that this is done, all the reprints will be confiscated and a fine of 300 carolus guilders will be applied according to custom. So be it. September 22, 1670." Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 1136 ff.

⁷⁶J. T. Bodel Nijenhuis, "De Wetgeving op Drukpers en Boekhandel in de Nederlanden tot het begin der 19de eeuw." *BGNB*, IV, 1892, pp. 32 ff. At this time the monopoly rights were requested by Susanna Veelsaer, widow of the late Jan Jacobus Schipper, Anna Maria Stam, and Joseph Athias. He probably associated himself with these women as the enterprise was too large to undertake without assistance. Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 1135 ff.

⁷⁷Steinschneider, op. cit., nos. 1177-78. On July 17, 1687, the broker Hendrick de Schepper advertises in the *Oprechte Haarlemmer Courant* that 3,000 High German Jewish Bibles, printed by Joseph Athias, who has the exclusive privilege of printing them for 15 years, will be sold in Amsterdam, and in July, 1693, we find an advertisement announcing the sale of a large number of those Bibles in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* and the *Oprechte Haarlemmer Courant*. Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 12 ff. and 1135 ff.

⁷⁸Bodel Nijenhuis, op. cit., pp. 32 ff.

not adjusted until 1683.⁷⁹ However, Athias never derived much profit from this undertaking. Quite a number of important Hebrew books came from this press.

A few years before his father's death, which occurred in 1700, Immanuel, Athias' son, assumed the management of the firm. He died in 1714, unmarried.⁸⁰ Another member of the Athias family, Abraham Athias, was in the printing business from 1728-1741. He reprinted many of the Athias prayerbooks.⁸¹ Samuel Proops, an Ashkenazic Jew, bought the Athias press and letters.⁸² These letters are now in the hands of the letter-casting concern "Amsterdam".⁸³

Athias had several rivals, among them Uri Phoebus Halevi (also called Philips Levy), grandson of Moses Uri Halevi, who operated a printing press in Amsterdam from 1658 to 1689.⁸⁴ He, like most of his Jewish colleagues, often produced Hebrew books for Gentile merchants who seemed to have carried on a Hebrew book business of no mean importance. He even consummated a deal with members of two of Amsterdam's patrician families Blau and Bake, to print an edition of Yiddish Bibles.⁸⁵ Blau was granted the exclusive right to sell the books. Five hundred copies were given to Rabbi Meyer Frankel of Danzig to dispose of in Poland for which Blau's agent ob-

⁷⁹ His debtors were:

Jan Pieter van Aldewereld	4,130 guilders
David de Pinto	3,000 guilders
Vigna en Fany	2,183 guilders
Moses Pacheco	1,233 guilders

Register van ongeteekende creditoren der boedelkamers, no. 649, p. 190. Hillesum, *Hebrewische Druk*, p. 181, Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 10 ff. and pp. 18 ff. Da Silva Rosa, "Jozef Athias", VA, IV, November 18, 1927, p. 536. In that year Athias and Emanuel Levi bought a house in Amsterdam for 12,900 guilders.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Steinschneider, op. cit., II, no. 7493. Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 1475-1476.

⁸² Steinschneider, op. cit., III, no. 7830. Evidence is also to be found in Proops' Hebrew Spanish edition of the Bible of 1762: "We now have in our possession for general use the type forms of the printing press of Joseph Immanuel and Abraham Athias which in the past was so well-known throughout the world and so widely praised but which for many years now has not functioned, and we hope that we shall continue to use it and that we shall not lose these moulds, neither we, nor our children, nor our children's children." Concerning the printers Proops, see pp. 54 ff.

⁸³ Da Silva Rosa, *ibid.*

⁸⁴ Steinschneider, op. cit., III, no. 9294 and I, nos. 177-78-79.

⁸⁵ Kleerkooper, op. cit., p. 363, p. 41 and p. 1366. On October 15, 1669, Levy made a contract with G. van Maarloop to print 2,500 "magorim" (holiday prayerbooks). Levy is to receive 45 stuivers for each book or 5,125 guilders for the transaction. Seven years later he prints 6,300 Yiddish Bibles for Blau and Bake, the profits accruing therefrom are to be divided evenly.

tained a monopoly from the Polish government.⁸⁶ In spite of Levy's rights in Poland, Joseph Athias consented to print Josel Witzenhauzen's translation of the Bible into Yiddish.⁸⁷ Through Athias' greater influence Levy's prior rights were not respected. In 1678 Philips Levy yielded the monopoly rights granted by Holland on his edition of the Pentateuch to Isaac Salomons who bought it for Sabathay Bassista when the latter took up his quarters in Amsterdam.⁸⁸

Another printer of no mean rank, contemporary with Athias and Levy, was David ben Abraham de Castro Tartas who learned his trade at the Ben Israel presses.⁸⁹ The printer was a brother of Isaac de Castro Tartas who, after having been captured in Brazil, was sent to Lisbon, tried and condemned by the Inquisition, and burned at the stake.

David Tartas printed several rabbinic writings and some prayer-books and ritualistic works. His brother, Jacob de Castro Tartas, helped him with the management of the press. In 1675 Tartas printed a paper in Spanish, dealing with economic and commercial questions which was known as "*Gazeta de Amsterdam*".⁹⁰ One of the paper dealers with whom he negotiated was the Jew Isacq Gurrire who furnished him 1,500 reams of paper for one of his enterprises.⁹¹ The publishers were accorded the exclusive rights to print and sell the work for a period of fifteen years.⁹² In 1694 Tartas acquired another monopoly which was destined to cause much strife, namely the right to print "*Tefilat kol ha Shana Yom Kipur we Taaniot*" (Prayerbook for the entire year together with Yom Kipur and penitential prayers). Tartas had made a contract with Hayim Jacobs, an Ashkenazic Jew of Amsterdam, for 10,000 copies of the ritual. While the reprinting of this book was in progress in Tartas' press, he discovered that two other concerns were printing the same work, in spite of his monopoly rights. He warned the two competitive combines: Moses Polacq and Casper Steen, and Ansel Soget⁹³ and Barent Linaer, to stop printing

⁸⁶ Kleerkooper, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁸⁷ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, I, nos. 1178-79.

⁸⁸ Kleerkooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 365 ff. In April, 1679, Van Loon agrees with Bassista that the latter is to set and correct the text while Levy is to print it, see also note 85.

⁸⁹ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, III, no. 7900.

⁹⁰ Kleerkooper, *op. cit.*, p. 1455, see also p. 208.

⁹¹ This paper was needed for his second edition of the Mishna. For this publication Tartas joined hands with the Christian Jan Caspar Kestner, *ibid.*, pp. 1282 and 819.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 1503-04 and pp. 819 ff.

⁹³ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, III, nos. 9528 and 7810.

the book. Ansel Soget and his associates probably won the case as they were also given a fifteen year monopoly on their prayerbook by the States General (February 16, 1696).⁹⁴

It appears that in 1698 Tartas sold his press to Moses Mendes Coutinho.⁹⁵ He received 816 guilders 2 stuivers for the plant and appurtenances, and 140 guilders for the three monopolies.⁹⁶ This

⁹⁴ Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 774 ff., p. 741, pp. 822 ff., pp. 827 ff.

⁹⁵ Steinschneider, op. cit., no. 8912.

⁹⁶ Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 828 ff. The bill of sale for the press reads in part as follows: "March 18, 1698, there appeared before me, Hendrik de Wilde, public notary, etc., the following witnesses: David Tartas, bookprinter of this city, who has declared that he has sold and hereby hands over and transports and freely conveys to and on behalf of Moses Mendes Coutinho (Coutinho), also an inhabitant of this city, all his apparatus with Hebrew, Latin and other letters, his copper and wooden plates and whatsoever else belongs to the press. . . . He also hands to Coutinho three privileges which he has obtained from the mighty government of this land for the printing of certain books herein mentioned. . . . Tartas will remain aloof and desist from all the rights which he has obtained through these privileges, he hands over the privileges to Coutinho as if he, Coutinho, himself had procured them from the High Government. Tartas, herewith, acknowledges having received from the said Coutinho 916 guilders 2 stuivers for the afore mentioned press and apparatus, also for the release of the monopolies as specified in the appended document, namely 420 guilders of it in diverse payments and the balance in gold upon the consummation of this agreement without reserving or withholding the slightest rights for himself to the appurtenances or privileges. On the contrary Coutinho has the right to dispose of and to do with this property whatever he wishes as everyone may with his own possessions. . . . There also appeared before me, notary and the aforementioned witnesses, Abraham Valencien, son of Job Valencien, married to Deborah Tartas, daughter of the aforementioned David Tartas, who declared that, although his father-in-law, Tartas, in the marriage contract had promised him half of the printing press, after his (Tartas) death, he is satisfied with this transaction, provided that he be paid the 100 'rijxdsalders' (one 'rijxdsalder' equals 2½ guilders), promised him in his marriage contract but which he has as yet not received. He declared herewith that he has been paid and to have received the money."

(signed) A. G. de Soosa David Tartas
A. van der Meer Abraham Valencien"

Memorandum of a printing press with letters and all appurtenances and much diverse merchandise belonging to David Tartas, January 24, 1697.

For a press	120: :	guilders
For diverse letters, acid bath, tables and diverse articles	100: :	guilders
For 24½ pound letters 20	24:10:	guilders
For 10 pound letters 10	25: :	guilders
For 250 pound letters 4¾	59: 7: 8	guilders
For 209 pound letters 18	188: 2:	guilders
For 180 pound letters 6	14: :	guilders
For 36 pound letters 4¾	8:11:	guilders
For 41½ pound letters 4¾	9:16:	guilders
For 36 pound letters 4¾	8:11:	guilders
For 190 pound letters 5	47:10:	guilders
For 195 pound letters 3½	34: 2: 8	guilders
For 20 pound letters 6	6: :	guilders
For 12 pound letters 3½	2: 2:	guilders
For 60 pound letters 2 and 3	10:10:	guilders
For 40 pound letters 2 and 4	8: :	guilders
For a Hebrew Bible and appurtenances	30: :	guilders

sum seems very small for the sale of a concern which was so active in the printing trade.

Coutinho continued Tartas' fight against the Ashkenazic printers, issuing a prayerbook which he claimed that first Tartas and now he, himself, had the exclusive right of printing.⁹⁷ Coutinho ran the press until 1711. One of the books printed by him was a five thousand copy edition of the Pentateuch with "Targum Onkelos and Rashi." The edition was financed by four Ashkenazic Jews. Emanuel Davids Kalker supplied the paper.⁹⁸

The famous Proops family⁹⁹ who carried on the tradition of their founder, Joseph Proops, until the second half of the nineteenth century, remains to be considered. Joseph Proops came to Amsterdam from Posen and became a member of the booksellers' guild in 1677,¹⁰⁰ about thirty years after Menasseh ben Israel had been denied the right to open a Hebrew bookstore. Solomon Proops, the founder's son, bought the press of the Athias concern upon the demise of Immanuel, son of Joseph Athias. The Proops press catered to the popular taste. It was run on a strictly business basis. Solomon Proops printed a catalogue "Appiryon Shelomo" (The Canopy of Solomon) in 1730. Most of the works listed therein are rituals, but there are also a few responsa, Kabbalistic and historical works. It seems to have been Proops' intention to publish an edition of the Babylonian Talmud with explanations by Musaphia, to be followed by the Jerusalem Talmud. This project was doubtless nipped in the bud by a monopoly right in the hands of Samuel Markus (Solomo Marquis) who had bought the privilege of printing Talmuds from David Nunes Torres "teacher of the Portuguese Jewish Nation".¹⁰¹ Although the Proops family were

2 molds, one Hebrew and the other Rashi together
3 privilege rights

30: : guilders
140: : guilders

956: 2: guilders

⁹⁷ Steinschneider, op. cit., I, no. 2205.

⁹⁸ Ibid., I, no. 713, Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 1042-43, p. 412. In September, 1699, Coutinho gave Johannes Roluw an order to cast 15 pound of Rashi's script letters and 120 pounds of rabbinical Hebrew letters with vowels and musical signs.

⁹⁹ Steinschneider, op. cit., III, no. 9038.

¹⁰⁰ Kleerkooper, op. cit., p. 569.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 567. Steinschneider, op. cit., no. 1414. M. Freudenthal, *Zum Jubiläum des ersten Talmuddrucks in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1893, p. 24, note no. 3, pp. 13 ff. In 1739 a German printer, Aron, son of doctor Moses of Lissa, declared that he had started to print a Talmud in order to supercede the Dutch printers in that undertaking. L. Lewin, *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa*, Pinne, 1904, p. 153.

printers their main concern was with the sale and auction of books.¹⁰² Joseph, Jacob and Abraham were members of the firm from 1734-1780. In 1799 Solomon ben Abraham Proops headed the concern. The last of the family, David ben Jacob Proops, died in 1849.¹⁰³ His widow sold the business to Levinson of Amsterdam.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century Amsterdam Hebrew printing had begun to decline, but still such concerns as that of Isaac Cordova continued to print Hebrew and Spanish books.¹⁰⁴ He erected a printing press in Amsterdam about 1680. From 1710-14 Cordova carried on a printing establishment in Hamburg, after which he returned to Amsterdam and pursued his operations there. The Amsterdam physician, Hartogh Alexander van Embden, also known as Herz Levi Rofe, was a bookdealer and printer interested in Cordova's press.¹⁰⁵ Van Embden later printed under his own name. His plant like that of Proops, lasted for several generations.¹⁰⁶

As has been previously indicated several Hebrew printers were members of the guild but we find that Joseph Jacob Baer,¹⁰⁷ "Dayyan" (judge) of the Ashkenazic congregation in the early part of the eighteenth century, had difficulties with that organization. When he requested the States General for a monopoly on the printing of Alfassi's Code, the guild advised that body not to grant him the privilege. It advanced the argument that some Jews requested printing monopolies to prevent Christians from publishing a given Hebrew book, although they, the Jews, had no intention of printing it. The guild further stated that the Jews, after obtaining such privileges, made the Christians buy the rights from them. Moreover, it was pointed out that the Parnassim of the Jewish community gave privileges for the printing of books which were sufficiently well enforced to protect the Jews

¹⁰² Da Silva Rosa, *Ets Haim*, p. 182, gives the text of advertisements in the "Amsterdamsche Courant" of March 3, 1711 and May 27, 1728 about book auctions held by Solomon Proops, bookseller. Kleerkooper, op. cit., p. 569.

¹⁰³ Da Silva Rosa, "Het Koude Jaar 1784, Een Joodsch Getuigenis", VA, V, February 15, 1929, p. 319, calls attention to a curious little book: *Dit zij tot een berinnering aan de koude en den winter van het jaar 1544* (1784), by Salomo Zalman ben Eirik (Zalman Boel), printed by the widow and orphans of Jacob Proops, containing an acrostic poem of lamentation. The booklet is in the Livraria Montezinos, Amsterdam.

¹⁰⁴ Steinschneider, op. cit., III, no. 7962.

¹⁰⁵ Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 1254 ff. Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden*, p. 156, notes nos. 67, 68, 73, 74 and 77a.

¹⁰⁶ Steinschneider, op. cit., III, no. 8132. Kruseman, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 103, Kleerkooper, op. cit., p. 219.

¹⁰⁷ Steinschneider, op. cit., III, no. 8628.

among themselves, without a special privilege from the States General. This attempt to restrict Jewish printing is clearly prejudice, as privileges from the Parnassim would in no wise prevent Christian concerns from printing and publishing Hebrew books. As has been previously mentioned, Jews were continually obtaining government monopolies on editions of Hebrew books with the advice and consent of the guild. Whether Joseph was especially unpopular or whether some Christian wanted to print the book is an open question. In any event he had not fulfilled the conditions of guild membership. We do not know whether he was ultimately given the monopoly. However, he did print Alfassi's Code in 1720.¹⁰⁸

Other Jewish printers and book-sellers of the period were:

Eljakan and Jehuda ben Mordecai (1650-55)
 Isaac Pharao (about 1659)
 Josua Serphati Pina (about 1663)
 Pinedo (about 1669)
 Kosman (1688-97)
 Moses ben Abraham (1690-94)
 Moses Dias (about 1692)
 Jacob, Joseph and Mahrim Maarssen (1695-1740)
 Anshel ben Elieser (1698)
 N. Foa Antunes (1717-21)
 Moses Frankfurter (1720-43)
 Naftali Herz Halevi (1721-42)
 Solomon London (1721)
 Leon Templo (1726-34)¹⁰⁹

Several Christian printers realizing the profits to be derived from Hebrew books, employed Polish Jews who had come to Amsterdam after the Cossack uprisings, to help them in this work. Casper Steen, whom we have mentioned in another connection falls under this category.¹¹⁰ Often Christian firms cast the letters for the Jewish presses. For example, Salomon Benedictus bought two Latin and two Hebrew alphabets, one with and one without vowels, cast by Nicolaus Kis of Amsterdam, for which he paid fifty gold daalders for one part of the work and eighty florins for another.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., III, no. 4. Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 1143 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 560 and p. 719. Daniel Elsevier, "Brieven van Daniel Elsevier aan Nicholas Heinsius", *BGNB*, XLVII, 1890. p. 52.

¹¹⁰ See pp. 52 ff.

¹¹¹ Kleerkooper, op. cit., p. 772, pp. 775 ff., p. 664 and p. 1148. See also p. 54, note 98.

From the material at our disposal, it is difficult to give a complete picture of the economic importance of the printing industry in Amsterdam. The various phases of this industry are not clearly defined. The printer was often a bookseller. The paperdealer was interested in publishing to find a market for his goods. He frequently received the printed pages of a work before it was completed, either in lieu of payment or as a security for the paper he had furnished. Binders and typesetters were also involved in the printing and publishing of books.

It was not an uncommon practice to exchange books for other products such as wine from Germany. Some publishers were engaged in several activities. At times the printer set up, published and sold the books himself, at other times he simply printed the books to be sold by another party. Or again, he corrected his own printing. Sometimes the party who contracted for the books furnished his own proofreader. All the possible variations between printer, proofreader, typesetter, binder, paperdealer, bookseller and commission agent obtained.¹¹²

The number of copies printed in a given edition of a work ranged from 475 to 10,000. The average edition was about 3,000 copies. Prices of paper ranged from 33 stuivers to 6 guilders 12 stuivers per ream.¹¹³ One of the largest paper contracts seen by the writer was an order for 8,000 guilders worth of paper to be used in 6,300 copies of the Yiddish Bible, printed by Philip Levy. In some contracts the quality of the paper is specified, cornet paper brought 4 guilders 15 stuivers per ream, battant paper 3 guilders 5 stuivers and post paper 4 guilders per ream.¹¹⁴ The translator of this Bible, Blitz, received 8 guilders, 16 stuivers for his work, including proofreading, Meir Stern, for proofreading, 6 stuivers per sheet. Athias paid Witzenhausen 16½ guilders and Meir Stern 20 guilders.¹¹⁵

¹¹² See p. 52, note 91. Isaac Gurrine is named as a Jewish paperdealer, Caspar Steen was, besides being a printer, setter and bookbinder. Ibid., p. 819. Menasheh ben Israel was a rabbi, Joseph Jacob Baer and Moses Frankfurter were "Dayyanim", Van Embden was a physician.

¹¹³ An edition of "Yefeh Mareh" printed by Van Embden consisted of 475 copies. Steinschneider, op. cit., II, nos. 7037-4. 10,000 copies of a booklet with prayer for "Yamim Nora'im" (Days of Awe) were printed by Tartas, see p. 52. The paper in the edition of the "Tefillah" of David Tartas cost 33 stuivers per ream while a contract for paper made with Paulus Stegman and Son, a well-known Amsterdam paperdealer, for 500 reams at 6 guilders 12 stuivers is also known.

¹¹⁴ Kleerkooper, op. cit., pp. 788 ff. and pp. 219 ff.

¹¹⁵ Erik, *Geschichte jun der yiddische Literatur*, 1928, p. 235.

It becomes more difficult to establish a reliable printing price range due to the lack of detail at one's disposal. Two books in quarto may vary greatly in printing cost per page. The Pentateuch, printed by Philip Levy in 1680, cost 5 guilders 4 stuivers per page for printing and 12 guilders 10 stuivers per page for setting and correcting.¹¹⁶ A Pentateuch, printed by Caspar Steen, cost 23 guilders per page to print, including the setting but not the correcting.¹¹⁷ Two folios in octavo: a) the Pentateuch, printed by Caspar Steen in 1700 and published in 1702, and b) an arithmetic book in Hebrew letters, printed by Ansel Soget in 1699, cost 8 guilders 10 stuivers and 19 guilders 10 stuivers per page respectively.¹¹⁸ A folio volume "Shene Luchoth ha Berith" (Two Tables of the Covenant) by Isaiah Hurwitz, printed by Immanuel Athias in 1698 cost 13 guilders 10 stuivers for printing per page and 2 guilders a page for correcting. The Athias Pentateuch published in 1700 cost 40 guilders a page to print with Rashi and 30 guilders without. The "Yalkuth Rubeni" also printed by Athias cost 21 guilders 2 stuivers and 2 duiten for each page.¹¹⁹ The Bible printed by Van Embden in 1725-29¹²⁰ cost 18 guilders per page for printing. The contract reads that the work shall contain from 1,100 to 1,200 pages which would bring the price of printing anywhere from 19,800 guilders to 21,600 guilders. A Hebrew prayerbook published by Emanuel Benveniste in 1643 cost 5 stuivers 1 duit for cardboard and linen backs and 6 stuivers 1 oortje with clasps. Of course, the prices of binding varied greatly, as some of the books were bound in plain cardboard, some in parchment or beautifully hand-tooled leather and others in fine tortoise shell with clasps of precious metals set with jewels.

We obtain some idea of the cost of books from the following prices: The punctuated Mishna, printed by Menasseh in 1646¹²¹ was to sell for two guilders apiece (probably wholesale); the Yiddish Bible, printed by Philips Levy in 1676 sold for three guilders 10 stuivers, bound, and three guilders 4 stuivers, unbound. The representative in Poland was to sell the work for six stuivers more, of which he re-

¹¹⁶ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, I, no. 600.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, no. 667, Kleerkooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 775 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, nos. 718b and 3553.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, nos. 5808-6, I, no. 707, II, no. 6824-6. In several contracts the price of correction is not separately itemized and is perhaps included in the price of printing.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, no. 882.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, I, no. 1999.

ceived five stuivers commission. Athias' famous English Bible sold for 15 stuivers, unbound, printed on fine paper, and for 13 stuivers, unbound, printed on cheaper paper. Athias' edition of the "Shulchan Aruch" (The Table Prepared)¹²² sold for two guilders 12½ stuivers on super quality paper, for one guilder 19 stuivers on fine paper, and for one guilders 12 stuivers on cheaper paper. (These prices are for unbound books and probably wholesale). A Hebrew Pentateuch with Rashi, by the same printer, in 1700¹²³ brought one guilder in Holland and one guilder 2 stuivers in foreign countries. Without Rashi the book cost 13 stuivers at home and 14 stuivers abroad. An edition of "Ha-Maggid" (The Preacher on the Former Prophets) printed by David Tartas in 1676, sold for 25 guilders per unbound volume.¹²⁴

The Amsterdam Hebrew press was famed throughout Europe, and as a consequence, export trade was perhaps the chief asset of the industry. The relatively small community of Dutch Jews did not warrant the extensive output of the Hebrew presses, so that in its heyday Amsterdam furnished almost all of Europe with Hebrew books.¹²⁵ The term "Defus Amsterdam" was used to denote an especially excellent printing, even when the book in question was not actually produced in Holland.

There were 318 Jewish printers in Amsterdam from the time of Menasseh ben Israel until 1732. In 1743 nine Jewish booksellers and one Jewish printer were listed as having to pay taxes, their annual income amounting to 800 guilders or more. During the same period there were Christian printers in Amsterdam interested in Hebrew literature.¹²⁶ Christian printers were also doing Hebrew work in Leiden and Franeker.

Hebrew printing, as an industry, was not to be scoffed at, even when compared with printing in other languages. Christian and Jew alike, had revived interest in the Bible, and Hebrew became an important part of the education of the age. Rabbis were called into

¹²² Ibid., II, no. 3940-17.

¹²³ Ibid., I, no. 707.

¹²⁴ Ibid., I, no. 585.

¹²⁵ There is a list of Jewish and Christian printers interested in Hebrew printing. The latest date on the list is 1732, *ibid.*

¹²⁶ In 1685 the government of the city of Breslau considered it unadvisable to establish a printing press: "because in Holland in Amsterdam there are three important Jewish presses from which books are brought to Danzig and Memel by sea. In this way the Jews of Poland and Lithuania are furnished with these books." Hillerum, *Uit de Grachtendam*, p. 30.

council when Christians dealt with the sacred text,¹²⁷ which since the Reformation had begun to acquire new meaning. Interest was newly aroused in the original Hebrew text. University professors advised their theological students to study the language of the Bible. Calvinist supremacy in Amsterdam made it possible for Hebrew book publishing to gain such great importance. The great number of Bibles exported to England indicates the capacity and scope of the work undertaken by these Jewish printers.¹²⁸

There are numerous reasons why the printing industry declined after the first few decades of the eighteenth century. In spite of monopoly rights many of the reprints which flooded the market resulted in lowered prices. The prevalence of peddlers, who could afford to sell books cheaper than regular booksellers and guild members, also injured the industry. Another reason for the decline was the cheap sale of books at frequent book auctions. Many of them were printed on the basis of subscription pledges which were not kept. Hence the book publishers and sellers lost large sums of money. Books sent on consignment were often returned damaged, causing great losses to the publishers. Living conditions in other countries made it possible to print and sell books cheaper than in Amsterdam.¹²⁹ The slackening of the guild regulations enabled incompetent young workers to be admitted. The quality of work suffered at their hands and an inferior type of literature came from the presses. These factors largely brought about Amsterdam's decline as Europe's greatest center of printing. But, although the Amsterdam Hebrew press yielded the palm of supremacy to other European centers, its beautiful books are eloquent evidence of the heights to which the industry had attained.

F. THE TOBACCO TRADE AND INDUSTRY

There is a tradition that the first white man who set foot on American soil as a member of Columbus' crew was also the first European to use tobacco. He was the Marrano Luis de Torres.¹³⁰ Before

¹²⁷ A Lutheran pastor from Amsterdam, Adolf Visscher Adolfszoon, translated Luther's Bible into Dutch. On the flyleaf there is a picture of a rabbi, next to the translator. It is generally thought that this rabbi is Menasch ben Israel who helped in the work.

¹²⁸ Unfortunately for the study of the printing industry in Amsterdam, the books containing the printers' accounts are either hidden away in individual family archives or non-existent. This is true for nearly all of the Jewish merchants books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹²⁹ *De Koopman*, V, p. 118.

¹³⁰ Roch, *Marranos*, p. 272.

the middle of the seventeenth century, trade in sugar, tobacco and similar colonial commodities rested largely in Jewish and Marrano hands.¹³¹ However, tobacco was not known in Holland until 1611. Shortly after its introduction, Jews were active in its manufacture and trade. Their connections with Marranos on the Iberian Peninsula and its possessions placed them in a favorite position to play a major rôle in the promotion of this industry. In the year of its introduction into Holland, Francisco Nunes Homen, alias David Abendana, sold a barrel of tobacco to a merchant in Hoorn, Holland. Its popularity as an article of trade among the Jews is evidenced by the fact that nine years later there were two sworn Jewish tobacco brokers in the city.¹³²

Two types of tobacco were used, the imported product largely from Brazil, and the home-grown leaf, which had to be spun or dressed before it could be exported. Nearly every tobacco merchant had his own tobacco spinning plant where the goods were dressed and spun to prepare them for use as snuff. Each plant naturally required workmen. In this, as in other industries, many poor Sephardic and German Jews were in the employ of their wealthier Spanish and Portuguese brethren. For instance, on May 9, 1661, Moises Heyman, tobacco spinner, David d'Oliviera, Moises Dafonseca and Abraham Levy, all tobacco workers, testify that Manasse Gaon, tobacco buyer, had delivered 1,105 pounds of spun tobacco of good quality to Pieter Severijn.¹³³ Another Sephardic Jew with large interests in the tobacco importing business, who employed many German Jews as tobacco spinners, was Jacob de Jehuda Leon, also known as Jan Pieterz. Italiaan or Jan Portremiel. There were 36 Ashkenazic weddings recorded in Amsterdam from April, 1649 until June, 1653. 24 notices state the occupation of the groom, 14 of the 24 are tobacco dressers.¹³⁴

At the height of the trade in Amsterdam 57,000,000 pounds of tobacco were imported annually. Of the finer product 7,000,000

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹³² Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen", VA, VIII, August 7, 1931, p. 304. The names of the brokers were Pasqual Rodrigues and Manuel Martin. See also pp. 182 ff.

¹³³ MS, Padthuyssen, 2890, dated May 9, 1661. In "Puyboek" of 1668 Menasse Gaon of Samora (Spain) is mentioned as "tobacco seller", in 1670 Abraham van Jacob Zuzarte (alias Zwart) as "tobacco buyer", in 1673 Abraham Italiaan of Venice and in 1690 Juda de Lion (alias de Leeuw) of Mara. Vaz Dias, "Een Vergeten Hoofdstuk uit de Economische Geschiedenis der Amsterdamsche Joden", VA, VII, June 13, 1930, p. 168.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, "Beginstijperk", VA, VIII, October 9, 1931, p. 27.

pounds were brought in from South America and the West Indies by wholesale tobacco concerns of Amsterdam. The number of Jews in this branch of the industry was very considerable. There were at least thirty business houses of importance in the trade, ten of which were Jewish. Probably the largest tobacco business in all Amsterdam was owned by Isak Italiaander. He had a close competitor in Jacob Franco Mendes and Isak Mendes. Sara Dias da Fonseca owned a large tobacco spinning plant which employed fourteen laborers. We know one instance of her buying 20,000 pounds of native tobacco for 2,950 guilders. Moses Joseph operated four tobacco presses which together cost 1,500 guilders. As an example of the large amounts of money, which transactions in tobacco involved, we may cite the instance of Samuel Isak and Isak Cohen who owed 15,067 guilders for tobacco which they had purchased. Among the fourteen tobacco importers, who signed a petition in favor of a certain Manuel Lopes d'Azevedo, eleven were Jews.¹³⁵ In 1743 we find that ten of the Jews who kept tobacco shops had a yearly income of approximately 800 guilders; one of them, Jacob Isaks, had an income of 2,000 guilders. In the same year six Jewish tobacco wholesalers had an annual income exceeding 800 guilders respectively. The income of the widow of Jacob Italiaander and that of Abraham Jacobs (who also dealt in wine) was 3,000 guilders. That of another Jacob Italiaander was 2,000 guilders. There were four tobacco brokers, belonging in the category of tax payers, with an annual income of approximately 800 guilders.¹³⁶

We get an idea of the price of tobacco at this time from a transaction in which Moses Barrocas Henriques sold seven canisters or

¹³⁵ Vaz Dias, "Vergeten Hoofdstuk", VA, VII, June 13, 1930, pp. 168 ff. The heads of the Jewish concerns were Abraham and Jacob Franco Drago, Widow Sara Dias da Fonseca, Abraham Bassan, Mozes Josephz, Abraham Jacobz, Juda Lion (alias de Leeuw), Abraham Hartogh, Abraham and Isak Italiaander (alias Levis Vittoria), Jacob Franco Mendes and Isak Mendes. The exact nature of the petition in favor of d'Azevedo is not known but he, evidently, had some trouble with the Inquisition.

¹³⁶ Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", VA, VIII, July 24, 1931, pp. 262 ff. There must have been other tobacco stores the proprietors of which had an income of less than 800 guilders who were tax exempt and therefore not mentioned. Daniel Pinto, mentioned as a neighbor of Rembrandt, is an important tobacco merchant, *idem.*, "Rembrandt en Zijn Portugeesch Joodische Buurgenooten", VA, VIII, November 20, 1931, p. 121. A few German Jews seemed to have acquired some capital in the tobacco industry. For example, Symon Wessel, tobacco dealer, paid taxes on a capital of 1,400 guilders and Joel Levy, tobacco spinner, on a capital of 1,000 guilders. *Idem.*, "Vermogenstoestand", VA, VIII, July 3, 1931, p. 218. It is probable that there were more German Jews occupied in the tobacco trade with a capital exceeding 1,000 guilders, as the tax records do not mention the occupations of all people entered as tax payers.

684 pounds of tobacco to Jan ten Cate for 26 stuivers a pound. Abraham Isaac Faro must have been numbered among the important tobacco exporters as we hear of two instances in which he shipped great quantities of the manufactured product to the Levant. On March 9, 1661, two large cases and three small trunks were shipped to that destination and again on September 5, 97 canisters.¹³⁷

Imported tobacco was sold in public. On June 18, 1727, two Jewish brokers, Daniel and Raphael Azevedo, advertised that they would sell a quantity of Havana tobacco leaves.¹³⁸

As far back as 1629 certain Portuguese Jews must have had tobacco shops in Amsterdam, since we find an official document protesting against this in the name of all Christian tobaccoists, citizens of Amsterdam. As a result the Jews were not allowed to keep their shops, although they insisted that some of their number were citizens.¹³⁹

In 1696, Isaak Pool and Wessel Phebus, in spite of the restriction, conducted a tobacco shop and tobacco cutting shop, also dealing in leaf tobaccos and pipes. We know that they did a large business as they purchased 34 barrels of tobacco at one time from a certain Samuel Hofdijke.¹⁴⁰ In 1723 we hear that the Jews were permitted to be tobacco cutters, provided that they refrain from carrying on this work on Sundays.¹⁴¹

By the end of the eighteenth century the tobacco trade which shared the fate of many of the other enterprises in Amsterdam suffered a decline. At that time there were only 22 firms engaged in the

¹³⁷ MSS, Padthuyzen, 2890, dated April 13, 1661, March 9, 1661 and September 5, 1661. Even at this late date exchange of goods rather than payment of cash is not altogether uncommon. In the instance cited ten Cate is to pay for the tobacco in unbleached linen at the rate of 21 stuivers for each el. The MSS we cite merely indicate instances in which difficulties in shipping arose. Faro, probably, shipped a great deal more than is itemized in the documents mentioned.

¹³⁸ Vaz Dias, "Vergeten Hoofdstuk", VA, VII, June 13, 1930, p. 169. The advertisement appeared in the "Amsterdamsche Courant".

¹³⁹ The document, forbidding Jews to keep tobacco shops, dated November 24, 1629, reads in part: "and found in the houses and on the persons of the Portuguese of the Jewish Nation within this, the said City, occupying themselves with the sale of tobacco and keeping shops for the sale of that product. . . on special commands of the Burgomasters of this city the aforementioned Jewish Nation is strictly forbidden to carry on such shop keeping or the sale of tobacco, the stores were closed and signs and cigars are taken in. . . the said Burgomasters and those of the Court unanimously decreed that the said Jewish Nation cannot carry on such tobacco shop keeping, even if they are citizens."

¹⁴⁰ Vaz Dias, "Vergeten Hoofdstuk", *ibid.* The quantities involved may indicate that they also engaged in wholesale trade.

¹⁴¹ "Resolutie", dated January 28, 1723.

industry.¹⁴² But, like the diamond industry, tobacco never lost its prominence as a source of income to the Dutch and remained largely in Jewish hands. It furnished employment for many Jews and is at present a flourishing trade.

The Dutch possessions in the East Indies, Borneo and Sumatra in particular, supply the world with a large quantity of tobacco.

G. OTHER TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

We have treated the chief industries in which Jews were active. The fact that there were certain Jewish shipowners residing in Amsterdam is of considerable importance. As will be indicated¹⁴³ Jews owned cargoes of ships but some of them also purchased the carriers themselves. On May 9, 1657, Samuel Nunes de Mercado is mentioned as "the sole shipowner and possessor of the ship 'De Ladder van Jacob' (Jacob's Ladder)." Two years later, another member of the Nunes family, Gorgo, gave Samuel Rodrigues absolute power to mortgage or sell a ship, named "De Persiado", "completely belonging to Gorgo Nunes". We know of other Jews who were part owners of the carriers of their goods. On February 6, 1618, Antonio Lopes Pereira, sold one-fourth interest in the ship "Esperanza" then in the port of Marseille. In 1633, Simon Drago, on the point of departure for Brazil, sold a three-fourth interest in the ship "De Nachtegael" (Nightingale) to Diego Martinez.¹⁴⁴ We know of at least one Jewish shipping broker in the year 1743 whose annual income was approximately 800 guilders.¹⁴⁵

Many of the Amsterdam Jews owned the houses in which they lived. It is known that in 1633 Michael Despinosa, father of the philosopher, owned a house in Vlooyenburg (the Jewish section of Amsterdam). In the years 1650-1652 seven Jews, in the eleventh district of Amsterdam, were recorded as paying taxes on houses they possessed.¹⁴⁶ Taxes were also paid on two houses owned by the

¹⁴² Van der Kooy, *op. cit.*, p. 11. The number of Jewish tobacco firms is not given.

¹⁴³ See pp. 96 ff.

¹⁴⁴ MSS, Padthuyssen, 2886 (see Appendix B), 2888, dated June 13, 1619, 2889, dated June 1, 1660. See also de la Cruz' share in a ship, p. 147, note 92.

¹⁴⁵ Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen", VA, VIII, July 24, 1931, p. 263. There is no reason to suppose that there was only one shipping broker, especially since brokerage in all its phases was attractive to Jews. Moreover our source lists only those people whose income exceeds 800 guilders in the single year 1743.

¹⁴⁶ Idem, "Heeft Spinoza in 't Oprege Tappeyt Huis gewoond?" VA, VIII, May 8, 1931.

Jewish community. Great mansions like those of the De Pintos' and the Souza Coutinhos' were among the city's showplaces. Many of the wealthy Jews had summer residences in the suburbs.¹⁴⁷ It is impossible to determine whether any Amsterdam Jews made their sole business the selling or renting of property but it is on record that on January 4, 1657, Luis Pinheiro, alias Abraham Pinheiro, bought a house for 5,000 guilders. On January 5, 1660, Balthazar Cunha purchased a home for the sum of 11,500 guilders, situated next to the sugar refinery of David de Aguilar. Moses de Crasto Tartas and Isacq Faro both were tenants. On June 13, 1661, Manuel Ximenes asked to be released from the obligation of paying rent to Joseph de los Rios. The property had become unsafe, as the house next door against which it had been propped, was broken down. A few months later, on September 21, Jacob Ergas bought a house from Jacob Marcus for 2,500 guilders. The widow of Sebastien Pimentel was the tenant.¹⁴⁸ A member of the well-known printer's family, Jacob Athias, and a certain relative Emanuel Levi bought a house for 12,900 guilders in 1683.¹⁴⁹ We also know that the renowned surgeon, Samuel Leon Benavente, bought a house from David Lopes de Pas for 1,900 guilders. About this time the Jews owned 200 houses, two of which belonged to Ashkenazim.¹⁵⁰

p. 87. *Idem*, *Spinoza Mercator*, p. 11. The following tax payers are mentioned with the accompanying amounts of taxes paid:

Jacob Baratto	20: 5 guilders
Gonsalvo Dias Patto	21: 5 guilders
Willem Kick, p. Michiel Espinosa	16: 5 guilders
Matheus Lopes, p. Davidt Tores	25: guilders
Manuel Rodrigues Monsanto	40: guilders
Anthony de Pas	18: 5 guilders
Bento Osorio	12:10 guilders
Jewish Congregation, p. Izak de Prado	19: guilders
Jewish Congregation	75: 5 guilders

The eleventh district is described as the neighborhood behind the "Breestraat" toward the old city, starting at the corner of the "Huiszittensteeg".

¹⁴⁷ Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 82, see also p. 213. Zwarts, "Joodsche Archief-sprokkels", VA, VI, April 26, 1929, p. 57, mentions that Josuah van Abraham Keyser, cantor of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation in Maarsse, was a real estate broker. His best customers were the rich Elisa Pereira, his son David and the Ashkenazic Jew Levy Elias de Lima.

¹⁴⁸ MSS, Padthuyzen, 2889 and 2890.

¹⁴⁹ Kleerkoper, op. cit., p. 11. Some of the buildings which housed the Jewish sugar refineries, were owned by Jews, see pp. 38 ff.

¹⁵⁰ See pp. 67-68. D. E. Cohen, "De Amsterdamsche Joodsche Chirurgijns", *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, LXXIV, 1930. Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", VA, VIII, July 3, 1931, p. 218. Menasseh ben Israel, *Humble Address*, mentions that the Jews owned 300 houses.

We know that arable land was bought by Jews. At least in one case a piece of property, with fruit trees and berry bushes, was purchased by the merchant Daniel da Silva for 2,900 guilders.¹⁵¹ Whether or not this land was procured to be cultivated for commercial purposes we do not know.

Many of the restrictions, imposed upon Jews by law, were evaded. Jewish occupations in Amsterdam were surprisingly diversified. They ranged from merchants engaged in extensive international trade to button salesmen or breeders of civet cats, for the manufacture of perfume. In 1665, the Jew Abraham Zuzarte asked permission to open a coffee and chocolate house in Amsterdam. A Greek, Demitris Christoffel, was to act as cashier and Zuzarte and his brother-in-law, Isak Ramas, were to serve the guests. Abraham Bassan, a tobacco merchant, also ran an inn.¹⁵²

Poverty and lack of secular knowledge, forced most of the German and East European Jews into peddling and street trading. As was previously mentioned they were unable to become skilled or unskilled laborers in trades governed by the guilds, because of the limitations imposed upon them. The guilds also forbade "Jews and other foreign peddlers" to trade in the streets. These restrictions were only relaxed at weekly and yearly markets. It is true that there were certain occupations not controlled by the guilds, but even of these there seems to have been only a few in which the Jew took part, such as the buying and selling of cheap furniture and utensils (household), silverware, new and old clothes, poultry and cattle, fruit, vegetables, groceries, peat and fish. There were watchmakers, cobblers, saddlemakers, and tailors among them. The latter named were officially designated as repairers of old clothes.¹⁵³

With the exception of the diamond polishers, most artisans made less than sixteen guilders a week. When in 1700 large numbers of

¹⁵¹ MS, Padthuyssen, 2888, it is dated August 1, 1659. See also the MSS, 2889, dated May 5, 1660 and 2890, dated December 22, 1661.

¹⁵² Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen", VA, VIII, August 21, 1931, p. 334 and August 7, 1931, p. 304, mentions Sebastian Nunes, alias Isak Israel Nunes as buying buttons for his shop. He was restricted to the sale of a certain minimum in order not to be classified as a retail dealer. In 1621 Jacob de Montezinos and Elias Pereira declare at the request of Abraham Coën Barbarisco that he has done all that is required for the civet cats which Michael de Luna Montalto had purchased. An eighteenth century mezzotint of a certain Jacob Henriques, a Jewish lottery agent is extant. This mezzotint was called to my attention by Dr. Cecil Roth.

¹⁵³ H. Italie, "De Emancipatie der Joden in 1796", *Amsterdamsch Jaarboekje*, 1897, p. 87. *De Koopman*, II, p. 444.

poverty stricken Jews came to Holland, pushcart trade in Amsterdam assumed such proportions that the government was obliged to forbid it in certain parts of the city.¹⁵⁴ There must have been a lively traffic in old clothes and rags. A contemporary remarks that one of the richest merchants in Amsterdam was instructed by a Jew in Poland to give from ten to twelve thousand guilders to a Polish Jew in Amsterdam, in payment of a bill for the sale of old rags.¹⁵⁵ In 1731 we find a restriction against Jews selling new clothes. It was decreed that they were only allowed to deal in old garments if they paid twelve guilders to the guild treasury. They could not repair or display their wares.¹⁵⁶ Other restrictions were added. Jews were not allowed to sell fresh water fish or liquors, for example. All these prohibitions resulted from the political agitations of the revolutionary party which insisted that the guild statutes be strictly enforced. The city government had to accede to the literal carrying out of these rules.

Professional life was not neglected by the Jews in spite of the strictures imposed upon them by the various professional guilds. Jews were permitted to study at the universities and to receive the academic title of physician or lawyer.¹⁵⁷ However, Jewish surgeons were not allowed to perform operations on non-Jews. When a Jew was particularly proficient in his profession, the guilds were forced to admit him, as was the case with Ephraim Bueno and Samuel Leon Benavente. The latter was a contributor to the surgeons' guild until 1710 when

¹⁵⁴ "... no High German or Polish Jew or others may suction or sell goods in the 'Jooden Breestraat' on the sidewalks, from pushcarts or otherwise, under penalty of the loss of their goods for the first offense. For the second, besides confiscation of their goods, they are liable to six weeks on bread and water, further offense to be punished according to circumstances. These measures are taken in order not to annoy the inhabitants or obstruct the traffic." Wolff, op. cit., BVGO, XII, 1913, p. 100.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 101, quotes Vander Oudermeulen, op. cit., II, p. 134 and note 61: "Often one requires them... in the matter of buying and selling of the vilest kind of rubbish that one would throw in the street, if not for the Jews who buy and re-sell it. Only a few days ago one of the leading merchants of the city told me: 'Can you believe that I have recently received an order from Poland to pay 10 to 12,000 guilders to a Jew who has come from that kingdom. This money is destined solely for the purpose of buying old rags?'... and how many of the lower class of people among the Jews busy themselves walking through the streets buying and selling rags, porcelain, fruit and vegetables which they offer at extremely low prices. This business is a great help for that class of people. Without it they live in misery."

¹⁵⁶ This restriction was not efficiently enforced since in 1737 the city government again issued an order forbidding Jews to trade in new clothes. *Handvesten van Amsterdam*, January 26, 1731 and January 28, 1737. *Verslag wegens het Patriottisch Genootschap der Jooden*, February 11, 1793, "Felix Libertate", Amsterdam, 1793, pp. 7 ff.

¹⁵⁷ Koenen, op. cit., pp. 186 ff.

he was made a full fledged member.¹⁵⁸ His pupils Jacob van Weenen, Isaac Santa Cruz and David Baruch Pardo were afterwards admitted. The famous Dr. Balthasar Orobio, who had been tortured in Seville because he was suspected of Judaizing, practiced medicine in Toulouse as a Catholic. He later went to Amsterdam where he took the name of Isaac. There, he participated in a now famous discussion with the Protestant minister Philippe Limborch concerning the truth of the Christian religion.¹⁵⁹ There were certain Jews who were not admitted as regular members of the surgeons' guild but who carried on the barber trade and contributed to the guild.¹⁶⁰ It seems that there was a surplus of doctors in Amsterdam about 1633. Dr. Paulo de Lena had to leave the city for Rouen because he could not sustain himself in the Dutch metropolis. He stated that there were Portuguese doctors in Amsterdam older than he who monopolized the practice.¹⁶¹

There was no apothecaries' guild until 1638. In that year a guild was established from which Jews were excluded. In point of fact, however, they continued to function as of old, disregarding the restrictions. Their number increased, since their activity was outside the pale of guild control. Because their peculiar names for drugs were unintelligible to Christians they were forbidden to sell their products to them. Although the Jews were not financially hindered by guild exclusion, they felt aggrieved at this discrimination in view of their prominence in the profession. In 1705 Josef Abraham Charleville asked permission to apprentice his son to a Christian master apothecary and three years later the son took his place in that profession. On January 15, 1711, the burgomasters declared that Jewish and Christian apothecaries were equal before the law. In 1743

¹⁵⁸ Cohen, op. cit., pp. 2234-2236. His dues as a member amounted to twelve guilders yearly.

¹⁵⁹ P. Limborch, *The remarkable life of Uriel Acosta, an eminent freethinker with his reasons for rejecting all revealed religions to which is added Mr. Limborch's defense of Christianity, in answer to Acosta's objections*, London, 1740. Th. Malvezin, *Histoire des Juifs à Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1875, pp. 77 ff.

¹⁶⁰ Other well-known physicians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were: Isak Rocamore, David Soldano, Salomon Perez, Isak Perez, David de Meza, Isak Dias, Jacob van Lion Arons, Jacob Lopes Sousa, Jacob de Spinoza, Abraham de Mattos, Mozes Leo, Hartogh van Embden (also known as a bookprinter). Among the well-known surgeons, besides those already mentioned, were: Levi Phinias, Isak Baruch Benavente, Samuel Alexander, Abraham German. Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen", VA, VIII, July 24, 1931, p. 263.

¹⁶¹ Idem., "Marranen Historie", VA, IX, May 13, 1932, p. 108, Roth, "Les Marranes à Rouen", REJ, LXXXVIII, 1929, pp. 113 ff.

there were 12 Jewish doctors, five Jewish surgeons and five Jewish apothecaries whose income was about 800 guilders yearly.¹⁶²

Until the days of the emancipation (1796) Jews were not allowed to practice law in the higher courts of Holland. They were only permitted to be solicitors in the city courts.¹⁶³ These rules were not enforced in all the Dutch possessions. For example, Michel Cardoso was a practicing lawyer in Dutch Brazil. In 1743 there were two solicitors in Amsterdam with an income of approximately 800 guilders annually.¹⁶⁴

It is self-evident that the Jews practiced those professions incident upon their Jewish communal life. Menasseh ben Israel stated that he was forced to augment his stipend from the congregation by engaging in the printing business. He was paid 150 guilders yearly to preach one Sabbath each month. At the same time we find that Saul Levi Morteira received 600 guilders and 100 baskets of peat a year, for preaching three sermons and giving advanced instruction in "Gemarah" (Talmud). David Pardo, who took charge of funerals and the cemetery, received an annual stipend of 500 guilders and 100 baskets of peat. The cantor, Abraham Barug, and his assistant Immanuel Abendana, received 400 and 60 guilders per year, respectively. Isaac Aboab received 450 guilders annually to give elementary instruction in Gemarah and to preach in the evening school, and Mordehay de Castro was paid 150 guilders a year to teach children the Hebrew alphabet and spelling. The sextons Jahacob Franco, Abraham Pelegrino, and Daniel del Valle, respectively, received 180, 160 and 140 guilders yearly. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the chief rabbi of the Sephardic congregation, Isak Abendana de Britto, received a yearly salary of 1,500 guilders. The same amount was paid to Levie Saul (Rabbi Aye Leib ben Saul Loewenstamm), chief rabbi of the Ashkenazic congregation, a not inconsiderable sum for those days. David Israel Athias, another chief rabbi of the Portuguese community, received 1,000 guilders yearly. In 1743 there were six cantors, three

¹⁶² *Resolutie Hof van Holland*, February 1, 1667. Cohen, "De vroegere Amsterdamsche Joodsche Apothekers", *BMGJWN*, V, 1933, pp. 86-87. Da Silva Rosa, "Geschiedenis", p. 34. Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", *VA*, VIII, July 24, 1931, p. 263, mentions the following apothecaries: Eliasep Sarphati, Elia Gomes Soares, Jacob Abenacar, Jehiel Foa and Jacob Gomes da Silva.

¹⁶³ Duarte Nunes Victoria, Louys Brandon and Miguel Gomes were licensed to practice civil law about 1632. Vaz Dias, "Marranen Historie", *VA*, IX, May 13, 1932, p. 108. See also *De Koopman*, II, p. 430.

¹⁶⁴ Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", *VA*, VIII, July 24, 1931, p. 263.

teachers, one instructor and one ritual butcher whose income was approximately 800 guilders annually.¹⁶⁵

Although large numbers of Jews lived in poverty, in the middle of the eighteenth century there was an appreciable number of the well circumstanced among them. As a further indication of the diversity of Jewish occupations in Amsterdam we submit a list showing the number of Jews in various activities whose yearly income was 800 guilders or more. The list is dated 1743.

- 110 individuals living on their income from interest on capital
- 96 merchants
 - 6 clothing merchants
 - 16 cotton merchants
 - 10 tea merchants
 - 6 tobacco merchants
 - 1 bamboo merchant
 - 1 merchant in cottonthread
- 10 owners of tobacco stores
- 6 owners of clothing stores
- 3 owners of cotton goods stores
- 2 owners of textile stores
- 3 owners of carpet and rug stores¹⁶⁶
- 2 owners of lace stores
- 1 owner of china store
- 2 owners of cheese stores
- 2 owners of coffee shops
- 10 brewers
- 6 wine cellar proprietors
- 2 butchers
- 9 booksellers
- 5 porters
- 20 brokers
- 100 unsworn brokers ("beunhazen")
- 40 money changers
 - 5 bankers
 - 2 commission agents
 - 1 shipping broker
 - 4 tobacco brokers
 - 2 solicitors
- 23 jewelers

¹⁶⁵ De Castro, *op. cit.*, p. XXVI, Index A. Vaz Dias, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ The "Amsterdamsche Courant" of May 14, 1743, contained the following advertisement: "In Amsterdam in 't Oprechte Tapijthuys (The Upright Rughouse), belonging to Jacob Senior Coronel, on the Joode Groenmarkt, next to the former Jewish Church, one may obtain genuine Smyrna rugs in all lengths and widths." Vaz Dias, "Hieft Spinoza", VA, VIII, May 3, 1931, p. 37.

- 7 diamond polishers
- 1 distiller
- 1 woolwasher
- 1 lacquer worker
- 2 wigmakers
- 1 printer
- 12 medical doctors
- 5 surgeons
- 5 apothecaries
- 3 teachers
- 6 cantors
- 1 ritual butcher
- 1 instructor¹⁶⁷

This list clearly illustrates that the ruling which prohibited Jews from carrying on retail trade was not strictly enforced. It must be pointed out that beside those mentioned in the list, there were many more store-keepers and artisans with incomes below 800 guilders.

Amsterdam Jews gained wealth because of their thrift and industry. The standard of living among them, especially the Ashkenazim, was lower than that of many of their Gentile neighbors. Furthermore, the Jewish community was forced to pool its interests in order to exist outside of the guilds. The Jews did not feel at one with the rest of the citizenry since many a burgher's privilege was denied them. Their culture, taken together with those restrictions, made them a separate entity within the city. As such they exerted some power but there were repeated protests on the part of the Christian population when they feared that the Jews had attained too much wealth and influence.

¹⁶⁷ Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", *VA*, VIII, July 17, 1911, pp. 242 ff. estimates the total Jewish population in 1743 at 3,000 Sephardim and 10,000 Ashkenazim. Of these 13,000, 442 had an annual income exceeding 800 guilders, see also pp. 212 ff.

CHAPTER III

EUROPEAN AND LEVANTINE TRADE

A. INTRODUCTION

The Mediterranean, as the largest aquatic body charted by the ancient and medieval world, was of necessity an avenue of trade from very early times. Any discussion of commerce and economic activity in Europe must include this great inland sea.

Because of Jewish connections with the Mediterranean lands from very early times, they formed a typically Jewish trade area. One must realize, however, that Levantine commerce was at its height from the end of the thirteenth to about the end of the fourteenth century.

Trade with Lisbon was of great importance for the Dutch. They brought costly cargoes of eastern goods from that city to London and the continent. In its turn the Pyrenean peninsula was dependent upon the Hollanders who brought Baltic products and manufactured goods into its ports where they had originally obtained the raw material. Some of the local and eastern products, especially raw materials for industry, were prepared for the market in Amsterdam itself, while others were transported elsewhere. The finished goods were then often returned to Lisbon, for Spanish and Portuguese consumption. Although the war of liberation between Holland and Spain was in progress her need for finished products forced Spain to wink an eye at Dutch ships sailing Spanish waters under false names and foreign colors.¹

When Philip II confiscated a number of Dutch ships during the Anglo-Spanish war in 1585, the Dutch were forced to find a trade depot to replace Lisbon. The situation was intensified by the fact that, as a war measure, in 1598 King Philip III of Spain had forbidden his subjects to trade with Holland. A fleet was sent out by the United Provinces, under Van der Does, to attack Spanish colonies and ports. These operations prompted trade directly between Holland

¹ Prins, *Vestiging*, p. 122 and note 3. Wm. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1879, II, pp. 5 ff.

and the Mediterranean countries without the mediation of the Lisbon market. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries although Mediterranean trade was gradually waning following the discovery of other avenues to the Indies, it was still rich enough to foster a profitable commerce of its own.²

As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, Venetian ships came to Bruges and Antwerp. In that century Antwerp was a storehouse for considerable amounts of Oriental and Occidental merchandise. There is a document noting the fact that in 1318 the first Venetian ships reached Antwerp, loaded with spices, drugs and silks. It is possible that even earlier than this, ships with such cargoes came to Bruges.³ In the fifteenth century Bruges, and, later in the sixteenth, Antwerp became the main northern European trading emporia of the age.

There are two theories accounting for the transference of trade to Bruges and Antwerp. One avers that when Baldwin of Flanders became the ruler of the Byzantine empire in 1204 he instigated commercial relations between Flanders and the Mediterranean ports.⁴ This is hardly possible in view of the short and stormy nature of his reign. But the other theory that the Spanish Portuguese Marranos transferred Mediterranean trade from Lisbon to Bruges and Antwerp is substantiated by the following extract from a letter, dated September 30, 1546: "Experience shows that the greatest number of ships arriving in Zeeland and the said city of Antwerp from the West coast are from Portugal and the isles of Algarbe. These ships bring the said New Christians here."⁵ It may also be said in support of the latter theory that the Jews, or Marranos, maintained business relations with the Mediterranean countries; and a large number immigrated thither. Levantine trade was partly in the hands of Spanish

² H. Waetjen, *Die Niederländer im Mittelmeergebiet zur Zeit ihrer höchsten Machtstellung*, Berlin, 1909, p. 4. Bredius, op. cit., p. 97.

³ G. B. Depping, *Histoire de Commerce entre le Levant, et l'Europe depuis les Croisades jusqu'à la Fondation des Colonies d'Amérique*, Paris, 1830, I, pp. 323 ff. De Koopman, II, pp. 2 ff. J. G. de Jonge, *Nederland en Venetië*, The Hague, 1852, p. 292. The author does not locate the document referred to.

⁴ Koenen, op. cit., p. 62.

⁵ J. Nanninga Uitterdijk, *Een Kamper Handelsbuis te Lissabon, 1572-1594*, Zwolle, 1904, p. LXV. The quotation is from a letter from the magistrate of Antwerp to the Bishop of Utrecht. The following authors are of the opinion that the Marranos brought Levantine trade to Antwerp: Prins, *Vestiging*, p. 37, De Jonge, op. cit., p. 300, Sombarr, *Jews*, p. 24, J. A. Goris, *Etude sur les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales*, Louvain, 1921, p. 10, Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 32.

and Italian Jews from the early Middle Ages.⁶ One of the most important occupations of the Jew in Turkey arose from his capacity to act as dragoman or interpreter. As such he was the link between the monarch and the traders.⁷ Being disseminated all over the world, the Jewish merchant or money lender had connections with his brethren settled in the most distant parts and usually engaged in a similar occupation.

The two theories appear to be complimentary rather than mutually exclusive. There, undoubtedly, was some trade between the Mediterranean countries and Flanders before the great influx of Marranos to Antwerp but the Marrano settlement greatly stimulated that trade, first via Lisbon, and, later on, directly with the Mediterranean ports.

The first recorded maritime contact between Amsterdam and the Mediterranean area dated from 1590.⁸

Contemporary or nearly contemporary writers contend that the Jews who came to Amsterdam were the first to send Dutch ships to the Levant. Janiçon⁹ writes: "The Jews... who sought refuge in Holland were the first to establish this Levantine commerce." Wagenaar¹⁰ is of the same opinion: Levantine trade "began to flourish about the beginning of the seventeenth century after the Jews settled here (Amsterdam) and first established commerce with Italy and the Levant." Luzac¹¹ says: "they (the Jews) have opened commercial relations with the Levant and other regions." The probabilities are that Marrano merchants who came to Amsterdam from Antwerp really were the initiators of Amsterdam's Mediterranean commerce.¹² The

⁶ Depping, op. cit., I, p. 289, II, pp. 235 and 240. Koenen, op. cit., pp. 180 ff.

⁷ J. G. Nannings, "De Nederlandsche Koopman in de Levant en de Vrije Handel (Achtste Eeuw) Historische Opstellen, Jubileum, Prof. Dr. H. Brugmans", pp. 109-140. P. Masson, *Histoire du Commerce Français dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1896, p. 75.

⁸ Th. Velsius, *Chronyk van Hoorn*, Hoorn, 1740, p. 490.

⁹ F. M. Janiçon, *De tegenwoordige staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, The Hague, 1731, II, p. 302.

¹⁰ Wagenaar, *Amsterdam*, IX, p. 415.

¹¹ Luzac, op. cit., I, p. 340. On this subject, see also: Koenen, op. cit., p. 180, De Jonge, op. cit., pp. 298 ff., Bredius, op. cit., p. 18. Waetjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, pp. 4ff. Waetjen, although recognizing Jewish influence, is not ready to accept the definite statements of Luzac and De Jonge that the Jews were the very first to send ships through the Straits of Gibraltar. He does not give the reasons for his doubt.

¹² H. de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, I, VI, Paris, 1906-1923, p. 555. This author indicates: "in Amsterdam they (the Portuguese Jews) have nearly monopolized commerce with Morocco, making use of their co-religionists established in Salem, Safi and Saint Croix." Bredius, op. cit., pp. 97 ff. At the same time that the Netherlands began to sail the Mediterranean they received the impulse to extend their enterprises to the most remote parts of that sea particularly from the Jews.

trade was further stimulated by the influx of Marranos from Portugal. It is certain that the refugees continued their commercial relationships with Spain, Portugal and the Mediterranean countries.

B. THE BARBARY COAST

The Amsterdam Jews had close relationships with Morocco. The fact that Holland and Morocco both were antagonistic to Spain and Portugal helped to foster trade between the countries. There may be some truth in the statement¹³ that prior to the period under discussion some Jews from Holland fled to Morocco to evade persecution. The Pallache family has preserved a tradition to this effect. Whether or not this is true, the sources clearly show that the Jews exerted considerable influence in the countries of the southern Mediterranean.

On September 19, 1624, Francisco Vaez de Leon, Francisco Lopez Henriques, Diego Lopez Telles, Michael de Crosse, Manoel Lopez Nunes, D. Nunez da Costa, Jeromino Henriques, Manuel da Cunha, Michael Cardoso, Diego Nunes Belmonte, Manoel de Pina, all Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam, requested the magistrates of the city to recommend them to the king of Morocco, so that they might receive the same protection at his hands which he had accorded to all other Dutch subjects. This request was submitted by the magistrates to the States General who communicated it, with its recommendation, to the king of Morocco on October 22, 1624. The Amsterdam Jews found this protection necessary because their Portuguese names often led the Moroccans to mistake them for the enemy.

In the course of thirty years, difficulties arose and new treaties with Morocco had to be concluded. In a document, dated Saleh, September 20, 1654,¹⁴ we find that Dutch ships had been plundered and merchandise, belonging to a certain Spinosa, who was one of the charterers of the ship "De Witte Valck" (The White Falcon) had been seized.¹⁵ On October 19, 1655, Admiral Michel de Ruyter wrote to Sidi Abdullah, King of Morocco¹⁶ that he was pleased to have a cer-

¹³ T. Tal, *Orenjebloemen*, Amsterdam, 1898, pp. 24 ff.

¹⁴ de Castris, op. cit., I, IV, p. 29, V, p. 429.

¹⁵ Moroccan pirates were not the only ones to impede Dutch trade. We find that on November 21, 1619, a captain declared at the request of Manuel Ximenes that his ship and goods had been seized by a Swedish pirate. The ship was en route from Villanova in the "Cordaet" to Amsterdam. MS, Padthuyssen 2888.

¹⁶ de Castris, op. cit., I, VI, p. 120.

tain Benjamin Cochin (Cohen) come on board (De Ruyter's ship) to settle the disturbances and to discuss mutual reparation of damages. This same Benjamin Cohen, whose brother was a merchant in Amsterdam, was a well-known ammunition trader.¹⁷ The Dutch in Saleh treated with him as a representative of Moroccan interests.

Evidently, despite the attempt to insure peace, Jewish trade was repeatedly hindered. We find a request by the Jewish elders of Amsterdam to the States General that the new treaty with the Prince of Saleh incorporate the same privileges sought in September 19, 1624. On August 20, 1659, the States General decided to submit the petition to the admiralty since that body supervised the maritime trade. On October 13th of that year the admiralty advised that the request be granted and the Jews be considered on a parity with Dutch subjects.¹⁸ This clearly indicates that by that time the Dutch government regarded the Jews as equal to its other subjects in matters relevant to Mediterranean trade.

When we consider Mediterranean trade, piracy at once claims our attention. The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam were largely concerned with the arming of Moroccan ships and for this reason Dutch ships were respected by Moroccan buccaneers.¹⁹ If Dutch sailors were captured by Moroccan pirates, it was often the Jews of Amsterdam who paid their ransom. They had no scruples about furnishing arms, ammunition and other supplies to contending parties. There is a letter, dated Saleh, May 30, 1624, written by Aaron Querido to Diego Nunez Belmonte, requesting him and his associate Francisco Vaez de Leon, to ship promptly the arms and the ammunition for the admiral of Saleh and the Caid of Kasba. The States General and the admiralty of Amsterdam freely authorized this expedition. Mulay Zidan, king of Morocco, in a letter dated November 13, 1624, written by his ambassador Joseph Biscayno (a Jew), protested against this shipment. We see from the result of the so-called investigation by the States General that Querido had delivered ammunition to an enemy of the King of Morocco, the Caid of Kasba, with the authority of the Dutch government. On the other hand, the Caid of Kasba wrote to the States

¹⁷ See for this trade also p. 77.

¹⁸ de Castrics, op. cit., I, VI, pp. 556 and 574.

¹⁹ Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 32. de Castrics, op. cit., I, VI, p. 555, K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantischen Handel, 1590-1660*, The Hague, 1910, II, p. 1109.

General: "Nevertheless the same (Jewish merchants) carried on big business operations in the army of the afore-named enemy (the King of Morocco) and performed several tasks in the enemy's favor, in order to convey to him powder, muskets and other war munitions. These goods were carried in ships belonging to Your Highnesses, coming to the aforesaid Hebrew merchants named Benjamin Cohin, Haron Quirido and others." This Aaron Querido, together with Francisco Vaez de Leon, Diego Nunes Belmonte, Diego Gomez Duarte and David Franco originally obtained passports to go to Saleh to recover the ship "Die Vergulde Starre" (The Gilded Star) captured there.²⁰ It would seem that Aaron Querido found that he could profit by remaining in Saleh as the agent of Vaez de Leon and Diego Nunez Belmonte, who, as we saw above, carried on a munition and army supply trade with the contending parties in Morocco. Juan Haro, another prominent Amsterdam Jewish merchant, in partnership with Jeronimo Rodrigues de Sousa, Duarte Palachios, and Philippa Rodrigues, widow of Antonio Mendes Porto, established a businesshouse under the name

²⁰ de Castries, *op. cit.*, I, III, p. 103, I, IV, p. 41. The States General decided to write to the admiralty of Amsterdam in order to ask them to send Nunez Belmonte to The Hague for interrogation. Nunez Belmonte and his associate Vaez de Leon present documents which prove to the authorities that they are acting by order of Querido. *Ibid.*, I, V, p. 41. Other documents illustrating Jewish activity as war supply agents are the following: March 26, 1639, Joseph Cohen, "Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam", brother of Benjamin Cohen of Saleh, requested on behalf of his brother that ammunition be sent to Sidi Mohammed el Ayachi, who ruled a large part of Morocco. In order to appear in a favorable light to Holland, Sidi Mohammed is said to have freed many Dutchmen at the request of Benjamin Cohen. *Ibid.*, I, IV, pp. 482 ff. There is a letter from Moulay Mohammed ech Schcickh el Asegher to the States General, dated July 5-14, 1646, in which he complains that Benjamin Cohen supplied merchandise of all kinds and ammunition and other contraband to the enemy. *Ibid.*, I, V, pp. 111 ff. A letter dated November 21, 1655, from Admiral De Ruyter to the States General avers that if the States General consented to the shipping of ammunition to the king of Morocco, the shipment should be made through Isaac Seconto, Portuguese merchant of Amsterdam. *Ibid.*, I, VI, p. 217. Heeringa, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1109 ff., mentions that the pirates of Saleh received war supplies chiefly from the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam. In the letters, dated October 18, 25 and 26, 1623 and July 25, 1624 the States General requested Muley Zidan and the consuls of Morocco, Algeria and Tunis to treat the following Amsterdam merchants as Dutch subjects: Francisco Vaez de Leon, Diego Lopez Tellos, D. Nunez da Costa, Jeronimo Henriques, David Curiel, Francisco Gomes Henriques, Manuel da Cunha, Michael Cardoso, Diego Nunes Belmonte, Manoel de Pina, Duarte de Palai... (?), Michael de Crosse, Manoel Lopez Nunez, Cardoso Nunez, Dy. Efram. da Costa, Matias Rodrigues Cardoso, Miguel de Pазze and Francisco Lopez Henriques. There are letters, dated November 6, 1629, January 30 and December 12, 1631, about the delivery of war supplies to Saleh. The merchants named in these letters are Francisco Vaez de Leon, Aaron and Abraham Querido, Rugomus Frontera, Daniel Missie, Benjamin Cohen, David Israel and David Belmonte. In a letter, dated October 18, 1643, received in Holland February 2, 1644, the king accuses the Dutch consul Van Bijsterveld and other (!) merchants of trading with the enemy which justifies the taking of Dutch ships by pirates.

of the Saffi Company, for the purpose of trading in Morocco. De Haro's brother, Jozua, was the Company's Moroccan agent (factor).²¹ Abraham Semah Cortises, another Dutch Jew, went to Saleh as the representative of Isack Aboab de Pas of Amsterdam.²²

As we have stated the constant warfare and disturbances in Morocco offered a favorable opportunity for many Dutch Jews to engage in profitable munition and army supply business, first with one and then with the other of the contenders in the war-ridden country. Dozens of protests written to the States General bear witness to constant squabbles and disagreements between the contending parties and the Dutch Jewish army supply agents. The government, as we have indicated, often had to step in to straighten out the tangle. While there is no doubt that the main occupation of the Amsterdam Jewish merchants in Morocco was trade in army supplies, they were also involved in the selling of booty from the ships captured by pirates. We hear that the Jews excelled in disguising the booty to such an extent that they were often able to sell it to its former owner.²³ While most merchants, trading with Morocco, practiced this art of disguising booty, the Jews must have been pastmasters in the craft.

There is evidence of the fact that the Jews engaged in occupations which we would consider more legitimate. A contemporary writes: "The principal merchants trading with Barbary are Jews, who have taken up their residence there. It is true that there is a tin mine in Barbary that produces considerable amounts of metal which is as good as the English product. This mine is run by several Jews."²⁴ That there was a trade in grain is evidenced from a correspondence between the States General and the Caid of Saleh. It concerned the granting of a permit to Abraham and Aaron Querido to bring grain in ships from Saleh to the United Provinces.²⁵ The Jews also brought wax, almonds, gold, figs, cork and other merchandise²⁶

²¹ Vaz Dias, "De Stichters", VA, VIII, January 1, 1932, pp. 222 ff.

²² MS, Padthuyzen 2890, dated November 23, 1661.

²³ See also p. 94. de Castries, op. cit., I, VI, p. 355. J. Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce*, Paris, 1748, II, col. 1757: "The Jews of Amsterdam are so expert that, after disguising the merchandise by mingling it with other goods, or packing it in an other way or remarking it, they are not afraid to go to certain Portuguese ports and resell the goods there. Very often they even dispose of it to the same merchants from whom the booty was taken."

²⁴ *Mémoire des trafiquants d'Amsterdam*, June 14, 1647. de Castries, op. cit., I, V, p. 132.

²⁵ Ibid., I, IV, p. 311.

²⁶ On June 24, 1658, Daniel de Pinto gave notice to the captain of the Ship "Coninginne Hester" (Queen Esther) that the 20 quintals of wax shipped by Moses Navarro from Saleh

from the Barbary Coast to Holland. As an illustration of what ships, plying between Holland and the Barbary Coast, brought to Africa we quote the following: "In November, 1660, Abraham Isaacq Faro, alias Duarte Manuel Faro, shipped 318 pieces of Kampen wood (8,580 lbs.), 207 bales of "tolouse pastel" and 311 baskets of soda. The cargo amounted to 2,486 $\frac{1}{8}$ pieces of eight. He owned one of the vessels and was part owner of the cargoes. His ship was insured for at least 5,500 guilders for a trip from Santa Cruz in Barbary to Rotterdam or Amsterdam.²⁷

To show that all was not amity between the Amsterdam Jews, in spite of their apparent cooperation both within and without the country, we cite a curious fact. Francisco Vaez de Leon asked the States General to insure the protection of his property in Saleh, by means of intercession with the Caid, explaining that he feared that his possessions would be seized by a fellow Jew, Aaron Querido, with whom he was carrying on litigation. His agent, Isaac Espinosa, had valuable goods in custody, which he was afraid would be appropriated by Querido.²⁸

No study of Morocco's relations with the Netherlands would be adequate without a word or two about the interesting, almost romantic figure of Don Samuel Pallache. His influence in Amsterdam Jewry and his activity as a diplomat, forms not only an important part of the picture of Amsterdam-Moroccan relations but also of the life in the "New Jerusalem" itself.

to De Pinto and Jacob Navarro of Amsterdam, should be delivered to him, De Pinto. (One quintal equals 100 Kilograms). On December 6, 1659, and December 9, 1659, Francisco de Lopes d'Azevedo declared that 33 "cabassen" of almonds have arrived from the "Cordaet", partly empty and damaged by sea-water. On November 10, 1659, the captain and pilot of the ship "De Vergulde Halve Maan" (The Gilded Half Moon) declared at the request of Isaac Mendes da Silba and Isaac Levi Ximenes of Amsterdam, that the ship had been wrecked near the Island of Wight. The ship came from Santa Cruz in Barbary, its cargo contained wax, almonds, gold and other merchandise. On December 14 and 16, 1660, Simon Rodrigues Nunes refused to accept 143 small barrels and 9 baskets of figs, and 40 "cabassen" of almonds. They were shipped from Villanova in the "Condaet" and arrived in Amsterdam in a badly damaged condition. On February 9th of the next year, Rodrigues Nunes is compelled to pay the captain 24½ "kasten gelts" (boxes of money) for freight and damages. On September 2, 1661, a Rotterdam merchant bought 200 dozen corks for 4½ guilders per dozen from Jacob Semagh Cortises. MSS, Padthuyssen, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890.

²⁷ A certain Henrique de Azevedo transfers the policy on the ship to Antonio Rodrigues de Moraes of Rouen, to whom he owes money. De Moraes had delegated one Simon Gomes Victoria of Amsterdam to act as his representative. MSS, Padthuyssen 2889 and 2890, dated April 13, 1660 and September 5, 1661. One piece of eight was a Spanish coin equal to approximately two guilders.

²⁸ de Castrics, op. cit., I, IV, p. 240.

According to one version of the story, when Samuel Pallache came to Holland in 1608 he asked the States General for the right of residence. His petition was at first granted and for some unknown reason afterwards refused, whereupon he returned to Morocco. However, by a clever manoeuvre he reappeared soon in Amsterdam as the Moroccan vice-ambassador.²⁹ He had so highly praised Amsterdam's virtues and economic possibilities to the King of Morocco that he was made his vice-ambassador in the Netherlands. Another version has it that Pallache was in Amsterdam as early as 1596 when the first Jewish service was held in his house. Official record of his diplomatic mission is not found until 1612, at which time his papers are presented to the States General.³⁰

Two years before Holland officially recognized him as ambassador, his influence was felt, for on December 24, 1610 a treaty was made between Morocco and the Netherlands, by which Dutch ships could freely enter Moroccan harbors and Dutch ports were open to Moroccan ships. The terms of the treaty further stipulated that Dutch or Moroccan subjects were not to be enslaved. This pact was brought about by Pallache's ministrations.³¹

We get two distinct pictures of Samuel Pallache, the one presented by the Dutch Jews and the other by some of his non-Jewish associates. The Jews picture him as an idealistic, worthy gentleman who spent his efforts promoting the good will of Christian and Jew and enriching his adopted country. He was the friend of the great Prince Maurits who was instrumental in convincing the States General to aid the needy ambassador then on his deathbed by a special levy. The prince respected Pallache sufficiently to walk behind the bier at his funeral.³² It is not to be forgotten that he was one of the founders of the synagogue "Neve Shalom". He was said to be the first man to come to Holland as an avowed Jew rather than as a Marrano.

²⁹ Waetjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, p. 52. According to Zwarts, *De Eerste Rabbinen*, pp. 199 ff. Pallache carried on diplomatic relations with King Philip II of Spain until 1597 and both Joseph and Samuel Pallache lived in the French embassy in Madrid from 1605 to 1608. See also Seeligmann, *Bibliographie*, p. 43. Wolff, op. cit., *BVGO*, X, 1912, pp. 161 ff. Zwarts, *De eerste Rabbinen*, pp. 199 ff.

³⁰ de Castries, op. cit., I, I, p. XV ff. and I, II, p. 59.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Tal, *Orenjebloesems*, p. 30, "Minuten van de Staten Generaal", February 5, 1616: "It is accorded that Senor Samuel Palache, ambassador of the King of Morocco, now lying on his deathbed, in view of his serious difficulties, shall be assisted with the loan of six hundred guilders, payable at once, and that the said sum will be given by the Treasurer at the presentation of his brother's signature."

The picture derived from Christian sources is quite different. Pallache is delineated as a crafty, unreliable, scheming, dishonest person, carefully looking after his own interest and even capable of the mistranslation of diplomatic correspondence for his own ends.³³ No doubt the true picture of this influential diplomat lies somewhere between the two estimates. He was probably a shrewd, none too scrupulous businessman, who took advantage of his opportunities, but it must be said that he spent much of his wealth and energy on behalf of his fellow Jews and the respect of a man like Prince Maurits cannot be neglected. Whatever part the Amsterdam Jews played in Moroccan commerce resulted largely from the influence of Don Samuel and his family.

His brother Joseph followed in his footsteps and became Moroccan ambassador after Samuel's death, from 1616-1637. De Barrios names Joseph as one of the sixteen founders of the first synagogue in Amsterdam. He, like his brother, was subject to the abuse of some of his Gentile colleagues. Albert Ruyl, who was with him in Morocco for a time, repeatedly complained to the States General about his craftiness.³⁴ During his busy career he was admiral of a Moroccan pirate fleet, directed against Spain; he was also interested in the saltpeter trade. The Republic offered to pay one ducat for each quintal of saltpeter that he would import.³⁵ To carry on this trade he addressed himself to a rich Dutch patrician, Elias Trip, one of the directors of the Levantine Trading Company, but the deal could not be concluded. Moroccan commerce with the Republic would probably have assumed larger proportions had the Pallaches had more capital at their disposal.

Joseph had three sons, Isaac, Moses and David, all of whom, at some time or other, were in the service of Morocco. Isaac was also a broker in Amsterdam and instructor in Hebrew at Leiden University. Moses was secretary to the Sultan of Morocco (1624-1642) and David was the agent of that country in 1638.³⁶ We hear of a Jacob Carlos, alias Pallache, in 1654 when the ship "Prophet Elias", was captured and his goods seized by the English, who decided to return his property

³³ Heeringa, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1106 ff.

³⁴ de Castrica, *op. cit.*, III, p. 327.

³⁵ Tal, *Orenjebloesems*, p. 29. Heeringa, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 1106 ff. Wolff, *op. cit.*, BVGO, X, 1912, p. 147.

³⁶ de Castro, *Keur van Grafsteenen*, p. 92.

because he was the son of a former Moroccan ambassador at The Hague, and hence a Moroccan subject.³⁷

At a much earlier date, 1612, a considerable part of Dutch commerce with Tunis must have been in Jewish hands. A certain Lamberto Verhaer, Dutch consul in Tunis, sent a memorandum to the States General requesting "that the Jews or Portuguese in the United Provinces be granted the privilege of free domicile under the protection of the government, and be treated with due consideration."³⁸ Clearly, the consul's action was prompted by a desire to foster Jewish interest in Dutch trade.

C. TURKEY

Cornelis Haga's records,³⁹ the chief sources at our disposal, suggest that Amsterdam Jewish trade with Turkey in the first half of the seventeenth century was very small. The contrast between Turkey and Morocco is the more remarkable, because of the more intimate cultural relations between the Sephardic communities of Constantinople, Salonica and Dutch Jewry. It is possible, however, that a more thorough investigation into the extant unpublished material relating to Dutch-Turkish commerce would reveal a more active participation of the Amsterdam Jewish merchants.⁴⁰ We have several petitions to the States General, asking help from the government in matters of Dutch-Turkish trade. These petitions contain no Jewish names although some of them have as many as 63 signatures of Dutch merchants.⁴¹

That there was some Amsterdam Jewish trade with Turkey is indicated by the following: A non-Jewish Amsterdam merchant, Gaspar Quinget (Quingetti) mentions a bill of exchange, dated November 8, 1613, payable to Matio Rodrigues and Sebastian Pimentel, two prominent Jewish merchants of Amsterdam, against the account of Mordechai Abrimaçar and Salomon Abiatar of Constantinople. Further-

³⁷ Samuel Oppenheim Papers, American Jewish Historical Society, "Brevet Colonial State Papers, Domestic", 1654, p. 91.

³⁸ Heeringa, op. cit., I, p. 262.

³⁹ Cornelis Haga was a Dutch representative in Constantinople, 1611-1639.

⁴⁰ Van Dillen, *Vreemdelingen*, p. 15 strengthens the view that Amsterdam Jewish trade with the Levant, at least for the first half of the seventeenth century, was of minor importance.

⁴¹ Heeringa, op. cit., I, pp. 437, 503, 504, 572, 576, 577, 613, 621, II, pp. 302 and 969. One of the reasons why we can trace the development of Moroccan Jewish trade with much more certainty than the Levantine trade is that the information supplied by De Castris, op. cit., the editor of our chief sources for Morocco, is much more complete than that of Heeringa.

more, we know that three ships were freighted by Amsterdam Portuguese merchants, each with a Jewish representative on board. It appears from a resolution of the States General that Quingetti took charge of the payment of Consul Haga's salary for that body. The inadequate stipend forced Haga to borrow money from Turkish Jews. As a security for the loan he offered a bill of exchange on Quingetti. It is also known that Haga and other consuls were definitely unfriendly towards the Levantine Jews, accusing them of shady business practices and untrustworthiness, although they were repeatedly forced to resort to Jewish moneylenders for aid. In financial crises Christian merchants and almost all Dutch consuls went to the Jews for money.

Haga left Constantinople and arrived in Holland, November 2, 1639.⁴² From this time on, Dutch commerce with Constantinople was on the wane. The erstwhile wealthy Dutch merchants became impoverished. The mother country would not heed their distress. In 1640 there were no more than two Dutch business houses in the Turkish capital.

At this time (circa 1640) Smyrna began to assume a place of importance for Dutch commerce. Many Dutch establishments opened branches there.⁴³ The Jews took an active part in the flourishing trade. There were many Jewish brokers both in Smyrna and in Aleppo. They were also bankers and farmers of Turkish taxes.⁴⁴ Jacob Syton, the most important Jew in Aleppo, lived in a large and stately house and entertained the Dutch merchants sumptuously.⁴⁵

The old function of the Jew as interpreter or dragoman obtained strongly in the Levant. In a letter from Haga to the States General,

⁴² Heeringa, op. cit., I, p. 191, pp. 403 ff. and pp. 304 ff. In a letter to the States General Haga writes, October 25, 1613: "The Jews principally, the most important of whom was Pimontel, notwithstanding (that) their friends and the whole nation there have profited by the benign treatment accorded them by you, Honorable Sirs, have set aside their conscience..." and in another letter, *ibid.*, I, p. 314, dated November 8, 1613, "...and dire need compels me to seek credit from other people, therefore I have received 2,166 'rijksdalers' (rijksdaalder) from a certain Jewish merchant, for two-thirds of which I have acknowledged a bill of exchange on Sr. Gaspar Quingetti. See also Waetjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, pp. 57-81.

⁴³ C. de Bruyn, *Reize van Cornelis de Bruyn door de Vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia, De Eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus Metelimo, Stanchio*, etc. Delft, 1698, p. 35: "The Dutch are there (in Smyrna) in considerable numbers. Besides the consul, preacher, and treasurer, there are eleven businesshouses, in each of which usually two or three merchants live together."

⁴⁴ Heeringa, op. cit., II, pp. 1117-1134.

⁴⁵ De Bruyn, op. cit., pp. 330 and 26.

dated April 18, 1615,⁴⁶ Haga reports about one Efraim Abensachio, an interpreter, who journeyed to Tunis (from Constantinople), freed some slaves of Dutch origin, brought them to Holland and received money and a golden chain with a medal from the Dutch legislative body.

These dragomans served as intermediaries between the consul, the subjects and the sovereign. They were the active means of fostering trade relationships. The Greeks, Jews and Armenians functioned in this capacity. Their position in the commercial pattern of the Levant was unique. The sovereign, as well as the Turkish businessman, refused to do business directly with foreign merchants. Whether they understood the language or not, Dutchmen were forced to employ the services of the "rayas" (infidels, in this case Greeks, Jews and Armenians) whose business it was to interpret any transaction to the Dutch merchant. They, the "rayas", received a commission on all goods bought and sold.

In the eighteenth century, the waning power of Turkey and the repeated insistence of the Dutch government that trade with the Levant be free for Dutchmen as well as for foreigners, turned the eyes of many prominent Levantine Jews toward Holland, and especially to Amsterdam, as a depot for Levantine products. They either had part interest in merchandise arriving from Holland, or purchased it immediately upon arrival in Turkey. In this respect Levantine Jewish trade relations with the Jews of Amsterdam were of importance. When the Levantine Jews undertook to trade directly with the Netherlands, Dutch merchants in the Levant were at a disadvantage. In order to sell European, and to obtain Levantine products, they needed the Levantine broker and had to pay him four per cent brokerage commission besides two per cent consular tax. The Dutch government acceding to the repeated complaints of the Dutch in the Levant, began to raise certain barriers to Levantine trade. Many Levantine merchants paid for the privilege of operating under the name of an Amsterdam firm through which they imported their goods. Others became "baraitars", or subjects of the Netherlands.⁴⁷ Some of them moved to

⁴⁶ Heeringa, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 660 ff. and p. 667.

⁴⁷ A "baraitar" is a Levantine "raya" who has bought a certain diploma of privileges ("barath") from one of the European consuls, which makes the purchaser a subject of the consul's country.

Amsterdam and became citizens of that city, the Jews among them joined the Amsterdam Jewish community.

According to a report of the directors of the Levantine Trading Company, published in 1768, less than one-quarter of the thirty ships, leaving Smyrna were destined to deliver their cargoes to Dutch traders. The remaining cargoes were intended for Levantine merchants in Amsterdam. The Dutch firms in the Levant were forced out of existence. Many a scion of a famous Amsterdam mercantile family went bankrupt. The more fortunate were employed by Levantine concerns trading with Amsterdam, a goodly number were reduced to illicit trade or became derelicts.⁴⁸ An eighteenth century writer remarks: "By now Levantine trade has almost entirely moved" (from Holland).⁴⁹

The history of Dutch trade with the Levant is not the same as the history of Dutch merchants in the Levant. Upon the advice of the Levantine Company and in conformity with its principle of free trade, the government of the Netherlands encouraged Levantine merchants to bring goods to Holland. This policy finally resulted in the ruin of Dutch firms in the Levant.⁵⁰ Other protectionist countries, such as France and England, traded exclusively through their own merchants in the Levant, who became rich in consequence.

D. THE LEVANTINE TRADING COMPANY AND COMPARATIVE FIGURES

In 1610 certain merchants trading with the Levant formed a group to confer with the States General about the protection of their trading interest in that region. The States General also discussed Levantine matters with them. In 1625 the government of Amsterdam decided to name seven Christian merchants as directors of the newly formed Levantine Trading Company.⁵¹ It was fashioned after the pattern of the India Companies but it never had the monopolies of trade. Its purposes were to regulate commerce, and to collect taxes from which the Company was supposed to pay the expenses of de-

⁴⁸ Nanninga, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.

⁴⁹ *De Koopman*, III, p. 280.

⁵⁰ Nanninga, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.

⁵¹ The Company was established to protect the Dutch settlers on overseas voyages and settlements in countries where the thoughtless conduct of individual merchants and sailors placed the property and personal freedom of the whole nation in danger. Nanninga, *op. cit.*, p. 110. The seven merchants were: Hillebrandt den Otter, Elias Trip, Albert Schuyt, Gerrit Hudde, Marcus de Vogelaar, Philippo Calandrinii and Jan Bicker. Wærtjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, p. 174. Pringsheim, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

fense and protective operations. Taxes were levied according to the tonnage of the incoming and outgoing ships. Usage dictated an average tonnage above which no taxes were levied. The Company's neglect to take advantage of all opportunities, such as higher tonnage, the general laxity in collection, and the corruption of the minor officials connected with the company, all resulted in disaster. The figures at our disposal indicate that in 1625-1633 it paid 28,352 guilders to Haga and 24,000 guilders to Pynacker, another consul. In 1633 the deficit was 37,386 guilders.⁵²

Although none of the directors of the Levantine Trading Company were Jews, we find Jewish names mentioned in the Company's books. These books yield only one year's (April, 1646 until May, 1647) complete record of Levantine import and export.⁵³ They show the exact amount of imports and exports for the given year, also a list of products with the names of the individual importers and exporters. The year is sufficiently typical of an active trade under favorable conditions. The value of the total import for the given year is 2,349,701 guilders, carried in 39 ships, that of the total export is 2,453,148 guilders, carried in 90 ships.⁵⁴

The list of 430 importers and exporters includes 23 Jewish names.⁵⁵ This ratio of about five per cent does not reveal the full share of the Jews in the Levantine trade. Jews were not as dependent upon the Company's organization as Christians. They had a "Beth Din" (rabbinical court) to settle their differences, and did not require the trade connections which the company established, as they possessed their own. Furthermore, it is probable that some of them avoided the Company in order to evade the tax which it imposed. The most important Jewish merchant listed is Bento Osorio, who imported goods

⁵² Waetjen, *ibid.*, p. 181. Difere, *op. cit.*, p. 340, note 1. Pringsheim, *op. cit.*, states that the consuls were paid by the Levantine Trading Company. Difere disagrees with this statement. However, Waetjen agrees with Pringsheim and quotes an original source for his opinion. As Waetjen's study on this matter is based on the archives of the Levantine Trading Company his view seems cogent.

⁵³ Waetjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, pp. 212-361.

⁵⁴ The imported goods were: oil, rice, wine, alun, amalgam, anchovies, southern fruits, anise, silks, cotton, rock crystal, brandy, pictures, books, cassia, lemons, drugs, dyes, skins, gall nuts, thread, seeds, glassware, marble, and sugar; goods exported were mainly fish.

⁵⁵ Raphael Abandana, Ruy Gomez Barbosa, Rento (Bento) Osorio, Duarte Palatio, Manuel Benevista, Jeronimo Nunes da Costa, Duarto Dias, Manuel Faro, Francisco Feronio, Lopo Hamirus, Manuel Diaz de Pas, Daniel Pinto, Manuel Dias Henriques, Menasseh ben Israel, Manuel Mendos, Joseph de los Rios, Diego Rodrigues, Jeronimo de Sousa, Symon de Sousa, David de Spinosa, Juda Toro, Salvador Rodrigues, Francisco Vaca de Castro.

valued at 70,575 guilders, or about three per cent of the total import. Next in order is Ruy Gomez Barbosa, importing 28,400 guilders worth of merchandise, or about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the total import; thereupon follows Francisco Vaes de Castro who imported 26,855 guilders or about one per cent of the total import, and finally, Juda Toro, importing goods amounting to 16,870 guilders or about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent which is the smallest sum recorded for the year 1646-1647.⁵⁶ The most prominent Christian importer was Carel van Peene. His imports amounted to 113,050 guilders or about five per cent of the total import. The non-Jewish merchant who imported least, was Gerrit de la Croix with 17,830 guilders or about $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent of the total import. Bento Osorio also headed the list of Jewish exporters. His export amounted to 32,500 guilders or about $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the total export. The Christian merchant Consalvo Romiti exported 19,225 guilders or $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent of the total export. He exported least of all.

The foregoing figures, based on one year, lead us to the following conclusion: The largest importing concern in the Levant transacted only ten times more business than the smallest one. The largest Jewish importer did about two-thirds of the amount of business done by the largest Christian concern. In the export trade we find the following: The largest exporting house engaged in only about eight times more business than the smallest one. The largest Jewish exporter carried on about one-fifth of the trade of the largest Gentile concern. Five per cent of all the Dutch merchants, operating in the Mediterranean countries through the Levantine Trading Company, were Jews.

Although the Gentile merchants in the Levant were more important than the Jewish ones, they were by no means to be numbered among the greatest of Dutch merchants. We have no figures for the total amount of Dutch imports and exports for the year 1646-1647 but it is clear from the amounts of duty listed for the year in question, that it was one of the most active.⁵⁷ Only one year, 1699, exceeded

⁵⁶ Waetjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, pp. 356 ff. does not include Francisco Vaes de Castro among the Jewish merchants but Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 34 mentions him as a Jew.

⁵⁷ Bredius, op. cit., pp. 45 ff. The list quoted by Bredius gives figures on the total export and import duties over the period from 1614 until 1699. In 1614 the duty amounted to 626,780 guilders, in 1648, 1,409,347 guilders and in 1699, 1,967,498 guilders.

it. It is estimated⁵⁸ that the total Dutch import and export for the year of which we are speaking, was not more than 100,000,000 guilders yearly. As the import and export from countries in which the Levantine Trading Company was interested in the years 1646-1647 did not amount to more than 4,800,000 guilders, we can readily realize the comparative insignificance of this trade. When we come to consider that the only important Jewish trade area was Morocco and that Morocco was the least important of the Levantine centers, we see how relatively unimportant Jewish trading activities were. It is very likely that with the increase of the Jewish population in Amsterdam after 1649 their proportion in Levantine trade likewise increased but there are no sufficient data to warrant positive conclusions. It must be remembered also that in the eighteenth century Levantine trade in general was on the decline.

E. THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

It was difficult for the Spanish Jewish fugitives in Holland to establish trade relationships with their associates who had remained in the Iberian Peninsula. Those Jews, who came from Antwerp to Amsterdam, found their trade with Spain now further curtailed. That the Marranos throughout Europe were in constant trade relations with their confrères on the Peninsula is interestingly illustrated by a letter from London, dated February 27, 1588, addressed to the Marrano Spanish ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza, in Paris. The letter states that Marranos in England do business with their relatives in Madrid and Lisbon, and furnish valuable information to fellow Marranos in England. "They (the Marranos of Spain and Portugal) carefully report hither everything that passes at Madrid and Lisbon... Geronimo Pardo, a Marrano from Lisbon" brought on that occasion two packets of letters in cipher, giving a full account of the warlike preparations which were being made in Spain.... "Another English ship, called the 'Black Crow' is also going to Spain, carrying a false deed of sale and transfer in favor of certain Flemings.... She is consigned to Geronimo Pardo."⁵⁹

The newly stimulated commercial enterprise, nurtured by the young Dutch Republic, wrested the monopoly of Indian merchandise in Europe from Marrano hands. When Portugal united with Spain

⁵⁸ Waetjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, p. 330.

⁵⁹ L. Wolf, "Jews in Elisabethan England", *TJHSE*, XI, 1924-1927, pp. 36 ff.

the Dutch Marranos were told that Holland could protect them if they severed all contact with their Portuguese associates. However, the relations of the Amsterdam Marranos with Portugal were too important and involved to be sundered. We know that in 1597 Emanuel Rodrigues Vega of Amsterdam carried on business transactions with relatives in Lisbon and Villanova. He and Fernando Mercado headed the petition to the Dutch government asking better protection of their ships from enemy attacks. In spite of this, in 1602, the Marrano galleon "St. Jacob" with a cargo of spices, pearls and diamonds worth 1,500,000 guilders was seized and the Marranos encountered increasing difficulty in trading with the Indies via Lisbon. Evidently due to the augmented risk entailed in insuring Jewish cargoes the names of the insurers and the amount of the insurance had to be separately registered with an official especially appointed for that purpose in 1620. This ruling was probably instituted to eliminate possible chicanery on the part of the insured and the insurers.⁶⁰

When Portugal became independent of Spain in 1640, Dutch merchants could once more carry on legal trade with that country. Naturally, the Sephardim from Holland seized their advantage and pursued an active trade with their associates, as it was stipulated in the Dutch treaty with Portugal that all inhabitants of the United Provinces could transact business with Portuguese subjects regardless of the religion of the contracting parties.⁶¹ Eight years later, Spain made peace with the United Provinces and established the same regulations regarding the Jewish merchants in Holland as were laid down by the Portuguese.⁶² The Jews thought that the terms of the treaty would guarantee their rights to carry on trade with Spain because they were inhabitants of the United Provinces. In point of fact, however, their ships and goods were often seized and all manner of difficulties put in their way. Within a year after the treaty complaints had al-

⁶⁰ Van Dillen, *Vreemdelingen*, pp. 15 and 16.

⁶¹ Wolff, op. cit., *BVGO*, X, 1912, pp. 142 ff.

⁶² *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1812-1814, London, 1841, I, p. 577. Article IV of the Treaty of Muenster: "And the Subjects and inhabitants of the countries of the said Lords, the king of Spain and the States shall entertain all good correspondence among themselves, without showing any resentment of the offenses and damages they may have sustained heretofore, they may likewise remain in and frequent one another's countries and there exercise their traffic and commerce in all safety as well by sea and fresh waters, as by land." Koenen, op. cit., pp. 151 ff. J. Hartog, "Eene bladzijde uit de geschiedenis der Joden in ons Vaderland (1770)", *De Tijdspiegel*, II, 1898, pp. 284 ff. Wolff, *ibid.*, Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 84 ff.

ready been lodged with the Dutch authorities by Jews of Amsterdam. They requested that the Dutch ambassador to Spain procure them the assurance that their trading rights be guaranteed and that they, their representatives and their property be treated with the same consideration as that accorded to all other inhabitants of the United Provinces, though they, the Jews, had been born in Spain. In 1650 the Spanish ambassador to Holland replied that Jews living in the United Provinces might carry on trade with Spain like all other inhabitants of the Republic so long as they themselves did not cross the borders of Spain. The Spanish explained their restriction on the ground that the exile of the Jews occurred long before the war with the Republic and that therefore, laws governing the Spanish Jews did not fall under the terms of the treaty. Neither the heads of the Jewish congregation nor the Dutch government were satisfied with Spain's decision. In 1651, following a diplomatic parley, the Dutch government issued a statement: "All Jews born or not born in Spain are to be given all liberties and advantages to person and property which have been stipulated in the treaty."⁶³

Despite all these decrees, the Jews were still impeded in their trade. Instances of these difficulties are not lacking. On May 9, 1657, several Amsterdam merchants complained that they had shipped goods for delivery at Oporto, in a vessel owned by Samuel Nunes de Mercado but the ship was seized by the Spanish.⁶⁴ Sentiment in Spain was against the Dutch Jews as the Spanish disliked the idea that the exiles were prospering in Amsterdam. In order not to imperil their lives or the lives of their relatives in Spain, the Dutch Jewish merchants assumed pseudonyms (aliases).⁶⁵ Many Marranos, who re-

⁶³ "Resoluties van de Staten van Holland", March 23, 1651 and July 27, 1649. Wolff, op. cit., BVGO, IX, 1910, p. 385.

⁶⁴ The Amsterdam merchants are: Duarte Manuel Faro, David Henriques Faro, Antonio Mendes, Simon Jorge, Samuel and Jacques de Sousa, Manuel de Toralto, Manuel Francisco da Masquita and Thomas Mendes. MS, Padthuyzen, 2886.

⁶⁵ Diego Mendes de Brito assumed the alias Jacques Albert, Antonio Henriques de Granada that of Carlos Guemp (Kemp), MS, Padthuyzen, April 25, 1661, 2890. Samuel Dias calls himself Michel Smit, Antonio d'Elgado - Antonio van Duren, Manuel Toralto - Albert Dirksen, Joseph Penha - Carlos de Water, Abr. Antunes - Dirck Janssen. Some other striking examples of aliases are Isaac Aboab - Dennis Jennie, and Isaac Henriques Morao alias Spycker Veth. Oppenheim, "An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guyana, 1658-1666 and its Relation to the Jews in Surinam, Cayenne and Tobago", *PAJHS*, XVI, 1907, p. 132. Vaz Dias, "Stichters", VA, VIII, January 1, 1932, pp. 222 ff. Many Marranos were known in the Jewish community by the Jewish names which their families had had before their acceptance of Christianity: Aboab, Abarbanel, Abenjascar, Abendana, Gaon, Musafia, Nahar, Arary, and Hahilio; others, who no longer remembered

mained on the Iberian Peninsula sent their money to Jewish financiers in Amsterdam in order to keep it out of the reach of the "Holy Office," and those who had fled the Iberian Peninsula tried to expedite the removal of their capital. Because of the ever watchful eye of the Holy Inquisition and its ubiquitous spy system, Marrano merchants who left the Iberian Peninsula were forced to resort to all manner of devices in order to avoid the confiscation of their property, personal molestation or the molestation of the people with whom they dealt. For instance, on May 10, 1653, three Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam declared at the request of Manoel, Josef and Juan Mendes Ximenes that "the merchants of the Jewish nation who live in Spain and who may be obliged to flee at any time because of the Inquisition, keep very few commercial books, and make their entries on little pieces of paper in a kind of shorthand which cannot be understood. When they leave Spain to go to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy or other lands, if they have commercial books, they destroy them or hide them, no one takes these books with him." This particular declaration was probably made because some debtor insisted upon documentary evidence that he owed a given sum. Since this proof was lacking he sought to evade his obligation.⁶⁶

In spite of its vigilance the Inquisition was often worsted by the Marranos who helped each other to elude the tribunals of the Church. Lucia da Fonseca, for example, after having been imprisoned by the Inquisition for four years, came to Amsterdam and found her money deposited for her in the Wisselbank (Exchange Bank). Her husband, who had meanwhile died in St. Jan de Lus, must have had some way of getting his wealth to Amsterdam through Marrano connections. In 1632, Henrique de Solis, a Franciscan monk in Spain, came to Amsterdam and espoused Judaism under the name of Elazar de Solis. He then claimed a legacy of 1,600 pounds Flemish, due him by the will of his father and brother. As a Franciscan monk he could claim no inheritance, having taken the vow of poverty. The money should have gone to the Franciscan order in Lisbon, but our monk managed to get it to Hamburg. When he settled as a merchant in Amsterdam

their Jewish names, took Jewish names such as Baruch, Israel, Macabeu. Roth, *Marranos*, p. 245. These aliases and many more mentioned throughout our study often make it difficult to determine whether or not the merchants are Jewish.

⁶⁶ Vaz Dias, "Marranen Historie", VA, IX, May 13 and 20, 1932, pp. 109 and 123.

and became a Jew, he claimed his patrimony and received it in due course.⁶⁷ De Solis was not the only man with orders to come to Amsterdam and to revert to the faith of his ancestors. Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits found their way to the city on the Amstel and exchanged the cowl for the "talith" (prayer shawl).⁶⁸

In order to avoid confiscation of his goods, Uriel da Costa carried on business with Portugal under the name of Adam Romez. He declared that he pursued business affairs under that name and that in 1622 Thomas Ferrera of the city of Porto, Portugal, had sent him 375 pieces of eight to Hamburg, his residence at that time. This money "belonged to no one but himself and least of all to any Spanish subject."⁶⁹

In 1655 the Spanish consul in Amsterdam with the aid of spies, collected the names, real and assumed, of Amsterdam Jewish merchants, trading with Spain, together with the names of their correspondents there. The list was submitted to the Inquisition by King Philip IV of Spain.⁷⁰ This event was not an isolated one. About 1607

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Malvezin, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff.

⁶⁹ Zwarts, "Joodsche Archiefprokkels", VA, VIII, April 24, 1931, pp. 61 ff., see also p. 108.

⁷⁰ Here follows the list of Amsterdam Jewish merchants, and the names of their correspondents in Spain:

<i>In Amsterdam</i>	<i>Correspondents in Spain</i>
David Ossoria (alias Bento Ossorio)	<i>In Santander:</i> Dn. Fernando Antonio Herrera Calderon
	<i>In Bilbao:</i> Dn. Matheo and Aug. de Montago
	<i>In San Sebastian:</i> Fran. de Beron and Fagolar
Jacob del Monte (alias Jacobus Bandenberg) (most likely Vandenberg)	<i>In Santander, Bilbao and San Sebastian:</i> Same as above
Abraham Isaac Perera (alias Frano and Antonio de Gurre, alias Gerard Carlos Bangardel)	<i>In Madrid:</i> Simon Mendes Soto and Luis Flores de Valdes
	<i>In Madrid:</i> Fernando Montesinos and Balthasar Rodriguez Cardoso
	<i>In Seville:</i> Manuel Bart, mes Montesinos and Bartolomeus lopes tello
	<i>In Santander:</i> Dn. ferdo. Antonio Herrera Calderon
	<i>In San Sebastian:</i> Frano. de Beron and Fagola
	<i>In Madrid:</i> Luis Flores de Valdez
Antonio Lopes Majo (alias Willem del Monte)	<i>In San Sebastian:</i> The same Fagola
	<i>In Bilbao:</i> Juan Batta de la Rosuinda

Hector Mendes Bravo, who was born in Lagos, southern Portugal, had returned to Judaism upon taking up his residence in Venice. He then moved to Amsterdam where he was employed as a bookkeeper by

	In Madrid:
	The same de Valdez
	In Cadiz:
	Dn. Antonio Perera Torres
	In Seville and Cadiz:
	Juan del Soto Martinez
Abraam Franco Mendes (alias Melchor Mendes Franco)	
Andres Cristoval Nunes (alias Henriq and Robert Modenberg)	In Santander:
	Dn. Frano. Antonio Herrera Calderon
	In Caceres:
	Dn. Lorenzo Pan and Agua
	In Bilbao:
	The same Montiasgos
	In San Sebastian:
	The same Fagola
	In Seville:
	Manuel Gomes Dacosta and Ferdo. Nunes
The widow of Diego Netto de Paiva	In Santander:
	The same Calderon
	In San Sebastian:
	The same Fagola
	In Seville:
	Manuel Gomes de Acosta and Ferdo. Nunes
	In Caceres:
	The same Pan and Agua
Duartes Manuel Faro	In Bilbao:
	The same Montiasgos
	In San Sebastian:
	The same Fagola
	In Madrid:
	Manuel Serrano Montero and Pedro del Padro
	In Bilbao and San Sebastian:
Fernando Alvares and An- tonio Correa de Mesquita (alias Henrique and Ro- bert Bandersterre)	The same Montiasgos and Fagola
	In Madrid:
	Manuel Serrano Montero
	In Alicante:
	Gaspar and Francisco de Morica
Balthasar Dacunha	In Bilbao:
	The same Montiasgos

E. N. Adler, "The Jews of Amsterdam in 1655", *TJHSE*, IV, 1899-1901, pp. 224 ff. There was also a lively correspondence between the Spanish consul in Amsterdam and the Spanish ambassador at The Hague. Part of the correspondence is edited by V. Brants, "Une page de Semitisme diplomatique et commercial. Incidents de la vie d'Amsterdam au XVIIe siecle d'après des pièces inédites." *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, VII, 1905, p. 581. Ricart, the consul, wrote to the ambassador concerning aliases: "the president of the Synagogue signs himself Cortez instead of Corticos, which is his real name. I have been assured of this fact by several of his nation. There is a mystery in this changing of names. It is the custom of members of his nation to take as many names as they please, either for the sake of deceit or in order not to bear that name so as not to jeopardize their parents who are known by the name in Spain."

Manuel Pimentel and reverted to Christianity after being accused of illegal cohabitation with a Christian woman. He next turned spy, submitting the names of 120 families from Amsterdam, often accompanied by their place of birth and the names of their correspondents in the Pyrenean Peninsula.⁷¹

When the Inquisition confiscated Marrano property it not only ruined those whose possessions were seized but very often those with whom the accused had business-dealings in other lands. When the Holy Office appropriated the property of Manuel Mendes d'Oliveiro in Faro, Portugal, it caused the ruin of his partner, Juan Haro. Numerous Marranos fled from Portugal, although only the slightest suspicion rested upon them. The unscrupulous naturally took advantage of their fear. For example, a certain George Nunes, alias George des Neves of Amsterdam, had sent merchandise to one Antonio Rodrigues Sarto of Lisbon. Simon de Mendoza and Lopes Ramirez of Amsterdam commissioned Manuel Garcia Silva of Lisbon to collect the bill for Nunes. Sarto refused to pay his debt averring that Nunes was a Jew and that he would not be bothered to pay debts to Jews. He threatened to get the collector in trouble if the claim were pressed. The debt was not collected, and Silva, fearing the Holy Office, fled to the New Jerusalem.⁷²

The chief Jewish trade with Spain and Portugal seems to have been in contraband. The usual procedure was said to be that of buying Spanish contraband and selling it in the different countries, even in Spain itself, under the pretence that the goods sold came from the Netherlands.⁷³ It must not be imagined, however, that contraband was the only trade with Spain and Portugal. There is ample evidence that trading operations in other goods were carried on. To cite an example or two, there is a correspondence between Antonio Lopes Gomes of Oporto, Portugal and the well-known Simon and Luis Rodrigues of Amsterdam concerning the shipment of oil and sugar from Portugal to Holland, and another between Augustin Garcia of Cadiz and Manuel Franco of Amsterdam concerns 3,560 pounds of cinnamon. The

⁷¹ Roth, "Neue Kunde von der Marranen Gemeinde in Hamburg", *ZGJD*, II, 1930, pp. 228-236.

⁷² Vaz Dias, "Stichters", *VA*, VIII, January 1, 1932, pp. 222 ff., idem, "Marranen Historic", *VA*, IX, April 29, 1932, pp. 77 ff.

⁷³ Brants, *op. cit.*, pp. 387 ff., gives the names of two Sephardic Jews, Emanuel Laville and Teddilion, who supplied information about Jews trading in contraband. See also pp. 78 ff.

Amsterdam tobacco dealers imported finer qualities of the plant directly from the West Indies and via Portugal. A glimpse of the devious ways in which business was sometimes carried on is afforded by a certain interrogation, held before a notary in Amsterdam. Philippa de Mesquita Lobo, then in Amsterdam had sent money and open letters from Portugal to Spain via Sicily. A certain Manuel Francisco of Amsterdam acted as the intermediary.⁷⁴

As a result of the perils of sea trade, bottomry loans to ship-captains became an important factor in any commercial country. The insurance business of Holland arose under official auspices. The Amsterdam government established a company in 1598 for the fostering of marine insurance. In 1612 it was stipulated that cargoes and bottoms might only be insured for part of their value.⁷⁵

Since many Jews and Marranos were interested in Iberian trade, Amsterdam became a center of marine insurance and bottomry loans on ships and cargoes plying between Lisbon, Malaga, Cadiz and the Indies returning via these ports to Amsterdam. The interest rates for such loans ranged from 70 guilders on a thousand guilders worth of insurance, for a short trip, to 30 per cent annually, with an additional payment of four per cent per month for each month beyond the time agreed upon for the payment of the loan.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ MSS, Padthuyssen, 2886 and 2890, dated June 11, 1657, July 20, 1657, July 4, 1657, September 9, 1661. The investigation was conducted to prove that Manuel Franco was not aware that money was sent, although he knew of its existence. Some other instances of trade with the Iberian Peninsula are found in *idem*, 2888, 2899. One shipment of oranges, lemons and sugar for Sebastian Cotinho (July 1, 1659,) is mentioned. There is also a MS dealing with cargoes which were to go to Spain from Holland. (August 13, 1659), and another treating of oil shipped from Almeria and Malaga to Simon Rodrigues Nunes of Amsterdam (January 15 and April 29, 1660). A third MS deals with a debt of 8,785 realen (one real is approximately 5 stuivers), owed to Manuel de Aguirre, alias Manuel Villareal of Amsterdam by Antonio de Silva, merchant of Malaga (October 22, 1660). Still another states that Caspar Martinez de Luna, former merchant of Lisbon, owed Diego Peres Caminha of Amsterdam 108,500 reis Portuguese (400 reis equals one guilder) (December 5, 1659). The above serves only for the years 1657 to 1661, and the archives of only one of the notaries.

⁷⁵ Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁷⁶ MSS, Thielman and Padthuyssen, nos. 2888, 2889 and 2890. January 21, 1648 Isaac Abenaca Pimentel declared that in May, 1645 he had given a bottomry loan to the Captain of the ship "de Patriarch Jacob" (the Patriarch Jacob). The ship was leaving for Cadiz. (MS, Thielman), June 18, 1659, Duarte Dias Vaz declared that he had paid 600 guilders to Jan Lindeman, captain of the ship "St. Helena" going to Malaga and from there back to Amsterdam or Hamburg. The captain was to pay the principal and 30 per cent interest upon his return. November 20, 1659, Abraham Drago, gave a sailor, Hoppenbrouwer, of the ship "De Romeyn" (The Roman) 200 guilders as a loan for which the sailor guaranteed his share in the ship and cargo. Hoppenbrouwer was to pay 20 per cent interest. The ship was to go first to Cadiz, from there to the Spanish

Because of prejudice against them, Dutch Jewish traders with Spain were never free to carry on a flourishing commerce. It was not until repeated complaints had reached the Dutch government that in 1658 it decided to send out two warships to the Bay of Biscay in order to protect Dutch (Jewish) merchantmen navigating there.⁷⁷ Under such conditions no trade could prosper and although Dutch Jewish traffic with Spain and Portugal was never entirely abandoned,⁷⁸ Jewish merchants applied most of their efforts to other fields. By 1771 the Dutch Jews had, to a large extent, neglected Iberian trade.⁷⁹

West Indies and then back to Cadiz. If Hoppenbrouwer did not pay the money he owed, including the interest, two months after the termination of the trip he was to pay four per cent interest monthly on the amount due. March 24, 1660, Salomon Franco Baxela declared upon the request of Simon Rodrigues Nunes, alias Justo Aurelius van den Bergh, that in June, 1657, Nunes had ordered him to take out a policy for merchandise shipped from "Malaga to Curaçao, from there to Caracas and the coast of the Indies." The insurance brokers would not write the policy unless it excluded "confiscation by Spain". July 12, 1660, Jan Michelsz. Roos, captain of "De Witte Roos" (The White Rose) declared that he received 1,000 guilders as a bottomry loan from Abraham Gomes Henriques and Domingo Gomes Ponsa. The ship was going to the Caribbean Islands. The captain was to pay 70 guilders interest but if the trip took longer than 12 months he had to pay four per cent interest monthly after the expiration of the year. April 11, 1661, Manuel Ximenes declared that he ordered Manuel and George Nunes da Costa to take out insurance for him on goods shipped from Malaga to Amsterdam. The merchandise was to go to Joan da Costa with whom Ximenes was in partnership. November 17, 1790, Saul Pardo insured the cargo of a ship plying between Curaçao and Amsterdam for 700 guilders, the premium was eight per cent. *Kobus MSS in American Jewish Historical Society.*

⁷⁷ Koenen, op. cit., p. 183. "Resolutie van Holland", September 24, 1658.

⁷⁸ June 16, 1658, Simon and Louis Rodrigues de Souza of Amsterdam purchased eight barrels of oil from Jean de Castro of Seville, Spain. The ship carrying the oil had been wrecked near Calais but the barrels of oil were saved. The De Souzas demanded prompt delivery of their purchase. MS, Padthuyzen, 2887, E. Donnay, *Documents illustrative of the History of the Slave trade to America*, Washington, 1930, I, p. 291, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea and of Ethiopia Interior, vulgarly Angola, being a new and accurate account of the Western Maritime Countries of Africa*, by John Barbot, agent general of the Royal Company of Africa and Islands of America at Paris in Awnsham and John Churchill, "Collection of Voyages and Travels" (1732), V, 1-420. Barbot says (pp. 272-273): "The Portuguese as I have already said have most of their cargoes from Holland under the name of Jews residing there which consists in many of the same sorts of goods mentioned in the article concerning the Hollanders." (The author mentions that a Dutchman told him that they bring nearly 150 different sorts of things to Guinea, inter alia: linen, serges, indigo blue, perpetuanas, green, blue and purple cotton cloth, Cyprus and Turkey stuffs, carpets, Leiden rugs, silks, etc.)" to which they add some things of the product of Brazil such as tobacco, rum, tame cattle, St. Thome cloths and others from Rio Forcado and other circumjacent places in the Gulph of Guinea. In 1680 we still find a complaint against Spain recorded. Wolff, op. cit., BVGO, IX, 1910, p. 386.

⁷⁹ *De Koopman*, II, p. 439: "The decline of our trade with Spain and Portugal"... See also Wolff, op. cit., BVGO, X, 1912, p. 368.

Once Holland had thrown off the shackles of Spain she was encouraged to ramify her trade relations. In 1591, during a famine in Italy, 400 Dutch ships supplied that country with grain from the Baltic. From this time on regular trading operations between Italy and the Netherlands were established. Still earlier, however, in 1320, some enterprising Dutchmen had gone to Venice for trade. Through their influence the city of the Doges began to interest itself in the flourishing Dutch towns. Venice served as an intermediary depot between the North and the countries of northern Africa.

At the beginning of the epoch with which we are immediately concerned, a visitor to Venice might be struck by the number of Dutch ships in the harbor. Spices and other East Indian products, her-ring, salmon, fabrics, thread, metals, etc., were sent from Holland to Venice and the Mediterranean countries. The Dutch imported mirrors, glasses, sulphur and drugs from Venice. From Genoa they imported raw silk, oil, rice, marble, soap and drugs.⁸⁰

The Jewish communities of Venice and Leghorn were in close commercial contact with their brethren in Amsterdam. The Amsterdam Jews invested largely in Venetian government bonds, from which many of them derived great amounts of money. Some writers on the subject contend that the Marranos from Antwerp and the Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam first brought Dutch trade to Italy through their connections with the Jews there.⁸¹ There is an extract from a report dated 1620-1621 to the effect that a Dutch ship was met on the high seas bound for Tunis with goods from Holland, freighted by a Venetian Jew.⁸² Venetian Jews had established contacts with Cracow, Vienna, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Rouen and London. Hayim Carob, for example, a Venetian Jew, traded with London, Amsterdam and the

⁸⁰ Wagenaar, *Amsterdam*, IX, p. 417. Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 and 128.

⁸¹ de Jonge, *op. cit.*, pp. 313 and 298. Wagenaar, *Amsterdam*, IX, p. 415: "After the Jews... among others had begun to settle in this city they established trade with Italy and the Levant. Since then some Amsterdamers also founded branch offices in Italy." Bredius, *op. cit.*, p. 96. It is worthy of note, however, that de Jonge in his detailed study of the relations between the Netherlands and Venice does not advance documentary proofs. It is also peculiar that Waetjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, who has made a thorough study of Mediterranean trade and has searched the archives on the subject quotes very few sources concerning Dutch Jewish connections with Italy. Nevertheless the situation warrants a belief in an active commerce between Dutch and Italian Jews since both groups included many wealthy traders interested in Mediterranean traffic.

⁸² Heeringa, *op. cit.*, II, p. 839. "Extract van het Rapport van den Admiraal Haultain van zijn reis door de Straat, 1620-1621".

Levant. The firm of Curiel imported salt from Tripoli, which it distributed to Genoa and Holland. Venetian influence was also felt in communal life when Amsterdam received inspiration and guidance from the eminent Venetian rabbis Saul Levi Morteira and Isaac Pardo. When Pardo became the head of the Amsterdam congregation the regulations of the Venetian community served as his guide.⁸³

Leghorn was another point from which Levantine goods were shipped to Holland and England, the merchants of both countries having their representatives in the city.⁸⁴ Barbary Jews chose Leghorn as the market for slaves and booty. It was often cheaper to buy piratical goods from there than to procure them directly from Barbary. Dutch Jews took advantage of this trade. Beside their well-known transactions in slaves, they bought cotton, drugs, gall nuts, fabrics, Tripolitan silks, etc. in Leghorn. There were also transactions in pearls; for instance, in 1710, a certain Michiel d'Assevedo states that he had shipped 1,041 pearls, weighing about $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz. to Emanuel Ergas and Sons in Leghorn. The pearls belonged to d'Assevedo and Diego Dias del Campo, both of Amsterdam.⁸⁵ A document dated February 21, 1633, shows that in a previous year a Dutch ship bound for Leghorn was freighted by Jews in Amsterdam. The same ship was sent by Leghorn Jews to the islands to get grain but was captured by Algerian pirates. Although Jewish commissioners from Leghorn tried to free the captain and the crew, they were sold as slaves. In reference to this matter the States General wrote to the Duke of Tuscany that money had been sent to a certain David Mascherini (this is most likely David Leon Macchorro) for the purpose of freeing the captured sailors.⁸⁶ It is worthy of note that a Jew was employed by the Dutch government as its representative in this matter. The same Macchorro is mentioned in a ledger kept by Lopo Ramirez as having traded in bills of exchange with Duarte Rodrigues in 1625. Another man who made his mark in the Amsterdam community was Joseph Penso de la Vega

⁸³ Roth, *A History of Jews in Venice*, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 177 and 69.

⁸⁴ Zimmels; op. cit., p. 72, remarks, citing "Ohel Yaacob", N. 53: "An Amsterdam (Jewish) merchant had a representative in Leghorn."

⁸⁵ Wactjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, p. 118. D. Vieyra, "Uit het Joodsche Leven te Amsterdam in het begin der 18de eeuw", VA, IX, September 9, 1932, pp. 361 ff.

⁸⁶ Heeringa, op. cit., I, p. 113 and II, p. 1028. MS, Padthuisen, 2881. According to Roth, "Notes sur les Marranes de Livourne", REJ, XCI, 1931, p. 15, David Macchorro emigrated from Bayonne to Amsterdam in 1632 and later went to Leghorn.

who left Leghorn for Amsterdam in 1679 upon the death of his mother.⁸⁷

The trade between Amsterdam and the Italian Jews remained active until the fall of the Dutch republic. This trading activity sustained itself longer than any other traffic with the Mediterranean. An eighteenth century writer says: "Italy, the Mediterranean and the Levant are of no small importance, in truth, trade there is esteemed next in importance to that of the East Indies."⁸⁸ We must not be misled, however, by the opinion of contemporaries that the Jews were very active in this field.⁸⁹ Some individual Jews grew rich from Mediterranean trade. But considering Amsterdam Mediterranean trade in the large it was of relative insignificance. Of course, it is difficult to determine how much Mediterranean trade was stimulated by the Amsterdam Jewish bankers and brokers, but, as far as trade in merchandise is concerned, no case can be made for its great importance.

G. SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS

From the Norman invasion to the beginning of the Crusades, Jews carried on business in what is now Belgium. After the Black Death they were expelled from the southern as well as the northern section of the Netherlands. There was no appreciable return to the Southern Netherlands until 1516 when they could settle there under the cloak of Christianity. But the Spanish Netherlands did not long prove a safe haven of refuge. In 1540 Emperor Charles V ordered the bailiff of Antwerp to pursue relentlessly New Christians who had settled in the city and were suspected of Judaizing. The apparent reason for this edict was the influx of numerous fugitives from Spain and Portugal who continued to filter in against the Emperor's orders. In 1548 his sister, Maria of Hungary refused to grant permission for the settlement of more New Christians, and asserted that there were no Jews in Antwerp.⁹⁰ After the partial destruction of the city by the Spanish forces in 1609, the Jews' position there became impossible. Some went to Amsterdam,⁹¹ some to France, Italy and elsewhere. In

⁸⁷ See pp. 190 ff.

⁸⁸ *De Koopmen*, II, p. 5.

⁸⁹ See p. 74, notes 11 and 12.

⁹⁰ See pp. 2 ff. *Prins, Vestiging*, pp. 51 ff.

⁹¹ In 1610 Tirado tried to induce 30 Antwerp families to settle in Rotterdam as the municipal authorities were willing to grant a group that size the right to settle as professing Jews. Gracia Rodriguez Vega and several Antwerp shipowners responded to Tirado's request, but the plan failed as the minimum of 30 families was not obtained. J. Democé,

the same year that Antwerp was devastated, Holland and Spain agreed upon an armistice. It now seemed that the lot of the Jews and Marranos of Antwerp might improve. By the terms of the armistice subjects of both countries were to be allowed to trade unhindered in Holland and in the Spanish possessions. But Albert and Isabella forbade certain Jews of Amsterdam to remain in the Spanish Netherlands, maintaining that the rules of the treaty did not apply to them, since they were not expelled from the realm by reason of war but because they had profaned the host in 1370.⁹² The same reason for excluding Jewish subjects of the Netherlands from Spain was to be again advanced in 1650.⁹³

Because of the difficulties put in their way very few Jews settled in the Spanish Netherlands the first half of the seventeenth century. After the treaty of Muenster, 1648, Jews of Amsterdam negotiated with the government concerning their establishment in the Southern Netherlands. So many restrictions were placed in their way that it was not advantageous for groups of Jews to settle there. Nevertheless that region must have offered some benefits, for in 1653, Antonio Bruno, the ambassador from the Spanish Netherlands in Holland, was approached by Jews with the offer of a considerable sum of money for the right of Jewish settlement in his territory. After further parley with the authorities the offer was rejected. Again, in 1674, the Dutch Jews together with their co-religionists in Antwerp approached the authorities. They offered 5,000,000 guilders and a further annual contribution of importance if their co-religionists were given permission to reside in Vilvorde as professing Jews. In spite of the attractiveness of the offer the protestations of the clergy prevailed and the proffer of money was once more refused.⁹⁴ Besides their religious scruples, the clergy resented the actions of some wealthy Marranos of Antwerp, who, after living as pious Catholics there betook themselves to Amsterdam with what wealth they had accumulated and openly professed

Iets over Spaansch Portugeesche Geslachten in Nederland, Antwerp, 1927, p. 37. Zwarts, De Eerste Rabbinen, pp. 204 ff.

⁹² E. Ouverleaux, "Notes et Documents sur les Juifs de Belgique sous l'ancien régime", *REJ*, VII, 1883, pp. 259 ff. S. Ullmann, *Histoire des Juifs en Belgique jusqu'en 18e siècle*, Antwerp, 192(?) , pp. 71 ff. Ch. Demeuré, "Les Juifs en Belgique," *Revue de droit internationale*, XX, 1888, pp. 246 ff.

⁹³ See p. 90.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Judaism.⁹⁵ By this time, however, the Marranos in the Spanish Netherlands became less concerned about hiding their religion. The government had no further interest in persecuting them. The Marranos had prepared the ground for the advent of their Ashkenazic confrères, one of the earliest Ashkenazic Jews to be domiciled in Brussels (1716) being Hartog Joseph, a diamond merchant of Amsterdam.

It was with good reason that groups of Dutch Jews had so often attempted to settle in the south. They considered it an excellent land for the importation of diamonds, pearls and Oriental products, also a valuable territory for the export of lace. But difficulties still persisted. In 1716 an official of Brussels confiscated the merchandise of a certain Abraham Cohen and his Jewish associates of Amsterdam, on the grounds that he was a Jew and had no trading privileges in the Southern Netherlands. Abraham Cohen filed a protest through his representative, Elias Benjamin, with the result that the government decided that Jewish subjects of the States General (Dutch Jews) were to be accorded freedom of trade in the Catholic Netherlands as was confirmed by Article IV of the treaty of Muenster. In 1758 the Dutch Jews were informed that if they wished to come to the Spanish Netherlands for the sake of trade, they must pay a tax of 300 guilders annually. This tax was opposed on the basis of the decision of 1716. Because of the protest, the government decided to make a distinction between Jews who were truly merchants and those without wealth.⁹⁶

The Amsterdam Jews utilized their Jewish connections in the Southern Netherlands to trade in East and West Indian products. We

⁹⁵ Ullmann, *ibid.*

⁹⁶ In order to free themselves from the possibility of paying the 300 guilders tax, several Dutch Jews petitioned for citizenship in the Spanish Netherlands. For instance, in February, 1758, Levi Hartog Bromet, a merchant, native of Amsterdam, made the request, the result of which we do not know, and in 1781 Ezechiel de Jongh, of Amsterdam was granted citizenship in the Catholic Netherlands. In April, 1782, Benjamin Joel and Samuel Joel Cantor, born in Amsterdam, asked for citizenship in Antwerp. They contended that their grandfather, Jacob Cantor, after a residence of thirty years in Brussels, had received citizenship from Antwerp, June 13, 1752. Their father, although born in Amsterdam, lived in Antwerp for 18 years. They were wholesale traders in cotton goods, muslins, porcelain, and Indian merchandise. In 1771 Isaac Liebtman's "Diamond merchant of Amsterdam" was molested on a journey from Antwerp to Brussels. Apologies were made and his right to traffic in diamonds in the various cities of the Southern Netherlands was assured. Ouverleaux, *op. cit.*, *REJ*, VIII, 1884, pp. 223 ff. E. Ginsburger, *Les Juifs de Belgique en XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1932, pp. 3 ff. An early example of trade with the Spanish Netherlands is dated September 22, 1639. Franco Silbera of Amsterdam gave power of attorney to Captain Don Diego de Ropas of Antwerp to receive from Manuel Gomez Saragosa of Antwerp 80 guilders and 10 stuivers for half a case of white sugar. MS, Padthuyssen, 2888.

know of one such a concern at least that had a yearly turnover amounting to 25,000 guilders.⁹⁷

The close proximity of the Southern and Northern Netherlands and the ready arteries of transportation between the two countries maintained the contacts between Jews of both regions despite the numerous obstacles which the South imposed upon Jewish settlement. Antwerp and Amsterdam, both trade centers very much interested in the same products, both with a population speaking almost the same language, continued intimate relationships between the respective Jewish communities. This close relationship has never been broken.

H. FRANCE

In 1601 Manuel Rodrigues Vega of Amsterdam took up residence in Nantes for the space of two years, to further business connections, finally returning to the Dutch capital. It was through his effort that the Despinosa family of Nantes came to Holland. The philosopher's father, Michael Despinosa, was born in Vidigere, Portugal, later migrating to Amsterdam where his uncle Abraham Despinosa had lived since 1616.⁹⁸ The Despinosa family continued to maintain its business connections with Nantes, however.

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A flourishing trade obtained between the Jews of Amsterdam and those of Bordeaux, as there were prosperous Sephardic communities in both cities. We know, for example, that Jacob Delmonte of Amsterdam, in partnership with Harman Potey of that city, was asked by Cassiot Dutheim, merchant of Bordeaux, to pay 23,038,60 Carolus guilders due from several bills of exchange. Francisco and Anto. da Guire of Amsterdam, shipped a large quantity of merchandise to Bordeaux.⁹⁹ The Gradis family had lived in Bordeaux since the sixteenth century and had established marital and other connections with the Jews of London and Amsterdam, especially with the De Pintos. The Bordeaux Jews traded in kosher wine with the prominent Jewish congregations throughout the world and had a branch office in Amsterdam. The rabbi of Bordeaux gave a certificate to the Jews of Hamburg, Altona, London and Amsterdam, testifying to the ritual purity of the

⁹⁷ Benjamin Joel and Samuel Joel Cantor, see note 96. Zwarts, *De Eerste Rabbinen*, pp. 154 ff.

⁹⁸ Vaz Dias, *Spinoza Mercator*, pp. 47 ff.

⁹⁹ MS, Padchuyzen, 2886, dated January 14 and August 13, 1659.

wine. For this service the Bordeaux community received a tax of four livres per barrel.¹⁰⁰

The business interests of the Marranos often prompted them to move from one important community to another. David Macchorro, of whom we have spoken,¹⁰¹ moved from Bayonne to Amsterdam and a short while later to Leghorn. Pedro Henriques mentions in his will relatives in Spain, Lisbon and Bayonne.¹⁰² A Jewish merchant of Bayonne, Rafael de Sosa, bought quantities of merchandise from the Dutch East India Company. He had his representative, Henriques Manuel, in Amsterdam and records of the latter's activities are still extant.¹⁰³

The Jewish residents profited by the fact that Rouen, Bayonne and Bordeaux were centers of trade. When the authorities began to look upon New Christians as heretics, many of them moved to Amsterdam and Hamburg, taking with them what wealth they had amassed. By 1632 the city officials became concerned about this and complained that some families after having lived in Rouen as Christians for six years and more, had moved to Amsterdam and reverted to Judaism. Joao Delgado Pinto of Rouen, known in Jewish circles as Moses, made vigorous attempts to persuade newly arrived Marranos from Portugal to settle in Amsterdam and Hamburg, and there to become professing Jews. De Pinto himself is said to have moved to Amsterdam some time later. Geronimo Gomez Pessa and Estevan Luis de Acosta quit Lisbon with their families in 1650, lived for some time in Rouen, and then entered formally into the Amsterdam community. Most of the trade relations of the Rouen Jews were with the Iberian Peninsula. The David de Ajes and Juan d'Acosta families from Amsterdam took up their quarters in Rouen where they were suspected of Judaizing. One of the many evidences of Holland's importance as a central depot for merchandise is apparent from a MS in which Manuel de Macado, Portuguese merchant of Amsterdam, has power of attorney for Este-

¹⁰⁰ Malvezin, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

¹⁰¹ See p. 98, note 86.

¹⁰² MS, Padthuyzen, 2888, dated September 10, 1657. See also p. 96, note 78, concerning the barrels of oil wrecked near Calais belonging to Simon and Louis Rodrigues de Souza.

¹⁰³ On January 11, 1661, Henriques Manuel demanded that Juan de Liarte, alias Aaron Gabay Faro, deliver five packs of "Chinese merchandise", one pack "Sarampouris" and again one pack "Tormatanes". Manuel is willing to pay him the balance: 292 guilders 8 stuivers and 8 duiten, due on this shipment besides the money he owed for 64 ounces of masak. MS, Padthuyzen, 2890.

van Luis da Costa Rodrigo, Arian Brandon, Hiero Nimo and Manuel Gomes Passoa, merchants of Rouen, to receive merchandise from a ship coming from Lisbon and arriving in Rotterdam.¹⁰⁴ Simon Soares, the head of the Company Simon Soares and Alfonso Alvares Penso of Rouen, had documents involving a transaction between Jews of Hamburg, and those of Amsterdam.¹⁰⁵ In 1648 Portuguese Jews came from Holland to trade in Nice.¹⁰⁶

We know that there were Dutch Jews in Paris in the eighteenth century. Of the 110 Sephardim and Ashkenazim who resided there in 1775, ten had come from Holland. Four years later, six out of 42 Ashkenazic Jews are said to have immigrated from Amsterdam. We hear of Jossue, a Dutch silver trader, who was in Paris, in 1749, and Benjamin, a Dutch tobacco manufacturer, who settled there to ply his trade. During his residence in Paris he was highly esteemed. Daniel Cespedez, a Jew from Amsterdam, came to Paris in 1749 to collect a debt owed to him by the Portuguese ambassador, Don Luis da Cunha. Since Cespedez had no passport, he was arrested but later freed. He must have been a man of some dignity, as he wore a sword, which, we hear, was stolen during his imprisonment. In the same epoch (1755) two Amsterdam Jews, Moses and Mayer Levi, found their way to Paris and there established an agency for the sale of pencils. Simon le Franc was made agent.

Paris was and has remained a Mecca for the Dutch. Many rich Dutch Jews journeyed thither expressly for pleasure. We hear of a certain Isak Samols, Dutch Jew, who was so anxious to see France, that he hired himself out as a cook in the service of the wealthy David Gabay Henriquez of Amsterdam who reached Paris in 1755.¹⁰⁷

When, in 1761, 152 Jews, most of whom were expelled from Avignon, came to France, some of the Sephardim there, particularly those of Bordeaux, were eager to obtain special privileges for them-

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ See pp. 108 ff. See also Roth, "Les Marranes a Rouen", *REJ*, LXXXVIII, 1929, pp. 113 ff.

¹⁰⁶ J. Decourcelle, *La Condition des Juifs de Nice aux 17^e et 18^e siècles*, Paris, 1923, pp. 19 and 35. A certain Mendescaldes from Amsterdam left Leghorn in 1747 without paying his debts. He sought refuge in Nice.

¹⁰⁷ L. Kahn, *Les Juifs de Paris sous Louis XVI*, Paris, 1892, pp. 19 and 42, also by the same author, *Les Juifs de Paris au Dix-Huitième Siècle*, Paris, 1894, pp. 26 ff., pp. 84 and 126. In 1734 we hear of a Dutch Jewess, Manon, daughter of Louis Levy, who becomes a Catholic, and in 1735 we hear of a Jew from Amsterdam, Joseph Olivier, who comes to Paris and there takes Rachel, daughter of Israel Abraham, from England, as his mistress.

selves. They wrote to Isaac de Pinto,¹⁰⁸ who was friendly with Duke Louis de Richelieu, to plead their cause. On May 20, 1762, De Pinto wrote to the French marshal, that the Spanish and Portuguese Jews were descended from the tribe of Judah and never mingled with the children of Jacob who were known as Tudesques, Italian or Avignone. Furthermore, he asserted, the Portuguese who had established themselves in Holland and England had always scrupulously regarded the amenities of life. In answer to this letter Richelieu replied that he had made an exception to Jewish restrictions in the case of the Portuguese. As a result of this correspondence the Sephardim of France retained their privileged position. It was not until the days of the emancipation that the evil effects of Sephardic exclusiveness were effaced in France.

1. ENGLAND

From the beginning of Holland's golden age England was jealous of Dutch power and trade hegemony. Sir Walter Raleigh remarked in 1603 that many ships come to England from Holland [500 to 600 ships] bringing the goods of all countries and then go from England to the Dutch ports.¹⁰⁹ It was partly because of the sensation created by Menasseh ben Israel's work "The Hope of Israel"¹¹⁰ and partly because England was eager to lessen Holland's power, wherever possible, that Menasseh's negotiations with England were seriously entertained. Cromwell undoubtedly realized the advantages of trade which would accrue to England from the re-admission of the Jews.¹¹¹ Partly as a result of the efforts of Menasseh ben Israel and partly because the English government itself tacitly recognized their importance, Jews were soon allowed to live in

¹⁰⁸ See pp. 191 ff.

¹⁰⁹ See p. 9.

¹¹⁰ *Spes Israelis*, Amsterdam, 1650.

¹¹¹ Roth, *Menasseh ben Israel*, pp. 176-273. England was not the only country Menasseh envisaged as a home for Jews. In 1651, he corresponded with Queen Christina's librarian Isaac Vossius, asking him to use his influence with the queen to permit the admission of Jews to Sweden. We gain an impression of Menasseh's appearance in a biography of him prefixed to the translation of his *De Terminis Vitae*, translated by P. F. (Thomas Pocock), 1700: "Though he was not a Gassendus in Philosophy, or a Grotius in Divinity, yet he was reputed the most celebrated Rabbi of his age... He was of a middle stature, and inclined to fatness. He always wore his own hair, which (many years before his death) was very gray, so that his complexion, being pretty fresh, his Demeanor Graceful and Comely, his Habit plain and decent, he commanded an awful Reverence which was justly due to so venerable a Deportment. Hillerum, "Menasseh ben Israel", *Amsterdamsch Jaarboekje voor 1699*, pp. 28 ff., see also pp. 46 ff.

England without official consent. Even before Cromwell Marranos were in constant communication with Jews of Amsterdam. In 1644 Michael Despinoza transacted business with London through Francisco Lopes d'Azevedo, alias Abraham Farar of that city. One of the founders of the oldest English synagogue and one of the first professing Jews in England during the Protector's reign, Antonio Fernandes Carvajal, is also mentioned in this transaction.¹¹² Amsterdam Jews are said to have had a great influence in the founding of the Bank of England. English Jews carried on an important trade in bills of exchange and money. In the era of speculation there was a constant rapport between the Jews of Amsterdam and those of London.¹¹³ When the war broke out between Spain and England in 1655, Carvajal feared that his goods would be confiscated. He had large possessions in the Canary Islands and regularly received shipments of merchandise which he sent to two Amsterdam merchants, John Lopez Chillon and Philip van Hulten. The goods were shipped in the vessel "Seafortune" of Dover, which he had chartered and manned with a Dutch crew. Another merchant of importance, who came to London from the Netherlands in 1655, was Manuel Lopes Pereira. His many commercial contacts are indicated by his various aliases. In Holland he went by the name of Jacques Vanderperre, in transactions with Portugal and the Indies he passed as Manuel Velasquez. In the synagogue, however, he was known as Isaac Raphael Haim Pereira.¹¹⁴

The Jews had friends in high places in England, chief among whom were the brothers Duarte and Francisco da Silva. The latter, a Jew of great wealth, was connected with Solomon Dormidos. This Dormidos' commercial alias was Luis da Silva. He had settled in Amsterdam as a banker and merchant. When Catherine of Braganza visited England he accompanied her as "procurator of the King of Portugal's treasury." He died in Antwerp in 1677.¹¹⁵

In the days of William III the Sephardic Jews in England enjoyed many privileges. Moses Machado, one of the army supply agents of Holland and England, was often employed by the English king on diplomatic missions. Baron Lopes Suasso and Isaac de Pinto invested

¹¹² Vaz Dias, *Spinoza Mercator*, p. 54.

¹¹³ Sombart, *Jews*, p. 88.

¹¹⁴ L. Wolf, "The Jewry of the Restoration", *TJHSE*, V, 1902-1905, pp. 18 ff. and by the same author, "The First English Jew", *TJHSE*, II, 1894-1895, pp. 14 ff., also p. 36.

¹¹⁵ Wolf, *The Jewry of the Restoration*, I. c.

large sums of money in England. As we have mentioned before thousands of Athias Bibles were sold there.

On the outgoing voyage Amsterdam merchants often completed their cargoes in England. We know that Jewish merchants were no exception to this rule. For example, in 1621, Isak Gaon, alias Philippe Dias Victoria, chartered a ship which was to take on a load of fish in England, to proceed from there to Oporto in Portugal and to return to Amsterdam with salt. The famous English tin trade was not overlooked by Amsterdam Jews.¹¹⁶

By 1690 Dublin boasted a small Jewish congregation. Isaac Pereira, a member of the great Dutch firm, Machado and Pereira, enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the British commander, the Duke of Schomberg, who appointed Pereira commissary general to the army in Ireland.¹¹⁷

In the eighteenth century London became an increasingly dangerous competitor of Amsterdam, especially as a trade center in colonial products. It gradually superseded the Dutch capital as the transportation headquarters of Europe in matters of inter-European trade. The Jewish community there also reflected English affluence, and many Amsterdam Jews were attracted to the English metropolis. In this century most of the Jewish immigrants were Dutch. Some of them obtained positions of influence. The English branch of the Goldsmids family is of Dutch origin, Aaron Goldschmidt, a prominent merchant being a descendant of Moses Uri Halevi. He moved from Amsterdam to London in 1765¹¹⁸

J. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

It will be remembered that one of the two groups of Sephardic immigrants to Amsterdam in 1598 may first have gone to Emden, for

¹¹⁶ Vaz Dias, "Stichters", VA, VIII, January 8, 1932, p. 240. It seems that sugar and other colonial products sometimes reached Holland via England. For instance, December 4, 1659, Sebastiaan Coutinho, an Amsterdam merchant, paid a ship captain 953 guilders 13 stuivers for freight, etc., on 62 cases and 2½ barrels of sugar, shipped from the Isle of Wight to Amsterdam. MS, Padthuyssen, 2888. Simon Rodrigues Nunes of Amsterdam had difficulty with Thomas Northon of London concerning the shipment of tin which was in the hands of Northon. MS, Padthuyssen, 2890, dated February 11, 1661.

¹¹⁷ B. Shillman, "The Jewish Cemetery at Ballybough in Dublin", *TJHSE*, XI, 1924-1927, p. 165.

¹¹⁸ Adler, *London*, p. 150. On the other hand Rabbi Solomon Judah ben Jacob Ayllo, one time Hacham of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, London, accepted a similar position in Amsterdam in 1701. I. Solomons, "David Nieto and some of his Contemporaries", *TJHSE*, XII, 1928-1931, pp. 8 ff. Rabbis also went from Amsterdam to London.

purposes of trade.¹¹⁹ If this be true, it indicates that the Sephardim either had fostered or wished to foster trade relations with that German town. At any rate in 1601 Manuel Rodrigues Vega did business with Emden. He contracted to deliver flannel to Hendriks Hendebeeke, an Emden merchant, and had empowered Joseph, son of Uri Halevi, to collect money from Meyer Salomon of Emden for ginger, spices and 504 round pearls delivered in 1598.¹²⁰

The Sephardim were the first to bring colonial products such as tobacco, cane sugar, East Indian cotton and coffee to Germany and the Scandinavian lands. They were not only importers but were active as brokers and traders in these products in Hamburg especially. For instance, Lopes Nunes, alias Teunis Smith, "merchant of the city of Hamburg, at present in this city (Amsterdam)" had offered collateral for Francisco Pardique who had power of attorney from Jacob del Boa of Hamburg. Manuel Lopes Villareal of Amsterdam assumed Nunes' responsibility for Pardique for which Lopes Nunes gave him (Villareal) a two-fifths share in a lot of diamonds, three cases of sugar and 2,600 pounds of "tournoys" deposited with Antonio de Faria of Rouen.¹²¹

In 1604 several of the Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam went to Hamburg and opened business houses there. In that year Jacob Coronel, who later founded the "Santa Companhia de Dotar Orphas y Donzellas" in Amsterdam, took up residence in Hamburg. He remained there until 1611 and then returned to the Dutch capital. Uriel da Costa was sent to Hamburg between 1612 and 1615. Members of his family had established a business in that city. With Hamburg as with London there was a vital trade in bills of exchange and money. Holland Jews were largely responsible for the establishment of the Bank of Hamburg. At least 12 Jewish capitalists were interested in its founding.¹²²

¹¹⁹ See pp. 7 ff.

¹²⁰ Zwarts, *Eerste Rabbinen*, pp. 159-160.

¹²¹ It was a common practice to give Jews of Hamburg power of attorney to transact business on behalf of Amsterdam Jewish merchants, for instance, Gorgo Nunes of Amsterdam, owner of the ship "Pernide" permitted Samuel Rodrigues, merchant of Hamburg, to sell it. Abraham Franco de Silbera, alias Christoval Mendes of Amsterdam, empowered Diego Mendes and Manuel Gomes da Silva of Hamburg to act in the behalf of Ester Franco, married to Rodrigues Mendes, alias David Franco of Hamburg. MSS, Padthuyzen, 2888 and 2889, dated June 15, 1659 and April 20, 1660, and February 27, 1660.

¹²² A. Cassuto, "Jubiläum der Portugeesche Gemeente te Hamburg (1652-1927)", VA, IV, October 14, 1927, pp. 458 ff. Hacham David Pardo of Amsterdam carried on a

As we have pointed out in dealing with the Iberian Peninsula¹²³ bottomry loans were an inevitable corollary of sea-trade. In one case, Manuel Lopes Villareal of Amsterdam, loaned to the ship-captain, Jochem Warner, 696 guilders 12 stuivers and 683 guilders 16 stuivers on trips from Amsterdam to Hamburg. The ship was security. For the last loan the captain was to pay fifty guilders above the amount of the loan to Aaron Senior of Hamburg upon safe arrival. To cite another example: Abraham Drago of Amsterdam empowered Manuel Henriques of Hamburg to collect 730 "Hamburg marc" from David Franco Mendes, alias Simon Rodrigues Mendes or Simon Dircks for a bottomry loan.¹²⁴

The trade between Amsterdam and Hamburg remained important until the end of the eighteenth century. About half the ships that left Hamburg touched at Dutch ports.

There was a small Sephardic community in Glueckstadt in the first half of the seventeenth century. We hear of a certain Diego da Silva from that city who lived in Amsterdam in 1626. He carried on a litigation in the High Court of Holland. Baruch Spinoza's father, Michael, was a witness.¹²⁵

Amsterdam Jews, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic, were intermediaries in trade between the Jewish community of Frankfort and that of London. We also know of Amsterdam Jewish trade relations with Bremen and Danzig. There was fur trading between Frankfort and Amsterdam.¹²⁶ As a further illustration of the diversity of Dutch

trade in jewelry with Hamburg. In 1621 he gave power of attorney to André de Crasto of Hamburg to collect 125 guilders from Juda Jona of that city, for five pounds of turquoise. Vaz Dias, "Losse Bijdragen", VA, VIII, August 7, 1931, p. 304. In 1667, Fernando Dias de Brito of Amsterdam, representing Francisco Pardo and Manuel de Prado, merchants of Hamburg, received 425 guilders to cover a debt due to the Hamburg merchants. Another representative of Pardo and Prado was Francisco Mendes Chillon. MS. Padthuysen, 2886, dated December 21, 1657. C. Gebhardt, *Die Schriften des Uriel de Costa*, Amsterdam, 1922, pp. XXVIII ff. For Uriel da Costa, see also p. 92. Zwart, "Joodsche Archiefprokkel", VA, VIII, April 24, 1931, p. 62.

¹²³ See p. 95.

¹²⁴ MSS. Padthuysen, 2890 and 2888, dated March 25, 1661 and May 19, 1659.

¹²⁵ Vaz Dias, *Spinoza Mercator*, p. 48.

¹²⁶ F. Priebatsch, "Die Judenpolitik des fürstlichen Absolutismus im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert", *Festschrift Dietrich Schaefer*, Jena, 1915, p. 398. A. Dietz, *Stammbuch der Frankfurter Juden*, Frankfort, 1907, pp. 349, 353, 369. We know of the following Jews from Amsterdam who moved to Frankfort:

In 1610 Alexander Rodrigo

In 1686 Isaac Amsterdam

In 1712 Moses Amsterdam

In 1715 David Aron and Moses Goggesch

In 1719 Malka, the midwife with her husband Samuel

Amsterdam Jewesses must have been particularly proficient in midwifery, since several

Jewish trade contacts with Germany we cite the example of Jacob Embden, son of Hacham Tsebi. In 1710, the family moved to Amsterdam where Jacob established business connections, purchasing manufactured articles which he sold in the leading commercial centers of Germany, such as Hamburg, Hanover and Frankfort. He also bought Hungarian imported goat's hair and wool from Jews of Brody,¹²⁷ and found a market for these raw products in Amsterdam.¹²⁸

Many inhabitants of Cleves made their living in transit trade with the neighboring Rhenish and Westphalian territory, and with Holland. In the course of the seventeenth century, the Jews of Cleves were in contact with all the great communities of Germany and Holland through the banking house of the Gumperts of Cleves. Two well-known members of this family lived in Amsterdam: Moses Joseph, the progenitor of the Wessely family, and Lion Gumperts. Moses Joseph came to Amsterdam at the end of the seventeenth century. He started a commercial establishment with his brother in Bielefeld. They traded from Brabant and Flanders to Berlin and Danzig. Another member of the family in Amsterdam was Josua Feibelman Cleve or Philipp Gomperz, a merchant who profited by his relatives' diverse activities. He was co-founder and cantor of the synagogue in Amsterdam, established in 1730.¹²⁹ We hear that he entered into a lawsuit with one of his kin, Moses Schwab, about the delivery of horses for the French

of them went to Frankfort and others to Vienna. The following Jews moved from Frankfort to settle in Amsterdam: In 1745 the cotton dealer Selig Samuel Haas and his family; in 1762 Loeb Elias Reisz. We know of a Frankfort Jew, Beyvoes, in the fur business, who, in 1617, contracted to deliver 1,704 fox pelts and 51 goat pelts to Amsterdam. He had already received 300 guilders and would receive an additional 1,200 upon delivery of the goods. Zwarts, "Joodsche Archiefsprokkels", VA, IV, December 23, 1927, p. 616. It seems that many creditors were hounding Hector Mendes. It finally became known that he was clandestinely shipping his merchandise to Germany, as a ship captain declared to the creditors that on July 27, 1660, Mendes had tobacco in a ship destined for Bremen. Salt was one of the staple articles which Holland received from the Iberian Peninsula and shipped throughout Europe. Jeronimo Nunes da Costa of Amsterdam had received salt from Portugal and shipped it via Amsterdam to Danzig. MSS, Padthuyzen, 2889 and 2890, dated July 27, 1660 and December 5, 1661.

¹²⁷ Polish and Lithuanian Jews traded with Germany and Holland especially since the establishment of the East European community in Amsterdam. In 1785 we hear of a merchant in Brody, Aronowicz Segan, who consummated large transactions in spices and wine with Amsterdam Jews. His permanent representative there was Gerzson Szaja. M. Wischnitzer, "Stellung der Brodyer Juden im internationalen Handel im XVIII Jahrhundert", *Festschrift zu Simon Dubnow's siebenzigstem Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1930, p. 122.

¹²⁸ Grunwald, op. cit., p. 74 ff. In 1619 Emanuel Mendez Cardozo, a wool dealer in Amsterdam, hired a Gentile apprentice from Danzig for 24 flemish pounds a year. Zwarts, "Archiefsprokkels", VA, VI, September 27, 1929, p. 411.

¹²⁹ See p. 30.

army. The litigation involved the sum of 130,000 guilders. Gomperz required the help of the States General who advised their ambassador in France to aid him under all circumstances. In 1745 David Gomperz and his son, known as the firm of "David Gomperz en Soonen," of Amsterdam carried on a prosperous trade with Germany. They were money changers for "gentlemen of the laity and the clergy". They employed a certain Count Wartersleben to act as contact man. In 1781 the concern was still flourishing. One of David's sons, Marcus Gumpel Cleve, was influential enough to intercede on behalf of the Bohemian Jews. He was a regular correspondent of Moses Mendelssohn's. His daughter Susanne (Schoenchen), married Salomon Michael David, the army purveyor from Hanover. Her dowry amounted to 12,000 guilders. David's other son, Abraham, was concerned with the delivery of large quantities of fourage to the French army. The goods were sent from Holland.

Throughout the eighteenth century, Jews and Christians, who were unable to make their living in Cleves tried their fortunes in Amsterdam. Naftali Hirsch Gosler of Halberstadt, having visited Amsterdam in search of a publisher for his work wrote to his son that the Portuguese of Amsterdam were the richest Jews and very charitable. However, they would rather support the sick, the lame and the blind than poor Jewish scholars. "The Polish Jews say 'the reason for this is that it is easier for the Sephardim to become sick, lame and blind than to become Jewish scholars'. Among the Germans", continues the writer, "the Cleve family is the most nobly humane."¹³⁰

We know that by 1675 Jews from Amsterdam and other parts of Europe met annually to transact business at the famous Leipzig fairs.¹³¹ Many of the Dutch Jews came to buy Silesian linen, destined for delivery to St. Eustatius, the central depot of West Indian trade. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Jews were forced to pay a head tax of ten taler 4 groschen per capita, to visit Leipzig. From 1675 to 1764 the total taxes paid by visiting Jews to Leipzig amounted to 719,661 taler. We do not know how many Amsterdam Jews paid this tax. From 1695 to 1738 an increasing number of Jews visited the

¹³⁰ D. Kaufmann und M. Freudenthal, *Die Familie Gomperz*, Frankfurt, 1907, p. 143. M. Zuckermann, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Juden in Hannover*, Hanover, 1908, p. 45. F. Baer, *Das Protokollbuch der Landjudenschaft des Herzogtums Cleve*, Berlin, 1922, pp. 53 ff.

¹³¹ R. Markgraf, *Zur Geschichte der Juden auf den Messen in Leipzig*, Biechofswerda, 1894, pp. 10 ff. JE, VII, article "Leipzig", by N. Porget, pp. 673-674.

fair. Since 1681 it became a common practice for Amsterdam Jewish merchants to frequent the Leipzig fair at least once a year.¹³² For the years 1756, 1757, 1766, 1775, 1782, 1789 and 1796 we know how many Dutch visitors there were at the Leipzig fairs. The list runs as follows:

Year	Fair	Total number of Jews	Total number of Christians	Dutch Jews	Dutch Christians
1756	Easter Fair	484	2496	10	12
1757	Easter Fair	257	1690	8	9
1766	New Year's Fair	175	1846	..	..
1766	Easter Fair	533	4613	20	29
1766	*Michaelis Fair	434	4513	10	15
1768	New Year's Fair	146	1500	2	4
1768	Easter Fair	514	4083	17	21
1768	Michaelis Fair	326	3158	17	14
1775	New Year's Fair	400	1631	3	1
1775	Easter Fair	960	3897	15	14
1775	Michaelis Fair	750	3417	14	10
1782	New Year's Fair	179	1564	..	..
1782	Easter Fair	396	3812	3	10
1782	Michaelis Fair	390	3413	3	6
1789	New Year's Fair	215	1078	..	..
1789	Easter Fair	604	4635	7	14
1789	Michaelis Fair	535	3259	6	9
1796	New Year's Fair	592	903	..	..
1796	Easter Fair	834	3694	20	31
1796	Michaelis Fair	1109	3143	18	55

* Michael mass.

It is apparent from the above figures that the Dutch Jews took an active part in the Leipzig Fair. At times there were more Dutch Jews than Dutch Christians in attendance. During the decline of Amsterdam in the last half of the eighteenth century Hamburg Jewry gained a position of dominance and superseded the Amsterdam Jews at the Leipzig fairs. One of the reasons for the falling off of Amsterdam Jewish activity at the fair in the late eighteenth century was the fourth war between England and Holland, 1780-1784, which crippled commerce. Another cause was the rapid rise of the price of cotton goods¹³³

¹³² M. Freudenthal, *Leipziger Messgerichte. Die juedischen Besucher der Leipziger Messen in den Jahren 1675 bis 1764*, Frankfurt, 1928, pp. 3 ff. For a list of Amsterdam Jewish visitors to the Leipzig fairs between 1679 and 1764 see *ibid.*, pp. 24-29.

¹³³ Markgraf, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

As early as 1609, the Dutch were interested in quicksilver from the mines at Idria in Austria. When in 1695 Austria required funds, she applied to Holland for a loan offering her quicksilver mines as security. The negotiations were carried on through the Amsterdam merchant and banker Wilhelm Gideon Deutz van Assendelft, imperial quicksilver agent. Deutz employed the Jew Hirschl Spitz of Vienna as his representative. In 1734 Spitz was instrumental in consummating a loan from Holland for three million guilders. He was related to the Gomperz family of Amsterdam, having espoused Freidel, daughter of Arje Loeb Emmerich, son of Salman Gomperz, of that city. When he died in 1759 he left 27,500 guilders on deposit with Messrs. Deutz of Amsterdam. One of Freidel's brothers, Marx Lion Gomperz, also lived in Vienna and carried on business with Amsterdam and other cities where many of his relatives were engaged in commerce. Another Viennese merchant, who married a girl from Amsterdam was Loew Jacob Eskeles, a member of the well-known Eskeles family in Vienna. He married Rosa, daughter of Simon Pollak. In a document dated Leipzig, November 2, 1754, he provided that besides a wedding gift of 50 silverling (that is 200 Rhenish thalers)¹³⁴ Rosa would be the recipient of 21,000 guilders (Dutch) upon his death, provided she had an heir. If the marriage was without issue she would receive only 17,500 guilders. At Eskeles' death the following Amsterdam debtors made claims against the estate: Benjamin and Samuel Simon and Haanen (Zoonen?), for jewels 26,049 guilders, and the brothers Herz and Marcus Coha for 4,826 guilders. Evidently, Rosa had no children. Upon her demise her estate went to her brother in Amsterdam. Another Eskeles, Berend Gabriel, had a daughter, Leonora Berend, who had betrothed herself to a certain Mayer, an Amsterdam Jew with a questionable reputation. A contemporary of Eskeles, Fradl Simonim, wife of Samuel Michl, upon her death owed 10,228,15 guilders to Samuel Schulhoff of Amsterdam. In 1753 Gumpertz and Reutthinger of Amsterdam were creditors of Wolf Wertheimer of Vienna to the extent of 9,690 guilders. Markus Lehmann who died in Vienna in 1788 had a son, Hirsch Lehmann, a diamond worker in Amsterdam.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ One Dutch guilder equals 0.8 Rhenish thaler.

¹³⁵ B. Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, Vienna, 1917, II, pp. 73, 166, 197, 261, 283, 446, 346, 363 and 458. A. F. Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, Vienna, 1918, I, pp. 321, 474. J. Taglicht,

No doubt there were many more important commercial contacts between Amsterdam and Vienna as numerous marriages were consummated between the leading families of both communities, but we have not found sufficient corroborative material to present a complete picture of the relations between the two centers.

K. CONCLUSION

At the end of the seventeenth century Dutch commercial interests became increasingly concerned with the Indies. In the eighteenth century profits derived from trade with India and elsewhere, accumulated to such an extent that most of the Dutch merchants turned their attention to speculation, or retired from active trading operations. As has already been pointed out, London became a formidable rival to Amsterdam in the eighteenth century because of her more favorable geographic position, her rising colonial power, and the development of the English textile industry. Hamburg also became a force to reckon with.

The Jews of the Dutch capital had carried the influence of Holland far afield, through their travels in quest of trade. They cemented connections between foreign countries and their mother city. Moreover, they formed important business nuclei in other cities which were significant in and for themselves. As we shall see the settlements of Amsterdam Jews in the colonies were not only important for the Jews of Amsterdam but for the regions in which they settled. Wherever Amsterdam Jews branched out, they brought with them the training received in the metropolis and the advantage of their numerous connections which furthered the prosperity of that city or region.

Nachlese der Wiener Juden im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Vienna, 1917, pp. 102, 112, 138, 141, 143, 151, 171 and 294. Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer und seine Kreis*, Vienna, 1913, p. 292. H. Srbik, *Der staatliche Exporthandel Oesterreichs vom Leopold I bis Maria Theresia*, Vienna, 1907, pp. 396 ff.

CHAPTER IV

COLONIAL TRADE

A. INTRODUCTION

The great Dutch trading companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries founded the colonial empire of the Netherlands. They were not institutions for the sake of providing homes for enterprising or destitute subjects in foreign parts, but were first and foremost interested in gaining wealth for themselves and their country. At the outset they may best be described as corporations organized for the robbing of Spanish ships on their return voyage. For a long time their main interest was governmentally sanctioned piracy. Insofar as there was colonization by the companies, the colonies founded were to serve the purpose of enriching these organizations and, incidentally, the mother country. Another purpose of colonial enterprise was to furnish a market for home products.

Whenever the colonies did not prove remunerative they were neglected. To illustrate the idea that the main concern of the companies in their early years was the plundering and capture of ships, we may cite the fact that between 1623 and 1636 the West India Company equipped 800 ships costing 54,000,000 guilders. With this fleet it captured 540 ships, the cargoes of which were worth about 72,000,000 guilders, to which 36,000,000 guilders were added through the robbing of the Portuguese colonies.¹

As early as 1602 we find protests to the States General and to the Directors of the East India Company, that ships belonging to merchants of the Portuguese nation had been taken and plundered by ships of the East India Company. The request for redress submitted by the Marranos, together with several prominent Amsterdam merchants and insurance firms, was refused. They next appealed to the Directors of the Company for damages, but were sent away without results or satisfaction.² In the Company's accounts of profit and loss there is

¹ Busken Huet, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 270 ff.

² Prins, *Vestiging*, pp. 185 ff.

always an amount under the caption "Profit and Loss from Freebootery or Searobbery".

In the days of Portuguese supremacy there were two groups of important merchants distributing spices from the East to Europe. The one had the monopoly on getting the spices from India to Lisbon ("contract of India") and the other the monopoly on the distribution from Lisbon throughout Europe ("contract of Europe"). The conditions of the Indian contract were that half of the spices brought from India became the property of the importers upon its arrival in Lisbon. The other half belonged to the king. The participants in the European contract bought the whole pepper supply from the king at fixed prices, usually paid in advance.

The Marranos were concerned with this business. When, in 1576, Koenraad Rott was the principal participant in both contracts, he was forced to turn to the "heillose Juden" for financial aid.³ A merchant of Kampen (Holland) in 1578, said of the Marranos: "Methinks, the Jews, with their trade in East Indian monopolies, overthrow us everywhere."⁴

B. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

After the Dutch War of Independence, Holland was unable to get enough Eastern goods from Lisbon and was forced to seek the East itself. This quarter of the globe was not unfamiliar territory because they had gone there as mariners and merchants on Spanish ships. In the diary of a famous Dutch traveler of that day we read that he found Dutchmen everywhere he went.⁵

Amsterdam merchants organized the "Compagnie van Verre" (Company of the Far Countries). It was formed to sponsor expeditions to India by the southern route. In 1595 they sent out four ships, led by Cornelis de Houtman who had learned the route from the Portuguese. After many difficulties, the loss of one vessel and three-quarters of the crew, they reached Java and returned. Financially the first voyage was a failure but it opened the way to India for the Dutch.

In 1598 the second expedition reached its goal. As soon as

³ Ibid., pp. 119 ff.

⁴ See Nannings Uitterdijk, op. cit., p. LXXII, and pp. 60-61.

⁵ Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario, Voyage ofte Schipvaert van . . . naar Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, 1579-1592*, reprinted by G. W. Kerkamp, The Hague, 1910, II, pp. 83, 114, 117, 119, 176, 186, 193 and 197.

journeys to India proved advantageous, numerous companies were organized in various Dutch cities to finance trips to the Far East. There was so much competition between these companies that Indian trade was injured. The various combines outbade each other for goods and undersold each other in Europe. The government realizing the danger of so much friction interfered and in 1602 granted a monopoly in East Indian waters to the newly organized East India Company, a combination of all the other companies. The capital subscribed to the new enterprise amounted to 6,459,840 guilders of which Amsterdam subscribed 3,674,915. Besides Amsterdam's share Zeeland invested 1,333,882 guilders, Delft 470,000 guilders, Rotterdam 177,400 guilders, Hoorn 266,868 guilders and Enkhuizen 536,775 guilders. The Company began at once to earn large profits.⁶

From a contemporary newspaper we obtain some idea of the riches which ships brought from India to Holland. We find under the caption: "From Ausburghte, 19th of July, 1621: 'Two ships richly laden with Indian wares came hither into the United Provinces upon the 18th of July, whereof the *Mavence* hath in her 9,369 Picols and 55 cases of priemsche Pepper, 176,073 pounds of cloves, 271 sakes of Mace, 11,398 cases of Sinamon, 704¼ carats of Diamonds. And the *Armes* of Horne had in her 3,064 Picols and 818 cases of Pepper, 10,000 pounds of Cloves, 150 cases of Baniamin of the best sort, 320 packets of Indigo, 183 packes of China linnen, 9 great cases of white China silke, 1 case of Taffaties, 463½ caraets of Diamonds'", and under the caption: "From Amsterdam, the 4th of August, 1621: 'At Amsterdam & in Zeeland are lately arrived 2 ships from the East Indies richly laden, esteemed worth 24 tonnes of gold.'"⁷

In the first six years of the Company's life its participants received 25 to 30 per cent annual return on their investment. In spite of the high dividends declared, the Company's capital is said to have grown to 30,000,000 guilders in 1608. Its sales in the first half of the seventeenth century were between 5,000,000 guilders and 11,000,000 guilders annually, in the second half of that century between 10,000,000 guilders and 15,000,000 guilders yearly, in the eighteenth century the average yearly sale was 17,250,000 guilders. Naturally,

⁶ E. Laaspeyres, *Geschichte der volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer und ihrer Litteratur zur Zeit der Republik*, Leipzig, 1863, p. 36.

⁷ *Corante or News from Italy, Germany, Hungary, Polonia, France and Dutchland*, 1621.

since this is an average figure the period of greatest decline (the second half of the eighteenth century) is reflected in it.⁸

In the early days of the East India Company the Jewish investments were very small,⁹ but by 1652 a Jewish community tax in Amsterdam on Jewish incomes from East India Company shares was so considerable that it formed one of the principal sources of revenues to the community both at that time and for long afterwards.¹⁰ One of the reasons why Jews were at first so inactive was that citizenship was required of the shareholders. Perhaps another reason for lack of Jewish participation is the fact that the organization was said to have been established to oust the Jews of Holland from Indian trade. The Company was interested in this traffic for itself.

In the two places, Amsterdam and Middelburg, where we know that Jews lived and where there was a Chamber of the Company, Jewish subscription in the early years is estimated at 1/10 of one

⁸ In 1660 the Frenchman Samuel Sorbière writes: "The opulence of the East India Company which employs more than 50,000 men in its service. . . . The profit of this Company (of the Indies) became so prodigious in six years, that in the year 1608 it happened that after all the allotments had been allocated to the participants, who had drawn 25 to 30 per cent all the years, and after all the expenses were paid, the capital which originally was 6,600,000 pounds exceeded 30,000,000." P. J. Blok, "Drie Brieven van Samuel Sorbière, over den toestand van Holland in 1660." *BMHGU*, XXII, 1901, pp. 19 and 38. As we know that the Company's capital was 30,000,000 guilders at the time, we assume that Sorbière must have meant guilders rather than livres. Sombart, *Kapitalismus*, ed. 1902, I, p. 330 states: in 1663 five ships brought a cargo of nutmegs to Holland, costing 600,000 guilders. It was sold for 2,000,000 guilders. Four years later a similar cargo costing 5,000,000 brought 20,000,000 guilders. See also *idem*, ed. 1921, II, p. 1012.

⁹ The first Amsterdam Jewish participants are:

In 1602	Stephan Cardozo	1,800 guilders
	Elisabeth Pinto	3,000 guilders
In 1603 and 1604	Stephan Cardozo	450 guilders
	Elisabeth Pinto	750 guilders
	Melchior Mendes	13,500 guilders
	Manuel Tomase	3,600 guilders
	Michel Lopez Fernandez	
	(for Simon Henriques, Florence)	2,875 guilders
	Manuel Carvalho	
	Diego Dias Guerido	1,900 guilders

Waetjen, *Das Judentum*, pp. 9 ff.

¹⁰ Menassch ben Israel in his *Humble Addresses*, pp. 9 ff. states: "they (the Jews) have there (in Amsterdam) no less than three hundred houses of their own, enjoy a good part of the West and East Indian Companies, and besides, have yet to set forth their Traffic such a stock, that for setting a side, only one duit of every pound flamish for all kind of commodities that enter and again as much for all what goes out of this towne and what besides we pay yearly of the rents we get from the East Indian Compagnie to the reliefe and sustenance of the poore of our Synagogue, that very money amounts ordinarily every year, unto the summe very near of 12,000 Franks whereby you may easily conceive what a mighty stock it is they trade with, and what a profit they needs must bring into this city."

per cent of the total. Jewish participation in the Company's capital during the seventeenth century divides itself into three periods. In the first half of that century there were very few participants. Within the next thirty years the records, insofar as they are known, show Jewish names but the amounts subscribed are comparatively small.¹¹ In the last two decades of the seventeenth century the records show many more Jewish names, including those of numerous Germans and East Europeans, but the Sephardim still continue to predominate. In the eighteenth century, the period of greatest speculation, one-quarter of all the Company's stockholders were Jews. ✓

There is a list, dated 1639, showing that some of them bought pepper from the Company. A few of the names cited are Abraham Franco Mendes, Emanuel Laguna, Bento Osorio and Joseph de los Rios.¹² The Journal of the Company shows that in 1611 Jews bought small quantities of pepper, nutmeg and mastic. In 1659, 1660 and 1661 we know that Jews dealt in Indian cotton thread, Indigo, Chinese merchandise, and musk. A contract to deliver "Indian cotton thread" was agreed upon by Francisco Mendes Chillon and Manuel Dias Henriques. Chillon had delivered the thread to Henriques who in turn was required to return the goods after a lapse of time. (This may indicate that Jews speculated in Indian goods). On February 9, 1659, Chillon issued a complaint that the terms of the contract had not been kept. Another illustration of Jewish trade with Indian goods is an attestation filed by Antonio de Sola, on January 15, 1660, stating that Doria as Anto. de Sotto's broker had sold to Abraham Engels of Haarlem, a case of Indigo, each pound of which was to be traded for three els of Haarlem cloth of a designated width. On January 31, 1661, Henrique Manuel representing Rafael de Sosa, merchant of Bayonne, requested Joan de Luarte, alias Aaron Gabay Faro, to deliver five packages of Chinese merchandise which Gabay had purchased with Sosa's money from the Delft Chamber of the East India Company.

¹¹ Among the largest Jewish subscribers of that time we find:

Isaac de Pinto (1668-1681)	6,750 guilders
Jacob Nunez Henriques (1675-1681)	10,326 guilders
Athias Eley (1680)	5,000 guilders
David de Pinto (1681-1682)	5,958 guilders

Waertjen, *Das Judentum*, p. 12.

¹² N. G. van Kampen, *Vaderlandsche Karakterkunde of Karaktertrekken van Tijdperken en Personen tot 1795*, Haarlem, 1826-1828, II, pp. 644 and 647.

The balance due on this, plus the money for 64 ounces of musk, was to be paid on delivery.¹³

There is no doubt that in the beginning of the eighteenth century Jewish trade with the East India Company was a well established and important branch of commerce. From a study of the "Grootboeken" (Ledgers) of the Company, Chamber of Amsterdam, for the years 1700-04, and 1724-28¹⁴ we can determine what goods Jews traded in and whether or not they were important as compared to Christian traders.

In the first period (1700-04) Jews bought 6.97 per cent of the total sales of the Chamber of Amsterdam. Their participation in the purchases of various products varied from 1,072,201 guilders 14 stuivers for cottoncloth to 260 guilders for shellac. Expressed in percentages Jewish purchases varied from 100 per cent in canes to 0.9 per cent in armosin (a kind of taffeta). In the period from 1724-28, Jewish participation in the purchase of various products varied from 904,894 guilders 16 stuivers for cottoncloth to 378 guilders 3 stuivers for "candomin". Expressed in percentages Jewish purchases vary from 84.8 per cent in nuts to 0.4 per cent for mastics. In this period Jews bought 5.76 per cent of the Chamber of Amsterdam's total sales.¹⁵

¹³ MSS, Padthuyzen, 2888, 2889, 2890.

¹⁴ The *Grootboeken* are numbered 10405 and 10408, Chamber Amsterdam, East India Company, "Rijksarchief", The Hague. In the books each buyer is listed under a special heading, showing: 1) date of purchase, 2) name of the product, 3) quantity bought, 4) the price charged for the goods. We have compiled the amounts of each product bought by Jews. In this way we obtained the total amount of Jewish purchase and were enabled to compare it with the total sum of the products sold by the Company in the years under discussion.

¹⁵ Articles sold by the Dutch East India Company in which Jews traded. (The totals of goods in which Jews traded are derived from Appendix C, the totals of the Dutch East India Company's sales from "Grootboeken", nos. 10405 and 10418).

1700-1704

<i>The Company's total sale of goods in which Jews traded</i>		<i>Total amounts of Jewish sales from the Company</i>	<i>Percentage of Jew. trade</i>
Cottoncloth	7,453,575:14	1,072,201:14	14.4%
Pepper	3,263,818:16	143,939:	4.4%
Cinnamon	1,330,800:12	69,194: 2	5.2%
Saltpeter	1,320,121: 7	61,024:13	4.6%
Cloves	2,078,509:15	53,561: 9	2.5%
Damask	209,906: 8	42,528: 8	20.2%
Silk	446,355:16	37,903: 9	8.5%
Pesangs	234,424: 6	35,952: 2	11. %
Nuts	1,214,729: 7	35,010: 1	2.9%
Mace	1,032,652: 3	33,704:18	3.3%
Tea	316,467: 7	24,248:18	7.6%
Sugar	429,070: 6	19,420: 3	4.5%

Although in the last period, 1724-28, Jewish purchases exceeded those of the former by more than 400,000 guilders, this increase is not

<i>The Company's total sale of goods in which Jews traded</i>	<i>Total amounts of Jewish sales from the Company</i>		<i>Percentage of Jew. trade</i>
Coffee	377,620: 9	13,245:11	3.5%
Saponwood	228,547: 3	13,080:18	5.7%
Cotton thread	479,193:12	10,551: 9	2.7%
Armosin	495,614:10	4,634:14	0.9%
Mastics	18,958: 7	3,849:17	20.3%
Benjuin	55,446:	3,288:	6.9%
Diamonds	6,381:15	3,158:13	49.5%
Ambregis	66,690:19	2,415: 8	3.6%
Gielama	56,433: 1	2,214:14	3.9%
Canes	1,817: 5	1,817: 5	100. %
Shellack	5,691: 8	260:	4.6%
Total	21,122,856: 6	1,687,005: 6	7.98%
1724-1728			
Cottoncloth	9,719,653:18	904,894:16	9.3%
Pepper	3,459,370: 8	67,395:23	1.9%
Cinnamon	2,327,591: 5	182,018:12	7.2%
Cloves	2,130,488:11	63,483:	2.9%
Silk	2,421,012:18	32,138:15	1.3%
Nuts	6,529: 1	5,534: 3	84.8%
Mace	1,207,064:	4,788:18	0.4%
Tea	1,065,110: 3	124,019:13	11.6%
Coffee	7,128,471: 9	671,130:16	9.4%
Saponwood	225,622: 6	4,092:	1.8%
Cotton thread	559,168:	2,053:13	0.4%
Mastics	26,877:16	2,190:12	8.1%
Benjuin	38,507:15	22,875:16	59.7%
Jewels	7,605:15	5,995: 2	78.8%
Canes	1,915:16	1,089: 1	57.4%
Mother of Pearl	5,412:18	731: 3	13.5%
Aguilwood	2,432:19	842: 7	34.6%
Pearls	12,893:10	1,807:16	14.5%
Candamon	69,641: 1	378: 3	0.5%
Borax	17,145:16	526:13	3.1%
Oil	49,812: 8	1,267:14	2.5%
Total	30,682,167:13	2,099,254: 6	6.84%

In the years 1700 to 1704 Jewish purchases in the total sales of the Company amounted to 6.97 per cent. Jewish purchases in the total sales of articles specifically traded in by them amounted to 7.98 per cent.

In the years 1724 to 1728 Jewish purchases in the total sales of the Company amounted to 5.76 per cent. Jewish purchases in the total sales of articles specifically traded in by them amounted to 6.84 per cent.

The books of the Company for the periods in question indicate that Jews did not purchase the following products: ginger, copper, tin, indigo, "draackenbloet" (dragon's blood?), camphor, birdsnests and musk. It is worthy of note that Jews had been interested in indigo and musk, we also know that they were concerned with tin from other sources. See pp. 119 ff. and p. 78. The lists may not absolutely represent Jewish trade with the Company for the given years because of the ever present problem of determining which names are actually Jewish. It may well be that some of the names omitted as Christians are aliases assumed by Jewish merchants.

commensurate with the increase in the Company's total volume of business for the years in question. Evidently the percentage of Jewish purchase dropped from 6.97 per cent to 5.76 per cent. The chief article of business engaged in by Jews in both periods is cottoncloth. In 1700-04 Jews purchased 1,072,201 guilders 14 stuivers or 14.4 per cent of the total trade in cottoncloth, in 1724-28 904,894 guilders 16 stuivers worth of that material or 9.3 per cent. Pepper is the item next in importance. In the first period it comprised a value of 143,939 guilders or 4.4 per cent of the Chamber of Amsterdam's total transaction in pepper, while in the second period Jewish purchase of pepper had decreased to 67,395 guilders 13 stuivers or 1.9 per cent. Although Jews bought comparatively little coffee in the first period, the increased trade in coffee witnessed the growing popularity of the drink. Javanese coffee was first introduced to the Dutch markets in 1711.¹⁶ In 1700-04 the Chamber of Amsterdam bought 377,620 guilders 6 stuivers worth of coffee, 24 years later, the Chamber bought 7,128,471 guilders 9 stuivers worth of coffee of which the Jews bought 671,130 guilders 16 stuivers or 9.4 per cent. The percentage of Jewish purchase of articles is highest for those goods in which the Company traded least.

The analysis of the figures indicates a lively Jewish business in East Indian goods, but in view of the fact that about 3 per cent of the population for the periods in question was Jewish and most of the Jews were occupied with trade, the figures do not justify the contention that the Jews were the most important traders with the East India Company. However, the amount of Jewish trade in India cannot be determined until all the books of the Company have been fully examined.¹⁷

Some Jews probably went to the Dutch East Indies to escape the Inquisition, but we know that there never were enough of them there to build a synagogue. The records of the East India Company show that there were several Jews employed by the Company in India as doctors and inferior functionaries. A few of them went to India as

¹⁶ J. W. P. K. *Leerboek der Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, Zwolle, 1919, I, p. 256.

¹⁷ Even after the examination of the books it must be remembered that the aliases by which the Jews were known made it difficult and in many cases impossible to determine whether the entry is or is not Jewish. For instance, Dennis Jennes, Teunis Smit, Spijcker Veth, all Jewish aliases, would not be recognized as such unless their real names happen to have been discovered in another connection.

merchants. At least one Indian passport was issued to a Jewish merchant.¹⁸

In the African territory, around the Cape of Good Hope which belonged to the East India Company from 1652-1795, the first mention of Jews is made on Christmas Day, 1669, when Samuel Jacobson and David Heijlbron are recorded as having been baptized. A letter, written forty years later, from Cape Town to the Council of Seventeen (the executive body of the East India Company) in Amsterdam, reads as follows: "The following persons have been allowed to pay passage for their slaves to the Fatherland... The Jewish passenger Fernando Mendez Henriques, returning home by the Gamron (pays) 50 rix-dollars for a slave, likewise a Jew, and consequently not eating our ship's provision.¹⁹ During the Company's control of South Africa Jews seem not to have been very important.

The secret Jews in the East Indies aided the Dutch in their eastern enterprise, anxious as they were to free themselves from Spanish-Portuguese rule. King Philip II (1527-98) in a letter addressed to Martin Alfonso de Castro, vice-roy of the Indies, declared that two New Christians in Colombo were in active correspondence with the Dutch and that several in Malacca reported their military plans to them. This letter may have been the work of some enemies of the New Christians rather than a report of actual facts. It states that the secret Jews in India sent considerable supplies to Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Hamburg and Aleppo who in turn forwarded them to Holland and Zealand.²⁰

When the Dutch wished to conquer the Malabar Coast in 1662, they were aided by Jews from Cochin. There had been Jews there prior to 1344. In 1502 Vasco da Gama found them in that region and from then on they had been in constant communication with the New Christians in Portugal. In the same century Spanish and German Jews joined the native Jewish population. We know that the Spanish group built a synagogue in Cochin in 1568. When Spain and Portugal ruled the region the Jews of Cochin looked to the Dutch to free them from persecution.

¹⁸ Wolff, *op. cit.*, BVGO, X, 1912, pp. 140 ff.

¹⁹ Herrman, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 and 60. O. F. Mentzel, *The Cape in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*, Cape Town, 1920, pp. 12-27.

²⁰ G. A. Kohut, "Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America", *PAJHS*, IV, 1896, p. 101. M. Kayerling, *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*, New York, 1894, p. 131.

Cochin was a Dutch possession from 1663-1795. Amsterdam Jewry had established contact with the Indian communities, and in 1685 a group of Sephardim from Holland visited the Malabar Coast. Upon returning, one of its number, Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, published *Notisias dos Judeos de Cochim* (1687), in which he states that there are nine congregations in the locality, three in Cochim, two in Angicaimal, one in Parur, Paluk, Chenotta and Muttancheri, totaling 460 families. Their contact with Amsterdam is illustrated by the fact that a liturgy for Cochim was printed in Amsterdam, modelled after the Sephardic ritual. No doubt the active pepper trade carried on by the East India Company during its rule of approximately 100 years in the region was aided by the Cochim Jews who were active in this traffic.²¹

C. THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

Long before the formation of the West India Company, Dutch merchantmen had visited the islands of the Caribbean. The man who tried to promote the establishment of this Company was Willem Usselinx from Antwerp who had lived in Middelburg since 1591. His ideal was to found colonies in America where slavery would be prohibited. The colonists were to till the ground and in return receive manufactured articles from Holland in exchange for their agricultural products. Colonization and the formation of commercial relations were the primary motives which prompted Usselinx to suggest the establishment of the West India Company. The government favored the project and before the Twelve Years' Armistice (1609-1621) was over, the States General had made plans for the founding of a company which became a reality in 1621. The plans show that the government's motives were unlike those of Usselinx as its main concern was the rapid acquisition of wealth by means of the seizure of Spanish ships and the infliction of damage upon the enemy. The Dutch government's further intention was to transfer the war into foreign waters by means of the Company's ships. Besides, it was hoped that the Mexican and Peruvian silver which had formerly gone to Spain might be diverted to Holland. Silver was important since it was the medium of exchange for most colonial goods.

²¹ Kleerkooper, *Catalogus van Boeken in Noord Nederland*, under paragraph *Liturgie*, "Seder Tefilloth, Gelegenheidsgebeden en gedichten volgens den ritus der Joden op Ceylon en in Cochim", Amsterdam, J. J. & A. Proops, 1757. *EJ*, V, pp. 597-599, article *Cochim* by Herbert Loewe. *JL*, I, pp. 12-15, article *Cochim* by Isaac Markon. Harrman, op. cit., p. 43, A. Marx, "Contribution à l'histoire des Juifs de Cochim", *REJ*, LXXXIX, 1910, pp. 293-304.

No one was better fitted to harass the foe by sea than the buccaneer admiral Piet Hein. In 1627 he seized 22 of a fleet of 30 Spanish ships. His widely heralded victory over the "Spanish silver fleet" in 1628 netted the Company from 11,500,000 to 15,000,000 guilders and yielded a 50 per cent dividend to the shareholders.²² Since Piet Hein's victories could not be repeated, and colonies required great expenditure for their upkeep and costly defense operations, the organization soon found itself on the down grade.

While the East India Company experienced no obstacle in raising the necessary capital to further its ends, the Company of the West found it difficult to gather the requisite sum of 7,108,106 guilders until Piet Hein's victory in 1628. Amsterdam furnished 2,846,582 guilders of the total capital.²³

It is difficult to determine the exact extent of Jewish participation in the West India Company as the archive material in Holland has not yet been sufficiently studied. According to a list of "participants"²⁴ for the years 1623-1626 Amsterdam Jews subscribed 36,100 guilders to the original capital of the Company. However, as long as complete lists of shareholders are lacking, no adequate estimate of the rôle played by the Jews in the membership of the Company can be determined.

There are lists of "main-participants"²⁵ for the years 1656, 1658

²² Th. Salmon, *Tegenwoordige Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1739-1772*, Amsterdam, 1787-1801, I, p. 147. Luzac, op. cit., I, p. 320. Difereé, op. cit., p. 267.

²³ Luzac, op. cit., I, p. 318.

²⁴ J. de Laet, *Historie ofte Jaerlijck Verhael van de Verrichtingen der Geocroyerde West Indische Compagnie zedert haer Begin tot het vijfde vant jaer zestienhondert ses en dertigh*, Leiden, 1644, I, states concerning "participants" in "Patent of the High Mighty Sirs, States General, issued to the West India Company, no. XXIV: "All inhabitants of this country and other lands will be notified by the public posting of notices within one month's time after this date that they will be admitted to this Company within five months, beginning from the first of July, 1621. They may pay whatsoever money they wish to invest in three instalments, one-third at the expiration of the said five months, and the other two-thirds in three successive years. In the event that the 'general meeting' decides that the terms of payment may be prolonged the participants will be notified in advance by public notices". (De Laet does not mention the minimum amount of investment requisite for a participant).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, "Agreement between directors and main participants of the West India Company, approved by the High and Mighty Sirs States General, no. 11", states: "No one can be a 'main participant' who has not invested in the Company from its inception or is not known in the books for two years. He must have invested in his own name the requisite amount necessary for a director in each of the Chambers," and in the Patent, *ibid.*, no. 13: "Nobody will be chosen director in the Chamber of Amsterdam who has not himself invested the sum of 6,000 guilders and in the Chambers of the Meuse, the northern Quarters and Vrieslandt and the Urban and Rural Chamber who has not invested the sum of 4,000 guilders."

and 1671. On the first list (1656) there are seven Jewish names in the total of 167 or a little more than four per cent of the whole, on the second list (1658) 11 Jews in a total of 169 names or about six and one-half per cent; and in the third (1671) there are ten Jews, in a total of 192 names, or about five per cent. These documents show only the number of participants, without stating the amount invested by each one.²⁶ An unpublished list of 1674 is distinguished from the others in that 72 out of 111 names are accompanied by amounts invested, 11 Jewish names or about ten per cent being included in the list:

Antonio Lopes Suasso	107,667 guilders
Abraham Alewijn (Jewishness uncertain)	40,300 guilders
Johacob de Pinto	42,000 guilders
Simon & Louis Rodrigues de Sousa	30,000 guilders
Jeronimus Nunes da Costa	46,200 guilders
Jacob d'el Monte	30,000 guilders
Jeronimias Noiret (Jewishness uncertain)	no amount mentioned
Isaac Jan Nijs	no amount mentioned
Jacob & Moses Nunes Rodrigues	no amount mentioned

It appears that the growth of Jewish participation from four per cent to ten per cent in the years 1658-1674 was gradual. No wonder that as early as 1655 a grant of privileges issued to the Jews by the West India Company to settle in New Amsterdam distinctly emphasizes: "in view of the great fortune which they have invested in the Company."²⁷ Menasseh ben Israel in his *Humble Addresses* likewise states: "... (the Jews) enjoy a good part of the West and East Indian Companies..."²⁸

The old idea of monopoly as the prerogative of the trading company was given a severe blow in favor of free trading once the Company realized that if it persisted in the principle of trade monopoly it would be undermined. From the beginning of the Brazilian enterprise, it was unable to supply the necessities of the colonists, either for military or peaceable pursuits. Despite its protest, there were unaffiliated merchants in the colonies from the outset. In 1634 the

²⁶ Waetjen, *Das Judentum*, pp. 31 ff.

²⁷ In the year 1674 the old West India Company was liquidated. H. I. Bloom, "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History, 1623-1654, based chiefly upon the findings of the late Samuel Oppenheim", *PAJHS*, XXXIII, 1934, p. 51. S. Oppenheim, "The Early History of the Jews of New York, 1654-1664", *PAJHS*, XVIII, 1909, pp. 14 ff. Oppenheim points out that there were essentially the same number of Jewish participants in the Company several years before 1674.

²⁸ p. 9.

government in The Hague partially lifted the monopoly but levied high import duties. On May 9, 1637, a petition requesting freedom of trade operations, signed by Brazilian merchants, including many Jews, was submitted to the government. The following Jewish or Marrano names are among the signatories: Antonio Paijs Dassevedo, Balthazr de Fonzega, Michel Rodrigus Mendus, Maniel Roderigus Tavarus, Antonio Roderigus Tavarus, Louwies Nununs, Jaspas Ferdinandus da Costa, Maniel Rodrigus Cardose and Maniel Gonsaluns de Nies.²⁹

A difference of opinion existed as to the advisability of the independent traders. The Chamber of Amsterdam, some of whose members were active traders with Brazil, favored the partial removal of monopoly. The Chamber of Zeeland, however, committed to the old policy, protested against the Company's waving of its rights. Count Johan Maurits, governor of New Holland (Brazil) from 1637-1644, entered the dispute with a letter, January 16, 1638. His was the decisive vote in favor of the individual trader. On the 29th of April, 1638 the States General, acting as arbiter in the settlement of the quarrel between the Chamber of Amsterdam and the Chamber of Zeeland, decided upon the radical departure of limiting the West India Company's colonial monopoly to the importation of slaves and war material and the export of dye-wood. All other commercial enterprises were open to individual merchants, regardless of nationality.³⁰ It would at first appear that curtailment of the monopoly might be detrimental to the Company. In point of fact, the contrary condition obtained since the new policy so stimulated trade that the Company itself derived great benefit therefrom. From 1637-1644 it is said to have received 17,886,737 guilders for the export of sugar, wood, ele-

²⁹ Waetjen, *Das holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien*, The Hague, 1921, pp. 287-295. Bloom, op. cit., p. 47.

³⁰ Barlaeus, Caspar, (Kaspar van Baerle, Casparius Barlaei), *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi gestarum sub praefectura Illustrissimi Comitiss J. Maurittii Nassavie, comitiss historia*, translated into Dutch, *Nederlandsch Brazilië onder het Bewind van Johan Maurits, Grave van Nassau, 1637-1644*. Naar de Latijnache Uitgave van 1647 in het Nederlandsch bewerkt door S. P. L'Honoré Naber, The Hague, 1923, p. 107. Luzac, op. cit., I, pp. 327 ff. L. Driessen, *Leben des Fürsten Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen*, Berlin, 1849, pp. 66 ff. Waetjen, *Brasilien*, pp. 295 and 298. "Memorie van Prins Maurits van Nassau van 16 Jan. 1638, waarbij deze op vrije handel aandringt en het monopolie der West-Indische Compagnie bestrijdt." *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap Utrecht*, XI, 1855, pp. 60 ff. Laspeyres, *Volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen*, pp. 81 and 83 ff. Reese, op. cit., pp. 194 ff.

phant tusks, copper, indigo and other articles. The slave monopoly netted the Company 240 per cent profit on each slave.³¹

D. BRAZIL

From the very year of its inception, 1621, the West India Company following Usselinx' advice, turned its attention to the poorly fortified colony of Brazil. In December, 1623 a conquering fleet set sail from Holland.³² In 1624 Bahia was taken by the Dutch. They only succeeded in keeping it for one year after which Portugal reconquered and held it.

As a result of the wealth obtained by Piet Hein's capture of the Spanish silver fleet,³³ the Company equipped an expedition which succeeded in acquiring part of eastern Brazil. In March, 1630 Recife capitulated to the Dutch. A proclamation, dated December 26, 1634, offered inducements to all groups of the population willing to throw in their lot with the Hollanders. By 1636 they had conquered a considerable part of northeastern Brazil which they called New Holland.

From 1629-1637 the Dutch seized 39,355 cases of sugar worth 7,871,000 guilders.³⁴ In 1637 Dutch territory extended from Rio San Francisco in the south to the captaincy of Maranhao in the north.

After the discovery of Brazil in 1500, the Portuguese government finding itself unable to colonize the territory by other means, forcibly transported criminals and Jews or Marranos to that region. In 1532 sugar cane was brought from Madeira and the Canary Islands to Brazil. The Jews may have played a part in this matter as we know that there were Jewish planters on these islands at that time. At all events the Jewish inhabitants prospered.

The Spanish Inquisition drove many Marranos to Brazil where they lived in comparative wealth and freedom until the union of Spain with Portugal in 1580 subsequent to which the Inquisition became severe in the colonies as well. A contemporary traveler tells us that a certain Marrano from Bahia had more than 100,000 crowns worth of

³¹ These figures are quoted in a contemporary pamphlet, *Brasilsche Gelt-Sack, Waer in dat klaerlijck ver-toont wort waer dat de Participanten van de West-Indische Compagnie haer Geldt ghebleven is*, Recife, 1647, "Rijksarchief", The Hague. Waetjen, *ibid.* Reese, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 ff. Bloom, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 ff. The lists of slave-sales which we have examined show that the Company exacted 240 per cent above the selling price of slaves.

³² De Laet, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 7 ff, gives a detailed description of the expedition.

³³ See p. 121.

³⁴ De Laet, *op. cit.*, chapter: "Kort Verhael uit de voorgaende Boecken ghetrocken", p. 20. Bloom, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

merchandise, most of it his own. There was also another Jew as rich as he. "The profits they make after being in those lands nine or ten years are marvellous, for they all come back (to Portugal) rich, many of these New Christians, Jews by race but baptized, being worth 60, 80 or even 100 thousand crowns."³⁵ In 1599 there were 36 sugar mills in Bahia, in 1600 Brazil had 120 sugar mills.³⁶

The Jewish colonists who were suffering from the rigors of Spanish intolerance, were glad to learn that the West India Company intended to conquer the colony. They knew that under Dutch rule freedom of worship would be granted them. Jews were accused by the Portuguese of having given information as to the conditions of affairs in Brazil. When Portugal reconquered Bahia (1625) at least five Jews were put to death because of their alleged Dutch sympathies.³⁷ A document in the records of the Inquisition, dated 1634, claims that two Jews, Alvarez Franco and Manuel Fernandez Drago, who lived in Bahia when the Dutch conquered Pernambuco, had made the plan for the conquest. It further points out that the conquest of Pernambuco was the work of the Jews of Amsterdam, the leader of whom, Antonio Vaez Henriques, alias Moses Cohen, accompanied the expedition.³⁸

Besides Moses Cohen other Jews were given free passage to the colony.³⁹ A certain Samuel Cohen of Amsterdam declared in 1633 that he had sailed in the service of the West India Company and had witnessed the conquest of Pernambuco. He was aware that Simon Drago had been a prominent merchant in that city. Officers in the service of the Company had stolen between 70 and 80 barrels of wine from Drago's storehouse. Drago did not wish to go to Portugal as he

³⁵ M. J. Kohler, "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800", *PAJHS*, II, 1894, p. 95. 100 crowns equal 105 guilders.

³⁶ E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 483.

³⁷ A. de Beauchamp, *Histoire du Brésil*, Paris, 1815, II, pp. 159 ff. R. Southey, *History of Brazil*, London, 1817-1822, I, pp. 477, 479, 495, II, p. 241. P. M. Netscher, *Les Hollandais au Brésil*, The Hague, 1855, p. 14. Waetjen, *Das Judentum*, p. 31. G. A. Kohut, "Les Juifs dans les Colonies Hollandaises", *REJ*, XXXI, 1895, pp. 293 ff. Kohler, "Beginnings of New York Jewish History", *PAJHS*, I, 1893, p. 44. Prins, *Vestiging*, pp. 150-151.

³⁸ C. Adler, "A Contemporary Memorial relating to Damages to Spanish Interests in America done by Jews of Holland (1634)", *PAJHS*, XVII, 1909, pp. 45 ff. Da Silva Rosa, *Gechiedenis*, p. 73.

³⁹ Koenen, *op. cit.*, pp. 277 ff. Tal, *Oranjerbloemen*, p. 37. Kohut, l. c. and "Sketches of Jewish Loyalty, Bravery and Patriotism in the South American Colonies and the West Indies", in Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 443 ff.

had been instrumental in helping the Dutch conquer Pernambuco. He, therefore, came to Amsterdam in the Company's ship seeking redress for his losses.⁴⁰

Jewish participation in the conquest was particularly valuable because the Jews had connections with their co-religionists in Brazil. When the States General, on January 9, 1634, issued a proclamation guaranteeing Jews and Catholics the free practice of their religion "without investigation of their conscience or their home", many Marranos gathered the courage to profess Judaism openly. By 1637, as a result of the freedom permitted them, Jewish refugees had come from Hungary, Poland, Turkey, the Barbary States, Spain, Portugal, Holland and Germany.⁴¹

Since all official documents had to be rendered into Dutch Jewish services were sought after. The Jews carried on a prosperous business as translators. Their knowledge of both languages also aided them in their private commercial enterprises.⁴² The older Jewish inhabitants owned extensive sugar plantations, the new arrivals developed petty trade and brokerage and soon accommodated themselves to Brazilian conditions.

In 1642 another group, 200 in number, came from Amsterdam under the leadership of Rabbi Isaac Aboab and Moses Raphael de Aguilar. An annual salary of 1,600 guilders was granted to Rabbi Aboab, Hacham Jehosua Velozinos received 400 guilders per year, and the teacher Semuel Farazaõ, 250 guilders. Menasseh ben Israel contemplated joining the group. In the second volume of his "Conciliator" (printed in 1641), dedicated to the following prominent Brazilian Jews: David Senior Coronat, Abraham de Mercado, Jacob Micate, Isaac Castanho and others, he bids his readers in Holland goodbye. However, his friends and associates induced him to stay in Europe.⁴³

⁴⁰ Vaz Dias, "Marranen Historie", VA, IX, April 29, 1932, p. 79.

⁴¹ Southey, op. cit., p. 645.

⁴² M. Calado, *O Valeroso Lucidemo*, Lisbon, 1648, p. 68.

⁴³ David Franco Mendes, *Ha Measeph*, 1784, pp. 15-16. See concerning Isaac Aboab, also Kohut, "Early Jewish Literature in America", *PAJHS*, III, 1895, pp. 103 ff. Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 75 and *Iets over den Amsterdamschen Opperrabbijn Isaac Aboab*, Amsterdam, 1913. Kayserling, "The Earliest Rabbis and Jewish writers of America", *PAJHS*, III, 1895, pp. 13 ff. In the archives of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation in Amsterdam there is a book of statutes containing the regulations of the congregation, *Tzsur Yisroel*, in Recife, dated 1640-1654.

The Dutch Jews in Brazil founded several congregations, the best known of which were those in Recife and on the Antonio Vaz island. The newly organized communities made a rule that no one could leave Brazil without paying a certain amount to the congregation. This tax was probably levied on Jews who had acquired wealth in the colony, to make it less attractive for them to return to Holland. Their departure would, of course, make the Brazilian congregation so much the poorer. Another method of augmenting the community's income was a tax of four per cent, levied on all imported merchandise, 3/10 of one per cent on all money, gold, silver, and jewels; one-half of one per cent tax was placed on the sale of sugar, tobacco and houses. Armed merchantships and privateers had to pay three per cent of their net cargoes.⁴⁴ It is not a strange phenomenon for Jewish communities to levy taxes on members leaving their midst. But Jewish community taxes on imported merchandise and other commercial transactions would seem to be unique unless the government delegated the community to collect taxes from the Jewish merchants in which case the situation is not uncommon.

The relatively prosperous condition of the Jewish group was largely aided by the favorable attitude of Count Johan Maurits who came to Recife as Governor in 1637. One of his first official acts was to add to the Company's coffers by auctioning off the abandoned Portuguese sugar mills, confiscated by the Dutch. The sale brought in 2,000,000 guilders. Johan Maurits permitted the purchasers to pay for the mills in installments of sugar.⁴⁵

Both Dutch trading companies (the East India and the West India Companies) were loth to see the Portuguese-Dutch rapprochement in 1641, since it would put an end to the conquest of Portuguese territory and the capture of Portuguese ships. The results of the peace negotiations were withheld from Count Johan Maurits as long as possible as the directors of the West India Company were eager to seize as much territory as they could.

⁴⁴ Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 74.

⁴⁵ There exists a list of the confiscated *engenhos* (sugar mills) stating the names of their former owners and the condition of the mills. It is difficult to decide which Portuguese names are Jewish and which are not. We know, however, that Jorgo Homes Pinto (one of the names mentioned) is unquestionably a Jew since he is designated as such in other connections, see Waztjen, *Brasilien*, p. 209 and Bloom, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff.

By the beginning of 1642 Dutch Brazil had reached its fullest extent of expansion.⁴⁶ The colony prospered throughout the administration of Johan Maurits. After his first term of office expired, he intended to return to Holland, whereupon the colonists sent a request to the Company and to the States General asking that the Count's stay in Brazil be prolonged. He was persuaded to remain for some time.

There is no doubt that the governor did much to protect the Jews. At times, however, he questioned his faith in them fearing that they would swear allegiance to any power granting them religious freedom and a measure of autonomy.⁴⁷ He voices his apprehensions in a report which his secretary Tolner submitted to the Dutch authorities in Holland. Maurits' secretary was sent on a mission to the fatherland to convince the West India Company that the colony could not be without substantial means of defense, as the Portuguese colonists were eager to free themselves from Dutch rule. This would absolve them of their debts to the Company and remove Calvinist oppression. Tolner further pointed out that the Portuguese would never be friendly to the Dutch unless they were given equal rights with the Protestants. The report states that the Portuguese: "detest our impositions and laws and the liberty of religious exercises which the Jews possess." Count Johan Maurits considered it unfortunate that the Jews were permitted to celebrate their Sabbath openly while the Catholics were restricted in the practice of their religion.⁴⁸

It will be remembered that many of the old Marrano settlers and some of the Jewish newcomers possessed sugar mills and were interested in all branches of the sugar business. Retail trade and brokerage were in Jewish hands since 1638, the Christians having neglected these branches of commerce. Although Jews were accused of unsavory practices Christians seem to have preferred Jewish to Christian brokers.⁴⁹

Tax farming, a traditional Jewish occupation, was not lacking in Brazil. In 1638 Moses Navarro bought the right to farm the tax on sugar from the region of Pernambuco for 54,000 guilders. Benjamin de Pino purchased the right to farm the tax on the mills from the re-

⁴⁶ Montanus, op. cit., p. 284. Waetjen, *Brasilien*, p. 113.

⁴⁷ Barlaeus, op. cit., pp. 310-311 and pp. 303-304.

⁴⁸ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, p. 127 and pp. 231 ff. Bloom, op. cit., pp. 59 ff.

⁴⁹ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, p. 234.

gion S. Antaõ Popica and Serinhaim for 43,000 guilders. The total amount of taxes accruing to the West India Company from this source was 280,900 guilders.

Few of the Jews who arrived from Holland concerned themselves with the tilling of the soil, the great majority being occupied with petty trade: "They reside mostly in Recife and know how to become masters of the entire business of trade."⁵⁰ A traveler who visited Brazil from 1640 to 1649 gives us a picture of the progress and prosperity of the Jews there. He says: "Among the free inhabitants of Brazil that were not in the Company's service those of the Jewish nation were numerous. They had transplanted themselves thither from Holland. They had a vast traffic in proportion considerably more than our people, they purchased several sugar mills and built stately houses in Recife. For the most part they concerned themselves with business, which would have been advantageous to Brazil, had the trade been confined within the rules of ordinary business and not reached such extravagances and excesses."⁵¹ The Christian inhabitants were envious because the Jews owned some of the best plantations in the river valley of Pernambuco and they were among the leading slave holders and slave traders in the Colony.⁵² Slaves could be paid for in sugar. When payment was postponed the Jews charged from three to four per cent monthly interest. On June 13, 1643, Adriaen Lems wrote to the Company's office in Middelburg that the Jews know how to make business out of everything, but the planters (non-Jewish) could not prosper because Negroes were too dear and interest too high.⁵³ Five

⁵⁰ Barlaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁵¹ J. Nieuhof, *Gedenkwaardige Brasiliënsche Zee- en Land Reize*, Amsterdam, 1682, p. 214. Netscher, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Kohler, "Jewish Life in New York", *PAJHS*, II, 1894, p. 95. Sombart, *Jews*, p. 34.

⁵² We know of 27 lists of the names of people who bought slaves from the Company from April 29, 1640 to September 22, 1643. We are once more confronted with the difficulty of distinguishing Jewish names from those of Portuguese Christians but names like Joseph Abernaca and Samuel Montesinos are most probably Jewish. Isaac Franco Drago, another name on the lists, is certainly Jewish, as on August 25, 1660, we find a MS of a complaint, drawn up before the notary Pieter Padthuyzen in Amsterdam, to the effect that Drago's daughter has been insulted by a servant. It is clear from the document that the Dragos were Jews. We know that Isaac Franco Drago went to Brazil from Amsterdam, shortly after 1633 and returned to Holland in 1634. In 1633, Drago, still in Amsterdam, had three-quarters share in a cargo of the ship "De Nachti-gael" (The Nightingale). The ship was captured by the enemy. When Drago returned to Amsterdam from Brazil, he sued the skipper's heirs for his share of the cargo, MSS, Padthuyzen, 2889. The last MS is dated June 1, 1660.

⁵³ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, p. 235.

years later we find the same complaint in a report about the declining affairs of the West India Company in Brazil. The report states under the heading "Of the Trade": "If such order were made in Brazil that jobbers and Jews who buy up the slaves for cash, should not sell them on credit at a higher rate than one per cent a month, the slave being hypothecated to them for the full amount..." slaves would not have been so exorbitantly high. Mention is made of a Jew, Luis de Mercade, who owed the Company 11,825 guilders 15 stuivers for Negroes.⁵⁴

Some measure of Jewish commercial activity may be gauged from the fact that a number of Jews purchased 6,646 guilders 18 stuivers worth of cargo from two ships taken as booty from the enemy, the total worth of the cargo being 13,332 guilders 9 stuivers.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York*, Albany, 1856-1887, I, p. 244. Bloom, op. cit., p. 64.

⁵⁵ The document containing this information reads: "The following persons owe the Company for what they have bought at public auction. The goods sold (at auction) comprise part of the cargo of ships, captured from the enemy. (The ships seized are) named "Sra. de Carma" and "Sra. de Censolia", alias "Wilde Beer" (Wild Boar) (whether the Censolia was originally a Dutch ship named "Wilde Beer" or carried this Dutch name to disguise the fact that it was a Portuguese vessel, is not stated):

Jacob Aboaff	203:16 guilders
Moses Abendana	4: 4 guilders
David Jemerosen	241: 4 guilders
Abraham de Gamma	245: 4 guilders
Joao de Torres	1,392:19 guilders
Luis Dias	204: guilders
Davit Israel	52: 6 guilders
Jacob Baruch	950: guilders
Gasp. Franco da Costa	338: 2 guilders
Isacq Gracel	303:15 guilders
Diogo Dias Brandao	244: guilders
Moses Nahamias d'Castro	129:12 guilders
Abraham da Costa	129:12 guilders
Abraham de Vries (Jewishness uncertain)	259: 4 guilders
Abr. Aboaffe	178:16 guilders
Jacob Levi Solam	268: 4 guilders
Jacob Levi Pereira	167:12 guilders
Andre Lopes	266: 4 guilders
Daniel Habilho	30: guilders
Franco Rodrigues	94: guilders
Isacq Pacheco	32: guilders
Davit Gabaij d'Maris	65: guilders
Abraham Calvo	10: guilders
Isacq Bourges	60: guilders
Luis da Costa	558: guilders
Gabriel Castanha	80: guilders
Israel da Cunha	78: guilders
Joao de Fonseca	63: guilders

see also Bloom, *ibid.*

That the Jews were not only merchants, sugar planters and refiners, brokers and petty traders is clear from a reference to a certain Jewish engineer, Balthazer d'Affonseca, who built a bridge for Johan Maurits in 1640, connecting Recife with Mauricia. The cost of the bridge was estimated at 240,000 guilders but was finished in wood rather than stone for 128,000 guilders. The engineer was a Marrano who had lived in Brazil before 1628. He, his son and grandchildren openly confessed Judaism when the Dutch established themselves in the country.⁵⁶

In the same year we also hear of a Jew, Bento Enriquez, apparently a prospector, who succeeded in arousing the interest of the Supreme Council (the governing body of Brazil) by the discovery of a great secret, "possibly a gold mine". For the uncertain information he demanded a fairly large sum, also half of the future profits. After some negotiations, he made a contract with the Council of the "Nineteen" (the executive body of the West India Company) and took a sample from the mine to Pernambuco which contained sulphur and lead and was of no great value.⁵⁷

Anxious to offer every concession to colonists the Dutch government fostered a liberal policy with regard to Jewish trades and occupations in its colonial domains. On April 7, 1645, the West India Company granted a certain Michael Cardoso, "Portuguese of the Jewish nation" permission to practice law in Brazil. The Supreme Council of New Holland recoiled at the thought of a Jew functioning in this capacity. It refused to recognize his right to practice. At Cardoso's behest the Jews of Amsterdam interceded with the West India Company on his behalf. As a result the Company wrote the Supreme Council, on August 11, 1645, criticizing their intolerant behavior and insisting that Cardoso be accorded the right to practice his profession.⁵⁸ It is significant that the intercession of Amsterdam Jewry carried sufficient weight to induce the government of Brazil to retract its refusal.

Since the West India Company was remiss in sending necessities to the colony, some Jewish traders in Brazil utilized their connections

⁵⁶ Calado, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 151. Barlaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.

⁵⁸ Bloom, *ibid.*

with their co-religionists in Amsterdam to furnish New Holland with provisions and stores.⁵⁹

Clearly both the Amsterdam and Brazilian Jews participated in the chief commercial activities of the colony. There were doubtless still other types of endeavor in which they took part. The minutes of the Portuguese congregation in Brazil mention Jewish privateers, beside tobacco merchants and real estate dealers.⁶⁰

The Christian merchants of Brazil often gave vent to their prejudice against the Jews. Clerics also were active in spreading the poison of bigotry. As early as December, 1637, some of the old Portuguese settlers petitioned victorious Holland either to expel the Jews or, if this were not feasible, at least to restrict their activities and not to accord them more privileges than they possessed in Holland. Especially should they be forbidden to carry on retail trade which was prohibited in the mother country. The usual calumnies were heaped upon them. They were accused of sharp practice, trickery and frequent bankruptcy. Curiously enough, the names of some of the signatories might be considered Jewish.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Extracts uit het register der Resolutien van de Hoog Mo. Heeren Staten Generaal der Verenigde Nederlanden*, beginning 1649, ending 1651 in *Papers relating to Brazil* in the Library of Congress. See also Bloor, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff. We find that in January, 1650, Simon and Louis Rodrigues de Sousa (main participants in the West India Company, see p. 126 and Isaac Mocat, "burghers and merchants of Amsterdam", ask the States General that the receiver general be authorized to accept and pay a certain bill of exchange which the Supreme Council of Brazil drew, in November, 1649, on the Receiver in the matter of the purchase of provisions. The sum is 39,713 guilders 6 stuivers. The receiver is authorized to pay the sum at the maturity "out of the aforementioned twelve hundred thousand guilders set aside for help to Brazil." February 22, 1650, we have another request from De Sousa and Mocat to pay the bill, now before maturity, "in consideration of the fact that they have purchased provisions to the amount of the said sum for the purpose of sending the same to Brazil at the earliest date." Six days later they repeated their request. The States General decided to pay them half because it was shown clearly "that they have, pursuant to their promise, sent to Brazil provisions and supplies for the half of the aforesaid sum." Hester Torres, widow of David Dias, David Nannes (Nunes?) and Moses de Aulva, "all burghers and residents for many years in Amsterdam", asked the States General for acceptance and payment of two bills of exchange, one for 6,000 guilders and the other was 4,316 guilders, drawn by the Council of Brazil, December 10, 1649. On May 29, 1650, it was decided to pay these bills of exchange because the money was due "the Portuguese merchants of Brazil for and on account of the provisions that were dispatched."

⁶⁰ Documents elucidating these activities have not as yet come to our attention.

⁶¹ F. A. de Varnhagen, *Historia General do Brazil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1926?, p. 166, pp. 316-323. The petition is dated December 5, 1637, signed by Jacques Stack, Gasper Dias Ferera, Francisco de Brito, Pereyra, Guilhelme Duncar, Joaõ Caniero de Mariz. The signatories spoke of the Jews as being enemies of "Christ, our Savior". This indicates naturally that Ferera, Pereyra and de Brito, who might have been of Jewish racial origin, were New Christians, loyal to their adopted creed.

In order to discuss various difficulties which had arisen in the colony, Governor Johan Maurits convoked a meeting of the people at Recife on September 4, 1640. The representatives from the captaincy of Parahyba desired that "the Jews residing there who came by vessels directly from Holland to the harbor of their city, now called Frederika, should be expelled".⁶² It is interesting to speculate as to whether this demand for the expulsion of the Dutch Jews was prompted by the oppression of the Jewish tax farmer or was due to jealousy of Jewish sugar mill owners in that captaincy. In any event the Council gave the demand short shrift. However, the Christian population did not rest content. In 1641 sixty-six Christian merchants wrote a letter to the Governor and Supreme Council of Brazil. They bemoaned their unfortunate position as they were given the leavings rejected by the despised Jews. They protested that in recent years' shiploads of poor Jews had come to the colony and enriched themselves at the Christians' expense. Wealthy Jewish residents, controlling the sugar trade, gave all the best positions to their newly arrived co-religionists. Everywhere else in the world "this cheating and dishonest race is compelled to wear distinguishing signs on their clothing to show their inferiority." In Brazil the tables were turned. Israel was the favored nation while the followers of the true faith were forced into a subordinate place. They insist that the Jews be barred from the practice of brokerage and retail trade. The Governor supported this petition in a letter to the "Nineteen" but the complaint was not heeded.⁶³

During the last three years of Count Johan Maurits' tenure of office (1641-1644) there were bad sugar harvests. Cognizant of the situation, the governor did not insist upon immediate payment of the instalments of sugar due on the mills. As the West India Company was constantly in need of money, it resented the governor's leniency. To show its displeasure, it refused to grant his wish in the matter of more troops. In 1642 he requested permission to retire, but did not depart until 1644.

It is indicative of the admiration of the Jewish settlers in Mauricia (the governor's residence) that they offered Maurits a yearly sti-

⁶² P. Souto Maior, *Faustos Pernambucos*, Rio de Janeiro, 1913, pp. 41 ff., and J. Hygino, "Actos da Assembleia geral em 1640, *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico e Geográfico*, Pernambuco, 1886.

⁶³ Bloom, op. cit., p. 74. Among the signatures of the petitioners is the name Daniel de Joode (the Jew)!

pend of 3,000 guilders if he would remain in the colony.⁶⁴ They thanked him for his moderation towards them and for his tolerance in matters of their religion. May 6, 1644, the governor convoked a farewell gathering at which Jews were also present. He thanked the convocation for their cooperation and service to the West India Company. The Jews offered the Count 600,000 guilders for his residence "Vrijburg" which they purposed to transform into a synagogue.⁶⁵ On May 23, 1644, Johan Maurits left New Holland.

A year after his departure, rumblings of a rebellion against the Dutch in Brazil became more distinct. There were two chief ingredients in the ferment which incited the rebellion. The Catholics chafed under the religious persecution of their Protestant masters. They knew that if the Portuguese reconquered the land Catholic hegemony would be re-established and Jewish privileges curtailed.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the bad sugar harvests precipitated an economic crisis. The West India Company refused to realize that the colonists could not pay their instalments of sugar because of the poor crops. The Jews, although economically as badly off as the other inhabitants, were eager to insure continued Dutch rule and its relatively tolerant government. They, therefore, did all in their power to check any anti-Dutch agitation which might undermine the Company's prestige.

Some measure of the economic plight of the Jews is indicated by the fact that one of the most important among them, Jorgo Homen Pinto, who owned 370 slaves and 1,000 oxen, besides nine sugar mills, was not in a position to meet his financial obligations. His debts amounted to 937,977 guilders 13 stuivers, of which he owed the West India Company about 700,000 guilders. In view of his economic plight and his importance in New Holland, the Company, not wishing to cripple his financial operations and thereby injure the

⁶⁴ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, pp. 128-129. Netscher, op. cit., p. 127. Bloom, op. cit., pp. 60 ff. The letter with the offer is signed by Duarte Saryua, Josef Athias, Benjamin de Pina, Isaque Catanha, Isak da Costa, Jacob Macata, Miguel Rios Mendes, Jacob Moos Aaharon Nheto, Isaque Semah and Abraham Abenaka. See also Barlaeus, op. cit., p. 371.

⁶⁵ Nieuwhof, op. cit., pp. 57-58. Luzac, op. cit., I, pp. 330 ff. *Journal ofte Kort Discours nopens de Rebelle en verradelijsche Desseynen der Portugezen alhier in Brail voorgenomen 't welck in Juni 1643 is ontdeckt ende wat verder daer nae gepassert is tot den 28 April, 1647*. Bloom, *ibid.*, N. G. van Kampen, *Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten Europa*, Haarlem, 1831-1833, I, p. 428. P. Moreau, *Les derniers guerres en Brézil*, Paris, 1611, states that the Christians prevented the sale because they did not wish Jews to possess this residence.

⁶⁶ Bloom, op. cit., p. 76.

colony, accepted his proposal to assume his debts. He offered his sugar mills as collateral for the total amount of his debt to the Company, plus what it assumed. The Company was aware that it had heightened the seriousness of Pinto's financial embarrassment by selling him slaves on credit at exorbitant prices. In a like manner the Company found it advantageous to assume the debts of Manuel Fernando Cruz, another sugar mill owner, among whose creditors were many Jews. Besides his mills Joan de Mendosa and Manuel Gomes de Lisboa offered the Company additional collateral for Cruz' debt.⁶⁷ Jorgo Homen Pinto and Manuel Fernando Cruz were not the only mill owners assisted by the Company. The total of the debts for which the Company accepted responsibility amounted to 2,125,807 guilders. Had it not been for the ensuing revolt of the Portuguese, the mill owners would have been able to pay their debts in sugar installments and these financial arrangements would doubtless have been a success. It is apparent from the above figures that Pinto's debt was nearly 33 per cent of the total obligation of all the sugar mill owners to the Company. The sum of the indebtedness of all the colonists due the Company on December 31, 1645, comprised 22,370,167 guilders 10 stuivers.⁶⁸ Many of the debtors have names which may be Jewish.

The large debt would seem to corroborate the impression conveyed by reports of that time that the rebellion against the Dutch was stimulated by the enormous indebtedness of the colonists to the

⁶⁷ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, pp. 209-210. See also Bloom, op. cit., p. 77 and Appendix C, pp. 112ff. This appendix shows that Pinto's debt to the Company is said to be 1,245,160 guilders in 1661. Nieuhof, op. cit., pp. 43-51. The names of Cruz' Jewish creditors are:

Benjamin de Pina	10,600 guilders
Isaac da Costa	13,108 guilders
Joseph Abenacar	490 guilders
Abraham Aboaff	900 guilders
Symon de Vale (Jewishness uncertain)	325 guilders
Gaspar Francisco and David Brandaol	133 guilders
Abraham de Touzer (Jewishness uncertain)	1,000 guilders
Joan Parente (Jewishness uncertain)	350 guilders
John de Mendonca de Moeribeca (Jewishness uncertain)	4,350 guilders
Jacob Gabay	1,010 guilders
More de Leon	600 guilders
Balthasar de Fonseca	600 guilders
Simon Gomes de Lisboa	1,910 guilders
Bartholomeus Rodrigues	900 guilders
Daniel Cardoza	210 guilders

41,126 guilders

⁶⁸ Nieuhof, op. cit., pp. 229, 18 and 29. Bloom, op. cit., p. 78.

Company. A contemporary informs us that many of the colonists made large purchases from the Company in the expectation that Portugal would recapture Brazil thus abrogating their contracts with the Company.⁶⁹ The West India Company allowed debtors to settle their accounts in kind but deducted 18 per cent of the value of all deliveries, also issuing "ordinances", which cost the debtors another 30 per cent. This 48 per cent charge on the payment of all debts was ruinous. Some Jews trafficked in "ordinances" to their profit, and were said to have shared their gains with the Company.⁷⁰

The old Portuguese settlers who wavered in their allegiance to the Dutch were drawn to the possibility of Portuguese rule, hoping that it might in some way mitigate their dire financial condition. In any case it would free them from Calvinist bigotry. Some of them insisted that they did not desire to live in regions inhabited by Netherlanders or Jews. The governor of Bahia, Telles da Silva, blamed the Jews for the estrangement obtaining between Portuguese and Dutch inhabitants of the country.

The West India Company, in keeping with its policy of gaining large profits for the least possible expenditure, neglected the defense and administration of Brazil. Rumors of the revolt reached the Dutch government, who took up the matter with the Portuguese ambassador Francisco de Souza Coutinho, whereupon he gave his assurance that the rebellious colonials received no support from Portugal. In truth, however, the Portuguese government, anxious to regain its lost possessions, made every effort to support the rebels secretly, and thus weaken the Dutch position.⁷¹

Most of the Jews rallied to the Dutch, supporting them with money and counsel. On July 8, 1645, Sebastio Carvalho, Jorgo Homen Pinto and others complained to the Bishop of Bahia that Joao Fernandez Vieira, the leader of the revolt, destroyed everything in his track. "The Hollanders have always been good masters and we still owe them allegiance". In spite of their professed admiration for the Dutch, a few, Jorgo Homen Pinto among them, joined the rebellious

⁶⁹Nieuwhof, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 and 45.

⁷⁰J. le Clerc, *Négociations secrètes touchant la Paix de Munster, et d'Osmebrug*, The Hague, 1725-1726, under the heading "Extrait de plusieurs lettres et écrits touchant la Rebellion des Portugais unis dans le Brésil avec la Hollande", IV, pp. 533 ff.

⁷¹"Stukken uit het Archief Van Hilten", *Kroniek van het Historisch genootschap Utrecht*, III, 1870, pp. 384 ff. Waesjen, *Brazilien*, pp. 35 and 152 ff. Bloom, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff.

forces, either from fear of the Inquisition in the event of Portuguese victory, or because of a proclamation issued by Vieira, assuring foreigners and Jews the same privileges as they enjoyed under Dutch rule and absolving them of their debts to the Dutch. A salary equal to that paid by the Dutch West India Company was promised them.⁷²

Towards the end of 1645 Recife was besieged by the enemy. There were 5,000 Jews in Recife alone. Two conflicting reports exist as to their economic condition during this siege. The agony of the prolonged siege is vividly depicted by contemporaries. Rabbi Aboab, who was an eye witness of the horrors, wrote a poem describing them.⁷³ Moses Navarro, contractor of the "balance" complained that the war prevented him from making his monthly payments to the government. He mentioned the extreme poverty among the Jews and that respectable persons had resigned themselves to live on charity and were, therefore, unable to pay their debts to the Company. We find that Caspar Nuys and Jacob Franson, Jewish merchants, requested three months freedom from debtor's prison. They were granted this liberty with the consent of their creditors because of abnormal conditions. That some Jews had resources which they did not yield without a struggle is indicated by the fact that several of them who refused to deliver oil and wine for the use of the Company were forced to do so.⁷⁴

Conditions grew increasingly worse in Recife. The city was overcrowded. Food had never been abundant and the surrounding country had never yielded sufficient produce completely to satisfy the inhabitants. Even under normal conditions the people depended partly upon

⁷² Waetjen, *Brasilien*, pp. 141 and 210. de Jesus, *Castriolo Lusitano*, Paris, 1844, p. 210.

⁷³ The MS is to be found in the Livraria Montezinos, Amsterdam. Kayserling, "Isaac Aboab, the first Jewish Author in America", *PAJHS*, V, 1897, pp. 125 ff. and Haggare, III, 1902, corrections to the text from the MS among Oppenheim's papers. de Jesus, op. cit., pp. 459-475.

⁷⁴ The guilty ones were:

Moses de Leon	1800 cans of oil	1400 cans of wine
Jacob Carillo	1200 cans of oil	800 cans of wine
Jacob Navarro	300 cans of oil	1000 cans of wine
Jacob Valverde	500 cans of oil	200 cans of wine
Solomon Mosafia	200 cans of oil	2800 cans of wine
Andries Heim		3000 cans of wine
Isaac da Costa		3000 cans of wine
Jacob Drago		1000 cans of wine
Jeronimo de Hano Gebraude		1000 cans of wine

At the same time the Company bought 2,800 yards of linen for ten stuivers a yard, payable in cash, from Moses d'Oliveira. Bloom, op. cit., p. 88.

the foodstuffs imported from the mother country. All supplies were cut off by land and the hoped-for ships were long in coming. So great was the suffering in Recife that neither rich nor poor could obtain food. The burghers had to forego their bread because the Supreme Council allotted the remaining flour to the garrison lest the soldiers' threat of desertion be carried out. On June 21, 1646, the Supreme Council, in desperation, wrote the Company, asking when the long promised ships would arrive. The day after this communication was written, the "Falcon" and the "Elisabeth" entered the harbor of Recife bringing relief to the sorely tried city.⁷⁵ The rest of the Dutch fleet, comprising a force of 2,000 men, among whom were five newly appointed members of the Supreme Court, gradually reached its destination. A Portuguese writer relates: "The States General came to its (Recife's) aid with their best vessels, the Company with its best people and the Jews with the greatest gifts".⁷⁶

The relief brought to Recife in June, 1646 was of short duration. The new governing body conducted an investigation of bribery charges directed against certain members of the old Supreme Court, especially Bulstrate and Hamel. Some brokers, most of whom were Jews (Elias Burgos, Moizes, Aaron and Jacob Navarro, Abraham Aboaff, David Jeseron, Abraham Cohen and others) had tried to bribe these members in return for favors to their clients, among whom were Jorgo Homen Pinto, Luiz Guimmarais, Balthasar de Fonseca, Abraham Tapper and others.⁷⁷

The Council, however, had little time for the concerns of peace. At the turn of 1646 the enemy became more active. They began to infest the entire region around Recife, but, because of the Dutch Brazilian fleet, the city remained obdurate for more than six years. However, when Holland was threatened with an English war in 1653, most of the fleet was called home and Recife was left badly defended. In that year it sent representatives to Holland to submit a report of the dire conditions in New Holland. The Jew, Abraham d'Assevedo was among those asked to represent Brazilian interest. He was probably sent in the hope of soliciting more aid from the Amsterdam Jews who might exercise additional influence upon the government. Among

⁷⁵ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, p. 149. Nieuhof, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁷⁶ de Jesus, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

⁷⁷ Bloom, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

other things, he and his Christian colleagues requested that "the Jews there (in Brazil) be not treated otherwise than according to the Charter of their High Mightinesses," dated December 7, 1645.⁷⁸ However, d'Assevedo discovered that his associates, unbeknown to him, had petitioned the West India Company to limit the rights and privileges of the Jews, especially with reference to carrying on retail trade and plying handicrafts. It is striking, that even under the pressure of the critical situation, the Christian Brazilian representatives took the trouble to undermine Jewish prestige. This may indicate something of the importance of Jewish competition in New Holland. D'Assevedo submitted that he was unaware of the request, and asked that it should not be considered, since such curtailments of Jewish rights would hamper business in Brazil, prevent Jewish immigration, and induce the present Jewish inhabitants to leave. For the welfare of both the country and the Company d'Assevedo pointed out that it was important to adopt measures to increase the population in the colony rather than diminish it by imposing restrictions on the colonists. The petitioner respectfully called the attention of the Company to the fact that Jews had fought valiantly in the colony and had suffered much loss of life and property. He further remarked that Jewish aid had prevented the remainder of the country from being surrendered to the enemy and that no Jew had deserted to the foe.⁷⁹ The Amsterdam community filed a special petition to the "Nineteen" supporting d'Assevedo's request and asking them not to heed the notice which Heusen and Hamel were presenting at the behest of the government of Recife. When information of the proceedings in Amsterdam reached the Jewish congregation in Recife the Parnassim of the community asked the Brazilian government whether they were responsible for the action of Hamel and Heusen. The government replied that it had not given its two Christian representatives instructions detrimental to Jews.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ "Notulen" of the "Nineteen", September 9, 1653, in Dutch West India Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, abstract in handwriting of Hans Bontemantel, who was burgomaster of Amsterdam about that time. Bloom, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁷⁹ This is not true according to others, see p. 140.

⁸⁰ Bloom, *ibid.* The following petitions are in the archives of the West India Company (Rijksarchief, The Hague). D'Assevedo's application to the Company for the relief of the Jews in Brazil, dated September 20, 1653, and "Reason, in brief, why those of the Jewish Nation who until now sojourned in Brazil as well as those who may wish to settle there, may be duly permitted to enjoy the same liberties as all other inhabitants in duty bound to the Chartered West India Company", dated The Hague, September 26,

The date of d'Assevedo's return to Brazil is unknown but in 1659 there is a notice of a reward of 175 guilders paid him by the West India Company "for damages he had suffered, for services rendered in the past, and still being rendered in Brazil."⁸¹

The efforts of the Recife government to obtain the necessary aid from the mother country proved futile. By January 25, 1654, it was forced to negotiate with the Portuguese and two days later Vieira entered the city as victor. The Dutch had lost New Holland.

Many Jews left the colony when the Portuguese took over the reigns of government as they did not wish to be under Portuguese domination. A considerable number of the Dutch Jews returned to Amsterdam with the Rabbis Aboab and Aguilar. However, Jewish connections between Amsterdam and Brazil were not entirely severed. Jeronimo Nunes da Costa of Amsterdam was given general power of attorney for the deputies of the Portuguese Brazilian Company in August, 1659. He, in turn, empowered a certain individual to liquidate and adjust the business relations of Rodrigo Arias Brandon of Rouen with that Company.⁸² Some of the Jews who did not return, settled in other parts of America bringing with them their knowledge of sugar culture and trade.

On August 6, 1661, Holland made peace with Portugal. She received 8,000,000 guilders for damages and finally relinquished New Holland and her holdings in Angola. The agreement guaranteed free trade and the right of the Dutch to settle in all Portuguese colonies.⁸³

E. CURAÇAO AND ST. EUSTATIUS

Curaçao was conquered by the Dutch in 1634. Prior to the peace of Westphalia in 1648, this island eagerly carried on smuggling, chief-

1653. In the same packet is the letter from the "Jewish Nation" of Amsterdam, signed Mosseh del Guede, Implidilon Rivo, Dr. Ephraim Joseph beune livas, Abraham Abazle, Jacob de lievere, and Jacob Bellem. The request of the Jewish community in Brazil is to be found in the "Notulen" of Brazil.

⁸¹ "Notulen" of the "Nineteen". Ibid. Probably one of his relatives, David Salom d'Assevedo, borrowed 10,000 guilders in Recife from Juan de la Faya on October 21, 1661. MS, Padthuyssen, 2890.

⁸² MS, Padthuyssen, 2888.

⁸³ A copy of a manifesto published by the States General on December 7, 1645, regarding the rights of Jewish subjects, especially in Brazil and a copy of the Minutes of the Dutch West India Company in 1663 have been found by the late Samuel Oppenheim and have been published by Bloom, op. cit., Appendix A, pp. 103 ff. The documents contain a list of debtors to the West India Company in Brazil after 1653. Once more the difficulty of establishing certain names as Jewish confronts us.

ly in contraband. For many years the settlers were more interested in this traffic than they were in tilling the soil.

Sixteen years after the conquest 12 Jewish families were given free passage to Curaçao by the Dutch government, in order to cultivate the land. They possessed letters to the governor, Matthias Beck, directing him to furnish them with sufficient land and oxen, and to loan them slaves.⁸⁴ Large tracts of land were assigned them two miles north of Willemstad. This little band never attained the power and influence of their coreligionists in Brazil.

In spite of the privileges granted, the Jews labored under difficulties, as they were looked upon with prejudice and treated as aliens. Evidently those first Jewish settlers did not bring success to the colony as the West India Company wrote to Peter Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, in March, 1651, that they seriously considered abandoning Curaçao which had not proven a source of revenue. They were willing, however, to make one more experiment under the leadership of Jan de Illan, who formerly lived in Brazil until he was denounced for Judaizing.

A second grant of privileges dated February 22, 1652 was given to Joseph Nunes de Fonseca (de Nassy).⁸⁵ They were allotted two leagues for every fifty families and were allowed to choose their own land along the coast. They were also privileged to live tax-free for ten years, as the Company hoped that this group would bring the long awaited prosperity. To facilitate matters, the settlers were also guaranteed religious freedom and tolerance, provided they or their slaves did not work on Sunday.⁸⁶ By the end of 1652 Illan and his followers

⁸⁴ The families were: De Meza, Aboab, Pereira, de Leon, La Parra, Touro, Aboab Cardoze, Jeurun, Marchena, Chaviz, Oleviera, Henriques Cutinho. J. M. Corcos, *A Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao, from the day of their settlement to the present time, Curaçao, 1897*, p. 7. A. M. Chumaceiro, *Toetspraak ter gelegenheid van den 50-jarigen hereniging van Curaçao met Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1850. G. H. Cone, "The Jews in Curaçao", *PAJHS*, X, 1902, p. 142.

⁸⁵ Cone, *op. cit.*, p. 143. E. B. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State*, XVII, Albany, 1865, Curaçao Paper, p. 329: "Grant to Joseph Nunes de Fonseca, alias David Nassy of a Colony on the Island of Curaçao", February 22, 1652.

⁸⁶ This contract was probably the first charter of religious liberties granted the Jews in the New World. Notwithstanding its supposedly tolerant attitude the Company wrote Stuyvesant on April 4, 1652, that they (the Jews of Curaçao) were a crafty and generally treacherous people in whom not much confidence must be placed". It further stated: "time must show whether we shall succeed well with this nation". Cone, *ibid.* It is strange that the Company's attitude towards the Jews in Recife (see pp. 130 ff.) was different from its policy towards the Jews of Curaçao. In Recife the Company was eager to recognize Jewish rights and took pains to praise the Jews.

had progressed considerably, but instead of tilling the soil as their contract stipulated, they were clearing the island of logwood and were carrying on a trade in wood, and in horses, with the Caribbean islands. Horses were necessary to the work of those sugar mills which were not driven by water power. Most of the horses were illegally imported from New England, as the transport from Europe was too precarious. If the animals survived the voyage it took them months to become adjusted to the climate. Jews were very active in this horse smuggling.⁸⁷

We know very little about Illan's subsequent activity. However, he was bankrupt before 1660. In May of that year Antonio Hidalgo, alias Jacob Cortisis met Jan (Joan) de Illan in Amsterdam. Illan referred to a lawsuit with Diego Daguirre, alias David Mendes, of Antwerp. On October 22, and November 29, 1660, Mendes authorized Cortisis to obtain the right from the Amsterdam Committee in charge of bankruptcy to examine Illan's books in order to inspect the account of Jan de Illan and Mendes from 1641 until 1656. The request was refused, whereupon, Mendes asked permission to examine Illan's ledger covering the period from 1640 to 1645.⁸⁸

A declaration, drawn up in Amsterdam on October 6, 1660, shows that Jews carried on an inter-island trade in live stock. David Saraya Coronel of Amsterdam, representing Abraham Ysaac Pereyra of Curaçao, complained that the skipper of a galleon "d'Oud Vader Abraham" (the Old Father Abraham) was responsible for the death of 21 horses, part of a cargo which he transported from the Island Aruba to Curaçao. The skipper also sold sugar on the different islands on his voyage, thereby delaying the trip and jeopardizing the health of the animals.⁸⁹

The emphasis on trade was detrimental to agriculture and was considered contrary to the interest of New Netherlands which was regarded by the West India Company as the chief commercial center.⁹⁰ The directors of the Company made an attempt to prohibit trade in Curaçao and also to curtail slave trade in violation of the West India Company's monopoly rights. Therefore, in 1653, the Jews were for-

⁸⁷ See letter of the Governor of Surinam, Van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck, to the Directors of the Society of Surinam, January, 1684, in archive material of R. Bijlams, *Suriname's Handelsbeweging, 1683-1712*, The Hague, 1922, p. 2.

⁸⁸ MS, Padthuyzen, 2889.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ See pp. 165 ff.

bidden to buy any more negro slaves. Furthermore, the governor of Curaçao complained that the Jews were carrying on smuggling with Venezuela and the Greater Antilles, and that they charged too much for goods they traded in, remonstrating that they demanded three times the price asked for the same article in Holland. The Jews, on the other hand, complained that their trade was hindered and that they were not granted enough privileges.⁹¹

As we have said before, the Jews utilized their contacts with Spain, Portugal, and the Iberian colonies to further their own commercial interests. They carried on trade between Amsterdam and the Spanish possessions, either in the capacity of merchant or middleman. A Spaniard, very often a Marrano, was given an interest in the cargo of a Dutch ship, trading with the Dutch and Spanish colonies. The Spaniard, because of his nationality, was free to act as the ship's representative in an enemy port. When the ship made for Dutch waters the supercargo, a Dutchman, carried on the business there. For example, a certain Bartholome de la Cruz of Cadiz, who had given power of attorney to Abraham Drago of Amsterdam on June 9, 1660, had part interest in the cargo of the "Anthonio", which was manned, equipped, and provisioned for him by Balthasar Jacob of Amsterdam. The whole cargo was worth from 50,000 to 60,000 guilders. De la Cruz was to get six per cent on all his sales, besides permission to traffic in slaves on his own account. The ship was to go from Texel (Holland) to the Canary Islands, from there to Curaçao, and thence to the islands Coro Ambo, Santo Domingo, and back to Holland. Doubtless one way in which the Dutch merchants evaded the West India Company's slave monopoly was by employing a Spaniard to trade in slaves in his own name.⁹²

In spite of regulations to the contrary, the Jews carried on a trade with Isaac de Fonseca of the English colony of Barbados. When the governor of Curaçao protested de Fonseca threatened to turn his trade from Curaçao to Jamaica. The authorities wisely decided to

⁹¹ Cone, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 ff.

⁹² The MS is dated April 13, 1661. Its purport is a protest by de la Cruz that Jacob had not lived up to the terms of a contract made with him. He claimed that he was hindered in trading operations. On April 12, on August 18, and 24, and on December 1, 1661, Drago produced several witnesses from the ship's crew to justify de la Cruz' claim. On August 25, 1661, Drago named Jacob Martens of Middelburg to represent him and to receive and sell all the ship's cargo in order to obtain de la Cruz' share. MSS, Padthuisen, 2889, 2890.

be lenient. Peter Stuyvesant complained that the Jews of Curaçao had obtained more rights from the Company than Dutch subjects in New Netherlands as the "usurious and covetous Jews" had managed to persuade the Company once more to allow them to purchase Negroes.⁹³

All these difficulties and disagreements would have brought ruin to the colony, had not a number of Jewish fugitives from Brazil started to plant sugar and tobacco and to further legal trade with New Netherlands and the mother country. To cite an instance or two, there is a bill of lading, December, 1658, showing that Mordeky Enriquez (Henriquez) in New Netherlands, received Venetian pearls, thimbles, scissors, knives, bells, and other articles from Curaçao.⁹⁴ Colonial Jews had representatives in Holland. David Nassy and Abraham Rodrigues Prado were represented in Amsterdam by Isack Drago and Abraham Nunes d'Espinosa. The latter, together with Abraham Cohen, Antonio Luis, David Dias Antunes and Abraham Henriques, all of Amsterdam, freighted the ship "De Stadt Hamburg" (The City of Hamburg). The vessel was to go from Amsterdam to Cayenne, from there to Curaçao and back to Amsterdam.⁹⁵ The Amsterdam representatives saw to it that ships bound for the West Indies brought goods from Europe which their employers sold in the colonies. They sent colonial products to Europe, which were disposed of by their agents.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century Jews were well established in Curaçao. Among them were successful sugar planters and merchants. In 1656 they had founded a congregation in Willemstad under the direction of the Sephardic community of Amsterdam. Eighteen years later the first rabbi, Josiah Pardo, son of the well-known Amsterdam rabbi, David Pardo, was called to the colony. In 1692 the small wooden synagogue no longer sufficed and a new one was completed in 1707. This too had to be enlarged in 1731 which is an indication that the community had grown in numbers and prosperity. By 1750 the number of Jews had increased to about

⁹³ O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁹⁵ The MS is dated, April 13, 1661. Bloom, "The Dutch Archives with Special Reference to American Jewish History", *PAJHS*, XXXII, 1931, p. 16. From other sources, see p. 153, we know that Abraham Nunes d'Espinosa is the son of Abraham Rodrigues Prado.

two thousand. At that time they possessed the most beautiful houses in Willemstad and the finest lands on the island. There were prosperous merchants among them and some who occupied positions of importance in the government. In 1722 the Governor Noah du Fay appointed the Jew, David Senior, to an important civil office.⁹⁶ A story has it that 53 ships, bound for Holland, left Curaçao on the same day, most of the cargoes of these ships being the property of Jews.⁹⁷

In 1740 a second Jewish congregation was formed. Some German Jews came to Curaçao in the eighteenth century but there were never enough of them to organize a separate congregation of their own.⁹⁸

The small island of St. Eustatius became Dutch in 1632. It was ruled by the government of Curaçao. The land was fertile and produced a considerable amount of sugar. It suffered the precarious fate of many of the other colonies falling first into English, then into French, and in 1815 again into Dutch hands. It is still a Dutch possession. St. Eustatius was favorably located for smuggling goods into the insurgent North American colonies. This trade was very profitable for the Dutch as gunpowder which cost 40 to 42 guilders in the mother country brought 240 guilders in St. Eustatius. We know of one Isaac van Dam, a merchant on the island, who was in constant correspondence with the American colonials. He took charge of the smuggling of ammunition. On one occasion he forwarded 4,000 pounds of powder to North Carolina in a single ship. In May, 1776, 18 Dutch vessels had already left the island to supply the 13 colonies. Although England was cognizant of this smuggling it was not until four years later that she was able to capture the island. The hardest measure of all was meted out to the Jews who formed the majority of the island's white population at that time. 101 Jews were ordered to evacuate the island within a day after its capitulation, leaving their wives and children behind. Before their departure they were assembled and searched. In that way the English confiscated £ 8,000. It was said that this abuse of Jews was perpetrated without the knowledge of the English government. The fugitives petitioned for a refund of their losses. They were supported in their claim by mer-

⁹⁶ Chumaceiro, I. c. Cone, I. c. Corcos, op. cit., p. 24.

⁹⁷ Chumaceiro, *ibid.*

⁹⁸ "Kerkelijke en Ambtsberichten", *JIN*, II, 1836, pp. 214-216.

chants of Amsterdam and London. The matter was debated in Parliament, but, meanwhile France had taken possession of the island which it held until 1815. The dire punishment of the Jews by the English indicates the active part which Jews played in smuggling ammunition to the rebellious colonies.⁹⁹

F. ESSEQUIBO

Another colony in which Jews played an important rôle was Essequibo, now part of British Guiana. In 1621 the Dutch had explored the Essequibo river with a view to settlements. The plan did not materialize at all extensively until 1658, when David Nassy was granted permission to settle the country with a group of Jewish colonists who had come from Brazil after the reconquest by Portugal. Several hundred slaves, necessary for sugar raising, were to be delivered to the colony which was founded along the banks of the Pomeroon river.

The Jewish settlers were given all the privileges accorded their co-religionists in Amsterdam. Furthermore, they were free from the payment of export duties and were not to be restricted from trading with the Indians for logwood. They were also to grow sugar.

The colony was called "Nova Zeelandia." The settlers assiduously applied themselves to sugar culture. On November 20, 1660, Philippe de Fuentes, a colonist from Brazil, wrote that the land in Essequibo was better than in Brazil.¹⁰⁰ In 1661 sugar from the colony was sold in the market of Middelburg. In the beginning of the same year 60,000 to 70,000 pounds of that product are said to have arrived in Amsterdam from "Nova Zeelandia".¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, the sugar plantations did not make the expected progress, because there were neither sufficient slaves nor enough kettles for the refineries. The colonists, particularly the Jews, threatened to leave if conditions were not bettered. On September 9, 1660, "there appeared Moses Netto in Amsterdam, saying that he had received letters from his brother-in-law (in Essequibo) asking in the name of the Jewish nation, whether the Committee is willing to keep

⁹⁹ J. F. Jameson, "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution", *The American Historical Review*, VIII, 1902-1903, pp. 688 ff. and 705 ff. van Kampen, *Nederlanders buiten Europa*, III, pp. 278 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Oppenheim, "Jewish Colony", *PAJHS*, XVI, 1907, pp. 95, 162, 170. P. M. Netscher, *Geschiedenis van de Kolonies Essequibo, Demerary en Berbice van de Vestiging der Nederlanders aldaar tot op onzen tijd*, The Hague, 1888, pp. 73 ff.

¹⁰¹ Oppenheim, *ibid.*

up the colony, otherwise, they are inclined to depart from there and abandon it". None of them, however, were permitted to leave without paying their debts to the colony.¹⁰²

During the second Anglo-Dutch war, (1665-1667), the English captured Essequibo and destroyed many plantations. Most of the fugitive Jews fled to Surinam which was then also under English rule. When in 1667 Essequibo and Surinam became Dutch, very few of the Jewish planters returned thither. In 1684 the commander of Nova Zeelandia wrote to the directors of the West India Company that a Jew, Salomon de la Roche, had died there and that he had been the only one who knew how to prepare the vanilla bean for the market.¹⁰³

In the eighteenth century we find a small number of Jews in the locality. Those Jews who had come to America, were already established in other colonies. The Jews from Holland who were desirous of moving to Essequibo on account of bad times at home were hindered by anti-Jewish restrictions. On April 15, 1773, the West India Company wrote to the director general of Essequibo that it was thought advantageous to settle Jews in the colonies. The director general replied on January 31, 1774, that he was unwilling to receive the Jews as he was afraid the country would be burdened with their poor. In September of the same year the Company responded that they did not consider the director general's reasons for excluding the Jews adequate, but they would not insist upon Jewish settlement in the colony of Essequibo for the present.¹⁰⁴

By 1776, many Jews had arrived in Essequibo despite the above mentioned correspondence. The director general's forebodings seemed to have been well founded. There was a danger that the colonies would become impoverished by the influx of many Jews who had

¹⁰² Ibid. We know that an Isack Soares from Bauronia in Essequibo wished to leave. This fact is stated by Abraham Haim and Manasse Gaon who returned from Nova Zeelandia and were in Amsterdam on March 31, 1660. They state that Isack Soares had taken care of a certain David Nunes of Hamburg when he was ill. When Soares wished to leave for the British colony of Barbados the Dutch authorities forbade it and insisted that he, Soares, pay the money owed by Nunes to the West India Company. It seems that the Dutch authorities did not wish Nunes to remain without Soares because of the former's illness as they held Soares responsible for Nunes' person and debts. As Soares could not afford to pay these obligations and take Nunes along, he and Nunes were compelled to stay in Nova Zeelandia. MS, Padthuyzen, 2889.

¹⁰³ Oppenheim, "Jewish Colony", *PAJHS*, XVI, 1907, p. 138.

¹⁰⁴ Netscher, op. cit., pp. 131 and 384 ff.

lost their money in the financial crises in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁵ In order to safeguard Essequibo the States General of Holland passed resolutions to the effect that no Jew without sufficient money to secure a plantation could settle in the city of Demarara or in other parts of the colony. The Parnassim of the Amsterdam communities protested referring to their rights as Dutch subjects which the Jews had received in 1657. The States General replied, however, that this right was only valid in Holland.¹⁰⁶

In 1796, after having changed hands three times Essequibo became part of British Guiana.

G. CAYENNE

As early as 1613 the Dutch founded a settlement in the Cayenne district but in 1653 the West India Company made a more serious attempt to colonize the region. As in the case of Essequibo and Curaçao David Nassy was given a grant to settle there with a group of Brazilian Jewish fugitives. Nassy and his associates were to act as patroons. The grant provided that they be accorded the same privileges as their co-religionists in Amsterdam. They were also permitted to live ten years tax free and to have a school of their own.¹⁰⁷

On October 5, 1659, several Amsterdam Jews, one the representative of David Nassy, sent a shipload of merchandise from there to Cayenne and Curaçao. Nassy evidently considered Cayenne safe enough for his daughter to live in as we hear that he freed a Negress who was to accompany her from Amsterdam to the colony.¹⁰⁸

However, it was by no means a peaceful haven, for it was continually harassed and devastated by French adventurers under the leadership of Baron Gerbier. The Dutch governor of Essequibo and Cayenne, Jan Claesz Langendijck, wishing to further his own interests and desirous of confining the region to the settlement of his own friends, acted as if the land were his personal possession and refused to allow Nassy's followers to settle anywhere but in the swampy regions on the mainland. This was not feasible, first, because the marshland could not be cultivated, and secondly, because the colonists would be too isolated to defend themselves against the attacks of

¹⁰⁵ See pp. 197 ff.

¹⁰⁶ Koenen, *op. cit.*, p. 223. The document is dated November 30, 1776. Wolff, *op. cit.*, BVGO, IV, 1910, pp. 382 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Oppenheim, "Jewish Colony", *PAJHS*, XVI, 1907, pp. 183 ff.

¹⁰⁸ The document is dated October 13, 1659. MS, Padthuyssen, 2888.

hostile Indians. The Dutch governor anxious to create prejudice against the Jews, accused them of devastating and pillaging the country, when in truth, this work of destruction was done by the French. That the governor knew where the guilt for pillage and destruction lay, is proven by the fact that he asked 2,000 guilders damages from the Baron.¹⁰⁹

Realizing the unfavorable conditions under which the new colony would be forced to live, Nassy and his friends were compelled to release the people who had contracted to work out their passage money in service to the Jewish colonists. The governor recognized that his abuses would be made known if he permitted the Jews to depart, especially since his own subjects chafed under his misrule. Hence he forced the newly arrived colonists to remain. Nassy and his friends empowered the captain of one of the transport ships and a certain Francisco van Daelen, who were witnesses to the injustice done, to plead their cause before the proper authorities in Amsterdam.¹¹⁰

A month after the difficulties of the Jews of Cayenne were made known at home, Abraham Rodrigues Prado sold one-sixth part of the land "which present grantor owns and has inherited in a Colony of Cayana or along the river of the mainland of the Wildcoast, in conformity with the grant given by the directors of the West India Company in the name of David Nassy and his associates, to David Nassy and Antonio Luis for 3,000 guilders." He was also to be released from a debt of 1,200 guilders and his son Abraham Nunes de Espinosa or representatives were to be granted certain privileges in the colony. The question arises whether Prado's sale of his share had anything to do with the difficulties in Cayenne.¹¹¹ Undoubtedly the complications were settled or in process of adjustment by September 23, 1660, for we find that Abraham Drago, Amsterdam merchant, had made a contract with Gabriel Lavella, also of Amsterdam, to till the former's share of land in the new colony. The contract stipulated that Lavella and his men were to be provided for during six months, that his and his companions' passages would be paid, that he would receive the tools necessary for cultivation and four slaves upon his arrival in Cayenne. He was also given 150 guilders upon signing the contract.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 2889. The MSS are dated March 10 and May 11, 1660. Bloom, *Dutch Archives*, pp. 17-18.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 19.

All these expenses were to be repaid to Drago from the yield of the land. The contract was to be valid for six years, or as much longer as would be required to pay the expenses. If at the end of a period of six years Lavella did not wish to continue under the terms of the contract, three-quarters of the land would belong to Drago and one-quarter to Lavella. It is not likely that Drago would pay the initial expense of sending men to cultivate his share of the land if it were not reasonably sure that Jews would be allowed to settle in desirable parts of the colony.¹¹²

Cayenne did not flourish, however, because of the oft-repeated forays by French soldiers. When, in 1664, the French took possession of the plantations, the settlers left for Surinam.

H. SURINAM

Holland's foremost colony in the West Indies is Surinam. There were Jews in the region before 1644 who had come there with many slaves from Brazil. There is a record of a marriage between Hacham Ishak Meatob and Jehudith, daughter of Jechiel Meatob on the 14th of Elul 5403 (1643). No mention is made of Jews in Surinam in the records of the States General of that time nor in the complete records of the "Hooge Raad" (High Court) for the year in question. However, in the archives of the Dutch Portuguese Jewish Congregation in Surinam there is evidence that Jews were resident there in 1639.¹¹³ We do not know exactly when the first Jewish fugitives from Brazil reached the colony as there is a gap in the records of the Company from 1646 to 1657.¹¹⁴ We know that when Recife fell in 1654 a group of Jews went from there and immigrated to the colony in question. It was then in English hands. Two years previously a number of English Jews had come to Surinam with Lord Willoughby.¹¹⁵

During the French attacks on Cayenne in 1664 many Jews fled to Surinam where they were received by their co-religionists and set-

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ M. D. Feenstra, *De Landbouw in de Kolonie Suriname*, Groningen, 1835, p. 24. Koenen, op. cit., pp. 283 ff. Netscher, *Kolonies Essequibo*, pp. 60 ff. F. Oudschans Dentz, *De Kolonisatie van de Portugeesch Joodsche Natie in Suriname*, Amsterdam, 1927, pp. 10 ff. J. Gompers, "The First Settling of Jews in Suriname", *American Hebrew*, LI, January 3, 1930, pp. 321 ff. Waetjen, *Das Judentum*, p. 45. P. A. Hilfman, "Some further Notes on the History of the Jews in Suriname", *PAJHS*, XVI, 1907, p. 9.

¹¹⁴ L. Storm van 's Gravensande, *The Rise of British Guiana*, London, 1911, I, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ It is said that only one white man was found there, possibly a Jew, his name was Jacob Enoch. Oudschans Dentz, op. cit., p. 11.

tioned among them in the Savannah, the Jewish section of the colony. Under English rule, the Jews were granted freedom of religion and all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed. They were considered full-fledged English subjects, participating in all the rights of Englishmen, and were not forced to appear in court on the Sabbath. All civil suits involving less than 10,000 pounds of sugar, were to be settled by the Dayanim whose decisions were respected by the authorities.¹¹⁶

In 1667, after the conclusion of the second Anglo-Dutch war, Surinam became a Dutch possession.¹¹⁷ In May, 1668 an inventory was made of the division "Thorarica" which counted nine plantations with 233 slaves, 55 sugar kettles, 106 head of cattle, and 28 white men; and six plantations with 181 slaves, 39 sugar kettles, and 66 animals. These plantations belonged to 18 Portuguese Jews. The heads were: Mesa, Pereira, da Costa, de Silva, Casseres, Alonza de Fonseca, and others.¹¹⁸

By the terms of the Anglo-Dutch treaty all English subjects, who desired to do so, were free to leave the colony. The prosperity of the Jewish inhabitants is attested by the fact that ten Jews with 322 slaves desired to migrate to Jamaica (an English possession). The Dutch governor, however, fearing injury to the prosperity of Surinam, detained them on the pretext that he had received instructions from the Netherlands, forbidding their departure. Finally, eight years after the treaty, in 1675, these families departed on two English ships.¹¹⁹

Leaders of the Jewish settlement sent a request to the West India Company, dated October 1, 1669, asking for a confirmation of the privileges which they had enjoyed under English rule.¹²⁰ They went so far as to demand that their slaves be permitted to work on

¹¹⁶ Kobus, "Who was the first Rabbi of Surinam?", *PAJHS*, V, 1897, pp. 120 ff.

¹¹⁷ F. M. Janiçon, *De tegenwoordige Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, The Hague, 1731-1732, pp. 249 ff. David de la C. Nassy, *Essai Historique sur la Colonie de Surinam*, Amsterdam, 1789, II, pp. 49-57.

¹¹⁸ Gompers, *ibid.* Oudschans Dentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.

¹¹⁹ J. H. Hollander, "Documents related to the attempted departure of the Jews from Surinam in 1675", *PAJHS*, VI, 1897, pp. 9-29. *JE*, XII, article *West Indies*, by V. R. Emanuel, pp. 508-510. According to the *Essai Historique*, II, p. 127, these families left two years later.

¹²⁰ The leaders were: David Nassy, Isaac Pareyra, Isaac Arrias, Henrique de Caseres, Raphael Aboab, Samuel Nassy, Isaac R. de Prado, Aron de Silva, Alana di Fonseca, Isaac Mezo, Daniel Messiach, Jacob Nunes, Isaac Gabay Cid, Isaak da Costa, Isaac Drago, Bento da Costa. Nassy, *Essai Historique*, I, 2, p. 134 and p. 113 ff. Oppenheim, "Jewish Colony", *PAJHS*, VI, 1907, pp. 181 ff.

Sunday. Furthermore, they requested the right to control all matters that were in any way related to their synagogue or the Jewish religion. These rights were sought for because the Jews in Surinam recognized their significance for the financial well-being and general prosperity of the colony. The Company's reply is unknown but the request was doubtless granted as no further complaints are reported.

The Jewish congregation was established in 1661-62. Its prosperity may be gauged by the fact that in 1694 there were about 92 Sephardic and ten to twelve Ashkenazic families there, besides 50 unmarried people, totalling about 570 souls. The first synagogue was built about 1665 and a second in 1685. The first rabbi was Isaac Nieto.¹²¹ The Jews possessed more than 40 estates and 9,000 slaves. They contributed 25,905 pounds of sugar as a gift for the building of a hospital and agreed to support 12 soldiers and an adjutant. Captain Samuel Nassy was considered the richest planter in Surinam. By 1704 the number of German Jews had so increased that they numbered half as many as the Portuguese Jews. In the first half of the eighteenth century many poor German Jews and some Portuguese Jews came to the colony. In 1716 the Ashkenazim bought the site for the building of a synagogue but they did not establish their own congregation until 1735.¹²²

As in the case of Curaçao, the Jews carried on an active trade in horses from New England. The risk involved in this enterprise was so great that other goods had to be brought in with the horses to cover the expenses of the trip in case the animals should die. In 1682, the States General had decided to permit freedom of export and import trade to and from Surinam exclusively to Dutch subjects. As the people from New England brought the horses to Surinam this trade was considered illicit for a time. Since Surinam was poorly supplied from Europe, as were all the West India Company's possessions, the authorities soon permitted the free import of horses on the condition that no East India spices, grain, metals, and manufactured

¹²¹ Oudschans Dentz, op. cit., p. 13. R. Bijlana, "De Stichting van de Portugeesch Joodsche Gemeente en Synagoge in Suriname", *West Indische Gids*, II, 1921, pp. 58 ff. Kohut, *First Rabbi*, p. 123.

¹²² Hilfman, op. cit., p. 11. B. Felsenthal and R. Gottheil, "Chronological Sketch of the History of the Jews in Surinam", *PAJHS*, IV, 1894, pp. 1-8. Nassy, *Essai Historique*, I, pp. 83 and 85. Gomperz, *ibid*.

articles should be imported and that only molasses, "dram", lumber, and Dutch products should be procured for the return load.¹²³

Although the ownership and management of Surinam had changed hands several times, the colony flourished.¹²⁴

In 1712, the French, jealous of the colony's good fortune and anxious to acquire Surinam for themselves, attacked it but were defeated. The Jews acquitted themselves bravely in the fight, under the leadership of Isaac Pinto.¹²⁵

About the same time the colonists were troubled by attacks of "Bush Negroes", former slaves, who had escaped inland and refused to return to their owners. They declared themselves independent and set fire to several plantations. Under Captains Samuel, Isaac, and David Nassy the Jews led in the repulse of these negro insurgents. Among others, Isaac Nassy lost his life in the fight of 1750.¹²⁶ In 1760, the Dutch government was forced to declare the independence of the bush negroes in spite of all the planters' efforts.

By 1730 Surinam had reached its greatest affluence. About that time there was a total of 400 plantations with 80,000 slaves. The Jews

¹²³ Bijlans, *Surinam*, pp. 3-4. Oudschans Dentz, op. cit., p. 17.

¹²⁴ In 1683 the West India Company, in need of money, sold two-thirds of the land at public auction, one-third of which was bought by the city of Amsterdam, the other third by a certain Aerssen van Sommelsdijck.

Van Kampen, op. cit., II, pp. 412 ff. In 1682 the colony was repurchased by the new West India Company for 250,000 guilders. Koenen, op. cit., p. 112. Bijlans, op. cit., pp. 1-3, gives the following list of figures on sugar export from the archives of the Society of Surinam in Amsterdam:

Year	Ships	Pounds of Sugar	Year	Ships	Pounds of Sugar
1683	14	3,472,500	1700	13	5,885,500
1687	11	3,297,400	1701	15	8,651,150
1688	13	5,565,280	1702	26	13,152,150
1689	17	6,053,800	1703	18	11,375,375
1690	11	4,603,330	1704	14	8,165,800
1691	10	4,781,890	1705	18	10,654,500
1692	6	3,333,890	1706	16	11,033,500
1693	8	4,231,880	1707	20	13,914,200
1694*	16*	8,698,540	1708	14	9,311,800
1695	19	9,964,540	1709	20	14,001,800
1696	11	5,610,200	1710	17	12,096,800
1697	17	9,265,800	1711	21	15,490,500
1699	14	6,692,350	1712	28	17,565,200

* The figures are lacking for two ships in 1694.

The export figures from 1700 given in the *Essai historique*, differ from the above but as the list is based on archive material the latter are in all likelihood more accurate. Since 1702 some cocoa and cotton were also exported. From 1708 on, indigo is mentioned in the lists of exports.

¹²⁵ A. Cahen, "Les Juifs dans les Colonies Françaises au XVIII^e siècle", *REJ*, IV, 1982, p. 131.

¹²⁶ Waetjen, *Das Judentum*, p. 49. Nassy, *Essai Historique*.

owned 115 plantations most of which cultivated sugar.¹²⁷ In 1730 the colony exported 21,680,000 pounds of sugar.¹²⁸ As early as 1697 we hear of a shortage of slaves. This shortage was due to the usual poor management of the West India Company. The scarcity

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 78. R. Gottheil, "Contributions to the History of the Jews in Surinam", *PAJHS*, IX, 1901, pp. 129-142. There is a map, dated 1737, of the "Joodsch Dorp" (Jewish Settlement), "near the Savane on the Suriname River and Caxapora Creek." It is found in Museum Bodel Nijenhuis, Leiden, *Portefeuille* 63-66 and reprinted and appended in Reese, op. cit., which mentions the following Jewish names and with some of them the area of land they possess:

	<i>Rijnländisch feet</i>		<i>Rijnländisch feet</i>
Lev. Berlin	167	M. S. Pallak	258
Marsil Jacobi	1,500	Is. Henrigo	140
Marsil Jacobi	1,500	Ab. Pinto	224
Erven Est. Arras	5,000	Ab. de Ab. da Costa	1,042
Wed. Jos. Coh. Nassi	800	Erv. Baeza & Da Costa	
Wed. Sam. dela Para	1,200	Jos. Gab. Isidro	288
Jos. Castilho		W. Ab. de Pina	288
Jos. Rod. Monsanto		Sam. Nr d'Avilaar	1,000
Jos. Meza	1,000	Jos. Gabay Faro	1,452
Sam Meza	1,000	W. Jac. Uz. d'Avillar	1,200
Is. Gr. de Fonseca		Esth. Lorenes	200
Ab. Cohen Nassi		Ben Hz. Moron	
David Cohen Nassi		Erv. Mos. Cotinsio	
Ab. de Britto		David Meza	
Mos. nun. Henriques		Raphael Henriques	1,775
Dav. dela Para		M. S. Pallak	937
Dav. dela Para		M. S. Pallak	500
Ab. Mementon	600	M. S. Pallak	500
Ab. Hz. de Barrios		M. S. Pallak	500
Ab. de Pinto	400	Abigail Bion	600
Ar. Bueno Bibaz		Isac Hz. de Barrios	800
W. Sam. dela Para		Iz. Uz. d'Avilar	800
Erv. Sam. Cohen Nassi		Jac. Hz. de Barrios	
Ab. Nun. Henriques		Wed. Gab. Baeza	
Jac. Gabay		David de Iz. Messias	
Naphtali Messias		Ab. Fonseca Meza	
Jas. Hz. de Barrios	2,250	David Sen Coronel	110
W. Sam. dela Para	1,050	Mos. Card. Baeza	200
Jacob Gabay de Castro		Bina Hz. Granada	450
Erv. Mesias Penco	550	Jos. Coh. Nassi	450
W. Abm. Meza	250	B. Hz. Granada	1,558
Erv. Moses Demesquito		Moses Naar	
Erv. Joseph Arias	500	Is. de David Meza	1,000
Ms. de Britto	100	Montezinos	1,000
Is. Henrig	3,410	Ab. en Is. de Pinto	1,800
Ab. Pinto	1,081	Jac. de Pina	250
W. Cohen Nassi	750	Jac. Coh. Nassi	250
Is. de Britto	1,081	Dav. Uz. d'Avila	250
Is. Carilho	1,700	M. S. Pallak	500
Sal. Jos. Levi	500	M. S. Pallak	258
Wed. Rodriguez	500	M. S. Pallak	937

¹²⁸ The average price of sugar was 35 guilders per 100 pounds according to a price list in Amsterdam, 1776-1795. Reese, op. cit., pp. 63, 207, and CXXIV.

raised the price of an adult slave to 250 guilders or three hogsheads of sugar, while, half a century previous, adult slaves brought 150 guilders apiece, according to a contract that Nassy had made with the West India Company.

Slave trade was one of the most important Jewish activities here as elsewhere in the colonies. On February 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, 1707, the West India Company sold slaves to Jewish planters in Surinam. The proceeds from the sale of slaves to Jews amounted to 32,160 guilders, or a little more than one-fourth of the Company's total transaction in slaves on those dates. On March, 1707, ten Jews bought slaves amounting to 10,400 guilders which is more than one-fourth of the total amount of money expended at the sale (38,605 guilders).¹²⁹

¹²⁹ The following is a list of Jewish buyers of slaves from the West India Company in Surinam, February 21, 22, 23, 1707. MS, Archive, *Societijt van Suriname*, *Rijksarchief*, The Hague, *Oud Notarieel Archief*, no. 719:

Names of buyers	SLAVES			Guilders
	Male	Female	Children	
Abraham Arias	6	3		2,210
Jacob Cardoso	2	1		750
Salomon la Para	4	2		1,500
Jacob Henriques de Barrios	2	1		750
Isaak da Costa	4	2		1,500
Joseph Costelho	2	1		750
Jacob Barugh Carvalho	2	1		750
David Gradis d' Affonseca	2	2		840
Moses Henriques Cothino	1	1		500
Elias Chayne	3	1		965
David Mendes Mea	1	1		505
David Simon Levi	1	1		425
Juda Abrahamse	3	1		800
Wed. van Moses boeno bias	1	1		455
Isaack Carrera Brandon	2	2		975
David d'Isaak Messiah en Sara d' Afonseca & Comp.	1	1	2	1,155
Jacob bunes	1	1		610
Jacob de Cameres Bravo	1	1		600
Jacob da Costa	4	2	2	2,020
de Weed. Esther d' Avilaar	1	1		455
Moses Nunes	1	1		505
Moses bueno de Muequito	4	3		1,430
Abraham da Costa	1	1		420
Samuel d'Avilaar	2	2		1,250
Isaack Labadie	5	1		1,685
Jacob d'Avilaar	4	2		755
David Mercado	3	1		835
Abraham Isidro	2			500
Isaak da Costa	1	1		425
Jacob Benjamin Abenakar	2			665
David de Mea			1	210
Henricus de Barrios			1	170

In 1730 the Company contracted to bring the colony 2,500 slaves yearly but within seven years they had delivered 4,488 slaves less than the number for which they had contracted.¹³⁰ In spite of all the difficulties, Surinam retained its prominence among the Dutch West Indian colonies.

The Jews shared in the general prosperity. In 1737 they erected another synagogue in Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam. In 1755 Joseph de Samuel C. Nassy, treasurer of the congregation, invested 11,200 (Dutch) guilders¹³¹ of the congregation's money in a house and 14 slaves, which he purchased from A. Perera.¹³² There was considerable activity in real estate among the Jews. In 1753 and 1754 the Jewish congregation invested funds in additional real estate and in 1759 De Nassy again bought a house from Isac Nassy in Paramaribo for 2,674 guilders. Between the years 1756 and 1758 the treasurer embezzled money from the Jewish congregation amounting to 2,835 guilders. A detailed report of his fraud was drawn up by one Mat. Pereira de Leon. The financial difficulties of the renowned De Nassy family may have led to this embezzlement.¹³³

When in 1763 Meyer-a-Cohan of Amsterdam was elected rabbi of the Portuguese congregation of Surinam, Ishac Abrabanel Henriques and David Semach Aboab, both of Amsterdam, representing the Parnassim of Surinam, agreed to pay the new incumbent 1,500 guilders annually, besides a residence and guaranteed him whatever emoluments he might derive from weddings and other community services.

Isaak de Jacob de Mesa	2	540
Rica da Costa	2	520
Abraham de Lima	2	510
Erasmus Marcus (Jewishness uncertain)	4	935
Abraham Arian	2	250
Abraham Cohen en Rachel Cohen	6	2,000
	74	41
	21	32,160

The total sale of slaves amounted to 127,632 guilders 10 stuivers.

¹³⁰ Pik, op. cit., II, p. 259, states that since 1730 the West India Company had lost its monopoly on slave trade.

¹³¹ One Dutch guilder equals one guilder 20 cents Surinam currency.

¹³² "Portugeesch - Israelietische Gemeente, Suriname, Rijksarchief", The Hague, MSS, 353-354.

¹³³ Ibid. The statement is as follows: "Remarks on the account of Jos. de Sem. C. Nassy, treasurer. As a general comment it may be said that the accounts of Joseph de Sem. C. de Nassy do not show the capital which he has taken from his predecessors which should be shown for purposes of control". The document continues to list each item in which de Nassy had purposely made errors in his favor. For a complete record, see Bloom, *Dutch Archives*, pp. 10-11.

Furthermore, he was to be paid 700 guilders to buy the necessities of the voyage for himself, his family and his servants.¹³⁴

In 1735 the Ashkenazic Jews had founded a synagogue, using a building formerly employed by the Sephardic community. By 1780 the synagogue had to be enlarged.¹³⁵ That all the wealth was not in the hands of the Sephardim is evident from a marriage contract between a certain Hanna Sadok, widow of Gerrit Jacobs, and Ishac Marcus, "both from the High German Jewish Nation". Hanna's son by the first marriage is to receive 10,000 guilders of his father's estate upon attaining his majority.¹³⁶

By 1770 a good many of the Jews owned houses in Paramaribo, besides their plantations in the Savannah. Some measure of Jewish wealth may be indicated by the inventories of plantations there. In 1743 the plantation "Nahamu" (Comfort ye) was sold for 30,000 guilders. It had been the property of a certain Ishak Henriques de Granada for whose heirs it was administered by the Jewish congregation. From the interest on the invested money the congregation was permitted to purchase building material from Holland to be used in the erection of a new synagogue. In 1760 the same plantation was estimated to be worth 91,178 guilders. Besides the property and buildings worth 51,433 guilders, there were 112 slaves worth 38,825 guilders, nine head of cattle worth 450 guilders and tools worth 460 guilders. In March, 1755, another plantation "Mahanaim" (Camps), the property of David Mosseh Cardozo Baeza, was estimated at 85,372 guilders. The property and building were worth 52,137 guilders, 65 slaves worth 32,255 guilders, and 12 cows and one horse worth a total of 980 guilders. The inventory of the plantation "Goosen", (Bridegroom) belonging to Joseph Gabay Farro was estimated at 138,648 guilders. On March 28, 1769, a plantation belonging to de la Para was sold for 63,529 guilders. Samuel Haim de la Para, treasurer of the charity fund of the Portuguese congregation, in August, 1776 bought the plantation "De Goede Vreede" (Good Peace) for 12,647 guilders from the estate of Jacob Henriques.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

¹³⁵ *JIN*, III, 1837, pp. 65-67 and pp. 357-358.

¹³⁶ MS in *Archief Sociëit van Suriname*, no. 780. The contract is dated February 11, 1755.

¹³⁷ MSS in *Archief Portugeesch Israelietische Gemeente*, nos. 353-354. MSS in *Archief Sociëit van Suriname*, nos. 783 and 786. Bloom, *Dutch Archives*, p. 11.

As was stated above, in 1730 Jews owned 115 of the total of 400 plantations. If we estimate the worth of the average plantation at 25,000 guilders, Jewish investment in Surinam plantations would amount to 2,875,000 guilders.

The Jews, like the other planters, were able to make use of large sums of money because Amsterdam which owned part of the colony, had invested 30,000 guilders in a bank, organized for the sake of advancing the planters money on their crops. Besides the 30,000 guilders, there were separate loans from individuals on condition that the planters send their products to the bank or individual who had advanced the money. The latter, in turn, was to sell the goods and return the money to the planters after deducting interest and part payment. As a security they were given mortgages on the plantations. The Jews of Holland are said to have invented the type of mortgage used in Surinam and the other colonies.¹³⁸ There was so much money in Holland at that time that 50,000,000 guilders were at the planters' disposal.¹³⁹ We find that the children of the deceased Aron de Abraham da Costa, owners of the plantation "Toevlucht" (Refuge) empower a certain Daniel Brians of Amsterdam to borrow 34,000 guilders offering the plantation as security. In 1770 David de Nassy, son of a prominent member of the Jewish community, Isahak de Joseph Cohen Nassy, made use of the credit arrangements then in vogue to purchase the plantation "Tulpenburg" (Tulip Castle) for about 93,000 guilders. This plantation had originally belonged to David de Pinto whose widow empowered David de la Pera to negotiate for the sale with Isac Gradis de Fonseca. The taxation on the plantation and its equipment (72 slaves) together with De Nassy's house in Paramaribo was 213,272 guilders 10 stuivers.¹⁴⁰ He took out a mortgage for 117,000 guilders payable within 20 years. His banker in Amsterdam stipulated that he pay six per cent interest and ship all products to Amsterdam to be sold through the bank.

Fortune did not smile upon De Nassy. In 1772 many of his slaves died. Rumor had it that a slave poisoned a number of his fellows. As a result De Nassy's plantation was neglected and by 1773,

¹³⁸ Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 213. R. G. Levy, "La role des Juifs dans la vie économique", *REJ*, LXII, 1911, p. 163.

¹³⁹ Van Kampen, *Nederlanders buiten Europa*, III, p. 274. Luzac, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 221-226.

¹⁴⁰ MSS, *Archief Sociëteit van Suriname*, no. 783.

just in the year that Amsterdam was undergoing a financial crisis,¹⁴¹ he was forced to sell his plantation. Due to the crisis his estate brought only 40,000 guilders. In order to escape his creditors De Nassy was obliged to hide in the most inaccessible parts of the Savannah. It was during these years that he wrote his well-known "Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam" which has served as a source for all later studies of the colony.¹⁴² That he was a man of wide culture is clear from the testimony of a contemporary visitor to the country who wrote: "I have made the acquaintance especially with Jews whose erudition and enlightenment greatly astonished me, one is Joseph Barrios, and the other is Isaac Nassi, (the writer means David de Isaac C. Nassy). The last named is an extraordinary man...he has steeped himself in history...and has systematically learned Arabic, Caldeen, Rabbinic Hebrew and the majority of the modern languages which he speaks and writes correctly".¹⁴³

De Nassy's economic difficulties were not unique. Due to the superabundance of ready money, many planters, both Jews and Christians, found themselves in similar straits. They had become extravagant, had built costly mansions, and had indulged in all manner of luxury. The colony reflected the prodigality of Amsterdam. They went so far that they exceeded their means, and their bills of exchange were no longer honored by their Amsterdam bankers. The plantations were made over to the bank, which sent agents to the colony. Things were not thereby improved as most of the agents were corrupt. To make matters worse, many of the slaves, especially those in Jewish hands, left their masters to join the independent Bush Negroes. The colony had to maintain a constant and expensive defense. All these

¹⁴¹ See pp. 200 ff.

¹⁴² Seeligmann, "David Nassy of Surinam and his 'Lettre Politico - Theologico - Morale sur les Juifs'", *PAJHS*, XXII, 1914, p. 27 and note no. 12, states that De Nassy "was one of the 'Regenten en Representanten' of the Portuguese Jewish nation of Surinam", and he also composed the *Essai Historique* which he signed on February 20, 1788. There exists a Dutch translation which is very rare. Its title is as follows: *Geschiedenis der Kolonie van Suriname, geheel op nieuw samengesteld door een gezelschap van geleerde Joodse mannen aldaar*. Amsterdam and Harlingen, by Allart en van der Plaats, 1791. Oppenheim, *Jewish Colony*, *PAJHS*, XVI, 1907, p. 95, seems to differ from the consensus of opinion about the authorship of the *Essai Historique*, claiming that it was written by a society of learned Jews. In point of fact, it was written by De Nassy and sponsored by the Society of Surinam. See also Bijlma, "David de Ia. C. Nassy, schrijver van de *Essai historique sur Surinam*", *BVGO*, VI, 1915, pp. 218 ff.

¹⁴³ P. O. Malouet, *Collection de Mémoires et correspondances officielles sur l'administration des colonies et notamment sur la Guinée française et hollandaise*, Paris, 1802, III, p. 52. Bijlma, op. cit., pp. 222 ff.

considerations ultimately impoverished the once prosperous settlement.¹⁴⁴

About 1790, due to the absolute subjugation of the Bush Negroes and the renewed industry of the colonists, the settlement began to recoup its losses. Once free trade was permitted¹⁴⁵ conditions became still better. At the end of the eighteenth century, although there had been a division among the colonists on political grounds,¹⁴⁶ the colony was on the upgrade.

We are informed as to the importance of the Jewish element of the population in Surinam, by a statement of the Court of Civil Justice which decided to accord Jews the right to be procurators, in spite of the protest of Christian lawyers. The Court defended its decision, stating: "...the weighty and significant considerations that the number of Jewish inhabitants in Surinam exceeds the number of Christians."¹⁴⁷ To this the directors of the West India Company added: "...the Jews now for many years have fulfilled all the duties of faithful and obedient inhabitants. They have willingly paid all taxes and always shown a peaceful obedience and respect for their rulers."¹⁴⁸

1. DUTCH JEWS IN OTHER WEST INDIAN COLONIES

As we have seen, the Jews from Brazil were the inspiration and urge for sugar planting in all the Dutch West Indian colonies. Fugitives from Brazil, among whom there were probably Jews, also settled in the French colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique. After their arrival these colonies became chiefly occupied with the raising of sugar. In 1669 several Amsterdam concerns were interested in sugar industries in the latter colony.¹⁴⁹ That there were Jews from Brazil who settled in the English colony of Jamaica we learn from an attempt to restrict Jewish activity to wholesale trade and to exile those Jews who were not British citizens. These restrictions were opposed by the governor.¹⁵⁰ Amsterdam merchants traded with the English

¹⁴⁴ Nassy, *Essai Historique*, I, pp. 182-183.

¹⁴⁵ Van Kampen, *Nederlanders buiten Europa*, I, p. 337.

¹⁴⁶ Between the "Orange-men" and the "Patriots".

¹⁴⁷ Wolff, op. cit., BVGO, IX, 1910, p. 388. Koenen, op. cit., p. 312.

¹⁴⁸ Wolff, *ibid.* Although in 1750 the Jews owned only 115 of the total of 400 plantations, they are now (1786) spoken of as the majority of the population. Probably, within 36 years more had come to Surinam, and those not concerned with agriculture, were occupied with trade.

¹⁴⁹ Reesse, op. cit., p. 204.

¹⁵⁰ Waetjen, *Das Judentum*, p. 53. Waetjen thinks that by Jews in Lord Arlington's letter of December 17, 1671, is meant the old Jewish inhabitants of the colony and by

colony of Barbados. A certain Antonio de la Torre, Portuguese merchant in Amsterdam, had shipped goods to the island. The ship was captured by the enemy and de la Torre demanded that Joseph Frances and Guillaume Monnia of Amsterdam redeem the loss suffered as they were the underwriters of his marine insurance.¹⁵¹

Amsterdam merchants did not shrink from trade with the Spanish West Indies in 1660 despite the state of war between Holland and Spain. When a Spanish speaking supercargo sold the merchandise belonging to his Dutch employer in the West Indies he was often free to send a return cargo or its monetary equivalent to Spain. The money or goods finally reached Holland. To cite an instance: On July 14, 1660, Juan Salido Pacheco and Pieter Martin, both of Amsterdam, made a contract with Jan Tillij, merchant of that city, to bring Tillij's cargo to the Spanish West Indies. Pacheco and Martin were to receive one-fifth of the net profit. They were required to send the yield of the cargo or its equivalent in goods either to Spain or directly to Holland.¹⁵²

J. NEW NETHERLANDS

The first Jewish settlement on the mainland of North America was that of New Netherlands, a colony owned by the West India Company from 1623 until 1664. Jewish activity in this colony was almost exclusively confined to trade. Unlike their brethren in the West Indies and South America, they did not engage in agriculture as the climate was unfavorable to sugar raising; but they established definite trade relations between New Amsterdam, South America and the West Indies. These connections were made possible through the settlement of their co-religionists in the South American and West Indian colonies.

The history of the Jews in New Netherlands extends only over a period of ten years, from 1654 to 1664. Their economic influence in that colony was of necessity of lesser importance than in the colo-

"Hollanders" is meant the more recently arrived Jews from Brazil, subjects of Holland. He infers this because the whole controversy concerns itself with regulations about Jews.

¹⁵¹ MS, Padthuyzen, 2889, May 21, 1660.

¹⁵² MS, Padthuyzen, 2889. The cargo consisted of:

9 cases of cinnamon, 861 pounds	3,874:10 guilders
2 cases of white wax, 751 pounds	680: 8 guilders
1 case of Dutch Spanish lace (from Southern Netherlands)	599: 8 guilders
1 case, 1321 iron bars	3,025:19 guilders
1 case of silk, gold and lace	no value mentioned

nies already treated where they participated in the chief economic pursuits. Nevertheless, in 1682, upon the death of Asser Levy, who is said to have come to the colony in 1654, he left an estate amounting to 57,000 guilders, no small sum for that time.¹⁵³

Jacob Barsimson was the first Jew definitely known to have arrived in the summer of 1654. He was a member of the group of immigrants sent by the West India Company for purposes of settlement.¹⁵⁴ He came to the New World to carry on trade, having been advised to do so by several Dutch Jews. We know that in July, 1654 Abraham de Azevedo of The Hague had given Aaron Capadoce of Amsterdam 150 guilders to buy merchandise with which Barsimson was to trade in New Netherlands.¹⁵⁵

In September of the same year a group of 23 Jewish fugitives from Brazil arrived in New Amsterdam. On their way the ship had been captured by Spanish freebooters. In the further course of the voyage the vessel was taken by a French boat which brought them to their destination. Much of the Jews' property had been stolen by the pirates but they vouched collectively to pay for any of their number, unable to pay his passage money. Upon their arrival it was found that, after the sale of their possessions, there was not enough money to pay the passage for all of them and two were imprisoned for debt. During these proceedings some of the Jews referred to remittances expected from Holland.¹⁵⁶ While the investigation was in progress, a group of their more wealthy brethren arrived from Amsterdam. We hear nothing more about the prisoners, probably, because the new arrivals straightened out their difficulties.

Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Netherlands, was displeased at the prospect of so many Jews in his territory and took steps to forbid their settlement. He wrote a letter to the directors of the Amsterdam office of the West India Company, dated September 22, 1654, requesting that the newly arrived Jews be recalled and that no more Jewish immigrants be allowed to settle in New Amsterdam. The

¹⁵³ In an unpublished paper of the late S. Oppenheim called *Asser Levy's Estate*, he quotes these figures from "Liber 19B of Wills in New York, Surrogate's Office," pp. 33-41.

¹⁵⁴ Several Jews are said to have left Holland for New Netherlands in 1652. However, Oppenheim, *Jews in New York*, PAJHS, XVIII, 1909, p. 2, shows that there is no proof for this as the authority cited is a misreading of the English translation. The word "Jew" was read for "few".

¹⁵⁵ Bloom, *Dutch Archives*, PAJHS, XXXI, 1928, p. 20.

¹⁵⁶ Oppenheim, *Jews in New York*, PAJHS, XVI, 1907, p. 6.

governor distrusted the Jews: "with their usual usury and deceitful business toward the Christians" and was fearful "that because of their present straits they will become a burden next winter."¹⁵⁷ In January, 1655, the Amsterdam Jews sent a protest to the West India Company asking why their co-religionists were not allowed to settle in a colony which was in need of faithful subjects. The Company which had promised a piece of land to all settlers, should not refuse Jews who have proven their loyalty, and could foster a flourishing trade and pay taxes. Furthermore, the Jews had lived in Holland for years, and were Dutch subjects. Moreover, many Amsterdam Jews were main-participants in the Company. On April 26, 1655, the Company, impressed by the Jewish petition, answered Stuyvesant that the exclusion of Jews "would be unreasonable and improper, especially in view of the big losses which this nation suffered from the conquest of Brazil and in view of the great fortune which they had invested in the Company". The directors also called the governor's attention to the fact that "a number of Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam had requested that the Jewish colonists remain in New Amsterdam and be permitted to transact business there."¹⁵⁸ Stuyvesant replied October 30, 1655, that it would be bad policy to grant the Jews liberty.¹⁵⁹ Contrary to his wishes, March 13, 1656, the Company allowed the Jews "to ship and trade to and in New Netherlands, and to live and reside there and to enjoy the same liberty as other inhabitants."

Here, as in Brazil 20 years earlier, the Jews were forbidden to build a synagogue, although they were permitted to worship in private houses. It seems that they were not allowed to trade freely, as on November 29, 1655, they petitioned for the right "to trade to the South River, Fort Orange (Albany) and elsewhere."¹⁶⁰ This petition facilitated matters for the Jews as on June 10, 1656, Stuyvesant wrote to the Company that the Jews "are not hindered but trade with the same privileges and freedom as other inhabitants." That Stuyvesant

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* See also pp. 148 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 9 ff. and 11. See also p. 126.

¹⁵⁹ The letter reads: "To give liberty to the Jews will be very detrimental there because the Christians will not be able at the same time to do business. Giving them liberty we cannot refuse the Lutheran papists. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁰ The petition of November 29, 1655 was signed by Abraham de Lucena, Salvador Dandrade and Jacob Cohen, who wrote in their name and in behalf of their fellow Jews. Oppenheim, *Jews in New York*, pp. 21, 26, 27, 29, 33 ff. and 75 ff.

was reluctant is shown by his refusal to grant Salvador d'Andrade permission to buy a house and lot in New Amsterdam. Later the Jews were accorded the right to purchase real estate. The governor also denied Jews the right to perform military duty, exacting instead a special tax of 65 stuivers monthly. On October 12, 1655, five of the wealthiest Jews each paid 100 guilders for the sake of reenforcing the city's defense. The Jews were assessed out of all proportion to the rest of the population. The governor himself gave 150 guilders and three of the wealthiest burghers only 100 guilders each. The Jews made up 1/30th of the population, yet they paid 1/12th of the amount of the tax. All these restrictions resulted in another protest to Holland. The Company reproved Stuyvesant and stipulated that the Jews in New Netherlands were to enjoy the same rights given them in Amsterdam. Part of the text of the Company's reply reads: "Jews or Portuguese people, however, shall not be employed in any public service (to which they are neither permitted in this city) nor allowed to have open retail shops, but they may quietly and peacefully carry on their business as before said and exercise in all quietness their religion within their houses..."

Meanwhile more Jewish settlers had been coming from Holland, among them, in 1655, Joseph da Costa, a large shareholder in the West India Company. In July of that year the Jews were refused a burial place because the authorities felt that there was no need for one. A year later, however, they were allowed to purchase ground for that purpose.¹⁶¹

In 1657 Asser Levy refused to pay taxes in lieu of military service and demanded that he be treated like any other Dutch subject.¹⁶² Asser's demand was granted and from that time on the Jews could enter military service and carry on retail trade.

Beside this there was a lively traffic in fur and tobacco. The merchants of Amsterdam soon had their agents in the colony. We find that Moses da Silva had named David de Ferrara and Abraham de Lucena as his representatives. An active business grew up be-

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75 (Appendix).

¹⁶² There is a document, dated November 5, 1655, in which Asser Levy and Jacob Barsimson petition for the right to mount guard. This was refused until 1657. Oppenheim, *ibid.*, p. 25.

tween the Jews of the different colonies as they were nearer to each other than to the Netherlands.

Within the ten years that Jews lived in New Amsterdam under Dutch rule, they progressed and established a firm foothold in that part of the world. Considering that before the American Revolution there were not more than 2,000 Jews in what is now the United States, the New Amsterdam community rose to a place of comparative importance. They began as a small and insignificant group, but by the time of the English conquest there were quite a few wealthy traders among them. The economic activities of the Jews of New Amsterdam were not very far reaching, but are interesting as the first steps made on the North American continent. Any exact estimation of their economic position is now hard to ascertain as the period under discussion is very short and anything like adequate figures are completely lacking.¹⁶³

K. CONCLUSION

After the West India Company had lost Brazil and the New Netherlands, its dividends dropped to two and one-half per cent. In its prime it had paid too high dividends and had not left sufficient reserves. The peace with Spain in 1661 cut off the possibility of booty from enemy ships. The cost of defense and the poor management of its colonies had led to great expenditure. There was a steady increase of trade on the part of private ship owners, in consequence of which the Company lost the income from much of the traffic supposedly within the bounds of its monopoly.

By 1674 its debts amounted to 6,000,000 guilders.¹⁶⁴ In that year the Company was dissolved. The next year a new West India Company was established. Shareholders in the old organization received 15 per cent of the value of their holdings in shares of the new Company, which assumed responsibility for 30 per cent of the old Company's debts. It had a total capital of 630,000 guilders, which was too small for its purposes. Therefore, it could not afford the improvements necessary for the maintenance of its possessions and rapidly became a purely administrative organization, selling its chief trade interest to individual capitalists. For a while the slave trade

¹⁶³ There is a mass of valuable material on the Jews of New York, during the English rule and later, in the papers of the late Samuel Oppenheim, deposited with the American Jewish Historical Society. These data have not as yet been utilized.

¹⁶⁴ *Reese*, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

was its main source of income but in 1730 even this monopoly was lost. The Company's dividends dropped to one and one-half per cent and in 1791 it was taken over by the government. For 30 per cent of the par value of their shares in the West India Company the shareholders received three per cent government bonds. The Jews were among those who lost great amounts. A contemporary¹⁶⁵ tells us: "The Portuguese have been the most actively interested and consequently have suffered greatly from the Company's decline."

Probably the most important economic activity of Dutch Jewry in the period under discussion was that in the West Indies. It is true that due to their early trade in Eastern goods they stimulated Dutch East Indian commerce. However, once the Company of the East was well organized, Jewish interest became confined to purchasing East Indian goods which were marketed in Europe and the West Indies.

Jewish settlement in the West Indies opened a new field of activity. They were welcomed in the colonies and aided by fellow Jews, anxious to escape Spanish and Portuguese rule and to enjoy the comparative freedom accorded them by the Dutch. The West India Company endeavored to promote Jewish migration to its possessions. The reasons are apparent. The Jews were known to be industrious and to stimulate the commerce of a locality. Furthermore, the Company was anxious to populate its colonies by whatever means possible. The Jewish stockholders brought pressure to bear in favor of Jewish settlement in the Company's colonies. The governors, on the other hand, who feared that Jews would gain too much power and thereby outstrip Christian colonists, were loth to see Jews settle in their domains. Wherever conditions were at all favorable, Jews of the West Indies acquired much personal wealth, fostered the sugar industry, stimulated the arteries of international trade and through their zeal, ingenuity, and ramified relationships brought prosperity to the settlements.

X The East India Company did not fare much better than the Company of the West. Like the sister Company, it was forced to expend large sums of money to defend its possessions. The competition with European and Asiatic powers grew keener. The corruption of colonial officials aided in the disintegration of the organization. The

¹⁶⁵ I. de Pinto, *Traité de la Circulation et du Crédit*, Amsterdam, 1771, p. 84.

natives were consistently suppressed, a short-sighted attitude which practically nullified their purchasing power. The Company's ships were forced to leave Holland virtually empty because the natives were unable to purchase European goods, and the competition of other nations made trading in European wares with Eastern ports very difficult. The cost of both East and West Indian voyages was therefore so great that much of the profit was lost. X

The directors of the Company had absolute power and regulated the dividends to their own immediate advantage. They would not declare dividends until the stock had depreciated whereupon they would buy the depreciated shares and then declare dividends. After the stock had again increased in value due to the declaration the directors would sell their holdings. This manipulation resulted in the declaring of dividends when there was no profit. By the year 1724 they had used up a reserve fund of 40,000,000 guilders. Later on they paid dividends on borrowed capital. Naturally, such a policy could not continue. The situation was aggravated by the financial crises in Amsterdam.¹⁶⁶ The disasters of the fourth Anglo-Dutch war forced the Company to appeal to the States General for aid. By 1799 it had breathed its last.

The colonies have always been and still remain among Holland's chief sources of income. As has been pointed out, Jews were chiefly interested in the western possessions. By the beginning of the nineteenth century most of these were lost to the Netherlands. As a consequence Dutch Jewish colonial activities faded into insignificance.

¹⁶⁶ See pp. 197 ff.

CHAPTER V

TRADE IN MONEY AND SECURITIES

A. THE EXCHANGE BANK

Before Charles V issued his decree expelling the Jews from Holland there were money lenders and money changers among them there as elsewhere. A few must have been granted special permission to remain and carry on their trade as on October 28, 1602, Sion Lus, money lender of Amsterdam, instructed his son Abraham to transport the collateral and appurtenances of his loan bank to Rhenen (Netherlands) into the hands of Louis Bucio of Utrecht. On May 21, 1607, he offered his bank in The Hague with all the rights pertaining to it as collateral on a loan from Ro Claes. The next year Lus was forced to liquidate this branch. He then owed to Claes 1,046 pounds Flemish, and a certain Franchoyls le Blue 4,229 pounds Flemish. He promised to pay 12 per cent interest and to clear up his debts within one year. When he asked permission to continue his Amsterdam branch for several years longer he was informed by the burgomasters that his request would not be granted until he had submitted a list of his creditors. The burgomasters were contemplating the establishment of an Exchange Bank, and wished to put Lus off until the plans were completed.¹

When the Portuguese Jews settled in Amsterdam, there were probably some money changers and money lenders in their midst. At any rate, in 1609, before the arrival of the Ashkenazic Jews, the "Exchange Bank" was established in order to suppress usury and facilitate activity in trading. This bank had the monopoly on all exchange of species and trading in precious metals. It also negotiated loans and allowed merchants to transact business under its auspices. The introduction to the regulations of the Exchange Bank begins as follows: "In order to abolish the expense of, and the confusion in monies and in order to accommodate those who require monies in

¹ Van Dillen, *Bedrijfsleven*, I, p. 609, No. 1025, p. 665, No. 1125, II, pp. 73-75, Nos. 136 and 140.

commerce, the Magistrate of Amsterdam authorized by their High Mightinesses, the States, and advised to do so by the 36 town councillors, have thought it necessary that order should be established with regard to matters of exchange and other related concerns, by the creation of a Bank of Exchange".² One of the bank's chief functions was the withdrawal from circulation of counterfeit and under-valued currency.³ Often the Bank received clipped coins as collateral for loans. Of course, the clipped coins were not given the face value of the stamp and the Bank withdrew them from circulation accordingly. Coin clipping was a common practice among Jews as well as non-Jews. The modern method of coining has the advantage of lessening the wear and tear of circulation besides making coin clipping practically impossible.

To make the deposits in the Bank absolutely secure the city stood security. By extending cheap credit to bona fide borrowers and inducing foreigners to negotiate through its channels, the Bank assumed a prominent position in the realm of international banking. It established regularity in matters of international exchange.⁴ An English contemporary⁵ regrets the fact that England boasted no such efficient institution for trade and credit as the Exchange Bank in Amsterdam. His comments are illuminating. "All people that know anything of Holland know that the people there pay great taxes — and not withstanding all this strange and unheard of inconvenience yet they will not quit their station. The reason whereof is first, they have fitted themselves with a public register of all their lands and houses, whereby it is made ready money at all times — secondly,

² Luzac, op. cit., III, p. 381.

³ Van Dillen, *Wisselbanken*, I, pp. 406 ff., No. 449. 13 Jewish and 14 Christian merchants made a statement to that effect. The names of the Jewish dealers are Gumpel Samson, Moses Philip, Joseph and Jacob David Proops, Salomon Norden & Co., Aron de Metz Jr., Levi Alexander Keyzer, Levi Bing en Zoon, I. Salomon Alexander, Alexander and Eleazar van Embden en Zoon, Alexander Salomons, Benjamin Salomon Sijmons. In a report from the managers of the Exchange Bank presented to the burgomasters of Amsterdam, dated September 28, 1758, it is mentioned that a certain Proops received negotiable receipts for a certain number of silver "rijksdaalders". The Bank later discovered that this lot of coins was below the legal weight. The coins were returned to Proops cut in half in order to withdraw them from circulation. Proops accepts the decision of the Bank without protest. Ibid., I, pp. 401 ff., No. 475.

⁴ Barker, op. cit., p. 144.

⁵ Andrew Yarranton, *England's Improvement by Sea and Land: To undo the Dutch without Fighting, To Pay Debts without Money, to set to work all the Poor of England with the growth of our own lands, to Prevent unnecessary Suits in Law, With the benefit of a Voluntary Register*. Barker, op. cit., pp. 409 ff.

by making rivers navigable in all places, thereby making trade more communicable and easier than in other places. Thirdly, by a public bank, the credit thereof making paper go in trade as far as ready money, yea in many places of the world farther than money. Fourthly, a court of merchants to end all differences between merchant and merchant — Now I am a Dutchman and have a £ 100 a year in the province West Friesland near Groningen, and I come to the Bank at Amsterdam and there tender a particular of my land and how tenanted, being £ 100 a year in West Friesland and desire them to lend me £ 4,000 and I will mortgage my land for it. The answer will be: 'I will send by post your particular to the register at Groningen and by return of post you shall have your answer.' The register at Groningen answers — that it is my land — they hand me the money. I refuse the money — I want credit and having one son at Venice, one at Nuremburg, one at Hamburg, one at Dantzic where banks are, I desire four tickets of credit, each of them for £ 1,000 with letters of advice directed to each of my sons which is immediately done. I must mortgage my land at three in hundred — every acre of land in the seven provinces trade all the world over."

In the year of the Bank's establishment, there were 25 Portuguese Jewish names entered on its books out of a total of 731 names,⁶

⁶ The 25 Portuguese Jewish merchants were:

Abraham Guilleon	Jacques Drago
Antonio de Millo	Israel Salmat
Belchior Franco Mendes	Jennes Lopes da Costa
Duarte Fernandez	Jeronimo Rodrigo
Diego Dias Querido	Jonas Tomas
Duarte and Antonio Seraye	Manuel Carnatto
Philippe Dias Vittoria	Michiel de Castro
Francisco Rodrigues	Manuel Tomasse
Garcia Gommies	Sebastian Rodrigo
Gaspar Sanchez	Steven Pinel
Gaspar and Manuel Lopes Souro	Tomas Nunes Pina
	Tomas Fernando

Vaz Dias, "Diamantindustrie", VA, VI, March 28, 1930, p. 403.

Van Dillen, *Vreemdelingen*, p. 14, submits the following list:

In 1609 the Exchange Bank had	731 accounts,	24 of these were of Portuguese Jews
In 1611 the Exchange Bank had	708 accounts,	28 of these were of Portuguese Jews
In 1612 the Exchange Bank had	774 accounts,	43 of these were of Portuguese Jews
In 1613 the Exchange Bank had	850 accounts,	57 of these were of Portuguese Jews
In 1620 the Exchange Bank had	1202 accounts,	106 of these were of Portuguese Jews
In 1625 the Exchange Bank had	1301 accounts,	76 of these were of Portuguese Jews
In 1627 the Exchange Bank had	1312 accounts,	92 of these were of Portuguese Jews
In 1631 the Exchange Bank had	1348 accounts,	89 of these were of Portuguese Jews
In 1641 the Exchange Bank had	1508 accounts,	89 of these were of Portuguese Jews
In 1646 the Exchange Bank had	1579 accounts,	126 of these were of Portuguese Jews

in 1631, out of a total of 1,348 names on the book there were 89 Sephardic names. Roughly estimating the general population at approximately 115,000 in 1630, and the Jewish population at approximately 1,000 we conclude that only 1.1 per cent of the Christian population had accounts with the Exchange Bank, while 8.9 per cent of the Jewish population dealt with it. From the above figures it is apparent that the Jews had proportionately eight times as many accounts with the Exchange Bank as the Christian population of Amsterdam, which illustrates the well-known fact that many more Jews pro rata were interested in business than their Christian neighbors. In the period of 1640-1650, not only the number of Jewish accounts with the Exchange Bank increased but also the number of Jewish transactions was augmented. In 1641 there were only three accounts covering three or more folios, that of Bento Osorio, 4 folios, that of Jan de Pas and Company, 4 folios, and that of Jan Rodrigo Faro, 3 folios. In 1646 there were no fewer than 13 large Jewish accounts:

Bento Osorio	6 fol.	Lopo Ramieres	4 fol.
Duarte Dias & Louis		Diego Rodrigues	3 fol.
Mendes Pas	4 fol.	Duarte Ramieres Pina	3 fol.
Duarte Palatio	4 fol.	Moses da Silva	3 fol.
Duarte Pereira	4 fol.	Raphael Nunes	3 fol.
Ferdinandus Alferes	4 fol.	Simeon Correa, alias	
Jacob Furtado	4 fol.	Diego Camuna	3 fol.
Jacob del Monte	4 fol.		

The list of 1651 reveals that Bento Osorio, formerly the largest and richest merchant, had to yield the place of supremacy to Jacob Furtado and the De Pas firm. The biggest accounts for that year were those of:

Jacob Furtado	5 fol.	Pereira	3 fol.
Jan de Pas & Company	5 fol.	Bento Osorio	3 fol.
David Juda Lion	4 fol.	Diego de Castro	3 fol.
David Levy	4 fol.	Diego Rodrigo	3 fol.
Andrea Nunes	3 fol.	Ferdinandus Alferes	3 fol.
Abraham and Isaac		Jacob del Monte	3 fol.

In 1661 the banking concern of Moses and David Juda Lion possessed

In 1651 the Exchange Bank had 1875 accounts, 197 of these were of Portuguese Jews
 In 1661 the Exchange Bank had 2102 accounts, 243 of these were of Portuguese Jews
 In 1674 the Exchange Bank had 2031 accounts, 265 of these were of Portuguese Jews
 See also Van Dillen, *Bedrijfsleven*, "Inleiding," XXX. This author states that there are no more than 23 or at the most 24 Jewish names in 1609.

by far the largest account. The list of the biggest Jewish accounts for that year follows:

Moses & David Juda Lion	10 fol.	Solomon Sinjoor Coronel	4 fol.
Isaac Furtado	5 fol.	Simon Francisco Bernal	4 fol.
Antonio Lopes Suasso	5 fol.	Jan Nunes Henricus	3 fol.
Jacob del Monte	5 fol.	Isaac de Navarre	3 fol.
Jeronimo Nunes da Costa	5 fol.	Abraham & Isaac Pereira	3 fol.
Elias de Pas	4 fol.	Balthasar da Cunha	3 fol.

This total shows 12 accounts with three or more folios. In 1674 Portuguese Jews had 13 per cent of the total number of accounts in the Exchange Bank and did not comprise fully $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the population.⁷ The Exchange Bank sometimes served Jewish refugees of the Inquisition in good stead. When their money was in danger of confiscation they occasionally managed to get it to Amsterdam and through their connections there to have it deposited in the Bank to the credit of the refugees or their heirs.⁸

Ashkenazic Jews, of course, did not participate in the Exchange Bank until decades later. By 1674 there were only three German Jews with accounts in this Bank. Upon their arrival in Amsterdam, the Ashkenazim found their main occupation limited by the Bank's monopoly. However, it is evident that in spite of this institution, they carried on trade in money and precious metals⁹ since a decree is still in existence, dated December 5, 1661, which forbids this trade under penalty of the law.¹⁰ In 1684 an ordinance was issued by the

⁷ *Idem*, *Vreemdelingen*, pp. 25-26. Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", VA, VIII, June 19, 1931, p. 182. In 1641 we know that Michael Despinosa owed the Bank 28,052 guilders over a period of five months. In this connection he did business with Jews and Christians as is evident from the following extract of his account:

Francisco Mendes Chillon	400 guilders
Jan de Pas	1,271 guilders
Abrah da Fonseca	486 guilders
Denis Jenness	1,198 guilders
Lopo Ramirez	1,108 guilders
Isak Coronel	464 guilders
Willem Peacock	1,195 guilders

Ten years later the Bank's ledger shows that Michael transacted business with 48 concerns in one year. His total account from August 21, 1651 until January 28, 1652 amounted to 61,883 guilders. Vaz Dias, *Spinoza Mercator*, p. 55.

⁸ See pp. 91 ff.

⁹ In a list dated 1674 one Alexander Polack is mentioned as a money changer, taxed on a capital of 1,000 guilders. Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", VA, VIII, July 3, 1931, p. 218.

¹⁰ The decree forbids: "...Jews to peddle from house to house with goods made from gold or silver or with species, or to sell secretly or trade in these goods under penalty of a fine of 10 ducats for the first offense to be paid to the officers of the gold- and silversmith guild, a double amount to be paid for the second offense. E. Voet Jr.,

burgomasters once more insisting that the Bank had the monopoly on the exchange of foreign currency. In this ordinance special mention was made of the Jews.¹¹

There was illegal export of money and precious metals. In an anonymous letter to the "Generalmeester" Peterson, a Jew, Lopez Diaz, was accused of shipping large quantities of ducats¹² to the English East India Company.¹³ No doubt, certain Jews refused to comply with all the legal requirements of the trade in precious metals and currency. On the other hand, when the States General issued an order in 1701 that silver bullion and silver coins could not be exported, Samuel de Prado inquired whether this order applied to gold. He is answered in the negative. The order did not appertain to coined or uncoined gold or to Danish crowns.¹⁴

Although many were interested in the specie and bullion trade, on October 31, 1746, among 61 signatures of bankers from Amsterdam and Rotterdam, requesting the States General to take precautions against the circulation of inferior coin, there is only one Jewish signature, that of Tobias Boas.¹⁵ On the other hand, a few years later, a Jewish solicitor Alexander Heymans, representing 38 Jewish and 41 Christian merchants, requested the States General to revoke a resolution of August 1, 1749, forbidding the payment of a commission to merchants bringing precious metals to be coined. The signatories stated that the profit on such business was so small that if the commission were withdrawn the business would come to a standstill. The Master of the Mint advised the States General to grant the petition.¹⁶ The number of Jews signing this petition is a clear indication of their participation.

Haarlemse Goud en Zilvermeden en bunne werken, Haarlem, 1928, pp. 198 and 212 ff. Seeligmann, "De Gilden en de Joden", *VA*, V, June 1, 1928, pp. 133 ff.

¹¹ Article IV is specific in its restrictions: "that also no Jews nor others may dare to go to the Exchange daily or to any other market or private houses to seek the exchange or re-exchange of any species whatever." Luzac, *op. cit.*, III, p. 388.

¹² A ducaton equals 3 guilders 15 cents.

¹³ Van Dillen, *Wisselbanken*, I, p. 341, note No. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316, No. 366.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 375 ff., No. 425.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 381, No. 433, p. 382, No. 434, p. 387, No. 438. The Jewish signatories were:

Salomon Jacobs & Sona, Nathan and Simon	Barent Symons
Benjamin Jacobs de Jongen	Moses de Chaves
Aran Davit (and) Joseph Fernandes Nunes	Hermanus Alexander Keyser
Raphael Mendes da Costa Junior	Philip Salomons

In the days of the decline,¹⁷ when many Amsterdam dealers could not dispose of their precious metal, it was deposited with the Bank for safekeeping. On July 19, 1758, the Bank advanced Abraham and Simeon Boas and Benjamin and Samuel Simons 150,000 guilders on a collateral of gold and silver objects worth 250,000 guilders. The interest rate was two per cent annually. About 20 years later four Jewish and 26 Christian concerns asked the burgo-master of Amsterdam to request the Exchange Bank for reduction of one-half to one-quarter of one per cent semi-annually on the storage of precious metals and specie. The avowed reason for their request was the fact that there was a large influx in gold specie and no export of it to foreign countries.¹⁸

B. THE STOCK EXCHANGE

In the fifteenth century exchanges began to become significant.¹⁹ The Ghent Exchange was the first to assume prominence after which the Exchanges of Bruges, Antwerp, and Lyon gained hegemony. The London Exchange was founded in the sixteenth century but the great international exchanges of that period were those of Antwerp and Lyon. World prices on the chief articles of trade were regulated there.

The Amsterdam Exchange, like all others, developed from the coming together of merchants to sell and display their goods. During the sixteenth century, due to the decline of Antwerp and the shifting of the trade center to Amsterdam, the Amsterdam fair was gradually transformed into an Exchange where large scale business could be carried on by means of credit. At the beginning of the seventeenth

Francisco de Prado
Baerent Salomons Senior & Co.
Levy Bing & Soonen
Isack Alexander Keyser
Salomon Norden & Co.
Manuel & Jos. Telles da Costa
Abraham v. Moses Lopes Suasso
Brothers & Co.
Andre & Giacomo de Pinto
Philip Levy Gomperts & Soonen
Jacobus Moses & Simeon Nathan & Jacob
Joseph Isack de Jonge & Soom

J. Salomon Alexander
Benjamin & Samuel Symons
Alexander & Eliaser van Embden & Soom
Joseph & Jacob Davids Proops
Moses Philip
Benjamin Isack de Jongh
Aron de Metz Jr.
Abraham Henriques Ferriera
David Hisquia Pereira
Israel Levij Flea
Francisco Ximenes
Alexander Salomons

¹⁷ See pp. 210 ff.

¹⁸ The names of the Jewish concerns are Aron de Metz Jr., Salomon Norden & Co., Widow of Israel Levy Fless & Van Offen.

¹⁹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, 1910, IV, p. 314, article, *Bourse*, points out that the name Bourse, Boerse, Beurs, is said to have been derived from the family name of a Bruges' merchant named de Burea, in whose house in all probability merchants of importance congregated.

century the Amsterdam Exchange had become a world mart of the first order. Its predominant influence in international affairs and its peculiar function as the pulse of European politics were not felt until well into the eighteenth century. Amsterdam's trade in money and produce then became of paramount importance to the commercial world. X

Although the permanent Exchange building in Antwerp was erected in 1531 and that of the London Exchange in 1567,²⁰ there was no fixed headquarters for the Exchange in Amsterdam until 1611. The building held 500 people. According to a description written in 1719²¹ the Amsterdam Exchange presented the following groups, located as indicated (see page 180).

Trade became so ramified that in a short time despite the restrictions groups often met elsewhere in the city. About 100 years later we know that the whole of the "Kalverstraat" (one of the main thoroughfares of Amsterdam) was absorbed in Exchange business in the evening nor were the habitués of the coffeehouses loth to form miniature exchanges of their own.²²

Although in the first decade of the seventeenth century there were only a few Jews connected with the Exchange they soon took an active part as traders and middlemen. As early as 1612 there were 300 sworn brokers, ten of whom were Jewish, to say nothing of the unlicensed ones ("beunhazen").²³ We are told by a contemporary²⁴ that many visited the Exchange daily save on Saturdays when the Jews could not be present.

²⁰ Alard van Amsterdam, *De Lotgevallen der Amsterdamsche Beurzen sinds de stichting der Stad*, Amsterdam, 1888, p. 13. M. F. J. Smith, *Tijd-affaires in Effekten aan de Amsterdamsche Beurs*, The Hague, 1919, pp. 18 ff.

²¹ Le Long, op. cit., I, pp. 49 ff. Van der Kooy, op. cit., p. 135. Smith, op. cit., p. 117.

²² J. de la Vega, *Confusion de Confusions*, Amsterdam, 1688, p. 192. L. Samuel, *Die Effektenspekulation im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, ein Beitrag zur Boersengeschichte*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 21 ff.

²³ Smith, op. cit., p. 12. Th. Stuart, *De Amsterdamsche Makelaardij*, Amsterdam, 1879, pp. 47 ff.

²⁴ de la Vega, op. cit., p. 194.

THE AMSTERDAM EXCHANGE

Merchants and skippers to Denmark and Norway, etc. & wood merchants					Money changers (German Jews) in minted and unminted gold and silver	
Whale oil and whale bone buyers	Wine merchants	Tobacco merchants				
Moscovy and Baltic Sea dealers		Traders with Surinam, Curaçao, the West Indies and Sweden				
Woolen and broadcloth dealers, merchants with the Spanish Netherlands		Merchants and skippers with Spain, Italy, Egypt, Med. Sea, Turkey and the Canary Isl.				
Leather merchants, oil buyers, oil pressers, soap manufacturers and bankers		Manufacturers of silks and silk dealers (Greeks, Armenians and Persians)				
Real Estate Brokers		Brokers in real estate, large bankers in bills of exchange, merchants on Bilbao, Biscay and Portugal				
Jewelers and bond dealers		Grocers				
		Cotton cloth, linen and paper dealers				
	Sugar refiners, dealers in securities and Portuguese Jews					

Marranos from the Spanish Netherlands brought with them a knowledge of Exchange technique in the realm of produce which in Amsterdam they employed to trade in money and securities.²⁵ These very Marranos had introduced bills of exchange and brokerage into Antwerp. In the middle of the sixteenth century the Mendes bank was established there. When Charles V issued decrees in 1549 and 1550, expelling the Jews from Antwerp, the magistrates of that city protested, repeating what they had said on September 30, 1544 — that the Marranos ruled the Exchange and their expulsion would mean ruin to the city and the nation. When certain of these Marranos came to Amsterdam they transplanted their activities from the Antwerp Exchange to the city on the Amstel. As Amsterdam grew more and more important commercially, its Exchange assumed commensurate proportions. By 1672 the activities of the Amsterdam Exchange became an indicator demonstrating the prosperity of the republic. The Jews exerted an influence on the Exchange because they often had advance information, which their brokers could use to advantage. Even in 1618, a French diplomat living in Amsterdam propounds a reason for Jewish wealth and influence.²⁶ He comments: "on the cleverness, commercial energy and communal solidarity of the Jew", pointing out "that they already exert an influence on the stock of the East India Company and are heeded by the city because of their knowledge of foreign news and commerce. In both matters they obtain their information from the other Jewish communities with which they are in close contact. One of the most important of these is that of Venice, because it unites the West with the East and the South through the Sephardic community in Saloniki, which is the leading center for Africa and Asia. Amsterdam keeps in touch with the secret communities of England and France. By this means the Jews in Amsterdam are the best informed about foreign commerce and news of all people in the world. They come together on Sundays to discuss the news of the week, when other people are in church. In this way their brokers can spread the news to advantage on the market Monday mornings. These practices are the source of their wealth."²⁷ The

²⁵ Wolff, *op. cit.*, BVGO, X, 1912, p. 160.

²⁶ L. Vignola, "Le Commerce hollandais et les Congrégations juives à la fin du XVII^e siècle," *Revue Historique*, XLIV, September-December, 1890, pp. 329 ff.

²⁷ This is strange in view of the fact that it has been pointed out (Waetjen, *Des Judentum*, pp. 11 and 15) that it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century

report may be somewhat colored by jealousy and prejudice but in the main it is true. In 1698 the French ambassador in The Hague wrote that the Jewish brokers and agents were among the most adroit people in the world to be found in this business.²⁸

C. BROKERS

In the first years of the seventeenth century Amsterdam was obliged to admit two Jewish brokers to the brokers guild.²⁹ Brokers were necessary because they specialized in the securities or commodities in which they trafficked. Knowing all there was to be known about their specific phase or phases of trade they acted as consulting experts as well as middlemen.³⁰ Denied the right to carry on handicrafts, Jews, here as elsewhere, were driven to finance and trade. Theory had to concede to practice in admitting them to the brokerage guild. Since brokerage and trade were so closely related the concession had to be made. But even in the case of the brokers guild, Jews had to contribute their share to the treasury without enjoying the benefit of the guild brotherhood, although before being admitted to the brokers guild they had to buy the right of citizenship.³¹ The names of the Jewish brokers were kept in a separate book.³² The first two were appointed because of Jewish participation in Levantine trade. In 1612 there were fifty brokers newly appointed, eight of whom were Jews.³³ The reason for the appointment of these eight Jews was that before this time the number of sworn Jewish brokers was too small in proportion to the Jewish population and the Exchange

when all the Amsterdam Jews became subjects that they took an active part in the East India Company, since being a subject was a necessary requisite for participation in that Company. Jews probably participated in the East India Company stock as silent partners in Christian concerns. See also Philipp, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

²⁸ There is no doubt that Jews did exert influence on the Exchange through their international connections with other Jewish communities. Besides the opinion of Christian contemporaries Jews of the age such as Menasseh ben Israel, Joseph de la Vega, and Isaac de Pinto comment upon Jewish importance on the Exchange. The fact that the Portuguese Jews had a special place on the floor of the Exchange with the dealers in securities and that they and their Ashkenazic brethren boasted of so many brokers would further indicate their importance. They were known as stock promoters and were important on the committees to draft rules for the improvement and stabilization of speculation.

²⁹ Wagenaar, *Amsterdam*, VIII, p. 130.

³⁰ Van der Kooy, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³¹ Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

³² *Amstelredamum*, 1909, p. 219.

³³ Wagenaar, *Amsterdam*, VIII, p. 130. One of these eight brokers was Jacob Uziel Cardozo (alias Estevan Cardozo) who made an agreement with the burgomasters of Amsterdam in 1605 to establish two silk mills, see p. 35.

activity. There was a total of 300 brokers in Amsterdam in 1612,⁸⁴ ten of whom were Jews. In 1645 there were 30 sworn Jewish brokers out of a total of 430; from 1657 to 1720 there were 50.⁸⁵ Between those years the total number of sworn brokers decreased from 500 to 395. In 1720 the number of sworn Jewish brokers decreased to 20.⁸⁶ We learn that at that time there were 1,000 unsworn brokers (*beunhazen*), both Jewish and Gentile.⁸⁷ In 1760 there were 60 sworn Jewish brokers. Many merchants preferred to deal with the "*beunhazen*", whose lack of restrictions by guild rules permitted them to make larger profits. Of the total number of brokers, sworn and unsworn, there were between 250 and 300 bill brokers, 80 wine and brandy brokers, 100 stock brokers and 100 insurance brokers.⁸⁸ There were many Ashkenazic Jews especially among the "*beunhazen*."

D. SPECULATION

In the beginning of the eighteenth century there was no country with proportionally so many rich Jews as Holland. The De Pintos, Delmontes, Suassos, Bueno de Mesquitas, and others were among the important financiers of their day. It is natural to suppose that these wealthy Jews played a part on the Amsterdam Exchange. In 1687 the Amsterdam lawyer, Nicolaas Muys van Holy, published a pamphlet⁸⁹ suggesting a tax upon all time speculations in the India

⁸⁴ Stuart, *ibid.*

⁸⁵ For one of the most important stockbrokers, see Gabriel de Souza Brito, p. 188.

⁸⁶ Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁸⁷ R. van Leuze, *'s Werelds Koopslot*, Amsterdam, 1721, p. 122. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Sometimes, the brokers guild put obstacles in the way of the unsworn brokers. For instance, a certain Jew, Jacob Piemontel, citizen of Amsterdam, complains to the burgomasters that he is now (August, 1675) hindered in his business by the authorities of the brokers guild, in spite of the fact that he only charges a commission of five cents on each 100 guilders. He has served the leading merchants of Amsterdam for 29 years in the matter of changing banknotes for ready cash and ready cash for banknotes. He also assisted the merchants in changing coins and furnishing species. "He had been trusted to the extent of always having had a very great credit." He requested that he be left unimpeded in his activity. His petition was supported by 38 Gentile signatures. Van Dillen, *Wisselbanken*, I, p. 180, No. 235.

⁸⁸ J. P. Ricard, *Le Négoce d'Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1722, p. 119. The writer who lived in the middle of the eighteenth century does not account for the entire total, although he mentions that there are many shipping brokers. See also S. Ricard, *op. cit.*, I, p. 59.

⁸⁹ The pamphlet is entitled, *Middelen en motiven om het kopen en verkopen van Oost en West Indische Actien, die niet getransporteert werden, mitgaders ook die de verkoopster ten dage van den inkoop niet in eigendom heeft, als mede optie-portijen der actien te berwaren, met een impost ten bevoore van het gemene land en de stad Amsterdam*. W. P. C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, The Hague, 1895, II, 2, No. 12622.

Companies' shares. His special point was an attack upon the bear market which he considers an evil to the state and the Companies. By means of the tax he expected to derive large revenues for the country, especially in time of war, on the basis of a falling market. He further stated that the proposed tax would stop some of the pernicious speculation and improve commerce and credit. He made the special point that: "trade in shares is mostly in the hands of the Portuguese nation which enjoys more freedom in this land (Holland) than in most regions of the world".

Van Holy's proposal gave rise to several pamphlets disputing his position. One of them, of unknown authorship, contends that it is unjust to single out the Portuguese Jews as responsible for this practice "since many Christians and prominent gentlemen who are interested in the Companies trade with their shares whenever they see fit." The upshot of the controversy was that the country as a whole rejected the proposal; but the city of Amsterdam, on January 31, 1689, imposed a tax of three guilders for every 1,000 Flemish pounds of India Companies' stock traded.⁴⁰ As far as we know there is no further mention of Jews in this controversial literature.

To say that Jews ruled the Exchange may be interpreted in three ways: Either the amount of their capital was largest, or the number of their participants was greatest, or that their knowledge of business matters and their general intelligence won them the ruling influence. As a matter of fact their capital was incomparably smaller on the whole than that of the patrician merchants.⁴¹ At this point, it may be of interest to note that in 1666 three-quarters of the capital on the Amsterdam Exchange was invested in Baltic Sea trade,⁴² although Jews were very little concerned with that branch of commerce. To say that Jewish participants formed the majority of the 4,500 visitors to the Exchange is manifestly absurd but that they were well informed and used their information has already been pointed out.⁴³

The total import and export to and from Holland at the end of the eighteenth century is estimated at from 260-300,000,000 guilders annually. 50 per cent of the exporting and importing trade was car-

⁴⁰ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff.

⁴¹ See pp. 204 ff.

⁴² D. Schaefer, *Die Hanse*, Bielefeld, 1903, pp. 128-129.

⁴³ See also O. Pringsheim, *Einführung zu Don Joseph de la Vega "Die Verwirrung der Verwirrungen"*, Breslau, 1919.

ried on by Amsterdam.⁴⁴ These figures furnish some idea of the large amounts of capital on hand for re-investment. In the middle of the seventeenth century the chief concern of the merchants was to place this surplus capital, even at comparatively low rates of interest.⁴⁵ Later on, however, money to be re-invested was often used for speculative purposes. The last two decades of the seventeenth century witnessed a lively trade in options in the India Companies. The records of the stockholders of the East India Company for these decades contain many Ashkenazic names, although most of them are Sephardic. For example, on May 2, 1657, Sara Gabay Faro, widow of Jan Rodrigues Faro authorizes Moses Gabay Henriques and Isaacq de Prado to transfer a share of the East India Company's stock (6,025 guilders) to Aaron Gabay Faro.⁴⁶ In the last twenty years of the seventeenth century the records show an increase in the number of participating Jews. In the eighteenth century, the period of greatest speculation, one-quarter of all the stockholders were Jews.⁴⁷

Speculation was no novelty to the Dutch. In 1636 many people were reduced to poverty through the unsound gambling in tulip bulbs. Millions changed hands in a single day.⁴⁸ After the two English wars, 1652-1654 and 1665-1667, the government put high taxes on all imported and exported goods in order to fill its depleted coffers. Furthermore, Holland was no longer sole and supreme mistress of the sea. She had two fierce competitors in England and France. The life of the merchant became more difficult, and his profits proportionately less. Speculation in shares was an easy way to place money and offered great possibilities for gain. The government, realizing the danger of over-speculation, placed high taxes on all transactions hoping in this way to counteract the tendency. But the history of the

⁴⁴ Pringsheim, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, p. 10. Waetjen, *Mittelmeergebiet*, p. 350, doubts whether in the middle of the seventeenth century Holland's export exceeded 100,000,000 guilders yearly. The following are some of the figures found in Bredius, op. cit., II, pp. 41 ff., representing the amount of duty paid on imports and exports:

In 1654	1,103,426 guilders
In 1665 (second English war)	490,609 guilders
In 1668	1,150,000 guilders
In 1669	1,967,498 guilders

See also Pringsheim, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

⁴⁵ There were dealings in Dutch state loans.

⁴⁶ MS, Padthuyzen, 2886.

⁴⁷ For an example of Jewish investment in bonds see Appendix D. See also Waetjen, *Das Judentum*, pp. 11 ff.

⁴⁸ Bredius, op. cit., II, p. 33, quotes a bill showing that 61,969 guilders were paid for 22 bulbs.

last half of the eighteenth century showed the futility of this effort.

By 1700, although Amsterdam was still greatly interested in commerce, there was a marked tendency away from it toward speculation of an increasingly risky kind. Many of the visitors to the Exchange confined themselves exclusively to speculation in shares, especially in those of the East and West India Companies. The Amsterdam Exchange became even more international in scope through the establishment of many stock companies in foreign lands. In fact, it soon became the center of international trade in securities. In other countries trade in stocks also increased.

The Amsterdam Jews are said to have instituted stock trading in London. There was no regular stock trading in the English capital until 1688. In the eighteenth century the London stock market was almost entirely in the hands of Jews. Dutch merchants were more affluent than ever, but due to their wealth their energy and spirit of enterprise was lessening. The golden age was drawing to a close. With the characteristic tendency toward extremes, the rich among the Portuguese Jews outdid their Christian neighbors in luxurious living. They, especially, turned from commerce to speculation which seemed an easier and more genteel means of livelihood. Even those with small amounts of capital combined into a sort of company to buy stock together, each partner purchasing a small share. Women, children, and greybeards were found dabbling in these companies.⁴⁹ Because of their readiness to turn to the stock market in lieu of any other trade, Jews suffered an irreparable decline when the crash finally came in the next century. The Ashkenazim, although to a lesser degree, were interested in speculation but their manner of life, generally, remained simpler.

The notorious John Law was in Amsterdam from 1713 to 1715 where he made a considerable amount of money in Dutch lotteries. His attempt to gain an appointment as government reformer of finances met with no favor. When the financial condition of France became serious,⁵⁰ he migrated there. During Law's sojourn in Hol-

⁴⁹ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.

⁵⁰ France had a national debt of between 2,500 and 3,000 million francs, the interest on which amounted to from 80 to 90 million yearly. There was only one-sixth to one-seventh in currency to cover this. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

land he had an account with the Exchange Bank in Amsterdam. Several Jews did business with him through this account.⁵¹

In 1720, as a result of the sudden rise of the notorious English South Sea Company stock,⁵² from 300 per cent to over 1,000 per cent⁵³ similar companies were formed which found ready investors in Amsterdam.⁵⁴ Many a wealthy Jew lost his fortune in these fly-by-night companies, and many another Jew made money in the capacity of promoter. We are told that "the Jews, not the least zealous in this game, traded in stocks in the coffeehouses until late at night."⁵⁵ When in 1720, the violent fluctuations of West India Company's shares worked havoc with many of the populace, a mob which blamed the Jews for its losses, stormed a coffeehouse frequented by them.

⁵¹ Account of John Law with the Exchange Bank, February to August, 1713. The following Jewish names are mentioned:

Debit

February 21, Sebastiaen Nabarro	7,690:15 guilders
February 22, Abraham Semah Aboab	10,650: guilders
February 23, Abraham Semah Aboab	1,500: guilders
March 2, Abraham Semah Aboab	1,800: guilders
March 14, Abram Levy Flores	1,178:2:8 guilders
March 17, Abraham Semah Aboab	1,000: guilders
June 10, Samuel Mendes da Costa	6,656:5 guilders

30,475:2:8 guilders

The total debit amounted to

99,165: 1 guilders

Credit

March 12, Francisco Lopes Suasso for Francisco Duarte	20,000: guilders
March 15, Francisco Duarte Suasso	6,318: 6 guilders
May 5, Aron and Joseph Pinto for Jan Sautijn	9,000: guilders
June 10, Isaac Abrabanel	18,696: 5 guilders

54,014:11 guilders

The total credit amounted to

99,382: 6 guilders

Van Dillen, *Wisselbankers*, II, pp. 960 ff.

⁵² The Company was established in 1711.

⁵³ As an indication of the fluctuation of this stock we quote the following:

In April 1720 the stock was quoted at	325-400 per cent
In June 1720	600 per cent
At the beginning of August 1720	900 per cent
August 25, 1720	1,100 per cent
September 6, 1720	680 per cent
September 20, 1720	410 per cent
September 29, 1720	175 per cent
September 30, 1720	130 per cent

It remained at par until the end of the eighteenth century. Samuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff.

⁵⁴ S. Vissering, "Het Grootste Tafereel der Dwaaheid", *De Gids*, IX, I, 1856, p. 666.

⁵⁵ Wolff, *op. cit.*, BVGO, X, 1912, pp. 366 ff.

The mob chose Saturday evening after sundown since they were sure to find the resort crowded with Jews.⁵⁶

As an instance of Jewish interest in speculation we cite the case of a Jewish sworn broker, Gabriel de Souza Brito, who in 1720 offered a project to the States of Holland and West Friesland, proposing to merge seven stock companies existing in the province of North Holland into one gigantic enterprise. He also proposed the fusion of the East and West India Companies. Neither of these promoter's schemes were carried out. The government refused to consider them because they were opposed in principle to any project of the sort sponsored by the unstable kind of company then springing up.⁵⁷ Brito was one of the many specialists in the perpetration of these wildcat schemes. The work of astute promoters was to foster fantastic plans. Either a combination of investors sought out these promoters or the promoter tried to interest capitalists in his projects. This was a regular business netting large gains to clever and not too scrupulous people. We hear of Jacob Chizkya Machado, son of the army purveyor Moses Machado, who was one of the chief directors of a Utrecht Company which proposed "to carry on trade, write insurance, establish a bank of exchange, organize a lottery, and construct a canal from Utrecht to the Zuiderzee, to the end that that city become more powerful than Amsterdam." The necessary capital was estimated at 10,000,000 guilders.⁵⁸ Like so many of these unstable enterprises, the scheme failed.

On the other hand, Jews were also interested in the stabilization of speculation. A document, dated April 20, 1739, containing better rules for the regulation of trade in options, bears 22 Jewish names in a total of 30 signatures responsible for the formulation of these rules. Trade in securities became more than ever a Jewish occupation. 25 years later (1764) new rules for stock trading were published. There were 36 or 37 Jewish names on a committee of 41 delegated to draw up these rules.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 111 ff. Vissering, *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Zwart, *Geschiedenis der Joden*, pp. 170-203.

⁵⁹ The Jewish signers in 1739 are:

Jos. Israel Ricardo
Benjamin Israel Ricardo
Samuel Machon
Isaac Pessoa
David Spinoza Cattelá

Isaac Abrabanel Henriques
Jacob Abrabanel Junior
Isack van Joseph de Meza
Joseph van Salomon de Meza
Jacob Rodrigues Silva

At the high tide of speculative activity, the States of Holland and West Friesland forbade trade in the stock of such enterprises as the Mississippi and other foreign companies.⁶⁰ In spite of their order a lively trade in these swindles continued. It is interesting to point out that the government was not always so cautious when it served its own ends to be otherwise. For the sake of the West India Company, the government spread false rumors that the Company was about to enter upon new ventures. In 1719 shares in the Company rose from 40 to 400 and later even as high as 1,000.⁶¹ They dropped to 100 in the same year. This is only one example of the tremendous fluctuations in the stock market at that time. The West India Company at least was not founded on air like so many concerns of the era. Marked fluctuations were also true of the East India Company. Its shares rose from 902 in 1719 to 1,260 in 1720, only to drop to 603 in 1724. From that time on there was an almost continuous drop until at the end of the century the shares were quoted at 134 (1794).⁶² As has

Samuel Vaz
Samuel de Pas
Daniel Ricardo Benja. Zoon
Abm. Henriques Faro Junior
Moses Achon

Abm. Semah Fenno

Smith, op. cit., pp. 126 ff. and 142 ff. The author mentions that there were 32 signatures in the document but prints only 30. The Jewish signatures in 1764 are:

Abm. de David Levy & Soonen

Aron van Is. Capadose

David Pereira Junior & Soon

Livien Grutierrez (Jewishness uncertain)

Isaac Abrahamel Henriques

Davidson Junior

Isaac Mendez Penha

David Ricardo Junior

Britto & Jesurum

Abraham Cohen de Lara

Abraham d'Acevedo

Elias Colaço

Is. van Sam. Salzedos

Aron van Bn. Colaço

Raphael Uriel Cardoso

Isaac Pessao

Is. & Abm. da Fentua

Moses Hs. Medina Junior

Abraham van Salomon de Meza

Moses Alvares Bueno

Mordechay Franco Mendes

Abm. Cardoso

Isaac de Medina Senior

Salomon van Jb. Belmonte

Jacob Das

David van Abm. Keyzer

Jacob de Binj. Senior

Jacob de Medina

Jb. & Sam. Saportas

Abraham de Pas

Joseph da Veiga

Abm. Cohen de Lara Junior

Benjamin Colaço Junior

Daniel Ricardo

Abraham Lopes Arias

David Lopes Colaço

Josua Capadose

Abraham de Pas Junior

Isaac Mercado

Aron Sagache

Aron de Jb. Cardoso

Joseph Cohen de Lara

⁶⁰ In the Mississippi Company bubble Dutch investors lost less than those in other countries because the Dutch attempted to sell their shares at the high. *Ibid.*, pp. 117 ff.

⁶¹ Vissering, *ibid.*

⁶² Pringsheim, *Introduction*, pp. XIII ff. The East India Company reached the pinnacle of its prosperity in 1720 which is reflected in the price of its shares and the dividend, (40 per cent) aside from the phenomenal rise at the beginning of the Company's history

been previously shown one-quarter of the East India Company's shareholders were Jews. They regarded this stock as the safest possible investment. So safe in fact did they consider the enterprise that fathers of families made provision in their wills denying their offspring the right to sell East India Company stock bequeathed to them. When the Company was losing ground, the descendants of the original investors made an effort to save the remnant of the family fortunes by trying to dispose of the stock. The right to do this was refused them because of the provisions in their progenitors' wills. Many a rich Jewish family was forced to watch its wealth dwindle, powerless to controvert a provision originally meant as a measure of security but ultimately working their ruin.⁶³

Jews were also involved in the English South Sea Company, as is evident from an interesting letter to the directors praising them for inviting the participation of "clever Englishmen and foreigners and above all of Jews from Amsterdam and London".⁶⁴ Trading with foreign companies, especially with those dealing with the East and West Indies, was done in the face of government prohibition. In theory, no patriotic Amsterdamer was to invest in companies which would enrich foreign kings, princes, or potentates.⁶⁵ In point of fact, however, the Amsterdam stock market became increasingly involved in the securities of foreign nations. Fortunes were made and lost in a day. Those who made money became spendthrifts, a general laxity in morals and instability of life characterized the period. The pendulum of fortune swung from millions to misery, and many of the wealthy Jewish families, mainly Portuguese, became paupers.

The first theorist of the stock exchange was the son of the wealthy Isaac Penso, Joseph Felix de la Vega,⁶⁶ the author of "Confusion de Confusiones". This book appeared in 1688; it is a picturesque,

when the shares rose to 200 and the dividend amounted to 75 per cent (1607-1608). This early rise was based on rumors of great profit and a relative scarcity of shares. The rise in 1720 was more nearly based on the real earnings of the Company. The shares of the West India Company reached the same high level as its sister Company, but after the loss of Brazil the shares of the latter concern rapidly dropped. They reached the low ebb of three and one-eighth per cent before the reorganization.

⁶³ This information was given by Mr. Mendes da Costa, custodian of the Archives of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation, Amsterdam.

⁶⁴ Knuttel, op. cit., IV, p. 42, No. 16483, p. 16. *Aammerkingen over de nieuw gesteltheit der financien*. Smith, op. cit., p. 118.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 105 ff.

⁶⁶ De la Vega was his mother's family name.

quaint criticism and discussion of the establishment, the terminology, methods, frauds and evils of the Stock Exchange and its activities. Its chief value lies in its analysis of the machinery of transactions then employed, and its commentary on the life of the Exchange. Although de la Vega criticizes the Exchange, he himself was an active participant in its activities, and is said to have lost and regained his fortune five times. A well-known economist⁶⁷ claims that it is still the most important book about the Stock Exchange that has been written up to the present. The book displays a miscellany of queer classical information and humanistic wisdom, characteristic of a type of literature then current. It is of great value as an excellent description of the Stock Exchange in all its ramifications. The form of the book savors of the Platonic dialogue as it is supposed to be a series of conversations between a merchant, a broker, and an outsider. De la Vega does not stress Jewish influence on the Exchange; but his book is a proof that at least one Jew thoroughly understood the newly acquired importance of the institution, and it is an indication of the knowledge of his circle.⁶⁸ It is worthy of note that although de la Vega knew Dutch he wrote his book in Spanish, appealing to a circle of Jewish readers beyond the boundaries of Holland. De la Vega may have had the English Sephardim in mind. Many Amsterdam Jews had by this time established themselves in England. Two of De la Vega's brothers lived in London. He had no news to impart to Amsterdam Jews as they themselves are said to have originated modern exchange technique.⁶⁹

About half a century later another Jewish theorist, Isaac de Pinto appeared on the scene. He was born in Amsterdam in 1717. In 1734, he married Rachel, daughter of Benjamin Nunes Henriques, also a financier, and a shareholder in the East India Company. In 1748 De Pinto and Emanuel Suasso became main participants and directors of the East India Company. A year later De Pinto was made a director of the West India Company. Through his good offices Prince William V was appointed one of the directors of both the East and West India Companies.⁷⁰ De Pinto wrote a book (1763) published

⁶⁷Pringsheim, *Introduction*, pp. X, ff.

⁶⁸See also Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff.

⁶⁹Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁷⁰See also p. 193. A letter, dealing with the appointment of the Prince is to be found in the *Livreria Montezinos*, Amsterdam.

anonymously in 1771, entitled *Traité de la Circulation et du Crédit* which is a treatise on the English East India Company including a section devoted to stock transactions and suggestions for putting them on a firmer footing. The work is a discussion of the technique of the option market as it was carried on in the middle of the eighteenth century. De Pinto cautions against loaning out money on stocks as security. The borrower should consider possible crises in measuring the amount of the loan with his liquid assets. The writer shows how speculators can improve their positions and under what conditions they should play the market, bear or bull.⁷¹

E. LOANS

An important part of the money trade in Amsterdam consisted of loans. Toward the end of the seventeenth century and throughout most of the eighteenth century Holland became the financier of many European governments and handled a large portion of the world's commerce. This pursuit produced a huge income with little exertion to the Dutch capitalists. Individuals could borrow money at less than three per cent but the Dutch government could obtain loans at the rate of two per cent.⁷² As early as the middle of the seventeenth century, it was not an uncommon practice to borrow money in Holland at the rate of from three to four per cent, and to re-loan it in England at six to eight per cent.⁷³ It is not surprising to find the Jews of Amsterdam active in this traditional money lending capacity in an environment where money lending had become the general practice. In 1656, King Charles of England sent General Middleton on a mission to Danzig and to the King of Poland in order to raise money. The king instructed Middleton to stop in Amsterdam and inquire whether the Jews there would loan money to the Crown. Middleton failed in his mission⁷⁴ but the King's instructions make it clear that Amsterdam Jewry was recognized as a possible source of capital.

During the reign of William III (1672 to 1702), Amsterdam

⁷¹ Wijler, op. cit., pp. 11 ff. Smith, op. cit., pp. 129 ff., "Izaak de Pinto's Leven en Werken", *JIN*, III, 1837, pp. 157-196. Luzac, op. cit., S. Ricard, op. cit., and *De Koopman*, are among the chief sources of information about the Dutch financial world of the centuries under discussion.

⁷² Barker, op. cit., p. 426. A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Edinburgh, 1806, I, pp. 123 ff.

⁷³ D. Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, England and America*, New York, 1892, II, p. 336.

⁷⁴ C. H. Firth, "Some Historical Notes, 1648-1680", *TJHSE*, IV, 1899-1901, p. 195.

Jews, among others, Baron Lopes Suasso and the De Pinto family, loaned money to England. Suasso advanced that monarch 2,000,000 guilders for the purpose of his campaign in England, saying: "If you are fortunate I am convinced you will return the money and if you meet with misfortune I shall suffer the loss."⁷⁵ When Holland's golden age was waning, in 1759, the economist Isaac de Pinto of Amsterdam acted as banker for the English government. He was interested in floating a loan amounting to £ 6,600,000.⁷⁶

England was not alone in directing her attention to Amsterdam Jewry whenever money was required at a cheap rate of interest. On December 9, 1701, the Austrian government ordered Baron Beckmann, the court treasurer, to negotiate a loan in Amsterdam, offering the Hungarian copper mines as security. He was especially to address himself to the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam, since Christian capitalists required an additional guarantee besides the copper mines. The rate of interest was not to exceed six per cent.⁷⁷ In 1738 a number of Amsterdam Jewish capitalists loaned Venetian Jews 100,000 guilders at two per cent interest.⁷⁸ Among others in this business Emanuel Torres loaned 10,000 guilders to the burgomaster of Haarlem, Arnout Fabricius, in 1709. He asked permission to sell the security (a share of West India stock) because the burgomaster did not pay his debt as agreed.⁷⁹

Despite the great wealth of individual capitalists, by the middle of the eighteenth century continuous warfare and the decline of industry had depleted the Dutch treasury. The economist Isaac de Pinto came to the aid of the government with the loan of large sums of money. In one place he wrote: "During the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, I have furnished sums of money to the State which I have procured from members of my family and from friends at the rate of three per cent." De Pinto concluded the letter: "The receiver general has written me that I have saved the State."⁸⁰ The State owed Moses de Pinto 60,000 guilders plus 2,400 guilders interest, Isaac

⁷⁵ See pp. 106 ff., "Over de Israëlieten in betrekking tot de Krijgsdienst", *JIN*, I, 1835, p. 51.

⁷⁶ Wijler, op. cit., p. 16 and Appendix C.

⁷⁷ See also p. 113. Von Meeni, op. cit., p. 367. The reason the rate was as high as six per cent was that Austria was considered a bad risk.

⁷⁸ Da Silva Rosa, *Gezchiedenis*, p. 113.

⁷⁹ Vieira, op. cit., VA, IX, September 9, 1932, pp. 381 ff.

⁸⁰ Wijler, op. cit., pp. 21 ff. The letter is in *Livraria Montezinos*, Amsterdam, No. 12, B. 17. De Pinto was mistaken; he actually got four per cent interest.

de Pinto 20,000 guilders plus 800 guilders interest,⁸¹ the amount owed to other members of the family totaling 72,000 guilders. On August 28, 1747, the Netherlands authorized its treasurer to request a loan of 600,000 guilders from Isaac de Pinto and his associates.⁸²

In spite of the relatively tolerant attitude of the Dutch the Christians were quick to assign a bad reputation to Jewish money lenders. We find the Jews accused of falsifying the date on promissory notes, of attempting to swindle Christians, and in one case a Jew is charged with swindling his own family. All these accusations are found in a merchant's magazine of the time and are in all probability largely actuated by prejudice and jealousy. The writer remarks that Christians were becoming usurers like the Jews.⁸³ This comment reflects the tendency of many people to engage in money lending.

F. BILLS OF EXCHANGE

By the time of which we speak the Jews had gradually lost their place as chief money lenders and financial aids of the princes, a position which they had held throughout the Middle Ages and up to the seventeenth century. They were important in what has been called the commercialization of economic life.⁸⁴ As has been said before, some of the most prominent theorists of the Stock Exchange were Jews.⁸⁵ They were instrumental in fostering an impersonal type of negotiation wherein lender and borrower were no longer personally acquainted but merely involved in a business transaction through negotiable papers. The Jews are said to have invented much of the modern commercial technique and if they did not invent, at least they frequently used, the bill of exchange which was not popular until the seventeenth century.⁸⁶ At that time it was very widely utilized in Holland.

⁸¹ On July 24, 1748.

⁸² Wijler, *ibid.*

⁸³ *De Koopman*, I, p. 107, II, pp. 230 ff. and p. 476.

⁸⁴ Levy, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-189.

⁸⁵ See pp. 190 ff.

⁸⁶ *De Koopman*, III, p. 90, states that the Jews invented the bill of exchange, but the "Gibelins" (Italian Bankers) embellished upon the invention and brought it to a more perfect form. They called the bill of exchange "Polizza di Cambio". A. Marx, "A Description of Bills of Exchange, 1559", *American Economic Review*, VI, 1916, pp. 609-614, points out that in 1559 Rabbi Jehiel Nissim da Pisa wrote a compendium of the Jewish laws of usury in which he states: "It is unnecessary for practical purposes to speak of bills of exchange which are called in Italian 'cambio' for they are not current among the Jews of our time, nor did they exist in the time of the old codifiers and authorities."

Some authorities claim that papers making money payable to bearers were known in Talmudic times⁸⁷ or even in the apocryphal book of Tobit.⁸⁸ Several Talmudic commentators do mention papers payable to bearer. A document known as the "Mamre" was created by Polish Jews in the sixteenth century. This was an obligation in which the name of the beneficiary was left blank. Jews were interested in this type of instrument because by its use confiscation of possessions was avoided. Whenever a Jew feared the seizure of his wealth he could endorse it over to another. In the days when capitalistic society was in formation, the Jew easily utilized his knowledge of negotiable papers to participate in the whole complicated capitalistic credit system in which the bill of exchange figured prominently.

A contemporary relates that the Jews of Amsterdam "seek large profits by trading in bills of exchange. They do not write their bills of exchange in the old rabbinic letters, as no Christian would trade in bills which he does not understand. But if they do write rabbinic letters (Hebrew) some official person, especially designated for that purpose, must act as translator." There were no restrictions placed on Jews dealing in bills of exchange.⁸⁹ So important were the Jews in this trade that a contemporary historian drew up a calendar designating the hour of the inception and conclusion of the Sabbath. He remarks: "...because of the multiplicity of the transactions (in bills of exchange) with the Jews of Amsterdam and their daily negotiations and commerce, it is necessary for the Christians to know at what time on Fridays the Jewish Sabbath begins and when it ends on Saturdays. We have therefore drawn up this neat schedule of Sabbath times for the entire year (1753)."⁹⁰

In the seventeenth century Hamburg used Amsterdam as a clearing house for its bills of exchange, especially those on Spain.⁹¹ Bills on England, France, and the colonies were also frequent. The Jews of Amsterdam were active in this trade. To cite a case in point, on February 18, 1648, Jacob Frances paid 20,482 guilders 15 stuivers

⁸⁷ Sombart, *Jews*, pp. 64 ff. F. Oppenheimer, "Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben", *Neue Rundschau*, XXII, July, 1911, p. 819. M. Hoffmann, *Judentum und Kapitalismus*, Berlin, 1912, p. 13. They refer to B. b. 172 a/b.

⁸⁸ Tobit, V, 3-5.

⁸⁹ J. G. Heinemann, *Grondbeginselen van het Wisselrecht*, Middelburg, 1774, translated into Dutch from the Latin original before 1764, chapter V, par. XVI, p. 294.

⁹⁰ Le Long, op. cit., I, p. 157.

⁹¹ Differet, op. cit., p. 217.

to Raphael Nunes. Both merchants lived in Amsterdam. This money was to be used to purchase and trade in bills of exchange. Nunes bought two bills, each amounting to £ 740 on Fernandes Carvajal of London, one bill of exchange amounting to 1,424 20/32 "daelders" on Joseph Perez of Hamburg, two bills of exchange amounting to 2,000 and 1,500 crowns respectively on Rodrigues Nunes and one bill of exchange amounting to 1,246 5/32 "daelders" on Joseph Felix of Cosaliz. The total of these bills of exchange corresponded to the amount advanced. The bills were given to Frances. For the payment of these bills Nunes put up 1,100 cases of sugar, the proceeds of the sale of which were to make good any default.⁹² On October 19, 1657, Joseph Frances declared that Rodrigues Alvares de Crasto had promised to make good all the bills of exchange which his brother had drawn on Frances. The total amounted to 10,760 guilders 12 stuivers. De Crasto's brother in Brazil still owed 2,359 guilders 18 stuivers to Daniel Pinto for two bills of exchange drawn in Recife on May 2, 1644. Frances requested De Crasto to pay the balance of his brother's debt. On January 14, 1659, Thomas Bonisse of Amsterdam and Gasiot Dutheim of Bordeaux demanded 23,038 Carolus guilders from Harmanus Potey and Jacob del Monte which they owed Bonisse and Dutheim for several bills of exchange.⁹³ There is an interesting docu-

⁹² MS, Padthuyzen, 2109.

⁹³ Idem, 2888. Further examples of bills of exchange activities in Jewish hands are: On March 15, 1658, Jacq Jansz. of Rotterdam was ordered to pay 212 guilders 10 stuivers to Mordechaij Abendana of Amsterdam for an unpaid bill of exchange. Abendana gave power of attorney to Duarte Fernandez Veiga of Rotterdam. On March 17, 1659, Simon de Goa, alias David Anthunis, representing his Company, Simon and Henrico de Goa, alias David and Abraham Anthunis, declared that Guillemo da Silva owed him 311 crowns and 93 "grooten" for a bill of exchange. Da Silva went bankrupt and the Goas ceded their claim to Daniel de Pinto who was one of the endorsers of the bill of exchange. Da Silva also owed Jacob de Pinto for a bill of exchange. Daniel was given power of attorney by Jacob, dated September 12, 1659. On September 16, 1659, a certain Stichter of Nantes drew a bill of exchange on Jacques Brandel of Amsterdam for 1,000 livres tournois. The bill was made out to the order of Jan Gabay. On the day it came due Brandel did not pay and Gabay sent the notary to protest this non-payment. (November 17, 1659). On August 3, 1660, Joseph Nunes Franco and Henriques Mendes, both of Amsterdam, declared at the request of Manuel Ximenes of that city that they knew that a certain bill of exchange at the rate 120 to 122 great ducats had been drawn on Amsterdam from Malaga in December of last year. The reason they knew of this is that they themselves had received several bills of exchange at that rate and also had made payments on bills of exchange on the basis of that rate. On June 14, 1660, Mordechaij Abendana of Amsterdam declared that he was willing to pay a certain bill of exchange amounting to 485 guilders provided the bill was drawn against the account of Pierre Goffray de la Fontaine of Martinique. On August 21, 1657, Manuel Nunes de Mercado declared that he had given five bills of exchange amounting to 800 crowns of 400 reis each to Melchior Robijn. The bills of exchange were made out to the

ment dealing with a bill of exchange for 500 guilders held by the philosopher Baruch (Bento) Spinoza.⁹⁴

As we have seen, the city's Exchange Bank limited its activity to trade in precious metals and the opening of accounts. Trading in bills of exchange was carried on by merchants who conducted banking business as a branch of their commercial activities. They were merchants first and bankers secondarily, although there were a few individuals who specialized in banking.⁹⁵

G. THE CRISES OF 1763 AND 1773

One of the cardinal abuses attendant upon the trade in bills of exchange was known as "wisselruiterij" "kite flying". This process involved the drawing of bills of exchange which are not sanctioned by any commercial transaction. To illustrate: A, in Amsterdam draws a bill of exchange on C, in Sweden, B, in Hamburg draws on A in Amsterdam, and C in Sweden draws a bill of exchange on B in Hamburg. All three bills are discounted. A contemporary states that on every post-day between Sweden, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, bills of exchange were drawn and re-drawn for the sole purpose of getting cash and making profit.⁹⁶ It is evident that speculators who needed immediate cash to carry on their activities availed themselves of this process. It at once becomes apparent that if one link in this chain breaks, all those involved suffer collapse unless an immediate reservoir of cash is on hand.

account of Simon Rodrigues Chaves. On September 19, 1660, the German Jew, Leman Gompert, accepted a bill of exchange amounting to 600 "rijksdaalders" made out to the account of Jacob de Lima. On December 17, 1661, Aron Quirido protested a bill of exchange on Abraham Clocher for the amount of 257:10 pounds Flemish. On December 9, 1661, Bartholome Rodrigues protested a French bill of exchange for 1,187½ écus (An écu equals 2½ guilders) 98¼ deniers, made out to the order of Simon Soares and Alfonso Alvares Penso. On September 28, 1661, Diego Mendes de Britto protested a French bill of exchange for 500 escudos (An escudo equals approximately five guilders) made out to the order of Francisco Vas Iaidro. On February 10, 1661, Emerentia Hanmans of Amsterdam, widow of Jan Tillij, protested a bill of exchange for 1,000 guilders made out to the order of Alfonso Gomes Dias. On September 23, 1661, Simon Rodrigues Nunes declared that the bill of exchange for £ 100 drawn by Henry Meddlicot of London on Alexander Kempen of Dantzic had not been paid. A sworn Amsterdam broker in bills of exchange, Manuel de Pinz, is called in and declared that the £ was at the present time worth 35 shilling (Dutch schelling) and 10 "grooten". MSS. Idem, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890. The examples cited are only a few from the portfolios of one notary for a period of about four years (1658-1661) and merely serve as an indication of the manifold activity in this field.

⁹⁴ Vaz Dias, *Spinoza Mercator*, pp. 27 and 64.

⁹⁵ Van der Kooy, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

⁹⁶ *De Koopman*, V, p. 145.

"Kite flying" was not confined to Amsterdam, its center, it was a common practice throughout eighteenth century Europe. For instance, when after the Seven Years War, Frederick the Great attempted to correct the diminished value of his coinage, there was a shortage of money. In order to rectify the shortage, many bills of exchange were made out to be discounted in Amsterdam. The situation brought about the export of three times as much money from Amsterdam as was brought into it from Germany. The difference was paid in bills of exchange which only remained valuable as long as Prussian credit was good. Due to the more efficient control of coins in circulation in Germany the necessities of life became much more expensive. German securities dropped to one-quarter of their value. Native merchants suffered enormous losses and were unable to pay their bills of exchange on the stipulated dates. The Prussian debt in bills of exchange to Holland was fifteen times greater than the amount of available cash. Holland was short of currency because England had borrowed huge sums from the Dutch capitalists. So eager were these money kings to put their capital out to work, that they were indifferent as to whether England would direct the money borrowed from Dutchmen against the Dutch state.⁹⁷ In that same period England had to pay large amounts of money for the support of Prussia and for the payment of her own troops in Hanover. These payments were made partly in money and partly in bills of exchange payable by Amsterdam banks.

When the German bills of exchange came due and the Dutch capitalists were unable to come to their aid, the inevitable crash was precipitated. The situation was aggravated by the losses sustained from wild-cat speculation. A Jewish concern, Arend Joseph & Co., failed in the beginning of 1763. On July 25, 1763 occurred the bankruptcy of one of the largest Dutch Christian concerns, the Gebroeders Neufville, a bank which had existed for two centuries and had played an important international rôle, especially in stock trading. The failures of these concerns dragged many others in their wake. 30 bankruptcies were soon reported, and by August 50 failures had occurred.⁹⁸ A panic ensued in Amsterdam. The Jews were among the greatest sufferers because of their active participation in

⁹⁷ *Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*, II, 1763, p. 638.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 643. *De Koopman*, IV, p. 413.

bill of exchange trading.⁹⁹ In August, 1763 nine Portuguese Jewish bankers from Amsterdam sent a request to the court of their city asking that leniency be shown in regard to the law on bills of exchange in order that payment might be postponed and a longer interval granted to meet obligations. This request was denied them and they, like their Christian colleagues, were forced into bankruptcy.¹⁰⁰

Many houses were sucked into the whirlpool of failures. They later discovered that they were not as badly off as they had at first imagined, especially when it was ascertained that rumors about the bad conditions in other countries had been greatly exaggerated. Some of the bankrupt concerns realized that they could pay their debts. To help matters, many firms in Hamburg, Altona, and Berlin recalled their bills of exchange thus affording the Amsterdam merchants time to recuperate.¹⁰¹

Much critical literature appeared condemning the bankruptcies.¹⁰² Arend Joseph is made the special butt of criticism. He is pictured as departing from Amsterdam in a coach and six, leaving a debt behind him of 100,000 guilders and taking 600,000 guilders with him to a free city (Kuilenburg, Holland) where it could not be touched.¹⁰³

The crisis year was followed by a short period of revival. After the peace in western Europe, 1766, commerce once more yielded substantial profits. Financial conditions were considerably bettered because the interest on the national debt was lowered from four to two and one-half per cent.¹⁰⁴ The revival, however, was of short duration. Again the public began to indulge in all kinds of artificially inflated speculations. Voices of warning were raised. In 1771 an article was printed which pointed out the detrimental influence exerted upon commerce by these speculations. Special mention is made

⁹⁹ As a result of all these Amsterdam failures, bills of exchange returned to Hamburg unpaid. The Jews there were in danger because many concerns demanded immediate payment. The Hamburg Jews claimed that they would be able to meet their debts as they expected a million from Berlin. *Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*, II, 1763, pp. 641-644.
¹⁰⁰ W. P. Sautijn Kluijt, *De Amsterdamsche Beurs in 1763 en 1773*, Amsterdam, 1863, p. 36.

¹⁰¹ *Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*, II, 1763, pp. 645-646. *De Koopman*, IV, p. 416.

¹⁰² *Brief van den Heere N... aan den Heere C.... wegens de Hamburger Koopliden en derzelver Bankroeten*, MDCCLXIII, 16 pages, in which the Jews are said to be slanderers. Sautijn Kluijt, op. cit., p. 50.

¹⁰³ *De verlijding der Rijkdommen verbeeld in zamenpraak tusschen Mercuur, A.... J.... en Bankroet*. (Probably Arend Joseph). Sautijn Kluijt, op. cit., pp. 54 ff. There are other pictures in which Arend Joseph is condemned.

¹⁰⁴ Sautijn Kluijt, op. cit., pp. 39 ff.

of "the example of the Portuguese Jews, the entire loss of their real commerce and foreign trade in this country, the total decline of their trade with Spain, Portugal, and the West, the ruin of their sugar trade, refineries, jewelry trade, diamond polishing plants, and other types of traffic." This warning availed nothing. Two years later we read, "Trade in stock and negotiations in these 'windhandels' (wild-cat-speculations) flourishes here and in London, etc., for the most part under the influence of the Portuguese Jews. Besides the regular Exchange they have their own separate meeting places and coffee houses and usually have a separate stock exchange in the Jewish quarter, because these transactions are of importance to the country and to the city. It is these Portuguese Jews in the main, an easy going, lazy people, who do not like much work and tend by nature toward display and bravado, who have mostly forsaken commerce and given themselves to these inflated speculations, a semi-madness which turns everything topsy turvy. Those among them who for centuries were very rich capitalists, are now generally so far gone that the signs of poverty are visible."¹⁰⁵

In the same year, 1773, the second crisis occurred. It was chiefly brought about by three causes: 1) a repetition of the old abuses of trade in bills of exchange, 2) and more important perhaps, the reckless speculations in stock, and 3) the fall of the English East India Company in which the Dutch invested 40,000,000 guilders.¹⁰⁶ The fall of this Company caused many English banks to fail together with their Dutch associates. On October 27, 1772, Clifford en Zoonen, of Amsterdam, which had been one of the most important banking firms of Europe for over a century, stopped payment. As a result many huge failures followed. Bankruptcies amounting to 20,000 or 30,000 guilders were as nothing, one spoke only of failures involving millions.¹⁰⁷ Capitalists sat on their money chests and withdrew whatever currency was outstanding. The small investors suffered more severely in this crisis than they had in that of 1763 because the great moneyed interests refused to help them. As a consequence, they were driven to sell their possessions at a loss in order to realize immediate ready cash. The trustees of the Bank of Amsterdam were among the

¹⁰⁵ *De Koopman*, II, pp. 425 ff., Wolff, BVGO, X, pp. 368-369. *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*, I, 1773, p. 80.

¹⁰⁶ Vissering, op. cit., *De Gids*, 1836, pp. 666 ff.

¹⁰⁷ *De Koopman*, IV, pp. 295 and 298 ff.

few who wished to help the small capitalist. They tried in every way possible to extend credit, but Amsterdam was stagnant. Clifford en Zoonen's failure had been too great a shock.

As a result of this crisis the treasury of the city of Amsterdam appropriated 2,000,000 guilders for the establishment of a *Kantoor van Beleening* (Loan Office), an institution enabling merchants to realize cash on unperishable goods, federal and provincial stock and East India securities. Certain capitalists followed the example of the City and extended credit, which slowly improved conditions.

To compare the crises of 1763 and 1773, we find that while the first one was mainly caused by *wisselruiterij* (kite-flying) traceable to the Seven Years War, the later crisis was chiefly brought about by an unparalleled mania for speculation: both crises, however, had this in common, lack of sufficient cash in hand to pay for outstanding obligations brought on the debacle. In both panics the Jews were involved and suffered great losses. In the crisis of 1773 London was deeply implicated. An important English banking concern had discounted bills of exchange amounting to £ 200,000 for a prominent house in Amsterdam. We are told that Fordyce, the first banker to fail in London, had connections with many Jews there and in Amsterdam. One of the reasons assigned for Fordyce's failure was the Bank of England's refusal to discount bills of exchange drawn on Jews.¹⁰⁸

While we do not know how many Jews were ruined in these crises,¹⁰⁹ we know that their efforts to rehabilitate themselves with their creditors were looked upon with favor. Some of them repaid 50 per cent at once, 25 per cent in bills of exchange and 25 per cent in loans on their goods.¹¹⁰

The Portuguese Jews, as a group, never regained their financial eminence after these crises. The Ashkenazim, by and large, did not suffer as much from the catastrophies. They were not as deeply involved because they were for the most part without much capital.

Holland herself never again assumed her old position as com-

¹⁰⁸ *Réflexions sur les dernières Banqueroutes en Angleterre et Hollande et Conduite du Ministère Anglois à ce sujet: Imprimé à Londres en MDCCCLXXIII, et se trouve chez Pierre Tartara, Libraire à Amsterdam*, described by Sautijn, op. cit., p. 89.

¹⁰⁹ We cannot determine how many Jewish concerns failed as contemporaries do not record the names of those firms which were swept away in the upheaval.

¹¹⁰ *De Koopman*, IV, pp. 311 and 331. Sautijn Kluijt, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

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mercial sovereign of the world and although conditions did improve after the second crash, the fourth English war, 1780-1784 and finally the conquest by the French in 1796, dealt the death blow to the Netherlands as a first rate power.

CHAPTER VI

AFFLUENCE AND DECLINE

A. AFFLUENCE

About the middle of the seventeenth century Amsterdam reached the pinnacle of its wealth and influence. It was the leading import harbor of goods for home consumption, the most important place for export of Dutch products such as cattle and fish, and the chief harbor from which goods from all over the world were reloaded and re-shipped. It was as well the large storehouse of merchandise for the whole of Europe, the principal emporium for Indian goods and the center of money trade.¹

The number of the city's inhabitants rose from 145,900 in 1637 to 185,700 in 1685, it reached 241,000 in 1748 but fell to 217,000 in 1796. In 1672 there were 26,000 houses in Amsterdam. There were said to be about 6,000 ships in the harbor at a time.² So great was the wealth of Amsterdam that in the middle of the seventeenth century a City Hall was erected costing about 7,825,000 guilders.³

The Portuguese Jews at that time formed about one and one-half per cent of the population and owned 300 houses.⁴ It is beyond doubt that a proportionately large number of them were wealthy and exerted some influence upon the economic life of the time. When

¹ Laspeyres, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

² Blok, *op. cit.*, *BMHGU*, XXII, 1901, p. 19 (dated 1660): "The masts of 6,000 vessels in the harbor always create the semblance of a forest". This may be an exaggeration but if it is partially true, it remains illustrative. A comment of the same order is made by another contemporary writer, A. Boussignault, *Le Guide Universel de tous les dix sept Provinces*, Paris, 1672; "(Holland) has more houses on the sea than on land."

³ Hans Bontemantel, "Huijzen ende Erven bij de Stadt van tijdt tot tijdt aengekocht ende by taxatie sengenomen ten dienste van 't oudt ende om the maeken een nieuwe stadthuys", *De Navorscher*, XLI, 1891, pp. 123 ff., with notes by Jacobus Noordkerk, first clerk of the city at that time. Hans Bontemantel was an official of the city from 1613 to 1672.

⁴ Menasch ben Israel, *Humble Addresser*. According to Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", *VA*, VIII, July 3, 1931, p. 219, the Jews possessed only 200 houses, two of which belonged to German Jews. Da Silva Rosa in his article "Amsterdam" in *EJ*, II, p. 723, estimates the Portuguese community at 4,000 people at the end of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century the community of Amsterdam was the largest Jewish community in Europe.

one member of a small group is estimated to be worth 8,000,000 guilders, another is said to have loaned William III, 2,000,000 guilders without interest, and still a third is listed as having given 40,000 guilders to charity which was one-tenth of his income, there can be little doubt that there was wealth among the Jews of Amsterdam. Furthermore, when the city of Amsterdam was threatened by the French in 1672, the Jewish community is said to have offered 2,000,000 guilders to Louis XIV if the army would save their quarter.⁵

In contrast to these figures a Dutch scholar⁶ published tax lists which show that in 1674 the largest capital of a single Jew, Anthony Lopes Suasso, was estimated at 231,000 guilders. Even if we consider the possibility of tax evasion and conjecture that the 2,000,000 guilders loaned to William III were gleaned from various members of the De Pinto family, there is still the fortune of 8,000,000 guilders to be considered and the large charity gift. The tax records further accentuate the contrast between the impression of immense fortunes and the actual taxable capital.

There were 245 Portuguese Jews taxed in 1674, the total Jewish capital assessed for that year being 3,621,800 guilders. It is estimated that there were about 2,500 Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam at that time. Therefore, 9.8 per cent of the total Portuguese Jewish population paid taxes. Portuguese Jewish per capita capital in 1674 amounted to 1,448 guilders 72 cents. The taxable capital of the entire population of that year totalled 158,582,000 guilders or 828 guilders 27 cents per capita. The fact that the Sephardim were richer per capita than the rest of the population does not indicate that the Jews were wealthier than the Christians. It merely makes clear that the contrast between the very rich and the very poor among the Sephardim was not as marked. The sum of the capital of the 12 richest Jews amounted to 1,222,000 guilders.⁷ Comparing this sum with the personal fortune of one Chris-

⁵ "Izaak de Pinto", *JIN*, III, 1837, pp. 157-196. Schudt, op. cit., I, p. 293, gives the text of De Pinto's will which does not sound authentic and about which he expresses some doubt. Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 69. *Mémoires de Gourville* (1670-1702), publié par la Société de l'Histoire de France par Léon Lecestre, Paris, 1895, II, p. 57. No doubt, this proposition was made by Mendes Flores, the correspondent of de Gourville in Amsterdam. However, the French forces turned their attention to Arnhem rather than to Amsterdam.

⁶ Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", *VA*, VIII, July 3, 1931, pp. 218 ff.

⁷ The twelve richest Jews were:

Anthony Lopes Suasso	231,000 guilders	Jacob d'Elmonte	87,000 guilders
Widow Galopos Pinto	130,000 guilders	Mozes de Pinto	75,000 guilders

tian, Gerbrand Omnia, who possessed 650,000 guilders, and Jan Corver who was worth 400,000 guilders, we see that Jewish wealth lagged far behind that of the Christian. 90 non-Jews, not even among the wealthiest of the city, possessed a combined capital of 9,000,000 guilders, a striking contrast to the 3,621,800 guilders of the 245 Jews taxed.⁸ If we compare the per capita wealth of the Portuguese Jews in 1631⁹ with that of 1674 we see that there is a per capita increase of not quite 1,000 guilders. This increase does not indicate that all the wealth was acquired in Holland. Many rich Jews from other lands had moved to Amsterdam in the interval.

As we have shown, the influence of Jewish wealth has been greatly exaggerated. There are notarial acts revealing that many Jews protested against the taxes levied on them, claiming that their capital was not great enough to warrant taxation.¹⁰ Even in a city of mer-

Isak de Pinto	121,000 guilders	Jacob de Pinto	61,000 guilders
Salomon Salombias de Pas	117,000 guilders	Isak de Pinedo	60,000 guilders
Widow David Curiel	117,000 guilders	David Franco da Costa	60,000 guilders
David v. Isak de Pinto	100,000 guilders	Isak da Costa Furtado	59,000 guilders

Besides these 12 richest Jews there were:

19 persons with a capital of 50,000 to 26,000 guilders each

27 persons with a capital of 25,000 to 16,000 guilders each

34 persons with a capital of 15,000 to 11,000 guilders each

41 persons with a capital of 10,000 to 6,000 guilders each

37 persons with a capital of 5,000 to 3,000 guilders each

39 persons with a capital of 2,000 guilders each

36 persons with a capital of 1,000 guilders each

⁸ Vaz Dias, *ibid.*

⁹ See p. 11.

¹⁰ Samuel Abarbanel mentioned as "Solicitor" was employed by different Jews to protest on their behalf to the States General and the burgomasters of Amsterdam concerning what they consider the unfair taxes. On October 13, 1669, Juna Nunes Henriques, widow of Juan Rodrigues Faro, and son, Enrique Mendes da Silva, the widow of Isacq Salom and son, Jacob Enriques, Andres Nunes, Simon Correa, widow of Diogenesta da Paivo, Abraham Nunes Belmonte, widow of Antonio de Pas, Isaacque de Mesa, Jacob Rodrigues Mendes and Salomon Salom asked Samuel Abarbanel to protest in their name against the government's taxing their capital as they claim not to possess enough wealth to fall under the tax law. We are not told in this case what minimum capital they possess. On October 22, 1659, Samuel Vae appointed the same solicitor for the same purpose. Two days later an identical procedure was followed by Aron Capadoza. On October 31, 1659, Moses, alias Gaspar d'Olievera, appointed Abarbanel to protest to the government that he had not the 3,000 guilders upon which sum he had been taxed, and on the same date another protest was filed in the name of the widow of Isaac d'Olievera against taxation on 2,000 guilders. Three days later, November 3, 1659, Claes Pietsrz. Italisender followed the same procedure claiming that his capital did not amount to 1,000 guilders. On the same date Abbas, son of Francisco Dias Gorgio, protested through Abarbanel that he did not possess 3,000 guilders. The next day David Abraham Antunes made a protest through Abarbanel in which no amount was mentioned. On January 26, 1660, Rachel Henriques employed Abarbanel to protest against the "thousandth penning" (one-tenth per cent) stating that she had no possessions within

chants like Amsterdam¹¹ the number of them in that walk of life¹² and their pomposity and show, attracted considerable attention. A story was circulated¹³ that one of the rooms in De Pinto's house was paved with silver ducats. A contemporary Christian pastor¹⁴ berates the extreme showiness and luxury of the Portuguese Jewish dress and manner of life. All this probably led to an exaggeration of Jewish wealth and influence by Christian contemporaries. Although thus far no way has been found to determine just how much trade and wealth the Jews brought to Amsterdam, all appearances would indicate that their influence was very large in proportion to the population but not in proportion to the entire trading activity of the city. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that when Menasseh ben Israel was agitating for the admission of the Jews into England, the Dutch government instructed its ambassador in London to make sure that Menasseh was not forming plans for the exodus of the Jews from Amsterdam. The ambassador followed instructions and reported that the Dutch Rabbi was speaking for the admission of such Jews to England as were persecuted by the Inquisition.¹⁵ This incident serves to emphasize once again that the Amsterdam government valued the wealth and influence of its Jewish inhabitants.

The Parnassim, regarded as the heads of the Jewish community by the city government, often extended their influence to the individual lives of the members of their group. This ruling body was

or outside the provinces. On March 24, 1660, the widow of Jacob Athias, alias Francisco Vas de Kras, represented by Jacob da Costa, protested against being taxed the "two hundredth penning" (one-half per cent) as she did not possess more than 4,000 guilders, and on the same date the widow of Isaac Chamis, represented by Abraham Chamis, protests that she was not taxable because her capital did not amount to 1,000 guilders. MSS, Padthuyzen, 2888 and 2889.

¹¹ As early as May 15, 1631, the philosopher Descartes wrote to Balzac, speaking of Amsterdam: "In this large city in which I am there is not a single man save myself, who does not occupy himself with merchandise. Everyone is so intent upon his profit that I could live here my whole life without being seen by anyone". Uselinx, a leading merchant of the time, said: "The greatest nobleman is he who invests in the (India) Companies." Priebeatsch, op. cit., p. 581.

¹² See p. 204, p. 212 and p. 213 for the number of Amsterdam Jews.

¹³ Schudt, op. cit., p. 277. In 1696 during a rebellion a mob plundered the house of a former burgomaster and the dwellings of some other prominent citizens among whom "the rich Jew" De Pinto's dwelling is mentioned. J. F. L. de Balbian Verster, *Burgemeesters van Amsterdam in de 17e en 18e Eeuw*, Zutphen, 1932, p. 119. *De Koopman*, II, p. 391, mentions the De Pinto family among the patrons of the arts.

¹⁴ J. Trigland mentioned in *De Navorscher*, XVI, 1866, p. 6.

¹⁵ Sombart, *Jews*, p. 19. J. Thurloe, *A Collection of the State Papers*, London, 1742, IV, pp. 308 and 333.

sometimes called upon to act as guardian for orphans or as administrator of estates or executor of wills. The congregation was the beneficiary of legacies, which sometimes evoked protests from the other heirs of the deceased. About February, 1670 the wealthy Jacob Delmonte, alias Jacob d'el Sotto, alias Jacobs van den Bergh, alias Mareo d'el Sotto, alias Cornelius Cock Dirckz, etc., one of Rembrandt's neighbors, died. The Parnassim knew that they had been made executors of the will which left large bequests to the Jewish community. Delmonte's heirs denied the existence of the will. His widow was summoned to the City Hall. She stated that during his sickness her late husband had told his bookkeeper David d'Aguilar to annul the will which the deceased burnt before his death. The Parnassim protested and brought suit, but as at least three of the heirs of the deceased were "poorters" (citizens), the city government did not favor the Parnassim and forbade the pronouncement of the ban upon those who opposed them. The Parnassim made a futile effort to enlist the Ashkenazic rabbis in their cause. After the litigation the heirs instituted a synagogue of their own and purchased a piece of burial ground adjoining that of the community. Nearly two years later, at the close of 1671, the heirs compromised with the congregation, donating 40,000 guilders to the community and presenting it with three-quarters of their private cemetery.¹⁶

Never before or since has the cultural activity of the Sephardim in Amsterdam born such varied secular fruits. The poets, calligraphers, painters, and copper-etchers of that time were the fine flower of Sephardic culture. The community boasted men like the poet-historian Daniel Levi de Barrios, the poets David Jessurum, Hazan David Abenatar Mello, Antonio Enriques Gomez, the litterateurs Menasseh ben Israel,¹⁷ David Cohen de Lara, Moses Israel de Mercado, the philosopher Alonso de Herrera, the medallist Elion, the calligraphers Abraham Fidanque, Jacob Guedella and Benjamin Senior Godines. De la Vega, who besides being an economist was a writer of some

¹⁶ I. Maarsen, "De Responsa als bron voor de Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland", *BMG/WN*, V, 1934, pp. 143 ff. There are many wills in the *Notarieel Archief*, which have not yet been investigated. As one instance of such a will, see Appendix E. Another will, a copy of which is in my possession, is that of Sara Henriques Faro, alias Leonor da Costa, widow of Thomas Rodrigues Henrique, "an inhabitant of this city (Amsterdam) for twelve years." She left 500 guilders to the Talmud Torah *Etz Haim*, 500 guilders to the Jewish Orphanage, 500 guilders to provide dowries and 1,000 guilders to be donated among the poor. The will is dated June 6, 1661. MS, Padthuyssen, 2490.

¹⁷ Kayserling, op. cit., pp. 85 ff. Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 34 ff.

note, also composed a Hebrew drama¹⁸ and some popular short stories. Like so many of his cultured and wealthy contemporaries he did not confine himself to things Hebrew. One of the outstanding painters was Salom Italia who executed a portrait of Jacob Jehuda da Leone in 1641, of Menasseh ben Israel in 1642 and illustrated his *Piedra Gloriosa*. Other well-known painters were Jacob da Carpi from Verona and Si. da Silva.¹⁹ Jacob Jehuda da Leone (Templo) made a colossal model of Solomon's temple which was later purchased by Queen Henrietta Maria of England. Toward the end of the seventeenth century there were at least two renowned etchers in copper: B. de Almeyda and Abraham ben Jacob, a convert. Among the many copper-etchers in Amsterdam in the eighteenth century two of the better known are Lopes de Oliveira and Ahron Santcroos.

The Sephardic community published a newspaper, printed by David de Castro Tartas, "Gazetta de Amsterdam" which lasted from 1675 until 1690. It was printed in Spanish and was destined for the various Marrano colonies as well as for Amsterdam Jewry. It contained only political, commercial, and shipping news, every Jewish element was carefully omitted since the paper was also sent to the Crypto-Jews in Spain and Portugal. The German Jews, likewise, published a paper which lasted for one year, 1686-1687.²⁰ It appeared twice weekly and was written in Judeo-German.

By far the greatest personality created in the New Jerusalem was Baruch Despinosa. Despite his rejection and excommunication by the Jewish community, he shed more glory upon the city on the Amstel than all the commerce and culture of his erstwhile brethren. This arch-rebel, rejected by his people, gave the world new insights and opened new continents in the realm of thought. He was undoubtedly in large measure the product of the tradition and literature which his people

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁹ Wolf, op. cit., p. 50. A work on the cultural life of Amsterdam Jewry is still a desideratum.

²⁰ Seeligmann, "Ueber die erste juedische Ansiedelung in Amsterdam", *MJ/V*, 1923, pp. 7-8. C. P. Burger Jr., "De Gazeta de Amsterdam", *Het Boek*, XII, 1923, pp. 57-74. Sautijn Kluijt, "Bijdragen omtrent de Fransche, Amsterdamsche en Leidsche Couranten", *BVG*, IV, 2de reeks, 1866, pp. 23-24, mentions a French paper, published in Leiden and later in Amsterdam, which was at first called *Traduction libre des Gazettes Flamanes et autres*. It then changed its title to *La Gazette d'Amsterdam*, à Amsterdam, chez Corneille Jansz. Zwol au Mercure, derrière la Maison de Ville", (June 13, 1679). Whether this paper is in any way connected with the one printed in the Portuguese community, we do not know. However, both publications appeared under the same title at the same time.

fostered in Amsterdam. His father added to the splendor of the Dutch metropolis and to the local renown of his people as a merchant but the son who was abjured by solemn excommunication, will be remembered as a prince of the empire of thought.²¹

In the period of which we treat there were many Jews in Amsterdam representing different countries. Strictly speaking, their capacity was that of commercial attaché. They were the intermediaries between the country they represented and the buyers of their country's merchandise, combining commercial and diplomatic activities. Among these attachés may be numbered the Pallaches, Moses Curiel, alias Geronimo Nunes da Costa, commercial attaché from Portugal, whose home William III visited in 1696;²² and the Belmonte family, diplomatic representatives from Spain.²³ Other well-known figures were Moses Machado, purveyor of supplies to the Dutch and English armies, and favorite of William III who often commissioned him to go on diplomatic missions, and Isaac, alias Antonio Isaac Lopez Suasso who was made Baron of Averno Le Gras by Charles II of Spain, in recognition of the diplomatic services rendered him.²⁴ When in 1681 the States General requested the Sultan of Morocco to resume the former friendly relations between his realm and the United Provinces, David Mesquita was sent as envoy to conclude peace between the two countries. Haim Toledano and his son, Massahod de la Mar, and David Schalom d'Azevedo also occupied diplomatic posts in connection with Morocco. Isaac Saportas was Haim Toledano's secretary and interpreter. The d'Azevedo family was quite prominent in diplomatic circles. Besides the afore-mentioned, the Dutch government commissioned Henrico d'Azevedo to make peace with Algiers in 1659. In 1680 Louis d'Azevedo was Resident to Holland from Algiers. Abraham d'Assevedo exercised his good offices in Holland and Brazil.²⁵

²¹ We now know that Baruch (Bento) Despinosa was also a merchant before his excommunication, see Vaz Dias, *Spinoza Mercator*, pp. 63 ff. H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of Spinoza unfolding the latent processes of his reasoning*, Cambridge, Mass., 1934.

²² Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 100.

²³ Schudt, op. cit., I, p. 181, finds it worthy of note "that they (the Spaniards) who so hate the Jews, appoint them to offices of Agent and Resident". See also R. Gottlieb, *The Belmont-Belmonte Family*, New York, 1917. De Balbian Verster, *Amstelodamum*, 25e Jaarboek, 1928, pp. 177-190.

²⁴ Koenen, op. cit., pp. 208 ff. Y. van Hamelaveld, *Geschiedenis der Joden*, Amsterdam, 1807, p. 333. Da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 101.

²⁵ See pp. 143 ff. Graetz, op. cit., X, p. 234. Wolff, op. cit., BVGO, X, 1912, p. 179. De Castro, *Grafsteden*, p. 98, mentions David Shalom d'Azevedo as resident from Algiers.

Isaac Saportas and David Torres were effectual in concluding peace between Algiers and Holland toward the end of the seventeenth century. There were many more diplomats and attachés of lesser importance.²⁶

Unlike their Sephardic brethren the Ashkenazic Jews, because of different background and tradition, were not concerned with secular matters but were deeply engrossed in the study of the Talmud. Strangely enough, they produced no great Hebrew scholars. Lack of secular culture excluded them from many of the pursuits engaged in by their more prosperous co-religionists.²⁷ In spite of the great influx of poor Jews from other countries, the Ashkenazic community by dint of sober industry and thrift had acquired a certain degree of prosperity. The tax figures for 1674 reveal the following: there were eleven Ashkenazim with a capital of 1,000 guilders or more. The wealthiest was Ruben Gompertz, who possessed 3,000 guilders.²⁸ We have no Jewish census figures for 1674 but know that in 1720 the number of Ashkenazim was estimated at 9,000. It is self evident that, as compared with the Sephardim, the Ashkenazic group was poor indeed.

B. DECLINE

The forces making for decline began to manifest themselves as early as the second half of the seventeenth century. England passed the "Navigation acts" in 1651, stipulating that foreign goods could only be brought to England in English ships or in ships of the country that produced the goods to be imported. The French statesman Colbert instituted a policy of protective tariff in 1664. Five years previous to this he had decided to forbid the loading of foreign ships in French harbors as long as there were French ships available. Moreover, the French increased their merchant marine, thus becoming less dependent on Dutch bottoms to carry their goods. Since Holland

²⁶ It is curious that the Dutch government itself seldom employed Jews to represent it.

²⁷ Possibly Boas Pinhas, to whom in 1699 the States General promised 400 guilders if he could make peace between the Republic and Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, was a German Jew. Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, XVII, p. 19.

²⁸ The eleven richest Ashkenazim were:

Ruben Gompertz possessing	3,000 guilders	Salomon Isak Cohen poss'ing	2,400 guilders
Symon Wessel	" 1,400 guilders	Mozes Levi	" 1,000 guilders
Levy Abrahams	" 1,000 guilders	Jacob Benjamin	" 1,200 guilders
Alexander Polack	" 1,000 guilders	Aron Josef	" 1,000 guilders
Joel Levi	" 1,000 guilders	Salomon Koberen	" 1,000 guilders
Isak Cohen	" 2,000 guilders		

Vaz Dias, "Vermogenstoestand", VA, VIII, July 3, 1931, p. 218.

owed much of its prosperity to its function as the carrier of Europe, when foreign carriers were excluded by England and France, Holland was dealt a severe blow. The second English war (1665-1667) brought further disaster with the loss of her North American colonies.

Although the English and French policy seriously affected Holland, and although Colbert's principle of protective tariff was soon followed by other nations, the Dutch still retained a considerable degree of prosperity on account of their ramified commercial connections and long experience as commercial masters of the world. However, after the War of the Spanish Succession, in 1713, the republic found itself in a bad plight. Its debts were increased by 350,000,000 guilders expended in the maintenance of a large standing army and navy, and financial subsidy to its allies. In order to lessen its debts, the government diminished its military and naval forces. From that time on Holland followed a policy of peace because it realized that the great powers were now far superior to it on the sea. When, after the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748, Europe finally knew a period of peace, Holland felt the weight of foreign competition very severely. During the Seven Years War the Republic was so weak that it could not protect its neutrality, consequently the English took its ships and merchandise without fear of retaliation.

If foreign competition made for the loss of Dutch commercial hegemony, the internal condition of the country was not calculated to counteract these influences. During the first two decades of the eighteenth century, a real degeneration had set in in Holland. A very different group of men from the "Beggars of the Sea" and merchant adventurers of times past now ruled in Amsterdam. In the seventeenth century the sons of the patricians had had a thorough business training. Far different conditions obtained in the following century. Through corruption and bribery, positions of profit and importance were given to the infant-heirs of the upper classes. Another contributory factor in the decline of the republic was the misappropriation of taxes. When the evils of this system became apparent, about the middle of the eighteenth century, and the practice of creating sinecures for favored relatives was less popular, the luxury loving patrician dilettantes instead of reverting to commercial pursuits, attempted to live by their wits on the stock exchange.²⁰ Needless to say, the

²⁰ Balbian *Verster, Burgermeesteri*, p. 119.

country's commerce suffered greatly. As we have already indicated, a peculiar situation existed. The nation was poor but boasted of a large number of fabulously rich subjects, among whom were some wealthy Jews.

The tax records of 1743 once more furnish specific information as to Jewish wealth. In this case we have the annual income of the taxable individuals. There are:

9 Portuguese Jews with annual incomes of from 50,000 to 10,000	
22 Portuguese Jews with annual incomes of from 10,000 to 5,000	
74 Portuguese Jews with annual incomes of from 5,000 to 2,000	
67 Portuguese Jews with annual incomes of from 2,000 to 1,000	
111 Portuguese Jews with annual incomes of from 1,000 to 800	
	guilders ³⁰

In all, there were 283 Sephardic Jews taxed, with a total annual income of 838,500 guilders. There are no definite population figures for the Portuguese Jews in the year under consideration. The first reliable census was taken in 1796. There were then about 2,400 Sephardim. Allowing for the decrease of Sephardic population, due to the decline, it is safe to estimate the number in 1743 at about 3,000, the more so because the figures for 1674 were estimated at 2,500. The Portuguese Jews paid 17,956 guilders income tax that year, or six guilders per capita. The total income tax revenue for the year under discussion was 392,645 guilders. Estimating the total population of Amsterdam at 240,000, the tax paid per capita comes to one guilder 63 cents, which once more illustrates that the riches of the Sephardim was more equally distributed than was Christian wealth. If we compare the annual income with the taxable capitals in the year 1674 we see what an increase in wealth had accrued to the Sephardim. In 1674 the total taxable *capital* amounted to 3,621,800 guilders and in 1743 the total annual *income* was 838,500 guilders or a little less than one-quarter of the earlier total capital. This in-

³⁰ Vaz Dias, op. cit., VA, VIII, July 17, 1931, pp. 242 ff. and July 24, 1931, pp. 262 ff. The ten highest taxed Sephardim were:

Mozes de Chaves (merchant)	with an income of 50,000 guilders annually
David Mendes Silva (merchant)	with an income of 50,000 guilders annually
David de Pinto (living on his income)	with an income of 28,000 guilders annually
Isak da Veiga Henriques (merchant)	with an income of 20,000 guilders annually
David van Josef de Pinto (living on income)	with an income of 20,000 guilders annually
Josef de Pinto (merchant)	with an income of 16,000 guilders annually
Abraham Teixeira (merchant)	with an income of 16,000 guilders annually
David Levi Ximenes (merchant)	with an income of 16,000 guilders annually
Isak de Prado (merchant)	with an income of 10,000 guilders annually
Jacques Teixeira de Mattos (merchant)	with an income of 10,000 guilders annually

crease was due to the greater value of the India Company shares, to augmented activity on the stock exchange and to the general commercial ascendancy of the country. That the Portuguese were lavish in their expenditures we have already pointed out, 14 of them had their own horses and carriages and 20 possessed country villas, beside their city residences.³¹ In 1674, however, there were few paupers among the Portuguese. In 1743, in spite of the apparent affluence, 400 well-to-do Portuguese families were burdened with the care of 800 impoverished households.³² Speculation with its hazards had brought poverty to many a Portuguese Jew who had once been well circumstanced.

The Ashkenazic Jews were not entirely uninfluenced by the tendencies of the times. In 1737, and again in 1747, at the instigation of the government,³³ the Parnassim of the Ashkenazic community in Amsterdam had to lay down rules as to the expenditure on festive occasions.³⁴ The tax records of the Ashkenazic annual income for 1743 reveals that there were:

- 1 person with an annual income of 8,000 guilders
- 2 persons with an annual income of 6,000 guilders
- 1 person with an annual income of 4,000 guilders
- 10 persons with an annual income of 3,000 to 2,000 guilders
- 38 persons with an annual income of 2,000 to 1,000 guilders
- 87 persons with an annual income of 1,000 to 800 guilders³⁵

³¹ Ibid.

³² Isaac de Pinto, *Reflexões Políticas tocante a constituição da Nação Judaica*, Amsterdam, 1748. If there were 1,200 Sephardic families in 1743 it would seem that Vaz Dias, *ibid.*, under-estimates the number by calculating the Sephardic population at 3,000. If we assign an average of four members to a family, the Sephardim would number about 4,800 and the per capita wealth would be less than four guilders.

³³ *Handvesten van Amsterdam*, pp. 485 and 492.

³⁴ At weddings or circumcisions they "were only" allowed to serve coffee, tea, cocoa, and cordial; no candy or pastry was permitted to be served or taken home. The number of guests at a circumcision was unlimited, but at weddings which "only" could last two days "only" 20 households might be entertained. If these rules were broken, in the case of a circumcision a fine of 25 "rijksdaalders" was to be imposed, in the case of a wedding the penalty was to be 100 "rijksdaalders". Wolff, *op. cit.*, BVGO, V, 1913, pp. 375 ff. Similar rules existed elsewhere, especially in many Italian communities.

³⁵ The 12 highest taxed Ashkenazim were:

Jochem Mozes (jeweler)	with an income of 8,000 guilders annually
Widow of Salomon van Norden (merchant)	with an income of 6,000 guilders annually
Salomon Philip Gompertz (merchant)	with an income of 6,000 guilders annually
Herman Abraham Keijzer (money-changer)	with an income of 4,000 guilders annually
Isak Alexander Keijzer (banker)	with an income of 3,000 guilders annually
Widow of Jacob Italiaander (mer. in tob.)	with an income of 3,000 guilders annually
Abraham Jacobs (mer. in wine and tobacco)	with an income of 3,000 guilders annually
Aaser van Norden (merchant)	with an income of 3,000 guilders annually
Benjamin Simons (jeweler)	with an income of 2,500 guilders annually

In all there were 139 Ashkenazim with a total annual income of 184,100 guilders. It is difficult to estimate how many Ashkenazim were in Amsterdam in the year under discussion, but in 1796 there were 21,000. Even if we estimate that there were merely 10,000 Ashkenazim in Amsterdam in 1743, they were poorer as a group than the general population, as they paid 3,227 guilders income tax or 32 cents income tax per capita³⁶ but if we compare the tax figures of 1743 with those of 1674 we see a considerable increase in wealth. It is important to point out here that after the beginning of Amsterdam's general decline, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the total Jewish wealth increased despite the gloomy picture painted by a contemporary.³⁷ As we have indicated above Jews were very active in the stock market and had in large measure forsaken commerce. Since the crisis was not precipitated until 1763 the Jews, generally speaking, were not as badly off as the Christians until that time.

However, there was a great deal of poverty among them, as becomes apparent from the repeated requests to the government for freedom from taxation on fuel and breadstuffs for the benefit of their poor. We find such requests in 1698, 1748, 1769, and 1785. In 1714 the community petitioned the government to grant them the right to sue such persons as failed to pay their tax for the support of the poor. This request was several times repeated.³⁸

Freedom from taxation was also accorded the Portuguese community through the good offices of Isaac de Pinto. In a pamphlet³⁹ de Pinto presents a drab picture of the economic condition of his community: "In the past 25 years the number of the contributing members to the Portuguese Jewish congregation fell from 629 to 610. The number of needy families rose within these years from 450 to more than 750. A century earlier, 1647, there were 415 contributing families and 114 members supported by the community. The present

Mozes Elkan Daniel (merchant)	with an income of 2,500 guilders annually
Samuel Gans (merchant)	with an income of 2,500 guilders annually
David Proops (cashier)	with an income of 2,000 guilders annually
Jacob Italiaander (tobacco merchant)	with an income of 2,000 guilders annually
Jacob Isaks (tobacco store)	with an income of 2,000 guilders annually

³⁶ Of the 422 Jewish tax payers (Sephardim and Ashkenazim) two had seven servants, five had six servants, five had five servants, 14 four servants, 21 three servants, 34 two servants, 282 one servant, and 39 had no servants. Vaz Dias, l. c.

³⁷ See pp. 215 ff.

³⁸ Wolff, *op. cit.*, BVGO, X, 1912, pp. 357 ff.

³⁹ *Reflexos Politicos*.

state of affairs could not go on much longer, the more so because taxes payable to the government and community had already been increased to the limit of the tax payer's capacity." De Pinto concludes that the only solution is emigration to the colonies and particularly to the Jewish settlement in Surinam. The City Council of Amsterdam supported this plan with money⁴⁰ but all support did not avail to stem the avalanche of speculation with its attendant successive crises in the debris of which the wealth of the Portuguese community was lost.

Conditions grew still worse when Holland became involved in a fourth war with England, 1780-1784, precipitated because Dutch merchants furnished the rebellious American colonists with war supplies. This war had dire consequences; Dutch commerce received a fatal blow;⁴¹ a part of Guiana and the coast of Guinea were ceded to England, several East India merchantmen were captured. Besides the loss of some of Holland's colonies and the decline of its India trade, its commerce was further crippled when Amsterdam lost its pre-eminence as an intermediary depot for goods. Larger ships and the comparative safety of the routes made direct dealing between the country of production and that of consumption feasible and tended to dispense with the expensive institution of a storage depot and intermediary market place which had been the great function of Amsterdam.⁴² The Dutch cloth industry was radically injured when England began to manufacture its own fabrics. Holland, formerly the leading linen market, was forced to compete with Hamburg. Industries like lumber mills, barrel and paper manufacturing were rapidly absorbed by other countries. In 1810 Holland was made a part of France.

⁴⁰ There seems not to have been much desire to emigrate, for on January 29, 1760, the Council issued a decision that "those of the Portuguese Nation who have received money from the city for the purpose of emigration and have not emigrated, must leave as quickly as possible. Those who do not leave will be imprisoned."

⁴¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 146. Elias, *op. cit.*, I, p. CLXIII-IV, *EJ*, I, article "Amsterdam", by Da Silva Rosa, p. 723.

⁴² The growth of England's commerce and her emancipation from Dutch aid becomes apparent from the following figures:

	1696-1697	1772-1773
Imports into England	£ 3,483,000	£ 11,407,000
Imports from Holland	£ 507,000	£ 412,000
Exports from England	£ 3,526,000	£ 14,763,000
English exports into Holland	£ 1,462,000	£ 1,874,000

In other words Holland's share in English imports dropped from 14.6 per cent to 3.6 per cent and in English exports from 41.5 per cent to 12.7 per cent. Van der Kooy, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.

What was left of commerce was under strict French control. Antwerp had developed a modern harbor and shared shipping with Amsterdam. As a result of the revolt against Napoleon in 1813 Holland became free and independent. By this time, however, its trading strength was broken, as England's power was established everywhere.⁴³

Among the many plans offered for the betterment of the situation were two written by Portuguese Jews, one by an anonymous writer in 1770 and another in 1773 by Isaac de Pinto.⁴⁴ The former concerned himself with the reformation of the Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam.⁴⁵ He suggested a plan to put an end to the pitiable state of his co-religionists. He proposed to abolish the Sabbath and holidays, which entailed many expenses and were the cause of the loss of profitable working days. His plan was unheeded as it was impracticable. He concluded: "Our nation becomes poorer from year to year, our principal commercial houses are hurt in many ways, some through bankruptcy and others through ever increasing luxury and extravagance. The middle classes have to be very cautious in their expenditure. There are no special ways to make a living and business becomes worse and worse and more insecure, especially the share transactions in which our most important men are solely concerned. Taken all in all, the Portuguese Jewish nation has had her summer and approaches her winter, while the High Germans, who for the most part, came here in poverty, despised by us at that time, in truth more industrious and economical than we, are over their winter and see a prosperous time drawing near. We fall and they rise." To make matters worse, by the terms of the Peace of Paris, 1784, Holland lost the freedom of East Indian waters. The Dutch East India Company stopped its dividends for several years and many a Jewish family, whose main income was derived from these dividends, found itself indigent. There was among them an ever increasing number with very small means and a still greater number of paupers. The time had arrived when the Portuguese congregation could no longer support its own poor. In order to relieve its distress Prince William

⁴³ Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 333 ff., 337 ff., 401, 416. Laspeyres, *op. cit.*, p. 126. Van der Kooy, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff.

⁴⁴ *Traité de la Circulation et du Crédit.*

⁴⁵ The anonymous writer is evidently Mordechai van Aaron de Pinto, *Dr Koopman*, II, pp. 425 ff.

V put 18,000 guilders at the disposal of the Portuguese Jewish leaders.⁴⁶

If the anonymous pamphleteer of 1770 had seen the sun rise on the Ashkenazic community, its day was slow in dawning. In 1780 we hear that the Ashkenazic congregation had 3,540 poor families and single persons, and in 1805 there were 19,600 poor out of a total of 24,000 Jews.⁴⁷ Christians sometimes aided Jewish causes. During the severe winter of 1773-1774 an unknown Christian contributed 3,000 guilders to the Jewish poor. A Christian society collected 507 guilders for their benefit. The city government allotted 6,000 guilders and later 2,500 guilders for their relief, stipulating that part of this money be allocated for the purchase of clothing, the presumption being that many Jews looked ragged and unsightly on the city streets. During that winter the community charities spent 13,561 guilders 85 cents.⁴⁸

Although Isaac de Pinto in 1773 stated⁴⁹ that his Portuguese brethren had nothing in common with other Jews except religion which itself differed in its ceremonies, those "other" Jews were by no means in as hopeless a state as their haughty Portuguese co-religionists. The Ashkenazic Jews had never been so wealthy as the Sephardim and therefore did not feel the crises as keenly. There were a few prominent men among them⁵⁰ but for the most part they continued to ply their petty trades. Quite a number of them acquired a certain degree of prosperity, a few speculated on the Exchange. By and large, however, they were too poor to be anything but middlemen. Although in time of crisis they too were affected, they were less lavish in their way of living and always had their peddling to fall back on.

The Portuguese Jews, brought up in luxury and trained in idleness, formed a striking contrast to the hard working Ashkenazim.

⁴⁶ This amount was a year's salary as Director of the East India Company.

⁴⁷ Hillesum, "Geschiedenis", *Elsevier*, LIV, August, 1917, pp. 112 ff. In that same year the census shows that there were 31,000 Jews in the Netherlands, 24,000 of whom lived in Amsterdam. In 1795, Asser, *Zeer interessante Brief van een Joodisch Burger te Amsterdam aan een Joodisch Burger te Rotterdam over de tegenwoordige staatsonwenteling in Nederland*, p. 12, Amsterdam, 1795, estimates the Jewish population of Holland at 50,000.

⁴⁸ Sluys, "Welwillende Magistraten III", *VA*, VIII, May 29, 1931, pp. 157 and 151. Other Christians, contributing smaller amounts, are mentioned.

⁴⁹ In his *Apologie pour la Nation Juive ou Réflexions critiques sur le premier chapitre du Ville tomes des Oeuvres de Monsieur de Voltaire au sujet des Juifs*, Amsterdam.

⁵⁰ For instance, the Asser and Lemon families, also a branch of the Gomperz family, see Kaufmann and Freudenthal, op. cit., pp. 326-350.

Their pride and culture made them unfit to accommodate themselves to the new turn of affairs. There were very few among them who could make the effort to regain even a small part of their lost wealth. Due to this situation their number decreased, while the number of the Ashkenazim increased. In 1780 there were 3,000 Portuguese Jews and 19,000 German Jews in Amsterdam, in 1795 there were 2,400 Sephardim and 21,000 Ashkenazim. In the same year the total population of the city was 217,024.⁵¹ Even today there are proportionately more indigent among the Sephardim than among the Ashkenazim.

In 1785 William V was forced into exile due to popular sentiment against him. Most of the Jews favored the house of Orange.⁵² However, when the French armies came to Amsterdam in 1795, a small group of Jews, under the leadership of Asser, welcomed them as heralds of Jewish emancipation. This group formed a society "Felix Libertate",⁵³ one-third of whose membership was Christian. It published a pamphlet pointing out the restrictions the Jews had suffered in spite of their supposed freedom.⁵⁴ Very few Jews were affiliated with this organization.

After some opposition in the Chamber of the Batavian Republic, the Jews were officially granted their emancipation September 2, 1796. As we have pointed out there was some objection on the part of many Jews, as they feared the loss of their much coveted autonomy.⁵⁵

Although at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jews were poor, their individual economic position improved with their increased liberties. There were no longer guild restrictions and no occupations were closed to them. While they never again exerted economic influence as a group, the number of their poor steadily decreased.

The emancipation brought with it the disintegration of the autonomous Jewish community and a new period, with its own problems, was ushered in.

⁵¹ Oostbock's *Geïllustreerde Encyclopaedie*, Utrecht, 1916-1925, I, article *Amsterdam*, p. 416. Vander Oudermeulen, op. cit., II, 2 p. 147. Vaz Dias, *Vermogenstoestand, V.A.*, VIII, June 19, 1931, p. 242.

⁵² An example of this is to be found in the conduct of a certain Benjamin Cohen, who in 1786-1787 offered his house in Amersfoort to the Orange party, facing the dangers of such an act in anti-Orange Amsterdam.

⁵³ The founders of the society were M. S. Asser, Dr. H. de Lemon, S. de Jonge Meyersz., Mr. Carolus Asser, H. L. Bromet, E. Schabrarq, Juda Littwack, and David Friedrichfeld. 24 more members joined the ranks.

⁵⁴ For the title of the pamphlet see 217, no. 47, *Zeer interessante Brief*.

⁵⁵ See pp. 17 ff.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

At the conclusion of this study it is for us to answer the question, posited in the Introduction: Did the Jews contribute to capitalism, and what was the extent and nature of their contribution as embodied in their economic activity in Amsterdam? In what way was this contribution made and what was its importance?¹

Sombart² defines capitalism as: "a distinct economic system which becomes recognizable in the following manner, it is a commercial organization in which two different elements of the population regularly work together and are governed by the principle of profit and economic rationalism. These two groups, bound together by the market, are: the possessors of the means of production, who at the same time take the lead, and therefore are the economic leaders; and the property-less laboring class who are economically subservient." Max Weber³ states: "The question of the motive forces in the expansion of modern capitalism is not in the first instance a question of the origin of the capital sums which were available for capitalistic uses, but, above all, of the development of the spirit of capitalism. Where it appears and is able to work itself out, it produces its own capital and monetary supplies as the means to its end."

The foregoing study does not purport to show that the Jews originated the capitalistic spirit in Amsterdam, but the facts clearly reveal that they acted upon it. Their interest in the credit business and their importance as brokers and speculators seeking unlimited profits derived by impersonal capitalistic methods was not exclusively Jewish, but embodied the spirit of a proportionately greater number of the Jewish group than of any other element of the population. It is not too much to say that the Jewish group, as an entity within Amsterdam, contributed

¹ See p. XI.

² Sombart, *Kapitalismus*, I, p. 319. For a different definition see *idem*, old edition, Leipzig, 1902, I, p. 195.

³ Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

to the dissemination of this point of view. They were able to nurture it because of their trading interests, credit facilities, and international contacts. We have further shown that the actual capital of the Jewish community was comparatively small as contrasted with that of the Christian merchants and that the over-estimation of Jewish wealth in Amsterdam by seventeenth and eighteenth century writers was derived from impressions rather than facts. But they multiplied their capital, and the capital at their disposal through credit, to create the necessary wealth to carry on their projects. In a city which was the very embodiment of capitalistic activity the Jewish community, consisting of a large majority of business men, was undoubtedly an important factor.

It is possible that the Sephardim to some extent directed the attention of the Dutch to East India, through their contacts with Spain, Portugal, the Levant, and the Far East. Jewish influence in the East India colonies became practically nil as soon as the Christian merchants formed the East India Company. Perhaps Jews participated in the Company's profits as silent partners, under the names of Christian merchants, as they were forbidden to own shares in the Company unless they were citizens. This hypothesis, not substantiated by empirical evidence, seems, nevertheless, feasible, since we know that Jewish business men carried on trade in different countries under different aliases. In the eighteenth century we have shown that Jews were prominent in both India Companies. It will be recalled that the decline of the eastern Company brought ruin to many a wealthy Sephardic family.⁴

There is no doubt that the Jews were important in the West India colonies. They were large plantation owners in Brazil, Surinam and elsewhere. They were active, if not instrumental, in the sugar trade, as planters in the West Indies, and merchants and refiners in Amsterdam. Civil and political rights in the American colonies were more freely extended to the Jews than was the case at home.

When the Christian merchants, through their greater wealth and power, forced many Jews out of international trade, they took advantage of Amsterdam's position as an international storehouse and staple market to trade in the various products available in the city.

⁴ See pp. 190 ff.

This type of trade was called "tweede hand" (jobbing). Many Jews, as jobbers, bought their merchandise from the international merchant who brought the goods to Amsterdam, and sold them to the retailers. There were Jews in every branch of this process but the jobbing phase was of particular interest to them.

Until the latter half of the eighteenth century the Ashkenazic Jews were of lesser economic importance, numbering in their ranks many unsworn brokers, second hand clothes dealers and peddlers. A few of the more wealthy were jewelers, tobacconists and money changers. But as time went on they grew in wealth and numbers.

On the whole, the Jews of Amsterdam were an important group in and for themselves, and as such worthy of study. It has been pointed out that the amount of their wealth was insignificant in comparison to the city's Christian merchants. We believe it is correct to say that in the great age of Holland the Jews with all their cultural and economic affluence were but a drop in the commercial bucket of the great metropolis: a significant and powerful drop, the color of which was mirrored in the life of the country, a drop which caught the lights and shadows of the age and splendidly reflected them in the great world of Amsterdam's commerce.

APPENDIX A

"Op huyden den 20 Junij Ao 1662 compareerden voor mij Pieter Padthuysen openb. Nots. etca. present de naegenoemde Getuijgen Sr. Abraham Franco Pacheco ter eenre ende Sr. Reijnier Persijn Diamantslijper ter andere zijde beijde woonende binnen deser Stede. Verclarende den eersten compt. bestaat en den tweeden compt. in sijnen dienst aengenoomen te hebben des Besteeders Soon Aharon Franco Pacheco voor den tijt van vier en een half achter een volgende Jaren ingegaen sijnde den 15e deser lopende Maant, geduijrende welcken tijt den voorn Aharon Franco Pacheco gehouden sal sijn gelijk den besteder in desselfe name bij desen belooft sich in alles getrou te dragen en naer behooren te quijten en hij het meeste profijt voor sijn Meester te soecken mitsgrs te doen t'gene hem door sijn voorn. Sr. Persijn sich verobligeert den voorn. sijnen Dienaer te Meester sal werden geordont. & gelast in sulcker voegen en gelijk als een eerlk. Jongman toestaat en behoort te doen. Waertgens den voorn. Sr. Persijn sich verobligeert den voorn. sijnen Dienaer te instrueren en t'onderwijsen in t'Diamantslijpen met alle t'gene daeraen dependeert; op dat den voorz Aharon Franco tot perfectie vant' handwerck van Diamant sal connen geraecken en t'gene daeraen dependeert sonder dat den Aharon Franco gehouden sal sijn des Sabaddachs te wercken waervan den voorz. sijnen Meester hem bij desen ontslaet en hem daerenboven jaerlijcs toevoecht twintich vrije dagen voorde feestdagen der Jooden; Voorwelcke Instructie & onderwijsinge int' vzgd Handswerck van Diamantslijpen mette de appendentien & dependentien vanden bij de vszd. Sr. Persijn te doen. Sr. Isacq Alvares tot dientijnde mede voor mij Nots. Op. etc. comparerende, belooft aenden voorz. Sr. Persijn op t'expireren van t' eerste Jaar te voldoen & te betalen tien ponden Vlaems te weeten dertich gld. contant & d'andere f.30 op t'expireren van't selve Jaer ende opdat de voorn Sr. Persijn wegens de getrouwicheijt vande voorz. Aharon Franco Pacheco, alsoock dat den selven sijnen tijt naer behooren wel sal uijtdienen, verseeckert sal sijn soo verclaren de voorn. Abraham Franco Pacheco en Isaacq Alvares haerel. onder Eenumictie (?) vande

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	CINNA- MON	COTTON THREAD	AGUEL WOOD	JEWELS & GOLD	SILK	"ROT- TINGEN" OF PEARL	MOTHER OF PEARL	SAPON WOOD
	6,834:19							
8:18								1,648:13
3:14		700:14						
4:13								
10:11								
			142: 7	655:13				
32: 8					3,465:19			
98:13								
37:17				646:13				
94: 3				1,989:		77:12		183:12
							162:13	

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3:15

CLOVES MOTHER
OF PEARL

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3 547:11

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3 138:15 NUTS
5,534: 3

5 PITON

3 853:13 MASTIC
2,190:12

8 AGUIL

WOOD PEARLS
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4 1 842: 7

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	CINNA- MON	Co TH	SILK	SAPON WOOD	CLOVES	JEWELS & GOLD	COTTON THREAD
	6,834:19						
			1,873:17				
8:18							
			1,363:17				
13:14			.626: 2				
14:15							
			1,713:13				
					1,713: 3		
10:11		970:19			5,000:		
32: 8							
98:13							
37:17							
94: 3							
			.087:11				
						218: 4	
							488:13
					1,772:12		

NAME	TEA	COFFEE	GOLD JEWELS	COTTON CLOTH	SILK	CLOVES	MOTHER OF PEARL
Abraham Baruch Henriques		3,134:15					
Abraham van Isaac Mendes da Costa		997: 1					
Abraham van Isaac							
Abraham Mendes		1,012:					
Abraham Manuels				2,364:17			
Abraham Boas				1,076: 2			
Abraham Levi Wed. en Comp.				3,633:13			
Abraham Gaon en Son		3,335: 2					
Abraham van David Gaon		6,528: 7					
Abraham Levi Flores		18,488:13					
Abraham Israel Abrahams		4,359:16					
Abraham Mendes en Veijra		9,610:10		3,641: 3		1,791: 4	
Abraham Rodrigues Junior		7,082: 3					347:11
Abraham Socontó							
Abraham Gabay Isidore							
Abraham Fleisch				18,843: 7			
Abraham David Fernandes Nunes				4,851: 2			
Abraham Eminencie		546:11					
Abraham Levi							
Abraham Rodrigues Pereira							

Total amount of Jewish sales (See also page 121)

COTTON CLOTH 904,894:16	PEPPER 67,395:13	CINNA- MON 182,018:12	CLOVES 63,483:	SILK 32,138:15	NUTS 3,334: 3
MACIS 4,788:18	TEA 124,019:13	COFFEE 671,130:16	SAPON WOOD 4,092:	COTTON THREAD 2,053:13	MASTIC 2,190:12
BENJUIN 22,875:16	JEWELS 3,995: 2	CANES 1,089: 1	MOTHER OF PEARL 731: 3	AGUIL WOOD 842: 7	PEARLS 1,807:16
CANDA- MON 378: 3	BORAX 526:13	OIL 1,267:14			

benefitien ordinis divisiones et excussionis den effecte van dien verstaende gestelt ende geconstitueert te hebben soo sij haer stellen ende constitueeren bij dese borgen als principael voordien voorn. Aharon Franco Pacheco en ten behoeve van den gemelte Sr. Persijn, beoovende in cas, dat Godt verhoede, den voorn Aharon Franco Pacheco door ontrouwicheijt ofte andersints den voorn. sijnen Meester quamen & vercorten ofte de voorz. tijt van vier en een half Jaer in voegen als boven niet uijten diende, den voorn. Sr. Persijn te vergoeden de schade en interesse die hem door de vorsz. sijnen Dienaer t'sij door ontrouwicheijt ofte t'niet uijtdienen van de vzd. tijt souden mogen sijn veroorsaackt en dat ter somme van twee hondert ponden vls, sonder verder in geenderleij manieren gehouden ofte verobligeert te sijn: Verbindende te voorz. comptn. tot naercominge van t'gene verm. staet hare respv. persoonen en Goederen presente & toecomende geen uijtgesondert die selve stellende ten bedwanch van alle rechten en Rechteren. Ter goeder trouwe aldus gedaen binnen Amsterdam, present Willem Nanning & Theodorus Lobbrecht als getuigen.

(signed) Reijnier Persijn Abraham Franco Pacheco
W. Nanning Ishac Alvares
Theo Lobbrecht

MS in "Notarieel Archief, Stedelijk Archief", Amsterdam, Index Notaris Pieter Padthuisen, No. 2891.

APPENDIX B

Op huyden den negenden Dagh May Anno 1657 hebbe ick Pieter Padthuysen Openb. Notaris bij den Hove van Hollandt geadmt. te Amsterdam residerende mij neffens de naergenoemde get.gn ten versoecke van Sr. Duarte Manuel Faro, David Henriques Faro, Antonio Mendes, Simon Jorge, Samuel & Jacques de Sousa, Manuel de Toralto, Manuel Francisco da Mesquita & Thomas Mendes getransporteert ten woohhuysse van Samuel Nunes de Mercado als eenige Reder & eygenaer vant Schip de Ladder van Jacob, Schipper Rijck Gijsbert & aldaer gedaen de naervolgende Insinuatie & protestatie.

De Insinuanten geladen hebbende in U Geinsinueerdens Schip
veele & verscheijdene Coopmanschappen omme deslve te voeren naer
PortaPort in Portugael soo heeft den schipper in plaets van sijne reijse
te vervolgen uyt vrese soo hij voorgeeft omtrent Galisien tselve schip
verlaten latende't selve 't eenmael ontbloot van volck invoegen dat
een Spaens voors. schip heeft genomen & opgebracht & 't Schip naer

eenigen tijt wederom ontslagen sijnde soo heeft hij echter sijne reijse niet vervolcht maer is ter contrarie met soldaten & passagiers naer Duynkercken gekomen eneyntelyck hier tot Amsterdam gearriveert ende alsoo den voorn. Schipper sich op t Schip niet en is onthoudende & dat Migel Rodrigues Nunes, die arrest op de Ingeladene goederen hadde gedaen 't selve arrest wederom op huyden heeft ontslagen soo laten de Insinuanten U door ons Notaris & getn versoecken dat ghy geinsinueerde de goederen, die sij, Insinuanten in voorzg. Schip hebben geladen sult hebben over te leveren sonder eenige uytstel ofte bij weygeringe vandien soo protesteren sij Insinuanten van alle kosten, Schaden & Intressen bederff. der goederen, verminderinge van prijsa & voorts van alle tgene haer te protesteren staet omme alle te soecken & verhalen daer & soo & sij te rade worden sullen. Alle twelck Ick Nots. voornt. desselfs huysvrouw voorgelesen hebbende gaf daerop tot Antwoort dat haer man niet thuys en was komende zoude them seggen ter goeder trouwen Aldus gepasseert binnen Amsterdam ter presentie van Isaacq de Vlieger & Jacob van Keeven als getuigen hiertoe versocht.

(signed) Quod attestor

P. Padthuysen

Jacob van Keeven
Isaack de Vlieger.

MS in "Notarieel Archief, Stedelijk Archief", Amsterdam, Index Notaris Pieter Padthuysen, No. 2889.

APPENDIX D

Op huyden den 19 Majj Ao 1660 Compareerde voor mij Pieter Padthuysen openb. Notaris etc. present de naergenoemde getuige Sr. Manuel da Costa Nunes Portugees Coopman woonende binnen deeser Steede als houder vande naergenoemde obligatien ende verclaerde inde aller bester voege & manieren naer rechte getransporteert & in vollen eijgendom mits desen opgedragen te hebben aen & tenbehoefte van de Wede & erffgenamen van Zalgr Francisco de Valensia absent & Ick Notaris met behoerlijcke stipulatie als een openb. persoon voor deselve accepteerende ses distincte obligatien tenlaste vantgemeene landt van Hollandt & Westvrieslandt ten comptoire van de heer Johannes uijttendogaert ontfanger over t quartier van Amsterdam eene van tweeduijsent vierhondert guldens Capitael banckgelt gedateert den xiii Majj Ao 1641 ende bijde Ed. Heeren Gecommitteerde raden geaggreert den xi July daeraen volgende wesende

- fol. 522
fol. 137
Regr. fol.
289 ver
- fol. 542
fol. 148
ver Regr.
fol. 270
- fol. 206
fol. 281
Regr. ver
- fol. 880
ver Regr.
fol. 275
- fol. 70
ver
- fol. 768
Regr. fol.
- geregistreert & gefolieert als in margine ende eene van drijduijssent vierhondert guldens Capitael banckgelt gedaeteert den x Maij AO 1642 ende bijde Ed. Heeren gecommiteerde Raden geaggreeert den xi Junij daeraenvolgende wesende mede gefolieert & geregistreert als in margine staende de voornd twee obligatien op de name van de Kinderen van Emanuel Pina, die deselve bij Transporte opden ix January AO 1657 voorde notaris Adriaen Lock & seeckere getuigen alhier gepasseert, aenhem, Comparant hebben gecedeert Item eene obligatie van sestienhondert guldens Capitael banckgelt gedateert den eersten Decembr Ao 1642 ende bij de Ed. Heeren gecommiteerde Raden geagreert den ix Januarij daer aenvolgende staende deselve obligatie op de naem vande Kinderen van Emanuel Pina ende wesende gefolieert & geregistreert als in margine Item eene van dartienhondert guldens Capitael medebanckgelt gedateert 19 Augustij Ao 1643 ende bijde Ed. Heeren gecommiteerde Raden geaggreeert den 10e Septembr daer aen volgende staende deselve obligatie op de naem vande Kinderen van Adriaen Veen, ende weesende mede geregistreert ende gefolieert als in margine ende eene van vierduijssent vierhondert envijftigh guldens Capitael oock banckgelt gedateert den darden Maij Ao 1653 ende bijde Ed. Heeren Gecommitteerde Raden geaggreeert den eersten Augustij daeraenvolgende staende deselve obligatie opde naem vande verz. Kinderen van Emanuel de Pina ende wesende oock geregistreert & gefolieert als hier nevens, welcke voorz. drij laeste obligatien hem Comparant bij Transporte op den xxe Martij 1657 voordeden voorn Nots Adriaen Lock & seeckere getuigen alhier gepasseert, gecedeert sijn door de voorn. kinderen van Emanuel Pina & Adriaen Veen, Item noch eene obligatie van tweeduijsent guldens capitiel Insgelijx banckgelt gedateert den darden Julij Ao 1654 ende bijde Ed. Gecommitteerde Raden geaggreeert den xxii Augustij daeraenvolgende staende deselve obligatie op de naem van Pieter Jansz voor Manuel daCosta Nunes sijnde hij Comparant ende wesende gefolieert ende geregistreert als in

ii, xxv margine, welcke voorz. ses obligatien hij Comparant neffens desen & de verz. transporten op hem gepasseert aende voorz. Weduwe & erffgenamen van Francisco de Valensia heeft overgegeven, bekennde hij Comparant door handen van de gemelte Weduwe & erffgenamen van Francisco de Valensia wegens den Inhoud en der voorz obligatien soo Capitael als Interessen al voldaan & betaelt te wesen als sinde deselve bij hem comparant voorhaerluijden reeckeninge & met derselver eijgen gelt gecocht & betaelt stellende derzelven de voorz. Weduwe & erffgenamen van Francisco de Valensia in sijn comparants plaetse inden vollen eijgendom actuele & reele possessie vande verz. ses obligatien omme den Inhoude vandien soo Capitael als Intressen alreede verscheenen & nochte verschijnen uijt eijgener authoriteit te mogen Innenvorderen ende ontfangen & daermede doen als acteurs & procureurs in eijgener saecke haer vrijen wille & welgevallen soo als met hun eijgen vrij wettigh vercregen gelt sonder schroom noch tegenseggen van Iemant dewijle hij Comparant daeraen geene actie recht nochte eijgendom blijft behouden nochte reserveren in geender leij manieren belovende hij Comparant dese sijne Cessie t'allentijde niet alleene gestant te doen & effect te laten forteren, nemaer oock voort' Evictie ende deuchdelijckheit vant getransporteerde te sullen Instand & caveren ondert verbant & submissie als naerrechte ter goeder trouwe aldus gedaen binnen Amsterdam present Augustijn d L'Espaul & Hendrick Groenesteijn getgen.
(signed) P. Padthuysen nots. Publ.

(signed) Manuel dacostanunes
H. Groenesteijn
Augustin de L'Espaul.

MS in "Notarieel Archief, Stedelijk Archief", Amsterdam, Index Notaris Pieter Padthuysen, No. 2891.

APPENDIX E

En el nombre de Dios todo poderoso quel rio el Cielo y Latierra Amen. Sepan quantos este publico instrumentode testamente vieren de Como en 28 dias del mes de Junio de 1661 años alas 8 horas delatarde por ante mi Pedro Padthuysen Escrivano publico &c y enpresencia delos testigos y uso escriptos pare cio presente en supropia persona el Señor mosch Mendes sereno mosador en estaeha Ciudad enfermo enla

Cama, pero bien usando de su entendimiento vista onemoria y habla coma a nos parecio y dixo y declaro que aviendo considerado y aun considerando la fragilidad de la vida humana la certidumbre de la muerte y la incertidumbre de la horay momento della y gueriendo preuenir latal incertidumbre por uiade disposicion testamentarias, da su buen grado libre voluntad cierta sabiduria y con animo bien de liberado y sin apremio inducion ni persuasion la persona alguna, avia hecho ordenado y concluido como des de luego hace ordenay concluye porlap resente, este intestamento y disposicion de ultima voluntad enla forma sequiente asaber. Primeramente y antetodas cosas dixo que avia dado y dana por esta por renocados y anulados, a todos y qualesquier testamentos codicillos donaciones y otras qualesgr disposiciones gueantes de agora tiene o podria aver hecho y otergade deboca, — per escrito en manera alguna dandolos y atodos u contenido por nulo cancelado y in valido como si nuncose hubieron hecho ni otorgado puer quiere que solo este testamento volga y se compla.

Ademas dixo que encomendana y encomienda su alma siempre y cadaquando de su cuerposaliere a Dios todo poderoso señor del mundo y su cadaner ala sepultura usaday acostumbrada entralos de su nacion y religion a saber en una cueba en Bethaim lugar da dicado paralos Jundios, debaxe de firme esperanca de la bienaventurada resurecion en el dia del Juricio universal todo con la modestia acostum brada, Allegando con este ala disposicion de todos y qualesquier susbienes y facultades effettos y haciendas muebles y derais dinero de contado oro y platta batida y no batida vestidos acciones creditos y derechos cosa ninguna vestuada, dixo que en primero lugar quiere que enciendan una Lampara enla Sinagoga para su ulma y ansimisme quiere que se repartan entre pobres xien florines Itemdaxa a su hermano Diego mendes sereno vezino de Lisboa ducientos florines, Item dexa a su hermano francisco mendes Sereno vezino de Bordeaux ducientos florines, Item dexa a su hermano Juan mendes ducientos florines siendo que seavino y si fuere muerto los dexa a su ermano David Nunes mantena y a su hermana hester Vaz muger de Isaque Vaz Lopes cada uno en igual parte, Item dexa a suprima hester mendes viuda seiscentos florines para ayndade Casar su hixa y mi sobrina Jael, Item dexa asu primo Abraham Vaz cien florines, Item dexa un cofre de ropa y hato y loque en el se hallar a sus sobrinas hixas de su hermana hester Vaz Item dexa sus vestidos y ropa blanca que tabiere a sus subrinos hixos de

Hester mendes, y en el remaniente deloque sobrare de todalacha su hacienda cosa ninguna ecetuda despues de pagadas los mandos y legados susoreferidos y las deudas que tabiere nombra y instituya assi como nombra y instituye por sus herederos por la presente a su hermano David nunes mantena y a su hermana hester Vaz muger desuprimo Isaque Vaz cada uno en equal parte para que loayan paseyen y dispongan de todo elle segun su voluntad y buen parecer sin contradicion de persona alguna solo quiere y es su voluntad del dho testador que delaeha su hacienda que dexare ayan de dary entregar a su padre Hector mendes vezo de Bordeaux la porcion legitima que segun al derecho le pertenece en los bienes deste dho testodar y no mas en laqual dha porcion legitima este testader nombro y instituyo por su coheredero aldho su padre Hector Mendes. Cestodixo el dho testador ser su testamento y dispocision de ultima voluntad queriendo que valga subsiste y tenga su entero efecto ento doy por todo segun su firmay tenor sea como testamento, o, como codicilio donacion entre wivos, o, por causa da muerte o por otra qualquier via y manera que la ultima voluntad decadaqual mas biena pueda valer y sibsistir sin embargo que todos las solenidades requeridas no fuessen guardados ni obseruados en la presente y no obstante qualesquier leyes estatutos derechos ordenancias y placartes en contrario los quales derogava por la presente y ami el dho Escrivano pidio el dho testador que todoloque dicho es lo tome assi ad nota. y le de dallo uno o mas instrumentos en publica forma que es fecho en la dha Ciudad de Amsterdam en las Cassas de la morada del dho testator en presencia de los Señores Antonio Henriques y Samuel Abarbanel——testigos de fee y credito para esto requeridos los quales declararon conocer el dho otorgante y ser el mismo que arriba esta nombrada.

(signed) Mozes Nunes
 Antonjo Henriques
 Samuel Abarbanel

MS in "Notarieel Archief, Stedelijk Archief", Amsterdam, Index Notaris Pieter Padthuisen, No. 2890.

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All names starting with "Van" are listed under "V". Family names are often spelled in various ways; i. e., Abenacar has the following variations: Abenaca, Abenacar, Abenaka, Abernaca, Abenakar. Whenever the same family name is spelled differently, it is referred to the most usual spelling employed and a cross-reference from the variation to the conventional spelling is indicated. All compound names are listed under the last name; i. e., Mendes da Costa, under Costa. A cross-reference under "Mendes" refers to "Costa".

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Herbert Ivan Bloom was born in Brooklyn, New York, December 27, 1899. He was educated in the Public Schools of New York City and in Clark's School. He was graduated from Columbia University in 1923 with a degree of B.A. He studied in the Sorbonne, Paris, 1923-1924, and at the Jewish Institute of Religion from 1924 to 1928. At the same time he pursued graduate studies in Columbia University. In 1928 he received the degrees of Rabbi and Master of Hebrew Literature (M. H. L.), from the Jewish Institute of Religion. He occupied the pulpit of Temple Albert, Albuquerque, New Mexico, from 1928 to 1931. In 1931 he was awarded the Miller Fellowship in Jewish Studies at Columbia University. From then until the present, he has been Rabbi of Temple Emanuel, Kingston, New York. He has written articles and book reviews in magazines like the "Political Science Quarterly", "American Hebrew", "Opinion", et cetera, and has contributed the articles "Amsterdam" and "Holland" in the "One Volume Jewish Encyclopedia", edited by Jacob De Haas, and published by Behrman's Jewish Book Shop, New York City, 1935. He has also written "The Dutch Archives with special reference to American Jewish History", proceedings of the American Jewish Historical Society, Vol. 32, pp. 7-21 and "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623-1654", based chiefly upon the findings of the late Samuel Oppenheim, in the same "Proceedings", Vol. 33, pp. 43-125. He has written an article on "Dutch Jewry, Past and Present" in the "Menorah Journal", January, 1929, pp. 57-64. He has also been associate editor of the "Jewish Institute Quarterly", for which he has written the following articles: "Natures", March, 1925, Vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 72-75; "Some Impressions of Jewish Life in Holland", November, 1926, Vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 24-26; "Herman Heyermans", January, 1927, Vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 21-26; "A Jewish Diplomat of the 17th Century", January, 1929, Vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 24-26.

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