

THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE JEWS OF AMSTERDAM
IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

by

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Gablestone from a building ,formerly used as
a sugar refinery by the Pereira brothers.



Copied from J.J. Reesse ,

" De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam ".

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P R E F A C E

The following study purports only to clear the ground for a thorough going investigation of the economic activity and importance of the Jews of Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Any final treatment of the subject demands an investigation of the archives in Holland. It is my opinion that valuable information must be preserved in the private archives of those Jewish families, whose ancestors were prominent in Holland's golden age. It is certain that the archives in The Hague (Rijksarchief), those of the City of Amsterdam (Oud Archief), the Provincial Archives of Haarlem (Provinciaal Archief), and the material to be found in the archives of the Trading Companies will yield sufficient information to justify the time and labor expended upon them. The archives of the Sephardic and Ashkenazic congregations in Amsterdam and The Hague must be ^{further} consulted before an accurate study of the subject can be hoped for. The manuscript material in the library of the Portuguese Jewish Seminary " Ets Haim " (Livraria D. Montezinos) should be further investigated.

Some of the archive material has been treated by Professor Wétjen, Mr. I. Prins, Professor Seeligmann, Da Silva Rosa, Hillesum and others, but the material has only been treated in part and with a different task in view.

The Placard-(Plakaat) ,Government Resolution-(Resolutie), Charters-(Handvesten) and

House-record- (Pui) books are not all to be had here. Those that I have employed are in the Libraries of Columbia University and in the New York Public Library. In the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia and in the archives in Albany there are some documents on the settlement of the Jews in the Americas, the unpublished ones I have not consulted. Unfortunately it has not been my privilege to examine all the pertinent manuscript material in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, as it was unavailable when I made use of that library. Wherever possible I have employed primary sources.

The chapter " Trade outside of Amsterdam, not including the colonies " leaves much to be desired, as time did not permit me to make a thorough study of Dutch Jewish trade with all the various countries of Europe. My studies, however, have led me to the conclusion that European trade was the least important of Amsterdam Jewish economic activities in the period under consideration. There is no emphasis on this trade on the part of any of the contemporaries, whose tendency it is to exaggerate rather than to neglect any economic activities of the Amsterdam Jews. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that no satisfactory estimate of this branch of commerce can be arrived at until a more detailed study is undertaken.

An analysis of the banking and Exchange activities of the Amsterdam Jews demands a separate study. I have presented the merest outline of these activities for the sake of clarifying the picture of the period in question.

III

As far as I know my own treatment, imperfect as it is, has been the first presentation of the economic activity of the Jews in Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, although this theme has been touched upon by M. Wolff. ~~##~~

After the emancipation of the Dutch Jews in 1796, a new era, with its own problems, set in. For this reason ~~I have thought~~ ^{was deemed} it advisable not to treat the last four years of the eighteenth century.

If I have succeeded in preparing the way for further analysis of what I consider an important phase of the economic history of the Jews, I shall be satisfied for the present.

~~##~~ "De Eerste Vestiging der Joden in Amsterdam, hun politieke en economische toestand." Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde IX ,X.

"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 27th, 1712

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Whether or not there is any validity in the tradition that there were individual Jews settled in The Netherlands ¹ in very early times we have no way of knowing, ² but we know that there must have been Jews there in 1545 because there is a record ³ that in that year several Jews were granted the privilege of residing in Nimeguen for a number of years. There are indications that Jews had lived in that city before 1540 as we know of a "Judengasse" there before that date. Furthermore there was a Jewish cemetery as early as the first half of the sixteenth century. There is good reason to believe that there were Jews of the Ashkenazic group scattered sparsely throughout North Netherlands in the thirteenth and fourteenth century since this region offered an asylum for a few Jewish families who lived in comparative ease and comfort. ⁴

In the more southerly portions of The Netherlands we find that some Jews, who had been driven out of England as a result of the expulsion of 1290, and others, driven from France in 1306, found a place of refuge.

When monks spread the rumor that Jews were the cause of the plague of 1348, persecution set in against them. In the year 1370 a decree was issued eternally exiling the Jews from Brabant. Because of the importance of Jews as moneylenders and merchants the larger cities did not enforce the decree of expulsion although the Jews there were continually persecuted and oppressed.

As a proof that there must have been a considerable number of Jews in Brabant in 1495 we refer to a document on the legal status of the Jews issued in that year.⁵ There is no doubt that a lively trade went on between the Jews of Flanders and the important Jewish merchants (Jews or Marranos) of Lisbon.⁶ In spite of the restrictions upon the Jews in The Netherlands, its allurements for them was too great to be resisted, because of the possibility ^{it offered for} carrying on trade with the commercial cities of Spain and Portugal, as the cities of Zeeland and Flanders favored foreign trade.

The trade of the Iberian Peninsula was nearly entirely in the hands of Marranos and Mores.⁷ These Marranos proudly told Emperor Charles V that they honorably carried on the entire trade of the Empire.⁸

The phenomenon of the Marrano or Judeo- Christian became a reality through the fanaticism of the infamous monk Vincentius Ferrer and his band, who, after the subduence of the Morish power in Spain, forced many Jews to the baptismal font^y 1410. This class of New Christians on the whole maintained their relations with their Jewish brethren. However, some of them drifted so far from their Jewish origin that they became Jew- haters. A large number, on the other hand, reverted to Judaism when the opportunity offered itself. Until 1480 Ferdinand and Isabella vainly attempted to enlist large numbers of their influential Jewish subjects in the Army of the Church. When they found this unsuccessful they decided to carry on an Inquisition under their own auspices with the permission of

Rome. When in 1492 Granada, the last stand of the Moors, fell, the Jews went to Portugal, forced there by the fury of the Inquisition.

In Portugal itself the majority of them found no refuge and were forced to seek homes elsewhere or to become Christians, at least externally. Many of the supposed Christians were still Jews at heart and were awaiting the time that they could openly profess Judaism. These Crypto-Jews had business relations with Bruges and when in 1499 the Portuguese Government established the Royal Portuguese Trade Depot in Antwerp many Marranos took up their quarters there to carry on trade particularly in pepper and other spices. This was a contributory cause to the trade hegemony of Antwerp.

There was no phase of trade in which the Marranos were not active.⁹ The most important Marrano merchant of Antwerp was Diego Mendes who, in 1525 formed a combine with Johan Karel de Affaitati, another Marrano. They bought spices amounting to six, eight, and twelve hundred thousand ducats¹⁰ yearly.¹¹ They had a monopoly of 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 dependant upon them.

In spite of all this Charles V, who had ascended the Spanish throne in 1517, did his best to transfer the church politics of Spain to The Netherlands and became more and more incensed at any one suspected of heresy or trade with the in-

fidel. Mendes and his associates were accused of sympathy with the Turks and of carrying on illegal trade relations with the benighted heathen. Mendes himself was put in prison but later released by paying a fine of 44,000 Carolus-guldens.¹² He was forced to do this because his business was going to pieces in his absence. Lawsuits and the Inquisition, due to the intolerance of Charles V, produced a condition which made it impossible for the Marranos to live ^{in Antwerp} there, in spite of the efforts of the ~~Antwerp~~ City Government to help matters. When in 1578 Amsterdam declared itself in favor of William of Orange against Spain the Marranos in South Netherlands began to look toward Amsterdam.¹³

To the "Venice of the North" certain Marranos had already ^{by 1532} come.¹⁴ In the year 1560 we find mention made of a certain Marrano Diego Perez acting as Amsterdam representative for ~~an~~ Antwerp Portuguese (Marrano).¹⁵ In 1549 by the time Charles V signed a placard, revoking all the privileges accorded to Marranos in his domains and ordering them to leave, the Marranos that already resided in Amsterdam were so much a part of the general population and so unrecognized as a separate group, due to their own efforts at assimilation, that they remained there unidentified.

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

Hapsburg, finally revolted and enrolled in the ranks of William the Silent. Antwerp on the other hand, which had made an effort to free herself from Spain, fell before the Spanish in 1585 and remained under Spanish rule.

In the same period, 1580- 1601, after the defeat of the Armada, permission to leave Portugal was granted the Marranos. Antwerp was Spanish, Amsterdam had thrown in her lot with the rebels and was a growing center of trade. Naturally a large number of the commercially minded Marranos went there, the more so because the Marranos from Antwerp with whom they had entertained a lively trade, had proceeded them to Amsterdam. In the early seventeenth century we find Marranos from Southern Netherlands and those who came directly from Portugal living in Amsterdam.

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 wealth and their well known prowess in trade, made the acceptance of these New Christians a wise move economically. Since Calvinist Amsterdam herself was in revolt against the Mother Church she was more tolerant of others persecuted by Rome and her minions. Besides, Amsterdam was led to accord certain privileges to the Marranos for the economic good which they afforded the city, even though the Government was not too favorably disposed towards New Christians nor Jews.

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. An early writer ¹⁶ ~~in~~ ^{states} the year 1528 ~~states~~ as the time of the landing of the first Marrano- group from Portugal in Amsterdam. The writer ~~in question~~ ^{of his article} or ~~the~~ printer ^{has} evidently made an error since the author quotes 1528 as the date of arrival and advances as proof of this date records of their arrival which are dated 1598. ¹⁷

In 1684 De Barrios ¹⁸ tells us that the first Marranos from Portugal were fugitives ~~of~~ ^{from} the Inquisition who left Portugal in the year 1535 which De Barrios says corresponds to the year 1593. One of these years is wrong, if the Jewish year is right, it would correspond to 1590. ¹⁹ The story has it that they were captured by pirates and were taken to England where one of the fugitives, Maria Nunez, was offered the hand of an English duke. Whether the romance is fact or fiction we do not know. The story 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. ²⁰ The next mention of Maria Nunez is the announcement of her marriage to Manuel Lopez Homen in Amsterdam, November 28th, 1598. This year, or the later 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. ²¹

A little pamphlet, 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 advise and settled in Amsterdam as merchant^s where Uri Halevi came to act as their Jewish teacher and leader in 1604.

Both tales about the coming of the Marranos from Portugal seem to have an element of truth in them. It is likely that the group in which Maria Nunez was, fled from the Inquisition to Amsterdam merely as a place of refuge, while the other group that first came to Emden, went to Amsterdam to carry on trade, unhindered in the practise of their religion. In all probabilities they kept their Judaism a secret for a while even in Holland. The story goes that the authorities, mistaking them for Catholics, interrupted a Yom Kipur service held in the house of Samuel Palache, the ambassador from Morocco to Holland. When the authorities realized their error, and were informed that the worshippers were Jews, they allowed them to pray in peace. The reason for the confusion on the part of the officials was that in the year 1597 Kol Nidre fell on Sunday night,²² the time when only Catholics held service. The fact that the worshippers had Spanish names and spoke Spanish added to the suspicion.

Although no authentic source has been found for the exact year of settlement the above story is another bit of evidence that the Portuguese Marranos were

in Amsterdam in 1598, a fact which is further confirmed by Hugo Grotius²³ and Pontanus²⁴, whose book was published in 1611, notes that the Portuguese Jews had begun to establish themselves in Amsterdam a few years earlier. By 1609 there were two hundred Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam.²⁵

To what sort of a city did the Portuguese fugitives come? A newly awakened sense of power, actuated the minds of the inhabitants of a city, slowly realizing that the yoke of Spain would probably be broken for ever. The infant nation and the city in particular, were becoming more and more lusty as they became confident. The spirit of the enterprising, rough but crafty, seaman was a fair index of the Amsterdamers' 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 was sacred, it was possible now to tolerate other man's opinion 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 wellknown political economist of the time on this subject.²⁶ Protestantism was a businessman'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 nation or the individual, sharp practises in commerce and trade were individual matters and became sanctioned. The Republic, being born, was frankly and openly out for what was then considered the one assurance of economic security, namely gold within the

nation. ²⁷ Trade with foreign lands or colonies of the mother country which would result in the accruece of increased treasure in gold and silver was the economic policy put into practise. We must bear in mind that the most highly respected merchants reaped their profits by promoting what was nothing less than piracy, permitted and encouraged by the Government ²⁸. Any judgment of the ethics of the time must be based on an understanding of this situation.

Along with a certain individualism went an enormous respect for the Government of the city, the members of which were nearly always chosen from among the leading and most influential and wealthy families. With the individualism of the 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 identified more and more with the Government of the city and the nation.

The Dutch were eminently fitted for their role as commercial leaders through their knowledge of languages, their industry and enterprise. A young nation, without the decadent refinements that came ^{after} the Renaissance in Southern Europe, transformed the spirit of freedom into an urge for the acquirements of the power of money to make them a place in the sun. Under Spain their trading operations rarely extended further than Lisbon, they acted as the freighters of Europe, forming a link between North and South.

Due to hostilities Lisbon no longer served them as a trade depot for Southern and Eastern goods, they were forced ^{therefore} to find a way to the source of the products without the intermediary market of Portugal. This led to the formation of large trading companies whose object it was to carry on trade in foreign parts and thus increase the power of the mother-country.

When the Portuguese Marranos sought an asylum in Amsterdam their previous commercial relationships with the countries which interested the money power of Amsterdam, (f.i. Italy, Turkey, Fez and India), the ~~Northerners~~ reputation for trade and ~~their~~ wealth led the authorities of that city to permit them to settle there. Much has been made of the wealth of the Marranos.²⁹ By comparison, however, their wealth was but a drop in the bucket. There were rich merchants in Amsterdam before the arrival of the Marranos who welcomed the presence of anyone who could increase their trade and add the power of his wealth to that of their own. Because of the ostentation and glitter of these hidalgos, the Northerners of more subdued taste, were impressed by their display of wealth and exaggerated their fortunes. As most of the new arrivals were merchants their influence in trade was overestimated by their contemporaries. Even 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. ³⁰

Soon after their settlement the Marranos plunged into the teeming life of the rapidly growing city.³¹ In 1622 it boasted 104,961 inhabitants, this number included the suburbs.³² Exactly how many Jews there were we do not know, the only figure we have for that time is the aforementioned two hundred Jews in 1609. However, we know that, after the first groups of Marranos were allowed to live peacefully in Amsterdam, the Jewish population was augmented steadily by new arrivals.³³

Until last year 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 Joseph Pardo from Saloniki was said to have been held ^{on} Rosh Hashona 5358, (1597) ³⁴. As recent writers on the subject point out ³⁵ this date is improbable, since there were only very few Marranos in Amsterdam. (The Nunez-Homen, Rodrigues, Pereira families and their households.). The consensus of opinion now is that they did not confess their Judaism openly until 1605. ³⁶ At the time of which we speak, Holland had begun to consider Portugal as much her enemy as Spain. To be a member of the Jewish nation was more advantageous socially, politically and economically, because it implied enmity, not only to Spain and Portugal, but also to Rome.

Another fact proving the inaccuracy of the early date is that we know from the life of Joseph Pardo³⁷ that he was in Venice until 1603 and from there came to Amsterdam,³⁸ To further emphasize the correctness of the later date of the open confession of Judaism I should like to point out that permission to establish a cemetery³⁹ was denied the Jews, June 19th, 1605. It is highly improbable ~~that~~ that Jews would be refused the right to have a cemetery if eight years earlier, they had been granted ~~the~~ permission to publicly live as Jews and to hold services.

In 1609 we find Joseph Pardo in Amsterdam, leader of the Sephardi community "Ain Ya'akov"⁴⁰ He was eminently fitted for the task of re-introducing Judaism into the lives of a community which might be called half-Christian.⁴¹

Due to the growth of the community the establishment of another synagogue was made necessary.⁴² In 1612 the Burgomasters of Amsterdam were angered because the Jews were building a synagogue without their consent.⁴³ In 1614 the Portuguese congregation bought a cemetery⁴⁴ for 2,700,- guilders, 850,- guilders of which they paid at once, the same amount was to be paid a year later. There was a mortgage of 1000,- guilders at 6½ %. In 1664, when the congregation had increased in numbers and prosperity, they bought an addition to the cemetery⁴⁴ for 4,000,- guilders. A third synagogue was founded because of certain disputes among the members of the existing congregations, the date

assigned for this third foundation is 1618.⁴⁵ Lest each group of newly arrived Jews establish a separate congregation and weaken the power of the Sephardic group, or mix with the newly arrived Ashkenazic Jews, the older congregations set the example of unity by combining in 1639.⁴⁶

In 1615 a society called " Santa Companhia de dotar Orphas e Donzellas" ⁴⁷ to provide for the dowry and wedding expenses, was founded by the first Hacham Joseph Pardo. At its founding it numbered only twenty members but as a result of the new arrivals it greatly increased. In 1683 there were four hundred members and the Society possessed a capital of 50.000,- guilders.⁴⁸ The prosperity of the community led to further philanthropic undertakings.⁴⁹

Due to the growth of the community and its economic progress a larger synagogue was deemed necessary. After a fiery oration by Hacham Aboab 615 members of the congregation raised 40.000,- guilders necessary for the purchase of the ground. This money was furnished on demand, the ground was bought December 12th, 1670. The four cornerstones were sold to the highest bidders which were respectively Moses Curiel, agent of the king of Portugal to Holland, 800,- guilders, Joseph Israel Nunes 510,- guilders, Imanuel de Pinto 550,- guilders and David de Isaac de Pinto 450,- guilders. The congregants loaned the community 28.000 guilders without interest, 5000,- guilders in gifts was added to this.⁵⁰ Due to a war with England the construction of the synagogue of the synagogue was postponed for two

years but was continued May 27th, 1674. On this occasion 20.000,- guilders more were given and a further interest-~~less~~ bearing loan from non-Jews yielded 30.000,- guilders. The philanthropic societies like " Ets Haim " and " Abby Jetomim " respectively loaned 15.000,- guilders and 25.000,- guilders to the community. These tremendous sums, ~~when~~ augmented by the thousands more expended upon furnishings and decorations, indicate what state of prosperity the Sephardim had attained. The synagogue alone is estimated to have cost 186.060,- guilders. ⁵¹

This wealthy Sephardic community was looked upon sometimes as part of the Portuguese nation and sometimes as part of the Jewish nation. Technically the word nation was considered at that time to mean a group within a group and not a nation with territorial borders. The Portuguese Jews of the time were given practical autonomy over their own affairs. They ~~Jews~~ were permitted to lead their own communal life in their own way as long as it did not affect or violate Dutch law. This enabled them to punish their own members by fines and the ban (Cherem). In order to regulate the lives of the individual members of the community the Parnassim often exerted almost absolute power. Needless to say this was sometimes abused. This autonomous life had an important economic consequence as it enabled the community as a whole to fight for ~~their~~ ^{its} rights, unite ~~the~~ ^{its} financial resources against outside competition, combine the capitals of ~~their~~ ^{its} merchants to strengthen ~~their~~ ^{its}

credit in foreign markets and gain power as a group through leaders representing the community. In this way it was possible for them to negotiate as a group with other nations, cities or Jewish communities.⁵²

We must not be led to believe that the comparative freedom to lead their own lives meant that the Jews were accorded the same rights as other inhabitants of the city. Freedom of religion, officially granted Jews by the Amsterdam Government in 1619, did not gainsay the fact that restrictions were continually put upon them..

The legal status of the Jews in the city was based upon the earlier regulations laid down by Antwerp for the Portuguese merchants there.⁵³ The States of Holland⁵⁴ declared that each city within its domain should have the right to allow or forbid Jewish settlement. This gave the individual cities supreme power over the Jews living within its bounds. The Jewish merchants, however, soon realized that the city valued their presence. In 1605 several influential Jewish merchants petitioned Haarlem to allow them to establish a congregation there.⁵⁵ The Government of Amsterdam, not willing to lose the rich Jewish merchants granted them privileges in order to keep them. Some years later, June 1619,⁵⁶ the Remonstrants (a group of Protestants not in power) requested the States General to grant them at least as much liberty as they accorded the Jews, in Amsterdam, just because these Jews were merchants.. Although freedom of worship was officially granted them in 1619, in point of fact, it was allowed before that

time. The Jewish merchant, engaged in international commerce, although at time he met with difficulties and had to seek protection of the Amsterdam Government ⁵⁷, was allowed and encouraged to carry on trade. The Dutch Government also protected them from the persecution of the Inquisition. ⁵⁸ The Government of Amsterdam accorded the Jews the right to live in whatever quarter of the city they wished, without a legally recognized Ghetto (although they did remain together in a certain part of the city voluntarily.) ⁵⁹ The Jew was not forced to wear any distinguishing sign on his dress, his Sabbath was respected by the Government ⁶⁰, the Government honored the decisions of the Parnassim when they were not in flagrant contrast to Dutch law ⁶¹ and they ^{Jews} were allowed to carry on trade, necessary to their religious life such as the butcher's trade. ⁶² They took care of their own charity organizations, their marriages were legalized and respected. ⁶³

In certain exceptional cases important merchants were granted the privilege of buying " poortersrecht" (right of citizenship) , although in the case of the Jews this right did not descend to their children, they were unable to hold office in the State or City or carry on retail trade. ⁶⁴ Because of the activity of the Jews in commerce and on the Exchange the brokers guild was forced to admit Jews, although they did not enjoy the privileges of pension for old age and incapacity, accorded to other members of the guild. ⁶⁵ The Jews were also permitted to study at the Universities and to receive the degree of Doctor and Lawyer, but they were not

allow^{ed} to practise law,⁶⁶ or to perform surgical operations on non Jews. There were some Jewish apothecaries, but owing to their peculiar names for drugs on the^{ir} prescriptions which non Jews did not understand, Jewish apothecaries were forbidden to sell drugs to their Gentile neighbors.⁶⁷ These and certain other detailed privileges, accorded the Jews, in spite of the special status and restrictions involved with most of them, were greatly appreciated.⁶⁸ On the 12th of July 1657 the States of Holland, Zeeland and Westfriesland, and the following day the States General, declared the Jews to be subjects of the respective states.⁶⁹ It is evident from the text of the resolutions that this privilege was granted because the Government realized that it would make it easier for the Jew^s to trade with foreign countries, as under the new regulations the Jew^s could designate ~~themselves~~ ^{himself} ~~was~~ as a part of the Dutch nation. Unofficially, however, he was looked upon as such in some foreign countries long before 1657.

With all this; there were many social and ~~economix~~ restrictions which still indicated that the Jew remained the foreigner and the guest, a guest tolerated and favored to a certain extent, because it was of advantage to the national coffers that he remain~~ed~~ in the country. Nevertheless, by comparison to other countries, the treatment of the Jew in Amsterdam, whatever the motives of the constituted authorities may have been, was appreciably better than the treatment accorded ~~him~~ ^{him} anywhere else in the

Europe of that time. It must not be assumed that "subject" (ingezetene) is the same as "citizen" (poorter, burger). In 1395 the city of Amsterdam had declared that a "subject" could not hold office, and in 1465 it was declared that a "subject" could not carry on trade involving the guilds (poortersneringen). In 1668 non-Jews, who had the privileges of "subject" were given more rights but it was expressly stated that these new regulations did not apply to Jews with the same official status. ⁷⁰ It is obvious that these restrictions and limitations were maintained because it was feared that the Jew would compete with the small tradesman within the city. 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 for the fact that the Calvinists and Armenians still felt that the Jews were the "enemies of Christ" in spite of the broadening influences of the Renaissance and the rebellion from Spain and Rome.

As early as 1616 ⁷¹ the Amsterdam Government forbade Jews to write or speak against the Christian religion, to convert Christians to Judaism, to marry or to have any sexual relations with Christian women, even if they were prostitutes, or to employ Christian servants. All these regulations were probably due to the repeated complaints about Jews brought to the attention of the Magistrates by the Synod and the Church Council of Amsterdam. ⁷² *The Jew* ~~He~~ was required to swear by special oath to keep these regulations, ⁷³ *he was furthermore required* under a particularly severe oath *to swear* that he had paid his taxes on

time.⁷⁴ These restrictions, however offensive they may have been, tendered here as elsewhere, to emphasize the individuality of the Jewish group because it made it impossible for these none- too- Jewishly minded Sephardim, to mingle more freely with their gentile neighbors and to be assimilated by them , as had happened in the case of the single Marrano-families that had come to Amsterdam in the sixteenth century.

As we have already mentioned there were individual Ashkenazic Jews in Holland who had come there for trade long before their Spanish coreligionists. These early German Jewish peddlers had been exiled from Holland in the sixteenth century by order of Emperor Charles V. We do not know the exact year, in which groups of German Jews settled in Amsterdam. It is highly probable that, after the persecutions of 1615 and 1616 in Frankfort and Worms, German Jews, who had heard of the favorable conditions of their Spanish brethren in Amsterdam, went there to settle in groups.⁷⁵ It is certain that German Jews fled to Holland throughout the period of the Thirty Years War, 1618 - 1648. When in 1623 Philip Ziegler, a pseudo
Messiah, came to Amsterdam, he found many German Jews there.⁷⁶ These German Jews formed a striking contrast to the Portuguese. In Germany they had been subjected to severe persecutions, forced to live in Ghettos, and 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 in Germany they were largely engaged in money lending and petty trade. Although

the nobleman protected them when he needed them, when the cities became into power the position of the Jew became worse and worse, as the citizenry feared the competition of Jewish traders. All manner of rumors of ritual murder and well-poisoning arose from time to time leading to repeated outbreaks against the Jews. If we compare the life of the Jew in Germany to that of the Jew on the Iberian Peninsula, we can readily see why the Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Amsterdam remained so distinct. In Germany there was no ruling class of Mores, preferring Jews to Christians, no Judaism or 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, which strengthened their influence. When we contrast the Spanish Grande with his finery and show to the pious, talmudic ghetto inhabitant of a Germany, whose civilization, even for the non Jew, was not as rich and flourishing as that of Southern Europe, the difference between the two groups that came to Amsterdam becomes apparent.

In 1654, after the Cossack uprising under Chmielnicki, hundreds of persecuted Polish Jews fled to Amsterdam.⁷⁷ Some years later, in 1656, three thousand Lithuanian Jews⁷⁸ fled from the uprising in Lithuania and came to Texel and thence to Amsterdam. As a whole these 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 aris-

tocracy, who ruled the land. Their wealth, as compared to that of the Spanish Jews, was very small but the fact that they had the money to build a synagogue soon after their arrival in Amsterdam ⁷⁹ shows that they could not have been paupers. It may be true that the German Jews boasted of some well circumstanced men ~~but~~ nevertheless they were so poor, that shortly after their arrival in Amsterdam, they had to borrow two Torahs from the Portuguese congregation. ⁸⁰ At first Amsterdam considered the Polish Jews fugitives and suspiciously looked upon the German Jews as usurers, ~~and~~ moneyphangers and petty traders. Their strict orthodoxy labelled them as superstitious, in the eyes of the gentiles. The East European and the German congregations united as one group of Ashkenazic Jews in 1673. ⁸¹

Very often a poor Ashkenazic Jew would hire himself out as the servant in one of the Portuguese households. The Ashkenazim could not marry among the Sephardic Jews nor could they obtain permanent places in the Portuguese synagogue. ⁸²

The German Jews must have had a congregation of their own before 1635 since there is an official document ⁸³ recording a quarrel between the Parnassim and the members of the High German Jewish Congregation. This was settled by the Burgomasters of Amsterdam after due consultation with the Parnassim of the Portuguese congregation. In 1636 the German Jewish congregation was under the leadership of Rabbi Moses Wahl. ⁸⁴ Either they were too poor to have their own synagogue or they

had not been granted permission to build, for they held services in the private houses of their better situated confrères. In 1639 they bought ground for a cemetery at Muiderberg, near Amsterdam.⁸⁵ They already had a piece of ground for that purpose in Zeeburg where later only children and the poor were buried. Before they had a cemetery of their own they interred their dead in the Portuguese burialplace.⁸⁶ In 1648 they began to build a synagogue and a house for ritual slaughter (Shehita), without asking the city government's permission, because the right to build a synagogue had been granted their Sephardic brethren. In spite of this, the Government denied them the right to continue the building ^{of their synagogue} until 1656 and their slaughterhouse until 1685.⁸⁷ In the same year the Polish Jews were allowed to build their own synagogue, this right was also granted to the Lithuanian Jews who had a separate synagogue for several years.⁸⁸ In 1657 the German Jews floated a loan⁸⁹ for the building of their great synagogue which was dedicated April 1st, 1671, and completed in 1686⁹⁰. 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.⁹¹ 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 difference in wealth in the two communities. In 1673 the Government ordered the German and the East European communities to combine. One reason for the Union was that by this time the East European had become ac-

customed to the manners and language of the country, another and more important one was that the Amsterdam Government thought that they would be able to reduce the number of complaints and divisions within the ranks of the Ashkenazic Jews by forcing them to unite as one community.⁹²

The Ashkenazim were not as self sufficient a group as the Sephardim. The former often brought their troubles to the city government for decision and authority. For example, in 1695 they ask for the authority to force Jewish merchants from Germany, Hungary and other parts, who come to live in Amsterdam and visit the synagogue, to pay, ~~and~~ ~~their share of~~, their share of the churchtax and the upkeep of the poor.⁹³ In 1703 they ask the Government for the authority to demand twelve stuivers⁹⁴ tax for the sale or renting of each seat in the synagogue.⁹⁵

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.⁹⁶ The Portuguese Jews never made their statutes public as they considered this an infringement upon their autonomy.

Chapter II

TRADE AND OCCUPATIONS IN AMSTERDAM

Printing.

Among the few industries in which the Portuguese Jews participated, printing was ~~one of the~~ most important.⁹⁷ The cultural interest of this group, the freedom from censorship, the constantly increasing concern with Hebrew literature, and the extensive commercial contacts with other parts of the world, constituted the reasons making for a prosperous and important Hebrew printing industry among them. Another reason to account for the world-wide fame of the Amsterdam Hebrew press was the cessation of activities on the part of the Hebrew printinghouses of Venice and Southern and Eastern Europe.

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 the necessities of the press, which also included latin types. We have no extant edition from this press.⁹⁸

On the first of January 1627 the first Hebrew book printed in Amsterdam appeared from the press of the renowned⁹⁹ rabbi Menasseh ben Israel. The same press printed Spanish and Hebrew editions of the Bible, Pentateuch, Prayers and the Mishna, besides Menasseh's own works, written in several languages. This famous concern was inherited by his sons Joseph and Samuel, and operated just thirty years. Within the first twenty

years Menasseh printed sixty works.¹⁰⁰ Shortly after the establishment of Menasseh's press, Daniel de Fonseca founded one, which produced very little..

Emanuel Benveniste, originally from Venice, established a printing press in Amsterdam, 1641 - 1659. We know that there was great capital backing him and that he became a dangerous rival to Menasseh ben Israel. He was responsible for the printing of the famous uncensored edition of the Talmud, 1644- 1648.¹⁰¹ The decorations used in this press became a model for all fine Hebrew printing in Europe.

A certain Elia Aboab also ran a Hebrew press for a year, 1644 - 1645, and an Ashkenazic firm, Gumpel and Levi from 1648- 1660.¹⁰²

Contemporary with the most famous Hebrew printer of the age, Joseph ben Abraham Athias, an Ashkenazic apprentice of Benveniste, Uri Phoebus Ha-Levi, had a printing press, 1658- 1689. He was responsible for the introduction of the Amsterdam methods of printing into Zolkiev between 1692 and 1695. His productions were less costly than those printed by the Sephardim, because he catered to the popular market. He printed works in Hebrew and Judeo German.

In 1658, one year after the death of Menasseh ben Israel, the twenty three year old Joseph Athias established a Hebrew press in Amsterdam. His taste and care made his works gain a reputation far beyond the borders of Holland. His Hebrew bible, sponsored and backed by the theological faculties of Utrecht, Leyde, Groningen and Franeker was the first one in

which the verses were indicated with Roman numbers. Three thousand copies ^{were printed} ~~appeared~~ in 1661, these were sold out within a short time. On June 10th, 1667, the States General awarded ^{Athias} ~~him~~ a golden medal and chain in recognition of his fine work.¹⁰³ The second edition of five thousand copies appeared in 1667.¹⁰⁴ In the same year a cargo of ^a hundred packages of English bibles, printed by Athias, were shipped to England. That this was only a part of what had been sent we gather from his own words : " For several years on end, I myself printed some millions of bibles for England and Scotland. There is no plowboy or servant girl there without a bible." ¹⁰⁵ In 1681 Joseph Athias bought a lettercasting plant. ~~As a protest against the influence and~~
~~dominance of a Dutch master~~ The master lettercasters and their apprentices refused to work for Athias and imposed a fine of 100 silver ducats ¹⁰⁶ upon anyone who would work for him. This was a protest against working for some one, not a member of a guild. The strike resulted in financial difficulties for Athias and he settled with his creditors for twenty ~~two~~ ^{per} percent of the total of his debts.¹⁰⁷ With the help of a Jewish Maecenas of that time, Mosseh Machado, Athias was enabled to continue his business. His last task was helping to prepare for the edition of Maimonides' Mishna Torah, which his son published. Joseph ~~himself~~ died in 1700.

After the Maimonides came out, three parts of Abr. de Botton's Lechem Mishna were published. When Immanuel, the son of Joseph Athias, died in 1714, Sammel Proops, an Ashkenazic Jew, bought the press and letters of the Athias

concern.¹⁰⁸ ~~the~~ Descendants of the Proops family carried on the printing establishment until the second half of the nineteenth century. Although the Proops family were printers their main concern was with the sale and auction of books.¹⁰⁹ On June 11th, 1677, Joseph Proops, the founder of the firm became a member of the booksellersguild. About thirty years earlier, 1648, Menassah ben Israel, had been refused the right to open a Hebrew bookstore.¹¹⁰

Other wellknown printers were : David ben Abraham de Castro Tartaz, 1660 - 1695, Netanel Foa, 1702 -1715, Moses Mendes Coutinho, 1695 - 1711, Moses ben Israel Dias, 1695-1715, Jacob Chajim ben Moses Raphael de Cordovo, 1692 - 1703, who published De Barrios'"Opulusca" and Aron ben Salomo Antunes, 1717 - 1725. Some Ashkenazim printers of note were Joseph Dayyan, 1719 - 1737, Moses Frankfurter, printer of the best known edition of the Rabbinic bible and Solomon London, 1721¹¹¹

There were 318 Jewish printers in Amsterdam from the time of Menassah until 1732, ~~and~~ the number of Christian printers, interested in Hebrew literature there during the same period, was fourteen. There were also some gentile printers in ^{interested in} ~~Hebrew~~ Leyde and Franeker.. At the time of which we speak Amsterdam led the Hebrew bookprinting industry of Europe and supplied books over a large part of the civilized world.¹¹² It was an industry not to be scoffed at, even when considered with Christian printing activities. Besides the strictly Hebrew works of ritual and edification there were books printed in other languages. ~~Aside from this~~ Aside from this, Hebrew printing in itself was

of world wide importance.. Christian and Jew alike had revived interest in the Bible, ~~and~~ Hebrew became an important part of the education of the times. Rabbis were called into council when Christians dealt with the Bible ¹¹³, which through the Reformation had begun to acquire new meaning. This necessitated the return of all concerned to the Hebrew text. University professors advised their theological students to study Hebrew, probably no such flourishing book industry could have thrived in Amsterdam without Calvinist supremacy there. The millions of Bibles exported to England are an indication of the capacity and scope of the work undertaken by these Jewish printers.¹¹⁴

b. Sugar Refining.

Another trade in which some Portuguese Jews of our period were interested was the sugar industry. The ~~the~~ trade was one of the most important businesses in Amsterdam about the middle of the seventeenth century. The West India Company brought shiploads of the raw product to Amsterdam to be refined and Amsterdam supplied France, England, Poland, Bohemia, Austria, Luneburg, Saxony, Brunswyck, Hessa, Mehren, Silecie, Leipsic and Germany with the refined product.¹¹⁵ Between 1650 and 1660 the sugar industry turned over a larger capital than any other, one quarter of the the total amount of yearly taxes on goods weighed in the public warehouses ¹¹⁶ was paid by refiners. There were about ^{or} hundred ships constantly in the service of the sugar trading fleet ¹¹⁷.

Sugar refining was first brought to Holland from Antwerp, when in 1577 the brothers Pieter and Jasper de

Morimont, formerly from Antwerp, established a sugar refinery in Leyde.¹¹⁸ The first mention of sugar refineries in Amsterdam is in 1595¹¹⁹. In 1605 there were only three refineries in Amsterdam, in 1650 there were forty, in 1661 sixty, At the end of the seventeenth century the number of refineries decreased to twenty due to high taxes and foreign competition, but within the first half of the eighteenth century, there were as many as ninety five refineries, after the oppressive taxes were reduced; in 1771 there were one hundred ten.¹²⁰

Because of the fact that there were many Jews in the West India Company's colonies certain Amsterdam Jews became interested in sugar refining. Since it was not necessary to be a member of a guild¹²¹ to have a sugar refinery¹²² certain Jews asked and were granted permission to carry on this business.

In 1655 Abraham and Isaac de Pereira, "Portuguese merchants of the Jewish nation", petitioned the Government of Amsterdam for permission to establish a sugar refinery there. A contemporary^{122a} remarks that although the resolution of March 29th, 1632, forbade Jews ~~most~~ ~~trading~~ in Amsterdam, sugar refining did not fall under these restrictions. The Pereiras included in their request to the Government the opinion of several renowned lawyers, confirming the right of the Pereiras to be sugar refiners. Christian refiners tried to prevent the Jews from entering the trade by claiming that sugar refining did fall 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 1000 pounds of sugar or one barrel ~~of~~ syrup at once. 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 8000,- guilders. In 1658 the refinery was opened for business.¹²³ But the Pereiras did not remain sugar refiners for long. In 1664 they sold their business to a gentile 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 Exchange¹²⁴.

The Pereiras' example was soon followed by Salomon, Moses and Isaac del Pina. In 1656 they bought property from the city amounting to 4.000,- guilders.¹²⁵ They built a refinery in 1658, but in 1669 they, too, sold out to a gentile, Herman Witte. The building brought in 17.000,- guilders and the equipment 2.000,- guilders.¹²⁶

In 1657 a building was put up by Isaac Mocado to be used as a sugar refinery.¹²⁷ This industry was later carried on by members of that family.

There are several probable reasons why the few Jews, who entered the sugar refining business, should have given it up in so short a time. They may have foreseen the decline in the sugar trade due to the establishment of sugar refineries in foreign countries, which limited the amount of raw products that would come to Amsterdam.

They may have realized that the high taxes on sugar would make 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 be also that the speculative activities of the time attracted these wealthy Jews to the Exchange with which they had become familiar through their speculations in sugar. Another inducement to conclude their sugar refineries may have been the fact, that, as the figures seem to show, they could consummate the sale of their plants to good advantage. Taken all in all the amount of sugar refining business done by the Jews in Amsterdam was very small compared to the total amount of sugar refined there.

c. Diamond Industry.

Unlike sugar refining the diamond industry in Amsterdam was and has remained largely in Jewish hands. It is said that the Flemish Lodewijk van Bergen, the inventor of diamond polishing was in Amsterdam as early as 1456.¹²⁸ In 1615 there are records of Portuguese Jewish diamond polishers in Amsterdam. They ~~Portuguese Jews~~ became the employers of the poorer German and Polish Jews who worked for them, ~~there~~ ^{are} two chief reasons why the Jews took such a prominent place in the diamond industry. One is, because it was ~~one of the few~~ ^{one of the few} branches of production in which there was absolutely free competition, without the control of the guilds, the second is that for ages Jews had been interested in precious stones and had acquired

a knowledge and expertness in that trade. Several contemporaries express themselves on the importance of the trade, pointing out f.i. that Amsterdam had become so important in the diamond industry because she practically had a monopoly on the art of cleaving and polishing of diamonds.¹²⁹

Some Christians also took part in this industry. When in the first half of the eighteen century there was a surplus of labor, and the supply of rough diamonds diminished, three hundred Christian employers were put out of business by the Jews who were able to work more cheaply.¹³⁰ As a result of this the Christians petitioned the Government of Amsterdam to institute rules for the exclusion of the Jews, to demand that Jewish employers, already in the industry, be forced to take an examination to be allowed 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 enjoyed by ~~the~~ Christian members.¹³¹ The petition was refused by the Government and the diamond industry continued to be a means of livelihood for hundreds of Jews. In 1750 there were six hundred Jewish families living from the income of the diamond industry.¹³²

As a necessary corollary to this industry an important jewelry trade developed. At the beginning of the seventeenth century members of the Curiel and Duarte de Paz family were known as important jewelers. The jewelry and diamond industries in Amsterdam have remained largely

in Jewish hands up to the present time.

d. Other trade and Occupations.

We know that in 1629 certain Portuguese Jews must have had tobacco stores in Amsterdam since we find an official document voicing a protest in the name of all the Christian tobacco store keepers, citizens of Amsterdam, that the Jews were found to have tobacco stores. The gentile storekeepers complained to the Amsterdam Government who decided, in spite of the objection of the Jews that some among them were citizens, that they were not allowed to keep their stores.¹³³

Although we know little about it, it appears that in the middle of the seventeenth century certain Portuguese Jews established a silk industry of some importance in Maarssen, a little village near Amsterdam, where they had their summer residence. They employed about twenty five villagers., this industry flourished for a number of years.¹³⁴

We have treated the chief industries in which Portuguese Jews were active. It must not be assumed that there were no individual Ashkenazim in the industries which we have already treated. It is certainly true that there were many employed as diamond workers and a goodly number in Hebrew printing but the great masses were concerned with other things. Poverty and lack of secular knowledge forced most of these German and Polish Jews into peddling and street-trading. They were unable to be skilled or unskilled laborers in trades governed by the guilds because of the restrictions

against them. It is true that there were certain occupations not controlled by the guilds,¹³⁵ but even of these there seem to have been only a few in which ~~the~~ Jews took part such as the buying and selling of cheap household furniture and utensils, silverware, new and old clothes, poultry and cattle, fruit, vegetables^s and fish. They were also active as tobacco curers and collectors and traders in coins.¹³⁶ Even in these few occupations permitted to them there were restrictions put in their way.

Before Charles V issued his decree expelling the Jews from Holland there were moneylenders and money changers among the Jews there as elsewhere. When the Portuguese Jews settled in Amsterdam in the last years of the sixteenth century there were probably some money changers and money lenders in their midst. At any rate, in 1609, before the Ashkenazic Jews came to Amsterdam the "Exchange Bank" was established there in order to suppress usury and facilitate activity in bills of exchange. This bank had the monopoly on all exchange of species.

When the Ashkenazic Jews came to Amsterdam, in view of this restriction, they found their main occupation limited by the Bank's monopoly. However, we know that they carried on trade in money and precious metals because we find a placard, dated December 3rd, 1661, forbidding this trade under penalty of the law.¹³⁷ In 1684 an ordinance was issued by the Burgomasters restating that the Exchange Bank had the monopoly on exchange of foreign currency. In this

ordonnance the Jews were especially mentioned.¹³⁸

When in 1700 large numbers of 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.¹³⁹ However, they did have a certain part of the city, known as the "Joden Groenmarkt " (Jews' Vegetable Market) , in which they were allowed to carry on trade in foodstuffs and other goods such as rags, furniture, old and new clothes.¹⁴⁰

We know that the Jews were freely permitted to be tobacco cutters but they were forbidden to carry on this work on Sundays.¹⁴¹

There must have been a lively trade in old clothes and rags. A contemporary remarks that one of the richest merchants of Amsterdam was instructed by a Jew in Poland to pay 10 to 12.000,- guilders to a Polish Jew in Amsterdam, in payment of a bill for the sale of old rags.¹⁴² In 1731 we find a restriction against Jews selling new clothes. It was decreed that they were only allowed to sell old clothes, if they paid 12,- guilders to the guild treasury and they could not repair or display their wares. This restriction was probably not efficiently enforced because in 1737 the Government of Amsterdam again issues an order forbidding Jews to trade in new clothes.¹⁴³ Other restrictions were added to these, f.i. Jews were not allowed to sell fresh water-fish or liquors. All these prohibitions were due to the political agitations of the revolutionary party, who insisted that the guild statutes be strictly

enforced. The City Government had to concede to the literal carrying^{out} of these rules. ~~Although large numbers of~~

Although large numbers of ^{ashkenazic} Jews lived in poverty, in the middle of the eighteenth century there was an appreciable number of the well circumstanced among them. This was possible because of their thrift and industry. It must be remembered that their standard of living was lower than that of their gentile neighbors. ~~They~~, they were forced to pool their interests in order to exist outside the guilds. ~~The~~ Jews were not included among the rest of the citizenry since they did not enjoy all the rights of citizens. Their separate culture, taken together with these restrictions, made them a separate entity within the city, they exerted some power as such. The citizenry insisted upon increasing the number of restrictions upon the Jews whenever they showed evidence of prosperity.

Chapter III

TRADE OUTSIDE OF AMSTERDAM, NOT INCLUDING THE COLONIES. -----

a. Introduction to Mediterranean trade.

The Mediterranean as the largest aquatic body chartered by the ancient and medieval world was of necessity an avenue of trade from very early times. Any discussion of commerce ~~or~~ of economic activity in Europe, involves the Mediterranean.

In discussing Jewish trade outside of Amsterdam, without reference to the possessions of the mother country, Mediterranean lands were beyond question the largest field. In the year 1602 the Dutch East India Company was founded and although the Jews later took some part in East Indian Trade, and after the founding of the West India Company in 1621, took a still more active part in West Indian trade, the lands of the Mediterranean basin, because of Jewish connections there from very early times, formed a typically Jewish trade area.

To evaluate the economic position of the Dutch Jewry of our period we must understand something of its commercial relationships and call to mind the cogency of Addison's paragraph, quoted at the head of this treatise.

Until the seventeenth century, not only Jewish commercial activities in the Levant, but the whole mediterranean, with its bordering countries ~~which~~ formed a sort of bridge between the East and West. Its traffic, to be sure, became less as other roads of communication with the Indies were made possible,

but ~~this~~ importance as a commercial center can not be overlooked.

Levantine trade was at its height from the end of the thirteenth to about the end of the fourteenth century when all Oriental products had to pass through the Levant on their way Westward. This period of greatest Levantine affluence occurred before the days of Dutch trade there.¹⁴⁴ Before the discovery of the North West passage to India the wealth of the Indies was sent through the Levant to Spain and Portugal. By the fourteenth century Lisbon was an important marketplace for Eastern goods, a junction of East and West where the products of the East by way of the Levant were disseminated throughout Europe and those of the West were loaded on ships and taken to the Orient.

The Flemish and Dutch merchants did not go to the Levant but came to Lisbon to get their Eastern goods.¹⁴⁵ Most of the shipowners in Lisbon were Jews¹⁴⁶, who transported goods from the Far East and the Levant through the Levant to Lisbon. About 1580 the trade with Lisbon was of great importance ~~to~~ the Dutch. They brought costly cargoes of Eastern goods from Lisbon to London and the continent. From the continent, particularly from the countries around the Baltic Sea, Dutch and Flemish ships brought grain, wood and other goods to the Iberian Peninsula. Spain needed the Dutch, particularly because, besides Baltic products, they brought manufactured goods into Spain and Portugal, the raw material for which, originally came by way of the Levant and was picked up by Dutch ships in Lisbon. The goods then were taken North, converted into finish-

ed products and returned to Lisbon for Spanish and Portuguese consumption. Although the war of liberation between Holland and Spain was in progress, due to the need for finished products, Spain was forced to wink an eye at Dutch ships sailing Spanish waters under false names and foreign colors.¹⁴⁷

In 1585, when Philips II confiscated a number of Dutch ships during the Anglo-Spanish war, the Dutch were forced to find a trade depot in place of Lisbon.¹⁴⁸ This situation was intensified by the fact that, as a war measure, in 1598 King Philip III of Spain forbade 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 promoted trade directly between Holland and the Mediterranean lands, without the necessity of the Lisbon market.¹⁴⁹ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although Mediterranean trade was on the decline, due to other avenues to the Far East, it was still rich enough to foster a profitable trade of its own.¹⁵⁰

In the fifteenth century Bruges and later in the sixteenth century Antwerp became the main Northern European trading centers ~~centres~~. 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.¹⁵¹ There is a document noting the fact that in 1318 the first Venetian ships came to Antwerp loaded with spices, medicine and silks. It is possible that even earlier than this, ships with such cargoes came to Bruges.¹⁵² There are two theories that account

for the transference of trade from Bruges to Antwerp. One has it that a certain Count Boudewijn, a Flemish nobleman, became king of Constantinople in 1204 and thus introduced the beginnings of Flemish commerce to Mediterranean countries and Mediterranean trade to Flanders.¹⁵³ 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 30th, 1546 : " On voit par expérience, que la pluspart des navires qu'arrivèrent en Zélande et la dicte ville d' Anvers du costel de Wetst, est de Portugal et des Isles d' Algarbe et le conduysent et le font verrir icy les dicts nouveaulx Chrestiens." ¹⁵⁴ One thing which may be said for the latter theory is that the Jews or Marranos controlled the commerce of Spain and Portugal since the Spanish ~~Marranos~~ considered trade an unworthy pursuit or were too lazy to undertake it. Many times the Jews were called upon to establish order in state finance. They controlled the banks and maintained business relations⁵ with the Mediterranean countries, a large number emigrated there¹⁵⁵. Levantine trade was in the hands of the Spanish and Italian Jews from the eighth century.¹⁵⁶

We see no reason to maintain that the one theory contradicts the other. It appears that there was some trade with the Mediterranean countries and Flanders before the great influx of Marranos to Antwerp. There is no doubt that the Marrano- settlement greatly stimulated Mediterranean trade first via Lisbon and later^{on} directly with the Mediterranean countries.

~~Since~~ Since the beginning of the diaspora there have been Jews in the Mediterranean countries. With their activity in trade and negotiations in specie the Mediterranean offered an ideal field of operation. One of the most important activities of the Jew since the dispersion was his capacity as a maturgoman or dragoman or interpreter. As such he was the link between the monarchs and the traders. This function still persisted in the centuries which we are considering, as we will see later. 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. Their commerce and trade was facilitated through these relationships and made function by means of the early use or perhaps the invention of what later became the modern credit instrument.¹⁵⁷

Our chief concern, Amsterdam, welcomed the relationship which the Jews and Marranos fostered in the Mediterranean lands. Always qualified for and interested in trade Amsterdam was not ~~lack~~^{lacking} where there was an opportunity for commerce. When in 1585 Antwerp surrendered to Spain, big Flemish businessmen like the well known Usselinx and ~~the~~ De Moucheron ~~settled~~ left the city for Protestant Amsterdam. Many Marrano merchants also came to the "Venice of the North" since trade could not flourish in Antwerp because the Protestants and Marranos were under the eye of the Inquisition. The removal of this commercial power from Antwerp was the major cause of its decline and a contributory cause of Amsterdam affluence.¹⁵⁸

The first recorded maritime trade between Amsterdam and the Mediterranean area was in 1590.¹⁵⁹ This date would tend to discredit the idea that Jews and Marranos coming from Spain and Portugal, were the initiators of Amsterdam's trade with the Mediterranean as they came later than 1590. Contemporary or nearly contemporary writers, however, contend that the Jews who came to Amsterdam were the first to send Dutch ships to the Levant. Janiçon¹⁶⁰ writes : "les Juifs.... qui 's'étaient réfugiés en Hollande sont les premiers, qui y ont établi ce commerce du Levant. Ils formèrent des établissements sur les principales côtes de Barbarie et dans toutes les échelles du Levant." Wagenaar¹⁶¹ 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." ¹⁶² Luzac¹⁶³ says : " this freedom [of religion] brought a large number of Spanish and Portuguese Jews to Holland and especially to Amsterdam, where they live in an important quarter of the city.... that these same Jews not only brought with them their possessions and wealth but also their contacts with the Jews outside the country. Besides they have opened commercial relations with the Levant and other regions." ¹⁶⁴

The probabilities are that Marrano merchants who came to Amsterdam from Antwerp after the United Provinces had freed themselves from the Spanish yoke, really were the initiators of Amsterdam's mediterranean commerce.¹⁶⁵ The trade was further stimulated by the influx of Jews from

Portugal in 1598 and later. It is certain that the refugees continued their commercial relationships with Spain, Portugal and the other Mediterranean countries.

b. Spain.

The Jewish fugitives from Spain to Holland found it difficult to establish trade relationships with their associates who had remained on the Iberian Peninsula. Those Jews who came from Antwerp to Amsterdam found their trade with Spain now further curtailed. However, when Portugal became independant of Spain in 1640, Dutch merchants could once more carry on legal trade with that country. Naturally the Sephardic merchants from Holland took advantage of this and carried on 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. ¹⁶⁶ Eight years later Spain made peace with the United Provinces and stipulated about the same regulations regarding the Jewish merchants in Holland as were laid down by the Portuguese. ¹⁶⁷ The Jews thought that the terms of the treaty would guarantee their rights to carry on trade ~~with as 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 already been

~~lodged with the Dutch authorities by the Jews of Amsterdam.~~
~~They requested that the Dutch ambassador to Spain procure~~
~~them the assurance that their rights to trade with Spain be~~
lodged with the Dutch authorities by the Jews of Amsterdam,
they requested that the Dutch ambassador to Spain procure
them the assurance that their rights to trade with Spain ^{would} be
respected and that they, their representatives, and their
property be treated with the same consideration as all other
inhabitants of the United Provinces, though they, the Jews,
had been born in Spain. ¹⁶⁸ In 1650 the Spanish ambassador
to Holland answered 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 go to Spain.
The reason for this restriction, Spain stated, was that the exile
~~of~~ of the Jews occurred long before the war long before the
war with the Republic and, therefore, laws governing the Spanish
Jew, 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, after carrying on
diplomatic parley with Spain, the Dutch Government issued a
statement ¹⁶⁹ : " 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.

Despite all these decrees the Jews were still
impeded in their trade. Sentiment in Spain was against them
as the Spanish disliked the idea that the exiled Jews were
prospering in Amsterdam, it was dangerous for them to go to
Spain. In order not to endanger their lives or the lives of

their relatives in Spain the Dutch Jewish merchants assumed pseudo-names (aliases). Many Marranos who remained 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."¹⁷⁰ In 1655 the Spanish consul in Amsterdam, with the aid of spies, collected the names and pseudo-names of Amsterdam Jewish merchants trading with Spain, together with the names of their correspondents there.¹⁷¹ This list was submitted to the Inquisition by King Philip IV of Spain.¹⁷²

The chief Jewish trade with Spain and Portugal seems to have been in contraband/. The usual procedure was said to be¹⁷² that of buying Spanish contraband and selling it in the different countries, even in Spain itself, pretending that the goods sold, came from The Netherlands.¹⁷³ Due to the prejudice against them and their bad reputation Dutch Jewish traders with Spain were never free to carry on a flourishing trade without hinderance. The Dutch Government was lax in the matter of defending Dutch Jewish rights in Spanish waters. It was not until repeated complaints against Spanish pirates had reached the 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.¹⁷⁴ Under such conditions no trade could prosper and although the trade with Spain and Portugal on the part of Jews from Amsterdam was never entirely abandoned¹⁷⁵ the Jewish merchants applied most of their efforts to other fields.¹⁷⁶ We know that by 1771 the Dutch Jews had, to a large extent, neglected Iberian trade¹⁷⁷.

c. Morocco - The Pallashes.

The Amsterdam Jews had many close relationships in Morocco. The fact that Holland and Morocco were antagonistic to Spain and Portugal, helped foster trade between the countries. There may be some truth in the statement ¹⁷⁸ that many of the Jews in Morocco originally came from Holland and went to Morocco because of early Jewish persecution in the Netherlands. There is a tradition to this effect in the Pallashes' family. Whether or not this tradition is true the documents clearly show that the Jews exerted considerable influence in the Mediterranean countries.

September 19th, 1624 ¹⁷⁹ Francisco Vaz de Leon, Francisco Lopez Henriques, Diego Lopez Telles, Michael de Crosse, Manuel Lopez Nunes, D. Nunes da Costa, Jherinimo Henriques, Manuel da Cunha, Michael Cardoso, Dgo Nunes Belmonte, Manoel de Pina, Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam, request the Magistrate of Amsterdam that they be recommended to the king of Morocco and receive the same protection at his hands accorded by him to all other Dutch subjects. This request was submitted by the Magistrate to the States General who communicated it, with their recommendation, to the king of Morocco on October 22nd, 1624. ¹⁸⁰

The Amsterdam Jews found this protection necessary because their Portuguese names often led the Moroccans to mistake them for the enemy and this hindered Dutch Jewish trade.

In the course of thirty years new difficulties

arose and new treaties with Morocco had to be concluded. In a document dated Salé, September 28th, 1654¹⁸¹ we find that Dutch ships had been plundered and merchandise belonging to a certain Spinosa who was one of the charterers of the ship, had been seized. "De Witte Valok" (The White Falcon) not only plundered, but besides different merchandise was taken out, belonging to Michiel Spinosa, Jewish merchant of Amsterdam, who was one of the charterers of the ship."¹⁸²

On October 19th, 1655 Admiral Michel de Ruyter writes to Sidi Abdullah, king of Morocco,¹⁸³ that he was pleased that a certain Benjamin Cochin (Cohen) came on board (De Ruyter's ship) to settle the disturbances and to discuss mutual reparations of damages. This same Benjamin Cohen, whose brother was a merchant in Amsterdam, was a wellknown ammunition trader¹⁸⁴ and represented the Moroccans' interest to the Dutch in Salé.

It would seem that in spite of the attempt to insure peace Jewish trade was repeatedly hindered for we find a request by the Jewish elders (Parnassim) of Amsterdam to the States General¹⁸⁵ that in the new treaty with the Prince of Salé Jews be treated the same as all other Dutch subjects regardless of difference in religion. On the 20th of August 1659 the States General decide to submit the request to the Admiralty since it dealt with sea trade. October 13th, 1659¹⁸⁶ the Admiralty advised that the request be granted and the Jews be looked upon like all other Dutch subjects. This clearly indicates that by this time the Dutch

Government considered the Jews equal to her other subjects in matters relevant to Mediterranean trade. Dutch Jewish traders and their goods had come to be respected by Holland and her allies, ^{and} therefore, to accord them protection, became a matter of policy.

When we think of Mediterranean trade one of the first things that comes to our mind is piracy. If we apply modern standards of commercial ethics the traders are little short of sea robbers and pirates often strengthened in their operations by Government support. But in the time of which we speak piratical activity, of something very close to it, was a legitimate part of the game of trade and was a help employed ^{to fill} ~~the~~ empty Government coffers. Holland, especially, due to the difficulties with Spain and the activity of the "water-buggass," was very active in this pursuit. Even the heads of highly esteemed business establishments did not clearly distinguish ~~the difference~~ between trade with foreign places and piracy. ¹⁸⁷ The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam were largely concerned with the arming of Moroccan ships and for this reason Dutch ships were respected by these Moroccan pirates. ¹⁸⁸ If Dutch sailors were captured by Moroccan buccaneers it was often the Jews of Amsterdam who paid their ransom. There is a letter, dated Salé, May 30th, 1624, ^{188a} written by Aaron Querido to Diego Nunez Belmonte requesting him and his associate Francisco Vaez de Leon to ship promptly the arms and the ammunitions for the Admiral of Salé 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 written by his ambassador Joseph Biscayno (a Jew) dated November 13th, 1624 , protested against this shipment.¹⁸⁹ He did not seem to know that Nunez Belmonte and Vaes de Leon were shipping this cargo at the request of Aaron Querido of Salé, who delivered ammunition to an enemy of the King of Morocco, the Kasba of Salé, with the consent of the Dutch Government, as we see from the result of the so called investigation by the States General.¹⁸⁹ In a resolution of the States General the said Aaron Querido is authorized to export war munition to the Kasba of Salé.¹⁹⁰

This Aaron Querido, together with Francisco Vaes de Leon, Diego Nunez Belmonte, Diego Gomez Duarte and David Franco¹⁹¹ had obtained passports to go to Salé to get back the ship " Die Vergulde Starre " (The Gilded Star) captured in Salé. It would seem that Aaron Querido found that he could profit by remaining in Salé as the agent of Vaes de Leon and Diego Nunez Belmonte, who carried on munition trade and army supply business with the contending parties in Morocco. The constant warfare and disturbances in that country offered a good 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 fights between the contend-

ding parties and the Dutch Jewish army supply agents. The Government, as we have indicated, often had to step in to straighten out the tangle. As an illustration of the fact that the Jews were not particularly scrupulous about which fighters they supplied, we quote a letter of the calds of the Kasba to the States General. 192 " So nevertheless the same (Jewish merchants) carried on big business operations in the army of the afore-named enemy 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 and Haron Quirido and others." 193

While there is no doubt that the main occupation of the Amsterdam Jewish merchants in Morocco was trade in army supply they were also involved in the selling of booty from the ships captured by the pirates. We know very well that the Jews excelled in disguising the booty to such an extent that they were able to sell it often to its former owner. 194

While most merchants, trading with Morocco practised 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 195 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 tin which is as good as the English product. This mine is run by several Jews there." 196

That there was a trade in grain is evidenced by the fact that there is a correspondence between the States General and the Caid of Salé regarding permission to Abraham and Aron Querido to send ships to Salé in order to bring goods from there back to the United Provinces. 197

To show that all was not amity between the Amsterdam Jews, in spite of their apparent coöperation, both within and without the country, we cite a curious fact. Francisco Vaes de León asked the States General to insure the protection of his property in Salé by means of intercession with the Caid, since Vaes de León feared that his possessions would be seized by a fellow Jew, Aaron Querido, with whom he was carrying on litigation. His agent, Isaacq Espinosa, had valuable goods in custody which he was afraid would be appropriated by Querido. 198

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 on 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.

Samuel Pallache, according to one version of the story, came to Holland in 1608. He then asked the

States General to be accorded the rights of residence in Holland. His petition was at first granted and for some unknown reason afterwards refused,¹⁹⁹ whereupon he returned to Morocco but by a clever trick we find him very soon in Amsterdam as the Moroccan ambassador. He had praised Amsterdam's virtues and economic possibilities to the king of Morocco so highly that he was made his ambassador in The Netherlands. Another version²⁰⁰ has it that the first Minyan held in Amsterdam was in the house of Samuel Pallache. This gathering was said to have taken place Yom Kipur¹⁵⁹⁶ which would of course place his settlement in Holland earlier than that date. The acceptance of this theory carries with it a belief in the earlier date assigned for the Jewish group-settlement in Amsterdam. It is clear however, that Samuel Pallache's influence was felt by 1610, for on December 24th of that year a treaty was made between Morocco and The Netherlands by which Dutch ships might freely enter Moroccan harbors and Moroccan ships could enter Dutch harbors. The terms of the treatise further stipulated that no slaves were to be made of Dutch or Moroccan subjects. This treaty was instigated by Pallache's ministrations. Official record of his diplomatic mission is not found until 1612 at which time his papers are presented to the States General²⁰¹. An interesting remark²⁰² states that Samuel Pallache originally came to Amsterdam as ambassador of the King of Morocco, Muley Sidan, to fit out pirate ships to avenge the Spanish theft of some important Arabic documents. Be

that as it may, the fact remains that Samuel Pallache and ^{most of} the rest of his family, spent their lives in fostering trade relations between Morocco and The Netherlands.

We get two distinct pictures of Samuel Pallache, the one presented by the Dutch Jews, and the other by some of his gentile associates. The Jews picture him as an idealistic worthy gentleman, who spent his efforts promoting the good will of Gentile and Jew and enriching his adopted country. He is the friend of the great Prince Maurits, who respects Pallache sufficiently to walk behind his bier, ²⁰³ when the diplomat died. Pallache, we are told ²⁰⁴ had to be helped by a ~~lover~~ of the States General at the recommendation of Prince Maurits. It is not to be forgotten that Samuel Pallache was one of the founders of the Synagogue Beth Ya'akov. He was said to be the first man of his time to come to Holland as an avowed Jew rather than as a Marrano.

The picture of Samuel Pallache which we get from gentile sources is quite different. He is delineated as a crafty, unreliable, scheming, dishonest person, looking after his own interest and even mistranslating diplomatic correspondence to suit his own ends. ^{204a} No doubt the true picture of this influential diplomat lies somewhere between the two estimates of him. He was probably a shrewd, non 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 can not be neglected. Whatever

part the Amsterdam Jews played in Moroccan commerce is due largely to the influence of Don Samuel and his family.

His brother Joseph followed in his footsteps and became Moroccan ambassador after Samuel's death ^{Joseph was ambassador from} 1616 - 1637. Joseph 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 complains to the States General about Joseph's craftiness.²⁰⁵ De Barrios names Joseph as one of the sixteen founders of the first synagogue in Amsterdam.²⁰⁶ His busy career was marked by the admiralty of a Moroccan pirate fleet directed against Spain²⁰⁷, ~~he~~ ^{he} was also interested in trading in salpeter.²⁰⁸ The Republic offered to pay one ducat for each quintal of salpeter that he would import,²⁰⁹ To carry on his trade he addressed himself to a rich Dutch patrician, Elias Trip, one of the Directors of the "evantine Trading Co., but the deal could not be consummated. Moroccan trade 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 in Leyden University. Moses was secretary to the sultan of Morocco, ^{now} 1624 - 1642, and David was the agent of that country in 1653.²¹⁰

d. Turkey

We have pointed out in the discussion of Jewish activity in Morocco that a lively Dutch Jewish trade was stimulated there. When we consider the records at our disposal about Cornelius Haga, a Dutch Gentile, sent by the States General of The Netherlands to represent her in Constantinople, 1611 - 1639, we find to our surprise that the trade among Jews of Amsterdam with Turkey is very small or to be more correct that the sources at our command show no Jewish supremacy in matters of trade, although doubtless there are indications of trade relations between the Jews of Constantinople and those of Amsterdam. Both communities were closely related having both been exiled from the Iberian Peninsula. The reasons for the comparative inactivity of trade between Turkish Jews and those of Amsterdam are in no way apparent. That the Pallaches were great stimulants to the Morocco contacts is clear but are they sufficient to explain why trade with Morocco was specifically Jewish and trade with Turkey rarely so? We have several documents, 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 sixty three signatures of Dutch merchants.²¹¹ This seems to be indicative of the lack or unimportance of Jewish trade with Turkey as we have seen that the official documents about Morocco often do cite Jewish names.

The old function of the Jew as interpreter or dragoman obtained strongly in Haga's consulate. ²¹² As an instance of one of the activities of the dragoman we cite part of the contents of a letter from Haga to the States General, dated April 18th, 1615. ²¹³ Efraim Abensachio, an interpreter went to Tunis (from Constantinople), freed some slaves of Dutch origin, brought them to Holland and received money and a gold chain with a medal from the States General.

The dragoman, or maturgoman, served as an intermediary between the consul, the subjects and the sovereign; he was an active instrument of trade relationship. It seems, therefore, all the more strange that there was so little trade between the Jews of Amsterdam and the Jews of Constantinople. It may be said that the Jews were silent partners in many of the transactions where their names are not mentioned but we have not seen documentary evidence for this. Furthermore we know that Haga and other consuls were definitely unfriendly to the Jews and accused them of shady business practises and untrustworthiness, although they were repeatedly forced to resort to Jewish money lenders for aid. ²¹⁴ In financial crises Christian merchants went to the Jews for money, almost all Dutch consuls were their debtors. ²¹⁵

That there was some Amsterdam Jewish trade with Turkey is indicated by the following : According to a resolution of the States General ²¹⁶ Gasper Quinget (Quingetti), a non Jewish Amsterdam merchant, is told to take charge of payments to Haga from the States General. When Haga borrowed

money from Turkish Jews ²¹⁷ he acknowledged a bill of exchange on Quingetti. ²¹⁸ We find that Quingetti had written about a bill of exchange dated November 8th, payable to Matio Rodrigues and Sebastian Pimontel, two prominent Jewish merchants of Amsterdam, against the account of Mordechay Abrimagar and Salomon Abiator of Constantinople. From this it is clear that there were transactions between the Jews of both countries. Furthermore, we know that three ships were freighted by Amsterdam Portuguese each with a Jewish representative on board. ²¹⁹

Haga left Constantinople and arrived in Holland November 2nd, 1639 ²²⁰, From this time on the States General neglected commerce with Constantinople, even left their consuls without support. In 1640 there were no more than two Dutch business houses there. ²²¹

c. Asia Minor.

About 1640 Smyrna began to assume a place of importance for Dutch commerce. Many Dutch establishments opened branches there. The Jews took an active part in the flourishing trade. It is estimated ²²² that there were several thousand Jewish brokers there and in Aleppo, they were also bankers and farmers of Turkish taxes. Smyrna was the intermediate station for Levantine trade. The States General ²²³ decided to accord the Dutch Jewish merchants in Smyrna the same privileges enjoyed by all Dutch subjects. Dutch Jewish trade there had by then developed to a proportion worthy of attention by the United Provinces. By the early part of the next century this trade had greatly decreased ²²⁴ due to the general decline and inflated

speculation in Amsterdam.

f. Tunis

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 "²²⁵. The reason for this is clearly the desire on the consul's part to foster Jewish favor for Dutch trade.

g. Levantine Trading Company and comparative figures.

In 1610 there was not as yet a Levantine Trading Co., but in the same year certain merchants trading with the Levant, formed a group to confer with the States General about the protection of their trading interest in the Levant. The States General also conferred with them on Levantine matters. In 1625 ²²⁶ the Government of Amsterdam ²²⁷ decided to name seven merchants, non Jews, as directors of the newly formed Levantine Trading Co. The Company was formed after the pattern of the India Companies, but it never had ^a the monopoly of trade. Its purposes were to regulate commerce, to collect taxes from which the Company was supposed to pay the expense of defense 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 collected. 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, led to a condition in which the company lost money. The figures at our disposal indicate that in 1628 the company paid 28.352,- guilders to Haga and 24.000,- guilders to Pynacker, another consul ²²⁸ In 1633 the deficit was 37.386,- guilders. ²²⁹

~~consolidated. ²²⁹ After the liquidation of the company the merchants, interested in the company, met to discuss their problems and to see how they could help the company. The company was reorganized and the trading company.~~

Although none of the directors of the Levant-
trading Company were Jews, we find Jewish names mentioned
in the books of the Company. These books yield only one
year's (April 1646 until May 1647) complete record of Levant-
ine import and export. ²³⁰ This record shows the exact amount
of imports and exports for the given year, also a list of
products with the names of the individual importers and ex-
porters . The year is sufficiently typical of a lively trade
under favorable conditions. The value of the total import
for the given year is 2.349.701,- guilders carried in 39 ships,
the value of the total export is 2.453.148,- guilders carried
in 90 ships. ²³¹ The list of names, 430 in all, includes 22
Jewish names ²³². The most important Jewish merchant listed
is Rento Osorio, importing goods valued at 70.575,- guilders

or about three percent of the total import, after which we find Ruy Gomez Barbosa, importing 28.400,- guilders worth of merchandise, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total import and finally we find Judo Toro, importing goods amounting to only 16.870,- guilders or about $\frac{1}{2}$ percent, which is the smallest sum recorded for ~~the~~ 1646/47. The non-Jewish merchant who imported most was Carel van Peene, his imports amounted to 113.050,- guilders or about 5 percent of the total import. The non Jewish merchant who imported least of all Gentile merchants was Gerrit de la Croix with 17.830,- guilders or about $\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total import. Rente Osorio also headed the list of Jewish exporters. His export amounted to 32.500,- guilders or about $1\frac{1}{3}$ percent of the total export. Francisco Vaes de Castro²³³ exported goods amounting to 26.855,- guilders or about 1 percent of the total export. The non Jewish merchants who exported most was Jeronias van Ceullen, his export amounted to 152.205,- guilders or $6\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total export. The non Jewish Consalvo Romiti, 19.225,- guilders, $\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total export, exported least of all. It is obvious from these figures that the imports and exports of the Jewish merchants of that year amounted to much less than those of non Jews.

The foregoing figures lead us to the following conclusion: The largest importing concern of all did only nine times more business than the smallest one. The largest Jewish importer did about two thirds of the amount of business done by the largest gentile concern. In the export trade we find the following: The largest exporting concern of all did

only about eight times more business than the smallest one. The largest Jewish exporter did about one fifth of the amount of business done by the largest gentile concern. Five percent of all the merchants trading in the Mediterranean countries were Jews. This was a rather large percentage, at that time only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total population of Amsterdam was Jewish.²³⁴

Although the gentile Levantine merchants 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 that ~~year that~~ the year in question was one of the most active ²³⁵; as only one year, 1699, the record of which we have, exceeded it. It is estimated ²³⁶ that the total Dutch import and export for the time 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 year 1646/47 did not amount to more than 4,800,000,- guilders, we can readily realize the relative insignificance of this trade and when we come to consider that the only important Jewish trade area was Morocco, and that Morocco was the least important of the trade centers, we see how minute Jewish trading activities were.

h. Italy

Besides direct trade between the Jews of Amsterdam

and the Barbary states we find evidence of traffic with Venice, which served as an intermediate depot between the North and the countries south of the Strait of Gibraltar. Spices and other East Indian products, herring, salmon, fabrics, thread, metals, etc., were sent from Holland to Venice and the Mediterranean countries. The Dutch imported mirrors, glasses, silver and drugs from Venice, from Genua they imported raw silk, oil, soap and drugs.²³⁷ We have an extract from a ²rapport 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.²³⁸

The Jewish communities of Venice and Livorno were in close commercial contact with their brethren in Amsterdam. The Amsterdam Jews invested largely in Venetian government bonds, from which many of them made great amounts of money²³⁹. Some writers on the subject²⁴⁰ contend that the Marranos from Antwerp and the Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam first brought Dutch trade to Italy due to their connections with the Jews there.²⁴¹

The important Jewish community of Livorno added its share to making the place a trade depot of significance. It was the point from which Levantine goods were shipped to Holland and England, the merchants of both countries had their representatives there. Barbary Jews chose Livorno as the market for slaves and booty. As a result it was often cheaper to buy goods from Livorno than to buy them directly from Barbary for the obvious reason that the goods were stolen

and could be disposed of at a lower price. Dutch Jews took advantage of this trade. Besides their wellknown transactions in slaves they bought cotton, drugs, gall nuts, fabrics, tri-apolitan silks etc. in Livorno.²⁴² We have a document²⁴³ dated February 21st 1633 showing that in 1632 a Dutch ship bound for Livorno, was freighted by Jews of Amsterdam. This same ship was sent by Livorno Jews to the islands to get grain but was captured by Algerian pirates. Although Jewish commissioners from Livorno 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 to the effect that money had been sent to a certain David Mascherini (this is most likely David Leon Macchiorro) for the purpose of freeing the captured sailors.²⁴⁴ It is worthy of note that a Jew is employed by the Dutch Government as its representative in this matter..

The trade between Amsterdam and Italian Jews remained active for a longer time than any other Mediterranean trade. In 1738 a number of Amsterdam Jewish capitalists loaned Venetian Jews 100,000,- guilders at two percent interest.²⁴⁵ The trade with Italy remained active until the fall of the Dutch Republic.

We must not be misled by the opinions of contemporaries that the Jews were very active in Mediterranean trade.²⁴⁶ The fact that a good many individual Jews grew rich from trade in Mediterranean countries led to the erroneous impression that the Jews played a major part. It goes without saying that for the Jewish merchants themselves Mediterranean

commerce was an important matter, but, considered in the large it was a very small drop in a very large bucket.

It is difficult to determine how much Mediterranean trade was influenced and stimulated by Jews or how much the Amsterdam Jews had to do with the Jewish activity as bankers and brokers in the Mediterranean countries but as far as trade in merchandise is concerned no case can be made for their importance. It must be pointed out, however, that there are no records at our disposal showing Jewish participation in slave trade, the general impression of contemporaries is that it was very active.

At the end of the seventeenth century Mediterranean trade in general had decreased due to repeated wars between Holland and England, resulting in the augmented power of both England and France in the Mediterranean area. cc.

1. Other European Countries.

There was, no doubt, trade between the Jews of Amsterdam and those of Bordeaux as there were flourishing communities of Portuguese Jews in both cities. We know that the bankinghouse of Gradis was in close communication with the De Pintos of Amsterdam. The Bordeaux Jews had established a trade in kosher wine with the prominent Jewish congregations throughout Europe and had a branch office in Amsterdam. 247

As a result of the efforts of Menassah ben Israel Jews were allowed to live in England openly. They kept in constant communication with the Jews of Amsterdam and are said to have had a great influence in the founding

of the Bank of England.²⁴⁸ There was a lively trade in money, and bills of exchange between the Jews of London and those of Amsterdam.²⁴⁹ In the days of William III the Jews 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.²⁵⁰ Baron Lopez Suasso and Isaac de Pinto invested large sums of money in England. As we have mentioned before thousands of Athias bibles were sold there.

One of the two groups of Sephardim who came to Amsterdam in 1598 is said first to have gone to Emden for purposes of trade. If this is true it indicates that the Sephardim either had, or wished to establish, trade relations with that German town.²⁵¹ In 1604 several of the Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam went to Hamburg and opened businesshouses there. Uriel da Costa was sent to that city between 1612 - 1615 where members of his family had a business establishment.²⁵² With Hamburg as with London there was an active trade in bills of exchange and money.²⁵³ Amsterdam Jews, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic, were intermediaries in trade between the Jewish community of Frankfurt and that of London.²⁵⁴ We know that by 1675 Jews from Amsterdam and other parts of Europe met to transact business yearly at the famous Leipzig fair.²⁵⁵

At the end of the seventeenth century Dutch commercial interest became increasingly concerned with the Indies and in the eighteenth century, because of the surplus of cash on hand, due to the big profits from Indian and other trade, most of the Dutch merchants turned their attention to speculation or retired from active trade operation.

Chapter IV

THE COLONIES

a. Introduction to the Colonies

The great Dutch trading Companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth century founded the colonial empire of The Netherlands. They were not ~~interested~~ so interested in bringing light to the heathen as in bringing gold to their ~~coffers~~ ^{purses}. They were not institutions for the sake of providing homes for enterprising or destitute subjects in foreign parts, they were first and foremost interested in gaining wealth for themselves and their country. They may best be described as corporations organized for the robbing of Spanish ships on their return voyage.²⁵⁶ For a long time their main interest was governmentally sanctioned piracy. In so far as there was colonization by the Companies the colonies founded were to serve the purpose of enriching the Companies and incidentally the mother country. When the colonies did not prove remunerative they were neglected. To illustrate that the main concern of the companies in their early years was the plundering and capture of ships, we cite the fact that between 1623 and 1636 the West India Company equipped 800 ships costing her 54.000.000,- guilders. With this fleet she captured 540 ships, the cargoes of which amounted to about 72.000.000,- guilders, to 36.000.000,- guilders were added through their robbing of the Portuguese colonies.²⁵⁷ 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 (Marranos) had been taken and plundered by ships of the East India Company. The request for redress ^{which was} submitted by the Marranos, several prominent Amsterdam merchants, and insurance-firms was refused ²⁵⁸. They next appealed to the Directors of the Company for damages but were sent away without results or satisfaction. ²⁵⁹ In the Companies ' accounts of profit and loss there is always an amount under the caption " Profit or Loss from Freebootery or Searobbery."

In the days of Portuguese supremacy there were two groups of the most important merchants active in 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 on the distribution from Lisbon throughout Europe " contract of Europe ". The conditions of the Indian contract were that half the spices brought from India, by the terms of the contract, became the property of the importers upon its arrival in Lisbon, the other half became the property of the King. The participants in the European contract bought the whole pepper supply of the king at fixed prices, usually paid in advance.

The Marranos were concerned with this business, f.i. when in 1576 Koenraad Rott was the principal participant in both contracts he was forced to turn to the " heillose Juden " for financial aid. ²⁶⁰ A merchant of Kampen, in 1578, said of the Marranos : " We think, that the Jews, with their trade in East Indian monopolies, overthrow us everywhere." ²⁶¹

Since the Mighty Years war the Dutch were unable to get enough Eastern goods from Lisbon and so they were forced to seek the East on their own initiative. The East was not unfamiliar territory to the Dutch because they had gone there as mariners and merchants on Spanish ships. In the diary of a famous Dutch traveler of that day ²⁶² we read that he found Dutch merchants everywhere he went. In 1594, 1595, 1596 and 1597 the Dutch were prompted to undertake the task of reaching India by the Northerly route through the Behring Strait, because Spain and Portugal made it very difficult for them to get Eastern goods. They chose this route to avoid storms around the cape of Good Hope, Spanish ships and pirates. Besides this it was thought that the Northern route was shorter. Although these trips were unsuccessful from the point of view of reaching India, they established the beginning of an important whaling trade which was to be a great source of wealth to the Republic. During the period of the Northern voyages Amsterdam merchants organized the "Company of Far Countries" ²⁶³. It was formed to sponsor voyages to India by the Southern route. In 1595 they sent out four ships. After many difficulties, the loss of one vessel and three quarters^b of the crew, they reached Java and returned. Financially the first voyage was a failure but it opened India for the Dutch. In 1598 the second successful expedition made the voyage. As soon as expeditions to India proved successful numerous companies were organized in various Dutch cities to finance expeditions to the East. There was so much competition between these companies that Indian trade was in-

jured. The various companies outbid each other for the goods and undersold each other in Europe. The Government interfered when it saw the disadvantage of so much friction, and in 1602 granted a monopoly in East Indian waters to the newly organized East India Company ^{which} ~~that~~ was a combination of all the other companies. The capital subscribed to the new enterprise amounted to 6.459.840,- guilders of which Amsterdam had 3.674.915,- guilders.²⁶⁴ 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 make big profits *at once*.

In the first six years of its life its participants received 25 to 30 percent annual return on their investment. In spite of the high dividends ^d declared the Company's capital is said to have grown to 30.000.000,- guilders in 1608.²⁶⁵ The Company's sales in the first half of the seventeenth century were between 5.000.000,- guilders and 11.000.000,- guilders, in the second half of that century between 10.000.000,- guilders and 15.000.000,- guilders, in the eighteenth century the average yearly sale was 17.250.000,- guilders. Naturally since this is an average figure the period of greatest decline ²⁶⁶ is reflected in it.²⁶⁷ ~~Some~~ Some of the reasons for this decline were : the merchants lost their interest in selling merchandise because of a strong tendency toward speculation : competition of foreign countries, poor management and corruption in India, exhaustion of reserve through the declaration of excessively high dividends,

and finally the disastrous fourth war with England which led to the loss of the monopoly. IN 1790 the Company had to address ^{it} ~~herself~~ to the ~~16~~ States General for financial aid. This aid was granted after the Government examined the books of the Company and assumed control. ^{its} power was broken and in 1800 the Republic took over ~~the~~ assets and liabilities of the East India Company.

In the early days of the East India Company the Jews ^{are said to have taken} ~~took~~ a very small part in the Company's investment,²⁶⁸ and its trade because the shareholders in the Company were required to be citizens. Of the two places where we know that Jews lived and where there was a chamber of the Company²⁶⁹ Jewish subscription in the early years ~~is estimated~~ at 1/10 percent of the total.²⁷⁰ There is a list dated 1639 showing that some Jews bought pepper from the Company. A few of the names cited are Abraham Franco Mendes, Emanuel Laguna, Benito Osorio, Joseph de los Rios and others²⁷¹. The Journal of the Company shows that in 1611 Jews buy small quantities of pepper, nutmeg and ~~mastic~~, also in 1612 there are trifling amounts of nutmeg bought by Jews.²⁷² Some Jews probably went to the Indies to escape the Inquisition but we know that there never were enough ~~of them~~ to build a synagogue.²⁷³ The records of the East India Company²⁷⁴ show that there were several Jews employed by the Company in India as doctors and lesser employees. A proof that there were some Jews who went to India as merchants we find in a letter, issued by the Amsterdam Government to serve as a passport for a Jew.²⁷⁵ However, the amount

of Jewish trade in India cannot be determined until all the books of the Company and private Jewish archives have been examined.

Unlike the East India Company the West Indies had been visited by Dutch ships since the beginning of European colonization there. Trading operations had been carried on by the Dutch long before the formation of the West India Company. 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 without slaves. The people there 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 formation of the West India Company.

The Government favored the suggestion and before the Twelve Years Armistice (1609 - 1612) the States General had made plans for the founding of the Company. However, the plans show that the Government's motives were unlike those of Usselinx as it wanted to form a company for the sake of making money quickly by means of seizing Spanish ships and so doing damage to the enemy. Its further intention was to transfer the war to 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, could ^{now} be gotten for Holland.

When the Armistice was declared the plans

for a Company
were held in obedience. After hostilities were resumed the West India Company was made a reality. It procured twenty four years monopoly on the trade with the Westcoast of Africa and North and South America. It obtained the right to make commercial treaties with the native chieftains and was also granted military protection by the mother country. Nothing was said of Usselinx 's colonizing ideals.

In the beginning of the Company's life Jewish participation in its shares seems to have been very little more than in the East India Company. Unlike this Company the Company of the West experienced difficulty in raising capital..To facilitate matters the Government forced the East India Company to subscribe 1.000.000,- guilders to the West India Company. In spite of this it took three years, 1623- 1626, to raise the necessary capital of 7.108.106,- guilders , in which Amsterdam participated to the extent of 2.846.582,- guilders. Jewish subscription is said to have amounted to 36.100,- guilders. ^{27b} Whether Jewish merchants and capitalists took a larger part in the investment of the Company later cannot be determined because the chief records for later years are lacking. ^{277a} In all probability ~~the~~ Jews did participate to a greater extent later because of the increase of Jewish population in Amsterdam, their prosperity ^{leading them to take} as lively interest in the sugar trade. This interest was largely due to the fact that there were many Jewish planters in the colonies of the West India Company.

b. Brazil

One reason for the presence of Jewish planters in the colonies was that, after the discovery of Brazil in 1500, the Portuguese government could not find enough people willing to colonize the new territory, ~~and so~~ ^{therefore} it forced criminals and Jews to go to these regions. In 1532 sugarcane was brought from Madera 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. ²⁷⁸

When the Marranos in Spain saw that their Jewish brethren thrived in Brazil they fled from the Inquisition to that country where they were enabled to live in comparative freedom and gain wealth until Spain united with Portugal in 1580 and the Inquisition became severe in the colonies. At that time there were several Jews worth from 60,000,- to 100,000,- Cruzados. ²⁷⁹

Sugar flourished particularly well in Bahia and Pernambuco. In 1599 there were sixty six sugarmills and in Bahia there were thirty six. In 1600 Brazil had 120 sugarmills which produced 60,000 cases of sugar. ²⁸⁰

When the Jewish colonists in Brazil heard that the Dutch West India Company was turning its attention to that part of the world, because Brazil was poorly defended as were all colonies founded by the Portuguese, the Jews are said to have given the Dutch Government some useful information as to the condition of affairs in Brazil, as they knew

that under Dutch rule they would be granted freedom of worship.²⁸¹ It is safe to assume that the Jews helped the Dutch Government in the conquest of the colony as there is a document, dated 1634, in the records of the Inquisition, which shows that the Jews caused damage to Spain and that two Jews, Nunes Alvarez Franco and Manuel Fernandez Drago, who lived in Bahia when the Dutch conquered it, had made the plan for the conquest. The conquest of Pernambuco, the document states, was the work of the Jews of Amsterdam, the leader of whom, Antonio Vaez Henriques, (alias^{for} Moses Cohen) accompanied the expedition.²⁸²

In December 1623 the proposed expedition for the conquest of Brazil set sail from Holland. We learn that there were Jews on board ship who were given free passage because they would help in the conquest.²⁸³ In 1624 Bahia was conquered by the Dutch. They only succeeded in keeping it for one year, Portugal reconquered it and held it until 1629²⁸⁴ when the Dutch undertook a new enterprise and succeeded in making a reconquest. They continued their military operations successfully and in 1636 they had conquered a large part of Brazil, which they called "Nieuw Holland".²⁸⁵ After this conquest the States General issued a proclamation to the effect that Catholics and Jews in the newly conquered territory would be allowed to "practise their religion unhindered" without investigation of their conscience or their home."²⁸⁶ The only restriction imposed upon them was with reference to their slaves, who²⁸⁷ they had to send to church and forbid to work on Sundays. As a result of the freedom permitted them the Marranos there

openly professed Judaism, and many Jews from other parts came to settle there. In 1642 about two hundred Jews came from Amsterdam under the leadership of Rabbi Isaac Aboab and Moses Raphael de Aguilar. They founded several congregations, the most known of which are those in Recife and on the Antonio Vaz Island.²⁸⁸ A rule was made that no one could return to Holland without paying a certain amount to the community. The reason for this tax was probably to check the return of Jews to Holland, who had become rich in Brazil. Their leaving would, of course, make the Brazilian congregation so much the poorer.²⁸⁹ A tax of 4 percent was levied on all imported merchandise, 3/10 percent on all money, gold, silver and jewels, and 1/2 percent tax was levied on the sale of sugar, tobacco and houses, armed merchantships and privateers had to pay 3 percent of their net cargoes.²⁹⁰ Rabbi Aboab received 1.600,- guilders a year salary. Hacham Jehosua Velozinos 400,- guilders and the teacher Samuel Tarazao 250,- guilders.

The prosperous condition of the Jewish community was largely aided by the favorable attitude of Prince Johan Maurits, who had come to Bahia as Governor in 1637, two years after the second conquest. It was through his initiative that sugar mills, abandoned at the time of the conquest, were sold at public auction. The proceeds of the auction amounted to 2.000.000,- guilders, most of the mills were bought by Jews, who were permitted to pay for their purchases either in money or in yearly instalments of sugar.²⁹¹

Jewish prosperity was anything but pleasing to the Christian inhabitants of the colony. They were envious because the Jews owned some of the best plantations in the river valley of Pernambuco and were among the leading slaveholders of the colony. They were also the chief slavetraders, slaves could be paid for in sugar and where payment was postponed the Jews charged from three to four percent monthly interest. 292 The rapid increase of the number of Jews, their remarkable adaptability, both to wholesale and retail trade, soon led to friction 293. It was a thorn in the ^{sides} eyes of the Calvinists that the Jews were permitted freedom of worship and that they controlled much of the commerce. This state of things incited sixty six Christian merchants to write a letter to the Governor, Prince Johan Maurits, and ^{the} Council of Brazil, stating that shiploads of poor Jews come to the colony and get rich because the wealthy Jewish residents give their newly arrived coreligionists all the best positions as employees on their plantations or in the sugartrade, since almost all sugartrade is in Jewish hands. They complain that Christians are left positions which the Jews would not give their relatives and bemoan the fact that in the colonies, they, the Christians, are forced into a subordinate place while everywhere else in the world "this cheating and dishonest race is compelled to wear distinguishing signs on their clothing to show their inferiority." 294 The complaint was not heeded because the Governor realized that it was exaggerated and dictated by anti-Jewish prejudice and jealousy.

Unlike the East India Company it was the policy of the West India Company to allow individual trade and enterprises to flourish rather than to keep the monopoly of trade in its own hands. This policy was so successful that from 1638 - 1644 the Company is said to have received 17.886.737,- guilders for the export of sugar, wood, elephant tusks, copper, indigo and other articles. ²⁹⁵

This period of prosperity lasted throughout the governorship of Prince Johan Maurits, even though during the last three years of his tenure of office there were bad sugar harvests. The Company was displeased with the fact that the Prince did not demand immediate payment of the instalments of sugar due on the mills. The Prince did not do this as he realized the impossibility of payment because of the poor harvests. To show their displeasure the Company refused to grant the Governor's wish when he asked for more troops in the colony whereupon he requested and obtained his dismissal. It is indicative of what the Jewish settlers thought of the Prince that they offered him a yearly stipend of 3.000,- guilders if he would remain Governor of the colony. ²⁹⁶ During the time the Prince was Governor the majority of his Council were Jews. ²⁹⁸ When he left the Jews offered him 600.000,- guilders for his residence " Vrijburg " which they wished to rebuild into a synagogue ²⁹⁹. A year after the Prince's departure, as a result of the Company's immediate demand for payment of debt in spite of the bad harvest, there was a great deal of poverty in the colony. One of the richest Jews of Pernambuco, Georgio Homen Pinto, possessor of nine sugarmills, 370 slaves and 1000 Oxen, declared to the Go-

vernment that he could not pay his financial obligations, his debts were 937.997,- guilders. ³⁰⁰ As Pinto's ruin would have affected the well being of the entire colony the Government aided him and several other colonists.

Bad times in the colony encouraged the Catholic clergy to attempt to regain the power which they had lost since the Dutch ruled their country. They incited the people to uprising and plunder, even the old Catholic planters sided with the Church in the new insurrection. The West India Company, due to its policy of gaining large profits for the least 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 whereupon he gave his assurance that the rebellious colonials received no support from Portugal. In truth, however, the Portuguese Government, anxious to regain her lost possessions, made every effort to support the rebels secretly and thus weaken the Dutch position. ³⁰¹

When the Portuguese attempted to take the colony the Jews fought shoulder to shoulder with the Dutch but in spite of their valiant effort Recife fell in 1654. ³⁰² Thousands of Jews left the colony when the Portuguese resumed rule (there were 5000 Jews in Recife alone) as the Jews did not wish to be subject to the Inquisition. Many of the Dutch Jews returned to Amsterdam with the rabbis Aboab and Aguilar, many of those who remained settled in other parts of America where they brought their experience as sugar planters and traders.

The experiment of the West India Company in Brazil, which started with such high hopes, failed chiefly because the Company spent too little for the maintenance of the colony.³⁰³ In 1661 Portugal paid 8,000,000,- guilders indemnity to the United Provinces for relinquishing all Brazilian possessions.

c. Curaçao

The island of Curaçao was conquered by the Dutch about the same time as the Brazilian colonies, in 1634. The early settlers of the colony were more interested in carrying on illicit trade with the Spanish possessions than in tilling the soil/. Sixteen years after the conquest, twelve Jewish families³⁰⁴ were given free passage to Curaçao by the Dutch Government in order to till the soil. They possessed letters to the Governor, Matthias Beck, directing him to furnish them with sufficient land and oxen, and to loan them slaves.³⁰⁵ Large tracts of land were assigned them two miles north of Willemstad. In spite of the privileges granted, the Jews labored under difficulties as they were looked upon with prejudice and treated as aliens. It seems that the first Jewish immigrants did not bring success to the colony as the West India Company wrote to Peter Stuyvesant in March 1651 that they seriously considered abandoning Curaçao as it had not proved to be a source of revenue, but that they were willing to make one more experiment and send another group of Jews to the island under the leadership of

Jan de Illan³⁰⁶. A ~~second~~ grant of privileges was ^{also} given to Joseph Nunes de Fonseca (de Nassy). ^{306 as Jews} 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 taxfree for ten years as the Company hoped that this group would bring the long waited for prosperity. To facilitate matters, the settlers were also guaranteed religious freedom and tolerance, provided they or their slaves, did not work on Sunday. ³⁰⁷ By the end of 1652 Illan and his followers had progressed considerably, but instead of tilling the soil, as their contract stipulated, they were clearing the island of logwood and ~~was~~ carrying on a trade in this and in horses with the Caribbean islands. ^{307 as} As this pursuit was contrary to the interest of New Netherlands, the Directors of the Company made an attempt to stop ~~that~~ ^{it} and ~~also~~ to curtail slavetrade in which the Company had a monopoly. Therefore, in 1653, the Jews were forbidden to buy more negro slaves. ³⁰⁸ Furthermore, the Governor of Curaçao complained that the Jews were carrying on smuggling with Venezuela and the Greater Antilles, and that they ^{were} charged too much for goods they traded in. ³⁰⁹ ~~remonstrated~~ ^{we} that they ^{asked} ~~charged~~ three times the price of the same article in Holland. ³⁰⁹ The Jews, on the other hand, complained that their trade was hindered and that they were ~~not~~ granted enough privileges. ³¹⁰ This state of affairs would have brought ruin to the colony, had not a number of Jewish fugitives from Brazil arrived there. They started to plant sugar and tobacco and furthered the trade relations of the island. There is a bill of lading, December 1658, showing

that Mordeky En- Riquez, in New Netherlands, received Venetian pearls, thimbles, scissors, knives, bells and other articles from Curaçao.³¹¹

In spite of regulations to the contrary ~~the~~ Jews carried on a trade with Isaac de Fonseca of Barbados. When the Governor of Curaçao protested de Fonseca threatened to turn his trade from Curaçao to Jamaica, this made the authorities more lenient.³¹² Peter Stuyvesant protested that the Jews in Curaçao had obtained more rights from the Company than Dutch subjects in New Netherlands as these "usurious and covetous Jews" had managed to persuade the Company to allow them to purchase negroes.³¹³

In 1656 the Jews 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 wellknown Amsterdam rabbi, David Pardo, was called to Curaçao. In 1692 the small wooden synagogue building no longer sufficed and a new one was erected in 1707. This too had to be enlarged in 1731 which ~~is an indication that~~ ^{growth of the} the community ~~grew~~ in number and prosperity. By 1750 the number of Jews had increased to about two thousand.³¹⁴ At that time they had the most beautiful houses in Willemstad and the finest lands on the island,³¹⁵ there were prosperous merchants among them and some who occupied positions of importance in the Government off the island. In 1722 the Governor Noah du Fay appointed the Jew, David Senior, to an important civil office.³¹⁶

A story has it that fifty three ships bound for Holland left Curaçao on the same day, most of the cargoes

of these ships were the property of Jews.³¹⁷

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 form a congregation of their own.³¹⁸ Curaçao has remained a flourishing community up to the present time, it is not too much to say that the prosperity of the community was, and is still, largely due to Jewish influence.

c. Essequibo and Cayenne.

Another colony in which Jews played an important part was Essequibo, now part of British Guyana. As early as 1621 the Dutch had explored the Essequibo river and planned to establish settlements there. This plan did not materialize until 1658 when David Nassy was granted permission to settle there 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.^{318a} They were given all privileges accorded their coreligionists in Amsterdam.³¹⁹ Furthermore, they were free from the payment of all export duties and were not to be restricted to trade with the Indians for logwood, but ^{here} also to grow sugar. The colony was called "Nova Zeelandia". The colonists assiduously applied themselves to raising sugar. November 20th, 1660, Philippe de Fuentes, a colonist from Brazil, wrote that the land in Essequibo was better than that of Brazil.³²⁰ In 1661 sugar from the colony was sold in the market of Middelburg.³²¹ In the

beginning of the same year ³²² 60,000 to 70,000 pounds of sugar are said to have arrived in Amsterdam from "Nova Zeelandia". Nevertheless, the sugar plantations did not make the expected progress because there was a lack of slaves and not enough kettles for the refineries. ³²³ The colonists, particularly the Jews, threatened to leave the colony, if conditions were not bettered. ³²⁴ During the second English Dutch war, 1655-1666 the English captured "Nova Zeelandia" and destroyed many plantations. Most of the fugitive Jews fled to Surinam which was then also under English rule. When Essequibo and Surinam became Dutch again in 1667, very few of the Jewish planters returned there. ³²⁵

In the eighteenth century we find a small number of Jews there. ³²⁶ This was probably due to restrictions against them. The Jews, who had come to America, were already settled in other colonies. Those from Holland, who wished to come there, because of bad times at home, were restricted. The West India Company wrote ³²⁷ to the Director General of Essequibo that it thought it advantageous to settle Jews in the colonies. The Director General answered that he was afraid the country would be burdened with poor Jews and that he did not want them ³²⁸. In answer to this the Company responded ³²⁹ 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. ³³⁰ In 1776 it began to be feared that the colonies would become impoverished by the influx of many Jews who had lost their money in the financial crisis of Amsterdam. In order to safeguard the colonies +

the States of Holland passed resolutions ³³¹ to the effect that no Jew could settle in Essequibo or Demarary without sufficient money to procure a plantation. The Parnassim of the Amsterdam communities protested against this and referred to the right of citizenship which the Jews had received in 1657 but they were ^{told} that this right was only valid in Holland.

After having changed hands three times Essequibo became ~~part~~ of British Guiana in 1803 and has remained a possession of the British empire until the present time.

In 1659 an attempt at colonization in Cayenne was made by the West India Company. David Nassy was given a grant to settle there with a group of Portuguese Jews from Brazil. ³³² ^{who} They were allowed the same privileges enjoyed by them ^{correspondents} in Amsterdam ³³³ and further permitted to live ten years taxfree and to have a school of their own.

The colony did not flourish because the French often destroyed the plantations and in 1664 when the French took possession of the plantations the planters left for Surinam.

e. Surinam

The most important Dutch colony in the West Indies is Surinam; it became Dutch in 1640. It has been said ³³⁴ that there were Jews in the colony before 1644, who had come there from Brazil with many slaves. There is no proof of this as there is no mention of Jews in Surinam in the records of the States General at that time ³³⁵ nor in the complete records of the "Hoogen Raad" for the year in question. ³³⁶ We do not

know exactly when the first Jews reached Surinam as there is a gap in the records of the Company from 1646 to 1657. 336^A

There were some Jews in Surinam by 1650. When Recife fell, a group of ^{them} ~~Jews~~ came from there to the colony in question.

During the second English war, in 1666, Surinam was captured by the English. The British attacks on Essequibo in the following year caused many Jew to flee from the fight to Surinam where they were received by their coreligionists and settled among them in the Savannah, the Jewish section of the colony. Under English rule the Jews were granted all the privileges formerly enjoyed by them. They were considered full fledged English subjects participating in all the rights of such subjects; they were granted freedom of religion and were not forced to appear in Court on the Sabbath. All civil suits, involving less than ten thousand pounds of sugar were to be settled by the Diyanim ~~and~~ the authorities had to respect their decision. 337

In 1667, after the Second English war was concluded, Surinam again became a Dutch possession. 338 By the terms of the treaty all English subjects, who desired to do so, were free to leave the colony. In 1675 two ships came to call for the English subjects, desiring to leave. Jewish prosperity in the colony is indicated by the fact that ten Jews with 322 slaves wished to go to Jamaica, (an English colony), but the Dutch Governor fearing that the departure of the Jews would injure the prosperity of the colony, detained them pretending that he had received instructions from The Netherlands, forbidding their departure. 339

Leaders of the Jewish settlement 340 sent a request

to the West India Company, dated October 1st, 1669, asking for a confirmation of the privileges they enjoyed under English rule. ³⁴¹ They went so far as to demand that their slaves be permitted to work on Sunday. Furthermore, they requested the right to control all matters that were in anyway related to their synagogue or the Jewish religion. These rights were sought for because the Jews in Surinam felt their importance to the financial well being and general prosperity of the colony. We do not know the Company's answer to this request but the probabilities are that it was granted as we hear no further complaints and know that in 1685 a synagogue was built. ³⁴² The first rabbi was Isaac Nieto. ³⁴³

The Jewish congregation flourished, its prosperity may be gaged by the fact that in 1694 there were about ninety two Sephardic and ten to twelve Ashkenazic families there, besides fifty unmarried people, totalling about 570. The Jews possessed more than forty 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 twelve soldiers and an adjutant. ³⁴⁴ Captain Samuel Nassy was considered the richest planter in Surinam. ³⁴⁵ By 1704 the number of the German Jews had so increased that they were half as many as the Portuguese Jews. ³⁴⁶ In the first half of the eighteenth century many poor German Jews and some Portuguese Jews came to the colony ³⁴⁷. Although the management of the colony and its owners changed several times ³⁴⁸ it flourished. In 1712 the French, jealous of the colony's good fortune and anxious to acquire ~~Surinam~~ ^{it} for

themselves , attacked it and were defeated. The Jews acquitted themselves bravely in the fight.

About the same time the colonists were troubled by attacks of " Bushnegroes ", former slaves, who had gone inland and refused to return to their owners. They declared themselves independant 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 in 1750. ³⁴⁹ In spite of all the efforts of the planters, in 1760, the Dutch Government had to declare the independance of the Bushnegroes.

By 1730 Surinam had reached its greatest affluence, about that time there was a total of 400 plantations, with 80.000 slaves, the Jews owned 115 plantations most of which grew sugar. ³⁵⁰ In 1750 Surinam exported 24.604.000 pounds of sugar amounting to about 8.611.400,- guilders. ³⁵¹ As early as 1697 ³⁵² we hear of a shortage of slaves, ^{which} ~~this~~ shortage was due to poor management of the West India Company, who had a monopoly on slave trade. This scarcity made the price of an adult slave 250 guilders or three hogheads of sugar. ³⁵³ 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 they had contracted for. ³⁵⁴ In spite of all the difficulties Surinam continued to prosper and remained the most important of all the Dutch West Indian colonies.

The Jews shared in the general prosperity

and in 1737 they erected another synagogue in Parimaribo, the capital of Surinam. In 1744 the Ashkenazic Jews founded their own synagogue, using a building formerly employed by the Sephardic community, by 1780 the synagogue was enlarged ³⁵⁵.

²⁴ By the time of which we are speaking a good many of the Jews had houses in Parimaribo, besides their plantations in the Savannah. The Jews, like the other planters, were able to make use of a lot of money because Amsterdam, which owned part of the colony, had invested 50.000,- guilders in a bank, organized for the sake of loaning the planters advanced money on their crops. This was done, provided that the planters would sell their products to the bank, who would sell the goods and return the money to the planters after deducting interest and part payment. As a security the bank had mortgages on the plantations. ³⁵⁶ There was so much money in Holland at that time that 50.000.000,- guilders were at the planters disposal. ³⁵⁷ 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" for about 93.000,- guilders. The taxation on the plantation and its equipment, together with his house in Paramaribo, was 187.500,- guilders. He took out a mortgage for five eighths of the total amount or 117.990,- guilders which he was to pay within twenty years. His banker in Amsterdam stipulated that he pay 6 percent interest and ship all products to Amsterdam to be sold through the bank. Things did not go well with Nassy;

in 1772 many of his slaves died,³⁵⁸ his plantation was neglected and by 1773, just in the year that Amsterdam was undergoing a financial crisis, he^{WBC} forced to sell his plantation. Due to this crisis his estate only brought 40.000,- guilders. On order to escape his creditors Nassy was forced to hide in the most inaccessible parts of the Savannah. It was during these years that he wrote his wellknown " Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam " which has served as a source for all later studies of the colony. ³⁵⁹ That he was a man of wide culture we know from the testimony of a contemporary visitor to the country. ³⁶⁰

Nassy's economic difficulties were not unique. Due to the superabundance of ready money, many planters , both Jews and Gentiles, found themselves in similar straits. They became extravagant , built costly mansions, and 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 , who sent agents to the colony. This did not improve matters as most of the agents were corrupt. Added to this, many of the slaves, especially those in Jewish hands, left their masters to join the independant bushnegroes. The continual fighting made it necessary for the colony to maintain a constant and expensive defense. All these considerations ultimately impoverished the once prosperous settlement ³⁶¹

About 1790, due to the absolute subjection

of the bushnegroes and the renewed industry of the colonists the settlement began to recuperate its losses. When free trade was permitted ³⁶² conditions became still better. At the end of the eighteenth century, although there had been a division among the colonists on political grounds ³⁶³ the colony was on the upgrade.

We are informed as to the importance of the Jewish element of the population in Surinam by ~~the~~ answer of the Court of Civil Justice, who decided to accord Jews the right to be procurators, in spite of the protest of Christian lawyers. The Court defended its answer, stating: "of the weighty and significant considerations that the number of Jewish inhabitants in Surinam exceeds the number of Christians." ³⁶⁴ To this the Directors of the West India Company added "the Jews now since 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." ³⁶⁵

As we have seen, the Jews from Brazil were the inspiration and urge for sugarplanting in all the Dutch West India colonies. It is interesting to note that fugitives from Brazil, among whom there were probably Jews, also settled in the French colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique. After the arrival of the fugitives we find these colonies chiefly occupied with the raising of sugar. In 1669 several Amsterdam concerns were interested in sugar industries in Martinique. ³⁶⁶ That there were Jews from Brazil that settled in the English

colony of Jamaica, we learn from an attempt to restrict Jews there to wholesale trade and to exile those ~~Jews~~ who ~~were~~ not British citizens. These restrictions were opposed by the Governor. 367

f. New Netherlands.

The first Jewish settlement on the mainland of North America was that of New Netherland, a colony owned by the West India Company, from 1623 until 1654. 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 did not permit them to carry on sugar raising. ~~but~~ They established definite trade relations between New Amsterdam, South America and the West Indies. These connections were possible because of the settlement of their co religionists in the South American and West Indian colonies. 368

The whole history of the Jews in New Amsterdam during the Dutch rule extends only over a period of ten years, 1654 until 1664. Their economic influence upon New Netherlands was of necessity of lesser importance than in the colonies already treated, where they participated in the chief economic pursuit. Jacob Barsimson was the first Jew definitely known to have arrived ^{in New Amsterdam} in the summer of 1654. He landed there, a member of a group of emigrants sent by the West India Company to help settle the colony. 369 Barsimson came to the New World to carry on trade on the advice of several Amsterdam Jews. In September of the

same year a group of twenty three Jewish fugitives from Brazil arrived in New Amsterdam. On their way their ship had been captured by Spanish freebooters. In the further course of their voyage the ship was retaken by a French one ^{which} ~~who~~ brought them to New Amsterdam. Much of the Jew's property had been taken by the pirates, but they vouched collectively to pay for any of their number, not in possession of their passage money.³⁷⁰

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 expected remittances from Holland.³⁷¹

While the investigation was in progress a group of more wealthy Jews arrived from Amsterdam. We know nothing more about the prisoners ~~which~~ ~~is~~ probably because the new arrivals strengthened out their difficulties. Peter Stuyvesant, the Governor of New Netherlands, wished to forbid ~~the~~ Jews from settling there. In order to do this he wrote a letter to the Directors of the Amsterdam Office of the West India Company³⁷², requesting that the newly arrived Jews be ordered back and that no more Jewish immigrants be allowed to settle in New Amsterdam. The Governor motivates his request with the following words "with their usual usury and deceitful business toward the Christians" and "also fearing that because of their present straits they will become a burden next winter". In January 1655 the Amsterdam Jews sent a protest to the West India Company asking why Jews were not ~~admitted~~ to settle in a colony which was in need of loyal

subjects. Especially since the Company had decided to give a piece of land to all settlers, it should not refuse to admit Jews who have proven themselves loyal subjects, since these Jews could foster a flourishing trade and pay taxes. Furthermore the Jews were Dutch subjects and have lived in Holland for years. Besides that many Amsterdam Jews were chief participants in the Company.³⁷³ On April 26th 1655 the Company answers Stuyvesant that " this 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."³⁷⁴ 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."³⁷⁵ Stuyvesant answered October 30th, 1655 that it would be bad policy to grant the Jews liberty.³⁷⁶ Contrary to the wishes of Stuyvesant, March 13th, 1656 the Company allowed the Jews " to ship and trade to and on New Netherlands, and to live and reside there, and to enjoy the same liberty as other inhabitants". The Jews were forbidden to build a synagogue although they were permitted to worship in private houses.³⁷⁷ It seems that the Jews were not permitted to trade freely as November 29th, 1655 they petitioned for the right " to trade to the South River, Fort Orange and elsewhere"³⁷⁸ This petition facilitated matters for the Jews, because June 10th, 1656 Stuyvesant writes to the Company that the Jews " are not hindered but trade with the same privilege and

freedom as other inhabitants.³⁷⁹ That Stuyvesant ^{still hindered} ~~was~~ ~~this~~ ^{such activity} ~~reluctantly~~ is shown by his refusal to grant Salvator d' Andrade permission to buy a house and lot in New Amsterdam.³⁸⁰ Later the Jews were permitted to buy real estate.³⁸¹ The Governor also denied Jews the right to do military duty, exacting a special tax from them in its place.³⁸² ~~October 12th, 1655~~ ^{October 12th, 1655} ~~five of the wealthiest Jews each paid 100,- guilders tax for the~~ ~~sake of reinforcing the city's defense.~~ The Jews were taxed out of all proportion to the rest of the population. The Governor himself gave 150,- guilders and three of the wealthiest burghers 100,- guilders each. The Jews made up 1/30th of the population and paid 1/12th of the amount of the tax.³⁸³ Another protest to Holland ^{was evoked by} ~~resulted from~~ all these restrictions, 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 reply³⁸⁴;
"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 beforesaid and exercise in all quietness their religion within their houses..."³⁸⁵

Meanwhile more Jewish settlers had been coming from Holland.³⁸⁶ In July 1655 the Jews were refused a burial ground because the authorities felt that there was no need for one.³⁸⁷ A year later, however, they were allowed to purchase ground for that purpose. In 1657 Asser Levy refused

to pay taxes in lieu of military service and demanded that he be treated like any other Dutch subject. ³⁸⁸ His demand was granted and from that time on the Jews could enter military service and carry on retail trade. ~~Besides this there was~~ ^A lively traffic in fur and tobacco ~~was~~ ^{persistently going on.}

The merchants of Amsterdam soon had their ~~a~~ agents in the colony. we find that Moses da Silva had named David de Ferrara and Abraham de Lucena as his agents. An active business grew up between 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 no more than seven hundred Jews in what is now the United States, the New Amsterdam community rose to a comparatively important place. They ^{had} ~~begin~~ 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 interesting as beginnings made on the North American continent. Any exact estimation of their economic position is now hard to ascertain as the period under discussion was very short and anything like adequate figures are lacking.

g. Conclusion to the Colonies.

After the West India Company had lost Brazil and

the New Netherlands, ~~its~~ dividends dropped to $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent. This was due to the fact that in ~~its~~ prime it had paid too high dividends and had not left a sufficient reserve. The peace with Spain cut off the possibility of booty from enemy ships. The expense of defense and poor management of her colonies cost the Company great ~~soms~~^{sums}. There was a steady increase of trade on the part of private shipowners, which ~~ment~~^{meant} that the Company would lose the income from much of the trade, supposedly within the bounds of its monopoly. By 1674 the Company had debts amounting to 6,000,000,- guilders. ³⁸⁹ In that year, it was dissolved. According to the economics of the time it was believed that trade monopoly was the best means of enriching the mother-country, in 1675 a new West India Company was established. Shareholders in the old Company got 15 percent of the value of their shares in shares of the new Company. The new Company assumed responsibility for ~~thirty~~^{thirty} percent 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 slavetrade was its main source of income but in 1730 even this monopoly was taken from it. The Company's dividends dropped to $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent and in 1791 it was taken over by the Government. For thirty percent of the par value of their shares in the West India Company ~~the~~ shareholders received

3 / ~~g~~overnment bonds. ~~The~~ Jews were among those who lost great amounts in West Indian Company shares.

A contemporary tells us ~~380~~ " Les Portugais ont été les plus fortes intéressés et par consequence ont beaucoup souffert de la décadence de la Compagnie".

Chapter V

THE PERIOD OF GREATEST AFFLUENCE.

During the last half of the seventeenth century Amsterdam reached the pinnacle of its wealth and influence. It was the leading importing harbor of goods for home consumption, the most important place for export of Dutch products such as cattle and fish, the chief harbor from which goods from all over the world were reloaded and reshipped, the largest storehouse of merchandise for the whole of Europe, the principal emporium for Indian goods and the center of money trade.

The number of the city's inhabitants rose from 145.900 in 1637 to 185.000 in 1685 and reached 241.000 in 1748. ³⁹¹ In 1672 there were 26.000 houses in Amsterdam, ³⁹² There were said to be about 6000 ships in the harbor at a time^{me}. ³⁹³ So great was the wealth of Amsterdam that in the middle of the seventeenth century a City Hall was erected which cost about 8.500.000,- guilders. ³⁹⁴

The Jews of Amsterdam formed $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the population, owing about 300 houses ³⁹⁵. It is beyond doubt that a large number of them, proportionally, were wealthy and exerted some influence upon the economic life of the time. When one member of a small group is estimated to be worth 8.000.000,- guilders ³⁹⁶, another is able to loan William III 2.000.000,- guilders without interest ³⁹⁷ and a

third gives 40,000,- guilders to charity, ~~which was~~ 1/10th of his income,³⁹⁸ there can be little doubt that there was wealth among the Jews of Amsterdam. As we have shown, the influence of their wealth has been greatly exaggerated. Even in a city of merchants like Amsterdam,³⁹⁹ the number of merchants among the Jews⁴⁰⁰ and their pomposity and show, attracted considerable attention. A story was circulated⁴⁰¹ that one of the rooms of De Pinto's house was paved with silver ducats. A contemporary Christian pastor⁴⁰² berates the extreme showiness and luxury of ~~the~~ Portuguese Jewish dress and manner of life. All this probably led to ~~an~~ ^{the} exaggeration of Jewish wealth and influence by Gentile contemporaries. Although as far as we know there is no way of determining just how much trade and wealth the Jews brought to Amsterdam, all appearances would indicate that the influence of the Jews was very large and important in proportion to the population of Jews, but in proportion to the entire trading activity of the city it was small. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that when Menassah ben Israel was agitating for the admission of the Jews in England, the Dutch ambassador in London was instructed by his home government to make sure that Menassah was not forming plans for the exodus of the Jews from Amsterdam. The ambassador followed instruction^s and reported that Menassah was speaking for the admission of such Jews to England as were persecuted by the Inquisition.⁴⁰³ It is clear from this incident and others⁴⁰⁴ that the Amsterdam Government valued the wealth and influence

of its Jewish inhabitants.

As we have said before the Jews had extensive foreign relations and communications. As early as 1618 we hear of the reasons for Jewish wealth and influence in Amsterdam given by a French diplomat living there at that time.⁴⁰⁵ He comments "on the cleverness, commercial energy and communal solidarity of the Jews, pointing out that they already exert an influence on the stock of the East India Company⁴⁰⁶, 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 one 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 their advantage on the market Monday morning. These practices are the source of their wealth." This report may be somewhat colored by jealousy and prejudice, but in the main, it is true.

It is known that the Portuguese Jews published a newspaper, printed by David de Castro Tartaz, "Gazetta de Amsterdam" which lasted from 1675 until 1690.⁴⁰⁷ It was

printed in Spanish and was destined for the various Marrano colonies. It only contained political, commercial and shipping news, Every Jewish element was carefully omitted because it was also sent to the Crypto Jews in Spain and Portugal.. The German Jews also had a paper which lasted for one year, 1686-1687. It appeared twice weekly and was written in Judeo German. 408

By comparison with the ^{Sephardic} ~~German~~ Jews at the time of which we speak Ashkenazic Jewish influence was of lesser importance, as we have shown in ^a previous discussion of their activities. In the latter part of the seventeenth century we read that the records of the stockholders of the East India Company contain many German and Polish Jewish names but more Portuguese names. Jewish participation in the capital of the East India Company divides itself into three periods in the seventeenth century. In the first half of that century there were very few ^{known} participants. 409 Within the next thirty years the records in so far as they are known, show more Jewish names but the amounts subscribed by them ^{remained} ~~are~~ comparatively small. 410 In the last two decades of the seventeenth century the records show many more Jewish names. In the eighteenth century, the period of biggest speculation, $\frac{1}{4}$ of all the stockholders were Jews. 411

In the last half of the seventeenth century there was a tendency among Amsterdam merchants, Gentiles as well as Jews to turn from trade in merchandise to trade in money and securities because they had so much surplus cash on hand

to invest. This is accounted for by the fact that Holland was a small country, interested in trade and had extensive international relations. The merchants of Amsterdam made vast sums on profit from shipping trade and were naturally interested in investing their money to good advantage. The total export from Holland at the end of the seventeenth century is estimated at 252.000.000,- guilders a year. ⁴¹² Fifty percent of the exporting and importing trade was carried on by Amsterdam. ⁴¹³ From this we can readily see that there must have been great amounts to be reinvested. In the middle of the seventeenth century the chief concern of the merchants was to invest surplus capital, even if they did not receive a high interest, ⁴¹⁴ but later money to be reinvested was often used to speculate with. ⁴¹⁵ The last two decades of the seventeenth century witnessed a lively trade in options in the India companies.

Speculation was no novelty to the Dutch. In 1636 many people were reduced to poverty through the unsound speculation in tulip bulbs. Millions changed hands in a single city. ⁴¹⁶ 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 her depleted coffers. Furthermore, Holland was no longer sole, supreme mistress of the sea as she had two competitors in England and France. For these reasons the life of the merchant became more difficult and his profits proportionally less. Speculation in shares was an easy way to place money and offered great possibilities for gain. The Government,

realizing the danger of over active speculation , placed high taxes on all transactions, hoping in this way to counteract the tendency. The last half of the eighteenth century shows how futile this effort was.

The Amsterdam Exchange like all other Exchanges developed from the coming together of merchants to sell and display their goods. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, due to the decline of Antwerp and the shifting of the trade center from there to Amsterdam, the Amsterdam fair was gradually transformed into a Produce Exchange where large scale business could be carried on by means of credit. In 1611 the Amsterdam Exchange building was opened. Large business houses had their representatives in that city.

Even then, there was trade in the shares of the East India Company.⁴¹⁷ As the interest in stock dealing and the urge toward speculation increased, the Stock Exchange developed as a separate institution.⁴¹⁸

When the Marranos from Spain and Portugal came to Antwerp they stimulated the trade and developed such new usages as bill of exchange and brokerage.⁴¹⁹ In the middle of the sixteenth century the Mendes bank was established in Antwerp. When Charles V issued placards in 1549 and 1550 expelling the Jews from Antwerp the magistrates of that city protested and repeated what they had said ^{on} September 30, 1544,⁴²⁰ that the Marranos ruled the Exchange and their expulsion would mean ruin to the city and nation. When these Marranos came to Amsterdam they transplanted their activities from the Antwerp

Exchange to the Exchange in Amsterdam. As this city grew more important commercially, its Exchange assumed commensurate proportions. By 1672 the activities of the Amsterdam Exchange acted as an indicator demonstrating the prosperity of the Republic. As we have already pointed out, Jews exerted an influence on the Exchange due to the fact that they often had advance information, which their brokers could use to their advantage. In 1698 the French ambassador in The Hague writes concerning the Jewish brokers "leurs courtiers et agents juifs, les hommes les plus adroit en ce genre qu'il ait au monde." 421

In the first years of the seventeenth century Amsterdam was obliged to admit two Jewish brokers to the brokersguild. 422 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. This could not be prevented because brokerage and trade are so closely related. But even in the case of the brokersguild Jews had to contribute their share to the guild treasury without enjoying the benefit of the guild brotherhood, 423 although, before being admitted to the brokersguild, they had to buy the right of citizenship 424. The names of the Jewish brokers were kept in a separate book. 425 The first two were appointed because of the Jewish participation in Levantine trade. In 1612 there were fifty newly appointed brokers, eight of whom were Jews. 426 ~~Totally~~ there were three hundred brokers in Amsterdam in 1612 427 of which ten were Jews. In 1645 there were thirty Jewish brokers, from 1657 to 1720 there were fifty; in that year

the number decreased to twenty; about that time there were 375 Gentile brokers; in 1760 there were sixty Jewish brokers. Besides ~~was~~ these members of the guild, there were seven to eight hundred unsworn brokers ("beunhazen") both Jews and Gentiles. Many merchants preferred to deal with the latter, claiming that they got better results as they were unrestricted by guild rules.⁴²⁸ Of the total number of brokers, sworn and unsworn, there were between two hundred fifty ~~and~~ three hundred bill-brokers, eighty wine and brandy brokers, ^{five} hundred stock brokers and ^{one} hundred insurance brokers.^{428^a} There were many Ashkenazic Jews, especially among the unsworn brokers.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century there was no country with proportionally as many rich Jews. At that time the De Pintos, Delmontes, Suasso, Bueno de Mesquita and others were important financiers of their day. As early as the reign of William III, 1672- 1702, Jews were participants in a loan to ~~the~~ England.⁴²⁹ There were quite a number of moneyed Jews in the retinue of Catherine of Braganza, bride of Charles the Second. The brothers Da Sylva, Portuguese bankers of Amsterdam were entrusted with the transmission and administration of the queen's dowry.⁴³⁰

It is natural to suppose that these wealthy Jews played a part on the Amsterdam Exchange, but to say that they ruled it ⁴³¹ 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 intelligence won them the ruling influence ~~on the~~

~~Exchange~~. As a matter of fact their capital was incomparably smaller on the whole than that of the patrician merchant, ~~to~~ say that the number of Jewish participants formed the majority of the 4.500 visitors of the Exchange is ^{beyond the possibility of probability} ~~excluded~~ but that they were well informed and used their information, we have already pointed out. 432

The first theorist about the Stock Exchange was the son of the wealthy Isaac Penso, Joseph Penso Felix de la Vega, 433 the author of "Confusion de Confusiones" ("Confusion of Confusions"). This book appeared in 1688, it is a picturesque and quaint criticism of the evils of the Stock Exchange. 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 it and is said to have lost and regained his fortune five times. A wellknown economist 434 claims that it is still the most important book about the Stock Exchange that has been written up to the present day. The book displays a miscellany of queer classical information and humanistic wisdom, characteristic of a type of literature then current. 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 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 this institution and it may be an indication of the knowledge of his circle.

Besides the work we have mentioned De la Vega was a poet of some note. He wrote a Hebrew drama and some short stories which were very popular. Like so many of his cultured and wealthy contemporaries he did not confine himself to things Hebrew. The poets, physicians and diplomats of his day were the fine flower of Sephardic culture in Amsterdam. Never before or since did the cultural activity of the Sephardic community there bear such varied fruits. It boasted of men like the poet-historian De Barrios, the poets David Jessurun, Hazan David Abenator ~~ello~~, Antonio Enriques Gomez, the literate ^{poet} Menassah ben Israel, David Cohen de Lara, Moses Israel de Mercado and the philosopher - cabbalist Alonso de Herrera. 435

The number of Portuguese Jewish doctors of that time is conspicuous, however, only three of them belonged to the surgeon's guild, Samuel de Leao Benavente, David Benavente and Isaac Santacruz .

In the period of which we speak there are many Jews representing different countries, Strictly speaking their capacity was that of commercial attachés. They were the intermediaries between the country they represented and the buyers of their country's ^{or} merchandise, combining commercial and diplomatic activities, witness the Pallaches of whom we have already spoken, Moses Curiel (alias Geronimo Nunes da Costa) commercial attaché from Portugal whose home William III visited in 1696 436 and the Belmonte family as diplomatic representatives from Spain. 437 Another well known figure was Moses Machado, purveyor of supplies to the Dutch and

English armées and favorite of William III, who often commissioned him to go on diplomatic mission and Isaac (alias Antonio) Lopez Suasso ⁴³⁸ who was made Baron of Avernas Le Gras by Charles II of Spain in recognition of the diplomatic services rendered him. ⁴³⁹ There were many more diplomats and attaches of lesser importance. ⁴⁴⁰

Unlike their Sephardic brethren the Ashkenazic Jews , because of different background and tradition, were not concerned with secular matters and ^{were} deeply engrossed in the study of Torah, although, strangely enough, they produced no great Hebrew scholars. The lack of secular culture excluded them from many of the pursuits engaged in by their more prosperous coreligionists. ⁴⁴¹

At the turn of the century, although Amsterdam was still greatly interested in commerce, there was a marked tendency away from it, toward speculation of an increasingly risky kind. The Republic had become poor through its repeated wars and was no longer free from competition on the high seas. It was obliged to reverse its earlier policy of very low taxes on imports and exports in order to pay its debts. Its merchants were richer than ever, but, due to this wealth, their energy and spirit of enterprise was lessening. The golden age was drawing to a close.

With the characteristic tendency towards extremes the rich among the Portuguese Jews outdid their gentile neighbors in luxurious living. They, especially, turned from commerce to speculation, which seemed an easier and more genteel way of living. This tendency, coupled with

their ignorance of any ^{petty or handicraft} trade made them suffer an irreparable decline when the crash came in the next century.

The Ashkenazim, although to a lesser degree, were interested in speculation but their manner of life, generally, remained simple. Before the great influx of poor Jews from other countries, the Ashkenazic community by dint of sober industry and thrift had acquired a certain amount of wealth.

Chapter VI

THE DECLINE.

During the two first decades of the eighteenth century a real degeneration had set in in Holland. A very different group of men from the Waterbeggars and merchant-adventurers of times past had the rule of the city of Amsterdam in their hands. In the seventeenth century the sons of the patri-cians had a thorough training and took long journeys for the sake of acquainting themselves with the manners and customs of other peoples, so that they might be fitted to take their place at the head of a large businesshouse or fill a responsible government position. This was far from the education received by the sons of the ruling classes in the eighteenth century. Through corruption and bribery, positions of profit and importance were given to infants of the ruling class. They needed no special training to occupy these posts where a paid employee did their work. For an outsider to occupy a government position it was necessary for him to well pad the pockets of these elite grafters. One reason that the Republic was on the down grade, at the time of which we speak, was that no matter how high a tax ~~it~~^{was} levied, a great part of it found its way, by hook or crook, to the ruling classes and its employees.

After the war of the Spanish succession, in 1713, the Republic found itself in a bad way. Its debts were increased by 350.000.000,- guilders because it had ^{now} obtained a big standing army and navy and subsidized ~~its~~ allies with large

soms of money. 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. The Republic was glad when other nations carried on war because it afforded ~~an~~ ^{an} opportunity to furnish them with supplies. Things came to such a pass that when the pirate state of Algiers declared war on the Republic, the Dutch navy was unable to cope with the situation and in 1726 ~~she~~ consented to pay a yearly tribute in order to keep the peace. When after the war of the Austrian Succession in 1748, Europe knew a period of peace, Holland felt the weight of foreign competition very severely. ^{When} In the Seven Year's war the Republic was so weak that it could not protect its neutrality, the English took its ships and merchandise without fear of retaliation.

Needless to say, the country's commerce suffered greatly. As we have already indicated, a peculiar situation existed. The country was poor but boasted of a large number of fabulously rich subjects, among whom were some wealthy Jews. A steadily declining commerce and ^{an} ~~the~~ increasing desire to get rich or richer quickly turned more and more people to speculation. In 1720 as a result of the sudden rise of the notorious English South sea Company stock from 300 to over a 1,000, similar companies were formed which found ready investors in Amsterdam. ⁴⁴² Many a wealthy Jew lost his fortune in these fly-by-night companies, and many another Jew made money acting as a promotor of these deals. We are told that

" the Jews, not the least zealous in this game" traded in stocks in the coffeehouses until late at night." ⁴⁴³ As an instance of Jewish interest in this type of speculation, we hear of a Jewish sworn broker, Gabriel de Souza Britto, who in 1720, offered a project to the States of Holland and West Friesland. They refused it because they were opposed in principle to any project of the sort sponsored by the unstable kind of companies then springing up. ⁴⁴⁴ In the same year the States of Holland and West Friesland forbade trade in stock of such enterprises as the Mississippi and other foreign companies. In spite of this 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 interest to be otherwise. For the sake of the West India Company the Government spread rumors that the Company was about to enter upon new ventures. From 40 in 1719 the shares of the Company rose to 400 and later even as high as 1000. ⁴⁴⁵ They dropped to 100 in the same year. This is only one example of the tremendous fluctuations in the stock market. The West India Company, at least, was not founded on air like so many companies of the time. Marked fluctuations are also true of the East India Company. Its shares rose from 902 in 1719 to 1260 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 eighteenth century, it was quoted at 134. (1794) ⁴⁴⁹ (As has been previously shown $\frac{1}{4}$ of the East India Company's shareholders in the eighteenth century were Jews.)

If such fluctuations were possible in the companies we have mentioned it is needless to point out what went on in companies established without any basis. Fortunes were made and lost in a day. Those who made money became spendthrifts, & general laxity in morals and instability in ^{manner of} life characterized the period. The pendulum of fortune swung from millions to misery, many of the wealthy Jewish families, mainly Portuguese, became paupers. In 1748 there were 400 wealthy Portuguese, burdened with the care of 800 poor ones. 450

The Ashkenazic Jews were not entirely uninfluenced by the tendencies of the time. In 1737 and again in 1747 at the instigation of the Government 451 the Parnassim of the Ashkenazic community in Amsterdam had to lay down rules as to ~~the~~ expenditures on festive occasions. 452 Nevertheless, there was a great deal of poverty among them as we can see by 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. 453 In 1714 the community requests the Government to grant them the right to sue such persons as fail to pay their tax for the support of the poor. This request was several times repeated. 454

Freedom from taxation ^{on fuel and breadstuffs} was also accorded the Portuguese community through the good offices of Isaac de Pinto. He was born in Amsterdam, 1717. In 1734 he married Rachel, daughter of Benjamin Nunes Henriques, financier himself, and

and shareholder in the East India Company. At the age of 32 De Pinto played an important part in the affairs of the Republic. ^{He} ~~De Pinto~~, with the aid of his family, lent money to the depleted treasury of the Republic in ¹⁷⁴⁷ 1647. In a letter ⁴⁵⁵ he writes : " Lors du siege de Berg - op Zoom , ¹⁷⁴⁷ 1647 j'ai fourni des sommes à l' Etat et j'en ai procuré de la part de ma famille et de mes amis à 3 % ! De Pinto concludes the letter ; " Mr. le receveur Général m'a écrit que j'avois sauvé l' Etat." ⁴⁵⁶ There is a document ⁴⁵⁷ showing that the State owed Moses de Pinto 60.000,- guilders plus 2.400,- guilders interest, Isaac de Pinto 20.000,- guilders plus 800,- guilders interest, the amount owed to other members of the family totaled 72.000,- guilders ⁴⁵⁸, and August 28th ¹⁷⁴⁷ 1747 authorized its treasurer to ask Isaac de Pinto and his associates for a loan of 600.000,- guilders. ⁴⁵⁹ These facts clearly illustrate that even in the days of the decline the Republic could turn to wealthy Jews for aid. We know that De Pinto acted in the capacity of banker to the English Government. ⁴⁶⁰ Through his influence the Prince William IV became one of the Directors, both of the East and West India Company. ⁴⁶¹ In a pamphlet ⁴⁶² de Pinto presents a drab picture of the economic conditions ^{of} ~~at~~ that time. ^{Within} ~~In the past~~ twenty five years the number of ~~the~~ contributing members to the Portuguese Jewish community 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 families} supported by the community. This state of

affairs could not go on much longer, the more because taxes payable to the Government and Community had already been increased to the limit of the taxpayer'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 money.⁴⁶³

Since the days of William III the Jews had been interested in English finance and took an active part in ~~the~~ English stock speculation.⁴⁶⁴ During the Seven Year's war 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. Due to the fact that the banks were interested in speculation and had great amounts of their money tied up in it, they were unable to lay their hands on sufficient cash to meet the bills of exchange for these enormous amounts. In 1763 many bankers were forced into bankruptcy. In the same year nine Portuguese Jewish bankers sent a request to the Court of Amsterdam in which they ^{asked} ~~request~~ that leniency be shown in regard to the law on bills of exchange so that payment could be postponed in order to give them more time to meet their obligations. This request was denied them and they, like their gentile colleagues, were forced into bankruptcy. Some of them paid fifty percent at once, 25 percent in bills of exchange and 25 percent in loans on their goods.⁴⁶⁵ This crisis brought many families to ruin.

After the ^{first} crisis year there ensued a short period of revival. The peace in Western Europe, 1766, enabled commerce once more to yield substantial profits. Financial conditions were considerably bettered because of the lowered interest on the national debt from 4 to 2½ percent ⁴⁶⁶. This 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 ⁴⁶⁷ which pointed out the detrimental influence which these speculations have on commerce. Special mention is made 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." ⁴⁶⁸ This warning was of no avail. Two years later we read ⁴⁶⁹ : "Trade in stock and negotiations in these "windcompanies" flourishes here and in London ~~etc.~~ for the most part under the influence of Portuguese Jews. Beside the regular Exchange they have their own separate meeting places and coffeehouses and usually have a separate stock exchange in the Jewish quarter because these transactions are of importance to the country and the city. It is these Portuguese Jews, in the main, an easy going, lazy people, that 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. 470

In the same year the second crisis came, mainly due to the fall of the English East India company in which 40.000.000,- guilders were invested. 471 Conditions became still worse when Holland became involved in a fourth war with England, 1780 - 1784, brought on because Dutch merchants furnished the rebelling American colonies with war supplies. This war had fatal consequences, Dutch commerce came to a standstill, a part of Guiana and the coast of Guinea were lost to England, East India merchantmen were captured. By the terms of the peace of Paris Holland lost the freedom of East Indian waters. The Dutch India Company stopped its dividends for several years and many Portuguese families whose main income was derived from these dividends found themselves in dire straits. A large number with very small means had developed among them, 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 their stress the Prince William V put 18.000,- guilders at the disposal of the Portuguese Jewish Community. 472

Among the many plans offered for the betterment of the situation ^{there} were two written by Portuguese Jews, one in 1773 by Isaac de Pinto, 473 which was a treatise on the English East India Company with a section devoted to stock transactions and suggestions for putting them on a firmer footing. Another article written anonymously, in 1770, more especially concerned itself with a reformation of the Portuguese Jewish Community

in Amsterdam. ⁴⁷⁴ The author proposes a plan to put an end to the pitiable state of his coreligionists. This he would do by abolishing Saboath and holy days which entail many expenses and are the cause of the loss of profitable working days. His plan was unheeded as it was impracticable. He concludes " Our nation becomes poorer from year to year, our principal commercial houses are hurt in many ways, some through bankruptcy and others through the ever increasing luxury and extravagance. The middle classes have to be very cautious in their expenditures. 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? ⁴⁷⁵

If the sun of the Ashkenazic Jews was rising, it was rising very slowly. 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. ⁴⁷⁶ Although Isaac de Pinto in 1762 stated ⁴⁷⁷ that his Portuguese brethren had nothing in common with other Jews but religion and even this differed in its ceremonies , those " other " Jews were in by no means as hopeless a state as their haughty Portuguese brethren. The Ashkenazic Jews had never been so wealthy as the

Sephardim and therefore, did not feel the crises as keenly. Although there were a few prominent men among them ⁴⁷⁸ for the most part, they continued to ply their petty trade. Quite a number of them acquired a certain degree of prosperity, few speculated on the Exchange. By and large, however, they were too poor to be anything but middlemen. Although in time of crises 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 to idleness formed a striking contrast to the hard working Ashkenazim. 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, the number of Ashkenazim increased. In 1780 there were 3,000 Portuguese Jews and 19,000 German Jews in Amsterdam, in 1795 the total population of the city was 217,024. ⁴⁷⁹ ~~Even~~ To-day there are proportionally more poor 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. ⁴⁸⁰

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" ⁴⁸¹, a third of whose membership was Christian. This group published a pamphlet

pointing out the restrictions the Jews had suffered in spite of their supposed freedom.⁴⁸² Very few Jews affiliated themselves with this organization.

After some opposition in the Chamber of the Batavian Republic⁴⁸³ September 2nd, 1796 the Jews were granted their emancipation. As we have pointed out, there was some objection to this on the part of many Jews as they feared the loss of their autonomy. Although at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jews were poor, due to increased liberties their individual economic position improved. There were no longer guild restrictions and no occupations closed to them. Although they never again exerted any 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.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

Professor Sombart in his book "Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben" assigns the greatest influence in the economic development of Amsterdam to the Jews. He assumes that the Jews were the instigators and promoters, if not the main investors in all Dutch enterprises.

My study has led me to the conclusion that Sombart grossly exaggerates the importance of Jewish economic activity. A superficial analysis of the material available amply illustrates this. Dr. Hermann Wätjen on the other hand, in his "Das Judentum und die Anfänge der modernen Kolonisation" does not, I believe, give sufficient credence to the opinions about Jewish influence, expressed by contemporaries. He limits himself entirely to the figures and statistics of the archives which he acknowledges to be incomplete and not thoroughly investigated. Although at times he is forced to leave the question of Jewish importance unanswered, because he cannot prove or disprove contemporary statements as to preponderant Jewish influence, he is prone to underestimate this as he seems vitally interested in disproving Professor Sombart's contentions.

While I am unable to come to final conclusions for reasons, stated in the Preface, it is my opinion that the Jews, through their international connections, were important

in opening or stimulating trade. They also played a major role as middle-men and brokers, either licensed or unlicensed. Although I can not yet estimate their importance on the Exchange, I am of the opinion that, in the eighteenth century, the part they played there was of no small moment.

Their activity in the diamond trade was instrumental in making Amsterdam one of the world's greatest diamond and jewelry centers. In the colonies of the Dutch West India Company Jews were prominent as sugar planters and traders, often introducing sugar cane to colonial regions and thereby causing the colony to prosper. Contemporaries like Menassah ben Israel, the De Pintos and the Directors of the West India Company insisted that the Jews participated actively in the shares of the Companies as early as the seventeenth century. Although the figures at our disposal indicate the contrary, they are not complete. In view of the fact that the Jews were influential in the Companies and in view of the fact that before 1632 only a few Jews could participate in the Companies, because of the rule that non-subjects could not be shareholders, I should like to suggest the possibility that those Jews, who were not subjects, participated in the Companies by instructing their Christian colleagues to buy shares for them, ~~although~~ I have no documentary proof for this contention and propose it only as a hypothesis.

By comparison with the great wealth of the ruling patrician families of Amsterdam the capital of the Jews amounted to very little. For this reason, if they did promote

or introduce trade, they could not keep pace with the great merchant princes of the city. Even the regions where Jews practically monopolized trade were the least important as the greater capital of the Christian merchants enabled them to operate in the more important fields of commerce. Even if we take account of such wealthy families as De Pinto, Lopes Suasso and Machado, who were among the wealthiest of Amsterdam, in comparison to the population of the city, the Jews were never anything but a very small group, however, an exceedingly large number of them were merchants. When we consider that these merchants had luxurious tastes and extravagant habits, we are not surprised that contemporaries exaggerate the amount of their wealth, economic activity and influence.

Much has been said of the tolerance and liberality of Amsterdam towards the Jew. It has been stated over and over again, that the reason Jews acquired such wealth and influence in the New Jerusalem was, because of the liberties accorded them by the Government. On this matter, it must be pointed out that Amsterdam, as a ^{growing} commercial city, and one that had revolted against constituted authority, found it advisable to accord certain privileges to a group that could bring it more wealth and extend the sphere of its commercial influence. But the restrictions and prohibitions, which the Government imposed upon the Jews, forces one to the conclusion that, although Amsterdam was the most tolerant city in Europe at the time of which we speak, the Jews found it no easy task to with-

stand the prejudices and obstacles put in their way. The facts show that the Government of the United Provinces, like all other Governments, was guided more by utilitarian than by humane reasons in its treatment of the Jew.

It is false to attribute Jewish prosperity in Amsterdam entirely to the liberality of the Government, for although it granted the Jews freedom of religion, the only social or economic privileges permitted them, were allowed because thereby the city's interests were aided. Amsterdam 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 Marranos with little or no knowledge of Judaism, and a struggling impoverished band of German and East European Jews, into a flourishing ^{Jewish} community of international importance, economically and culturally.

LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- Brants, " Une page de Semitisme"-----" Une page de sémitisme diploma-
tique et commercial"
- Bredius, " Amsterdam"-----" Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw "
- Bijdragen,-----" Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis
en Oudheidkunde."
- De Castries, " Maroc "-----" Les sources inédites de l'his-
toire du Maroc"
- De Castro, " De Synagogue"-----" De Synagogue der Portugeesch Is-
raelitische Gemeente te Amsterdam."
- H. de Castro, " Grafsteenen"-----" Keur van Grafsteenen op de Neder-
landsch-Portugeesch-Israelitische
begraafplaats te Ouderkerk a/d Am-
stel."
- Catalogus der Tentoonstelling-----" Catalogus der Tentoonstelling van
de ontwikkeling der Boekdrukkunst
in Nederland."
- Chumacheiro, " Toespraak "-----" Toespraak ter gelegenheid van de
50 jarigen hereeniging van Curaçao
met Nederland."
- Danekamp " Diamantindustrie"-----" Die Amsterdamer Diamantenindustrie
- Depping, " Histoire du Commerce"-----" Historie du Commerce entre le
Levant et l' Europe."
- " Essai historique "-----" Essai historique sur la Colonie
de Surinam
- Hartog, " Joden in ons Vaderland "-----" Eene bladzijde uit de Geschiede-
nis der Joden in ons Vaderland".

Heeringa, " Levantache Handel "-----" Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis
van den Levantschen Handel."

Hilfman, " Further Notes "-----" Some further notes on the histo-
ry of the Jews in Surinam."

Hillesum, " Uit de Geschiedenis "-----" Uit de Geschiedenis der Joden
in Amsterdam."

Koenen, " Geschiedenis der Joden "-----" Geschiedenis der Joden in Neder-
land".

Kohler, " Beginnings "-----" Beginnings of New York Jewish
History."

Kohut, " First Rabbi "-----" Who was the first Rabbi of
Surinam ?"

Franco Mendes, " Handschrift-"-----" Handschrift en Gedicht ".

Oppenheim, " Jews in New York "-----" The early History of the Jews
in New York, 1654-1664

Oppenheim, " Early Jewish Colony "-----" An early Jewish Colony in Western
Guiana, 1658-1666.

Pringsheim, " Beiträge "-----" Beiträge zur wirtschaftlichen
Entwicklungsgeschichte der Ver-
einigte Niederlanden im 17. und
18. Jahrhundert "

Prins, " Vestiging "-----" De Vestiging der Marranen in
Noord Nederland in den XVI en eeuw"

Publications.-----" Publications of the American
Jewish Historical Society."

Reese " Suikerhandel "-----" De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam
van het begin der 17e eeuw tot
1813.

Seeligmann, " Bibliographie "-----" Bibliographie en Historie"

- Da Silva Rosa, " Geschiedenis "-----" Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam, 1593-1925.
- Sombart " Judenbuch "-----"Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben."
- Sombart " Kapitalismus "-----" Der moderne Kapitalismus ".
- Vissering " Tafereel der Dwaasheid"-----" Het grootste tafereel der Dwaasheid."
- Wätjen, H. "Mittelmeergebiet "-----" Die Niederländer im Mittelmeergebiet zur Zeit ihrer höchsten Machtstellung."
- Wätjen, H. " Das Judentum "-----" Das Judentum und die Anfänge der modernen Kolonisation "
- Wagenaar, " Amsterdam "-----" Amsterdam in Zijne Opkomst en Bloei "
- Wolff, " Bijdragen "-----" De eerste Vestiging der Joden in Amsterdam, hun politieke en economische toestand " in Bijdragen voor ~~historische~~ Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde".
- Visscher, " Chronologische Tafel"-----" Chronologische tafel voor de Geschiedenis der Israëlieten in Nederland ".

NOTES

1. Nimeguen
2. Professor L. G. Visscher, Chronologische tafel voor de Geschiedenis der Israëlieten in Nederland, p. 2 : Jews supposed to be settled in Nimeguen 100 A.D.
3. " Nijmeegsche stadsrekenboeken " quoted in " Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde I, p.4, in an article by P. C. G. Guyot.
4. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, Een merkwaardige begraafplaats p.337 Visscher, Chronologische Tafel p.5
5. Mr. Izak Prins, De Vestiging der Marranen in Noord- Nederland in de XVIIde Eeuw , p. 6 et seq. quotes Fredericq, Corpus Inquisitionis II, 286 et seq. This document is a manuscript in Rijksarchief Brussels, written by the Councillor Willem van der Taverijen, of the Court of Brabant.
6. F. Baer Probleme der judisch-spanischen Geschichte p.9 mentions the Abrabanel family in this connection.
7. In 1506 the Venetian Ambassador Vincenzo Quirini estimated that one third of the entire population of Christian Spain was semitic, Prins , Vestiging p. 23
8. Mr. H. J. Koenen, Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland p. 426-427 quotes Flechier, Vie de Ximenes II, p.272.

9. A contemporary Magistrate of Antwerp tells us that the Marranos traded in " beaucoup des sortes de marchandises et des mélieures, et plus précieuses et nécessaires qu'on treuve, comme especeries, sucres, vins, huylles, coton, brésil, marfin, plusieurs sortes de fruictz, comme figues, raisins, et semblables choses ; grand quantité de perles, piereries, baggues, joyauls et aultres ", Prins, Vestiging p. 37, quotes P. Génard, Antwerpsch Archievenblad, II 233.
10. One ducat is about 3,60 guilders.
11. Prins, Vestiging, quotes Genard, ibid, VIII, 215
12. One Carolus gulden is about three guilders.
13. In 1591 there were 57 Portuguese families and twenty unmarried Portuguese merchants in Antwerp. J. A. Goris, "De Bibliotheek van Gabriel de Negro, Portugeesch Joodsch koopman te Antwerpen", Het Boek XI, p.309, et seq.
14. This is evident from a " Plakkaat " issued by the Court of Holland , 1532. which expressly forbids transacting business and offering hospitality to New Christians, this prohibition was re-enforced in 1549. Cited by Jan Wagenaar, "Amsterdam in zijne Opkomst " VIII, p.127 and others.
Two centuries before the " Gasthuis " archives of Amsterdam make mention of a " Jodenstraat " (Jew's street) probably inhabited by Italian Jewish money lenders who lateron were assimilated with the Christian population.

15. R. Häpke, Niederländische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hanse und zur deutschen Seegeschichte II, p.50
16. Mordechai van Aron de (Pinto) in the magazine " De Koopman " dated 1770.
17. S. Seeligmann, " Bibliographie en historie. Een bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der eerste Sephardim in Amsterdam" p.14
18. Casa de Jacob.
19. Seeligmann points this out in his " Bibliographie "
20. ibid., letter dated April 27th, 1597.
21. J. S. da Silva Rosa " Geschiedenis der Portuguesche Joden te Amsterdam 1593-1925 ", S. Seeligmann, " Bibliographie " ~~and~~ Prins, Vestiging and others are in agreement with this date.
22. Seeligmann " Bibliographie " p.20
23. " Jaerboeken en Historien "
24. " Beschrijving van Amsterdam ", Libr. II, Cap VIII, p.95
quoted by Wagenaar, " Amsterdam " vol VIII, p.127
25. H. Graetz. " Geschichte der Juden IX, p.489, note 1 quotes Scaliger, who died in 1609.
26. The Amsterdamer, Pieter de la Court, writes in his " Intrest van Holland ofte Gronden van Hollands Welvaren " :
" Naest de vrijheid om Godt te dienen volgt de vrijheid

om Godt te dienen volgt de vrijheid om de kost te moghen winnen voor alle inwoonders. Hetwelk hier zeer noodzakelijk is om vreemdelingen te kon en aanlocken. En hoewel dit altijdts eenighe oude Ingesetenen nadeeligh is, die gaeren 't beste alleen doende, voorwenden dat een borger boven een vreemde voordeel behoorde te hebben; soo is ende blijft waerachtigh, dat een Staet die uit zijn eighenselven niet bestaen kan, geduyrig nieuwe Inwoonders tot sich trecken ofte geruineert worden moet." (Next to the freedom to worship God comes the freedom to make one's living for all the 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.").

27. Sir William Temple who visited Amsterdam about the middle of the seventeenth century writes in his " Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands " p.99 :
"In this city of Amsterdam is the famous bank, which is the greatest Treasure either real or imaginary that is known everywhere in the world. The place of it is a great vault under the Stadthouse made strong with all the circumstances of Doors and Locks and other appearing cautions of safety that can be. And 't is certain that whoever is carried to see the Bank, shall never fail to find the

appearance of a mighty real Treasure in Barre of Gold and silver and may be so far aught I know. But the Burgomasters only having one inspection of this Bank and no man ever taking any particular account of what issues in and out from Age to age, 't is impossible to make any calculation or guess what proportion the real treasure may hold to the Credit of it. Therefore the security of the Bank lies not only in the effects that are in it, but in the credit of the whole town or State of Amsterdam, whose stock and Revenue is equal to that of some kingdoms and who are bound to make good all moneys that are brought into their Bank."

This remark is interesting as the impression of a contemporary rather than as an accurate statement of the situation.

28. Johan. L. Elias, " Geschiedenis van het Amsterdamsch Regentenpatriciaat," p.38
29. Baenage de Beauval, "Annales des Provinces Unies"; Jan Wagenaar, "Amsterdam"; Schudt, "Jüdische Wirklichkeiten"; H. Luzac, "Hollands Rijkdom " J. P. Nicard, " Négoce d'Amsterdam and others.
30. Prins, "Vestiging ", p. 133-4 quotes from a manuscript in the Bibliotheca Rosenthalia, Amsterdam : " Sed rt de Portugeesche natië gekomen is in deze landen met haar negotie en affaires heeft zij veel profijten aan het land gedaan." (Since the Portuguese Nation (Marranos)

has come to this country with her trade and commercial activity she has brought much profit to the land).

Other countries observed the hospitality accorded the Jews by Holland. Van Benthem " Holländischer Kirchen - und Schulstaat, p. 624, remarks that Henri 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 and did not destroy the Jews, 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 ".

31. We are afforded interesting glimpses of the growth and importance of the city at that time (beginning seven-teenth century) by several renowned men of that day.

The famous poet Pieter Cornelis Hooft says in his " Geraerst van Velsen " concerning the Amsterdam of 1610 : " Dan bout men wel seeshondert huysen op een jaer". (For one builds six hundred houses each year).

The less wellknown poet, P. Leendertz Wz. of that time wrote the following :

" In 't jaer duyzent zes hondert ien
Sachmen 't'Amsterdam veel wonder geschien
De Stadts Toren rechten
De Stadts Muuren slechten
Twee steene Sluisen stichten
En zeven hondert huizen richten."

(In the year sixteen hundred one
Amsterdam's wonders began
They straightened the great City's tower
And broke down its walls that great hour
Two stone sluices were made and perfected
And seven hundred houses erected.)

quoted from " De Navorscher " 19, p.554

R. Fruin, " Tien jaren uit den Tachtigjarigen Oorlog"
p.236 quotes " Voyage du Duc de Rohan faict en l'an
1600" : " Three thousand to four thousand ships are
always in port (Amsterdam), twice a year fleets num-
bering between four and five hundred ships arrive, partly
loaded with corn from Dantzic, partly with wine and
salt from France and Spain, besides these there are
a number from India and the newly discovered lands, which
are richly loaded with spices and precious things."

32. Wagenaar, " Amsterdam " I, p.50-51
33. De Barrios, Casa de Jacob p.1-2.
34. Franco Mendes, "Handschrift en Gedicht", D. H. de Castro,
" De Synagoge der Portugeesch Israelitiesche Gemeente
te Amsterdam", p.4
35. Prins, " Marranos", Seeligmann " Bibliographie " p.26
36. Seeligmann, " Bibliographie" p.23 et seq.
37. Ludwig Blau, Leo Modena's Briefe und Schriftstücke, Hebr.
Teil, p.81, Seeligmann, "Bibliographie" p.26.

38. The inaccuracy in the date of Pardo's first service is most likely due to a manuscript " Livro de eleicoens do K.K. de Amsterdam " in which all official appointments are recorded. The older dates are taken from De Barrios, who is not accurate, Seeligmann " Bibliographie".
39. Resolutieboek van Burgemeesteren en Oud Burgemeesteren
40. Named after Jacob Tirado, one of the founders of the community.
41. De Castro " De Synagogue "p.4
42. The date of the establishment of the second synagogue was formerly believed to be 1608, but as modern scholarship has proven that the first synagogue was built in 1609, the date of the second is uncertain, Seeligmann: " Bibliographie ".
43. Dr. A. Bredius, " Amsterdam in de 17de eeuw" division " Het Kerkelijk Leven" by Professor Dr. H. L. Rogge p.92
1612 may refer to the building of the second synagogue.
44. Henriques de Castro, " Keur van Grafsteen en op de Nederlandsche Portugeesche Israelitiesche Begraafplaats te Ouderkerk a/d Amstel" p. 4
45. However, this date too, is open to question.
46. De Castro " De Synagogue ", material derived from the

archives of the Portuguese congregations Amsterdam and The Hague.

47. Holy Society for the marriage of Orphans and Young Girls.
48. Franco Mendes, " Handschrift "
49. Jaarboekje der Nederlandsche Israëlieten, 1854, gives a complete list of charitable organizations of our period.
50. De Barrios, "Casa de Jacob"; De Castro, " De Synagogue "
51. De Castro, ibid.
52. This autonomy was so highly priced that many of the Jews objected to the emancipation of 1796 on the grounds that it would deprive them of their autonomy.
53. Official " Coutumes " of the city of Antwerp, 1582, Prins, " Vestiging ".
54. Resolutie December 13th, 1619. " Alle steden mogen zulke keuren maken hetzij met hen bij den anderen te doen wonen, af te sluiten of niet, als hun beliebt " (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.)
55. Seeligmann " Bibliographie " says that the reason for the petition may have been that some Jews, under the leadership of Isaac Franco (alias Franco Mendes) objected to the un-Jewishness of the Rodrigues-Nunez- Percijra- Homen group.

55. T. Tal "Oranjbloessens " p.3.
56. See notes # 167, 168, 169
58. On August 29th, 1619 the Burgomasters and Government of the city of Amsterdam granted Joseph and his son David Pardo postponements of the payments of ~~their~~ debts because the Inquisition had taken possession of their capital. The States of Holland confirmed that postponement. (Resolutie States of Holland p.211)
59. 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 and was never carried out in Amsterdam. See also note # 54.
60. No Jew could be called to Court on Sabbath. Handvesten van Amsterdam, March 25th, 1659.
61. With characteristic disgust Schudt "Judische Merkwürdigkeiten", Part I, chapter on Amsterdam, remarks: "Ein al zu grossen Judenfreiheit ist es dass man Ihnen die Macht und Gewalt lasst die ihrigen nach Gefallen zu zuchtigen."
62. Handvesten van Amsterdam, September 2nd, 1672.
63. Two interesting documents give us an insight into the marriage of the Portuguese Jew of that day, discussed and quoted by Hertzfeld in Nederlandsch Israelitiesch

Jaarboekje, 1854. The first document is an extract from the " Instructions and Ordonnances for Commissioners on Matters of marriage ", 1731, in which the Portuguese Jewish nation asks the Burgomasters and Government of Amsterdam 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. The request is granted but that they, the Jews, must come to the City hall. besides being married by their own law and that couples, married previously, must also come to 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.

64. M. Wolff, " De Eerste Vestiging der Joden in Amsterdam, hun politieke en economische toestand, in " Bijdragen " 4-10 quotes a resolution of the Government and former Burgomasters of Amsterdam, dated October 23rd, 1654, Resolutieboek, 19a : " Soe hebben de Joodsche natie hier ter stede by requeste versocht dat zij haer poorterschap alhier mede souden mogen coopen, alsoo sij haer

coophandel niet naer behooren kennen drijven uit requarde van de Spaensche inquisitie en anders, soo is geresolveert dat men het selve sal toe staan en consenten, met die conditie, dat sij het cleene poorterschap alleen en niet het groote, en oock geen winckelneering sullen mogen doen, oock, datter geen hooch duytsch schachgers sullen geadmitteerd worden, en dat die joden die het poorterschap willen coopen, hetselve met requeste sullen moeten versoucken, die alsdan sal gehouden worden an eenige gequalificeerde Joden om naar derselver goet rapport haer luyden te admitteeren." (The Jewish congregation of this city has requested the privilege of buying the right of citizenship since without it their members cannot carry on their trade properly because of the Spanish Inquisition. It is herewith resolved that this privilege shall be granted them provided that they receive the lesser citizenship and not the greater, and that they will not be permitted to have shops. And also that no high german peddlers shall be admitted to citizenships and that those Jews who wish to buy citizenship request this by personal petition, which petition shall be shown to some qualified Jews, and after receiving favorable report, the petitioner shall be admitted.)

To this resolution is added, June 29th, 1656, Resolutieboek fol. 94b : "Also voor dezen van de heren oudburgemeesteren geresolveert was de burgerschap den Joden verleent maer personeel te zijn, so is in deliberatie geleyt, hoe Burgemeesteren haer sullen hebben te dragen in 't verlenen van

de Burgerschap aan de Joden, ende is verstaen, dat men de Joden tot het burgerschap niet en zal admitteeren als alleen ten reguarde van haren groote coopmanschap ende tot die eynden door de Heeren Thesaur, te laten drukken, eenige billietten, ende in de selven te stellen dat men de Joden alleen ten reguarde van de coopmanschap het burgerschap verleent, voor haer persoonen alleen sonder dat het erven zal mogen op haar nazaten, ofte kinderen, en dat hier mede geen vrijeijt wort gegeven tot eenige winkelneringe."

(Be it resolved by aires 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 Jew shall not be admitted to citizenship except in sofar 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 to 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 an shopkeeping.)

Prins, " Vestiging " p. 177, note 1 quotes the following names from the poortersboeken from the beginning of the seventeenth century, Gemeente Archief, Amsterdam :

Emanuel Rodrigues

3/31/1597 poortersboek B. 182

Antonio Rodrigues de Melo	9/9/1598	poortersboek B.203
Francois Rodrigues de Villa		
Reael	2/10/1598	" B.206
Madocheus van Antwerp	5/3/1599	" B.210
Francisco Pinto de Britto	7/26/1602	" B.253
Jacques Miguel	7/29/1604	" B.289

Frins points out that there were probably many more Jewish "poorters" whose names are lost to us because the "poorters"-books are not completely preserved.

The above list of "poorters" probably refers to Marranos, not professing Jews.

65. Handvesten van Amsterdam, May 8, 1612

66. Resolutie Court of Holland October 19th, 1653.

67. Resolutie Court of Holland, February 1st, 1667.

68. Menassah 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 : " Nu leven wij Portugijsen behouden ende ghebruyken ghelijck anderen de Vrijheit. Dit is een groot blijck van uwe daught en noch veel grooter van uw kloeckheit". (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 Synagogue ", p. 18.

It goes without saying that this must be taken with a grain of salt.

69. Resoluties van Holland, July 12th, 1657, Resoluties States

General July 15th, 1657, Groot Plakaatboek VII, p.60,
 Merkelyk Plakaatboek III, p.333-334 " Joden zijn waer-
 lijk onderdanen van Haer Gr. Mogenden en ingezetenen
 der Nederlanden en dat dezelve ook dienvolgende moesten
 jonisseeren en guaderen van de conditiën, rechten en a-
 vantagien bij de Traktaten van Vrede of Marine met den
 Koning van Spanje gemaakt, of bij andere Traktaten en
 Akkoorden, Alliantien en verbindtenissen van andere Ko-
 ningen, Republieken, Prinsen, Potentaten, Staten en
 Steden voor de ingezetenen van dezen Staat bedongen en
 geobtaineerd."

(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.)

70. Wagenaar, " Amsterdam " II, p.142-143.
71. Handvesten van Amsterdam I, p.472, November 8th, 1616,
 one of the first official documents about Portuguese
 Jews in Amsterdam.
72. J. M. Hillesum. Uit de Geschiedenis der Joden in Amsterdam,
 p. 26 , quotes a complaint of the Church Council " because
 there are those (Jews) who hold school, circumcise , employ

Christian servants and tempt Christians ".

73. Hillesum ibid.

Mr. C. Bake, "Eed voor de Joden, Navorscher 1922, p.52 quotes the following Jewish oath which was laid down on November 8th, 1606, according to the "Handvesten van Amsterdam" of that year: " Gij sweert bij den Almagtigen ende levendigen God, die Hemel en Aarde geschapen heeft ende door Mosem sijne Wetten gegeven, oprecht ende waarachtig te wesen 't gene u alhier gevraegt ende voorgehouden word; sen so gij in 't geheel ofte deele iets valschelick ofte t' onrechte verklaert, dat gij u alle tijdelicke ende eeuwige vermaledijdingen, plagen ende straffen onderwerpt, welcke den God Israels over die van Sodoma ende Gomorra, ook Corah, Dathan ende Abiram heeft gesonden, ende allen den soodanigen gedreygt, die sijnen name valschelick ende lichtvaerdelick aenroepen en gebruycken. Soo waerlijk helpe ofte straffe u den Al-magtigen en Al-wetenden God, Schepper des Hemels en der Aerden."

(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.")

71. Mr. C. Bake, *ibid.* Oath that one has evaluated his property honestly (" Oath of Doleantie "), Groot Plakaatboek V (1676) p.98 : " Gij sweert bij den almachtigen en leevendigen God, die Hemel en Aarde geschapen heeft, enie door Moses sijne Wetten gegeven, oprecht enie waarachtigh te weesen hetgeene U alhier gevraagd enie voorgehouden wordt, te weeten, dat gij aan roerende en onroerende Goederen, Actien en Crediten, soo binnen als buiten de Provincie van Hollandt en West-Frieslandt, gelegen of uytstaende, geen ter weereld uitgesoekert, minder besit dan de waarde van..... en soo gij in het geheel of deel yet valschelijck en ten onrechte verklaart gij U alle tijdelick ende eeuwige vermaledijdinge"..enz. (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 imovable 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 eternal curses ... etc, rest as in previous oath.)

76. We have documentary evidence of their presence in Amsterdam in 1633, Resolutien van den Oude Raad van Burgemeesters, August 26th, 1633, p.99, quoted by Wagenaar, "Amsterdam" VIII, p.132.
77. Wagenaar, *ibid.*
78. Hollandsche Mercurius of 1656 p. 105.
79. Wagenaar, *ibid.*
80. T. Tal, " Uit de Gedenkschriften van een oude Gemara Brachoth, included in lectures of Mekor Haim, 1887-8. quoted from J. Hartog, " De Joden in het eerste jaar der Batnafsche vrijheid."
81. Wagenaar, *ibid.*
82. Uri ha Levi, the exception, because he was from the tribe of Benjamin.
83. Hanivesten van Amsterdam, June 9th, 1630
84. Wagenaar, *ibid.*
85. Wagenaar, "Amsterdam" VIII, p.185-187
86. M. de Castro, " Grafsteenen".
87. Wagenaar, " Amsterdam VIII, p.132
88. Hollandsche Mercurius of 1656, p.105
89. *ibid.*, of 1657 p. 63

90. Wagenaar, " Amsterdam " VIII, p.135
91. Wolff. Bijdragen, 4,9, p. 379
92. Wagenaar, ibid, Wolff, ibid. p. 380.
93. Handvesten van Amsterdam, July 22nd, 1695
94. Twenty "stuivers" equal one guilder.
95. Handvesten, November 29th., 1703
96. Wagenaar, " Amsterdam ", VIII, p.142-143.
97. Schütt " Judische Merkwürdigkeiten" becomes indignant and says about the Jewish printers of Amsterdam : " Eine allzu-grosse Juden Freiheit in Holland ist das dass die Juden daselbst ihre eigene Druckerye haben ". 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.
98. Catalogus der Tentoonstelling van de Ontwikkeling der Boekdrukkunst in Nederland, p.177, Article by J. M. Hillesum.
99. A daily prayerbook according to the Sephardic ritual, published by Abraham Sarphati and Dr. Ephraim Bueno, corrected by Nachum Aboab.
100. See Catalogus der Tentoonstelling in " Ets Haim " compiled by Da Silva Rosa.
101. The Rabbi Abraham ben Josua of the Ashkenazic congregation

served as proofreader for this concern.

102. We know nothing about the output of these two establishments.

103. Resolutie States General June 10th, 1667, Rijksarchief.

The text of this award reads in part that this bible is
 "de correxterende exacte druk als noyt voor dezen
 uitgekomen"

(the most correct and exact edition that has ever been
 published)

104. In a newspaper of 1667 " Courante uyt Italien en Duyts-
 land # 27, quoted in De Navorscher 6, p. 297-298 we
 find the following advertisement : "Bij Joseph Athias
 wonende op de St. Antonis Breestaet, is met groote
 veelvoudigen arbeyt en onkosten Gedrukt en wert uyt-
 gegeven de lange verwachte Hebreusche Bijbel in groot
 Octavo in fijn groot Mediaen Pampier, met Hebreusche
 Notulen en Latijnsche Somniren op de kant, delende den
 Inhoudt van den Text op het hoogste geriefelijk voor
 alle Natie, om alle lichtelijk te konnen ondersoecken,
 noyt voor desen, so Gedrukt, en soo correct, in voegen
 dat eer nergens in de geheele Text eenige letterfout in
 den gantschen Bijbel sal gevonden worden (dat wonderwaer-
 dig is) en is oock van de Rabbinen der Joodsche Synagoge
 geheel door gelesen en geexamineert en van haer E. als oock
 van de Heeren Professoren van de Academien van Leyden,
 Uytrecht, Groeningen, Franeker geapproveert, alle onder de
 revisie en beleyt van den Heer Johannes Leusden, Professpr

tot Utrecht. Is gedediceert aen de Staten Generael en van haer Hoogm. gheaccepteert on de waardigheyt van dit werck; is vereert met een groote goude Kettingh met een Medalie."

(Joseph Athias, living in the St. Anthonis Bree-
straet, has printed with much labor and expense
and is going to publish the long waited for Hebrew
Bible in large Octavo, on fine large Mediaen paper
with Hebrew notes and Roman numbers on the margin, divi-
ding 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, no single error can
be found in the entrie Bible (which is indeed wonder-
ful). It has also been entirely read through and
examined by the Rabbis of the Jewish Synagoge and approved
by them and the professors of the universities of Leyde
Utrecht, Groningen, Frankere. The entire work revised
by Johannes Leusden, Professor in Utrecht. Is dedicated
to the States General and has been accepted by the Hono-
rable Sire because of the worthwhileness of this work. It
is honored with a large gold chain and medal.)

106. The original text : " Ik heb zelf eenige jaren achtereen
meer dan een millioen Bijbels voor Engeland en Schotland
gedrukt. Er is aldaar geen knecht achter den ploeg, ook
geen dienstmeid zonder bijbel! Catalogue der Tentoonstelling 180

106. One silver ducat equals 2,50 guilders

107. His debtors were Jan Pieter van Aldenwereld 4.130,- guilders
David de Pinto 3.000,- "
Vigna en Fany 2.583,- "
Moses Pacheco 1.233,- "

Register van ongeteekende crediteuren der boedelskamers
649, p.190 quoted by Catalogus p. 181

It is interesting to note that Christian names are
mentioned among the creditors.

108. Evidence is to be found in Proops' Hebrew Spanish edition
of the Bible of 1762 : " Las Matrices de las letras (todo
todo sin exception de nada) de la estamperia de Joseph
Immanuel y Abraham Athias tan renunbrada en el mundo y tan
alabada de todos, la qual estuvo muchos años sin funxir
su emprego aora esta en nuestro poder para el uzo general
y esperamos se afirme en nos :... no se quita ran de tu
boca de tu semen y de boca de semen de su semen").

109. Catalogus der Tentoonstelling p. 182 gives the text of
advertisements in the Amsterd. Courant of March 3rd, 1711
and May 27th, 1728 about book auctions held by Salomon
Proops, bookseller).

110. Hillesum, " Uit de Geschiedenis " quotes resoluieboek
Heeren Burgemeesteren der Stad Amsterdam, April 29th,
1648 : " 't Versoeck van Menasseh ben Israel om hier
te mogen houden open winckel van Hebreuwsche boeken
is afgeslagen en ondienstig geoordeelt."
(The request of Menasseh ben Israel for permission

to have a Hebrew bookstore is refused and considered not fitting.)

111. There is a list of Jewish and of Christian printers interested in Hebrew printing , the latest date on the list is 1732. A shortened form of Steinschneider's list in the Jewish Encyclopedia vol XLI p. 308-322, is taken from his " Boileian Catalogue ". The list offers some difficulty of interpretation. Does it refer to the members of each concern or does it include skilled employees ?
112. In 1685 the Government of the city of Breslau considered it unadvisable to establish a printing press : " Weil in Holland zu Amsterdam drei starke judische Druckereien seyn aus welschen die Bucher zur See nacher Danzig und der Memel gebracht und damit die Juden in Polen und Litthauen versehen werden " Hillesum, " Uit de Geschiedenis " p.28
113. The 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 Menassah who helped in the translation.
114. 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 merchantsbooks of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

115. J. J. Reesse. "De suikerhandel van Amsterdam van het begin der 17de eeuw to 1813, p. 30
116. 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 ".
117. Reesse , " Suikerhandel".
118. Request in Archive, Leyde, quoted by " De Navorscher, 15th year, p.36
119. Reesse, " Suikerhandel" p. 105, quotes from "Handvesten van Amsterdam ", 1613, p.181 " Ordonnantie van de brant, November 6th, 1597, that refiners of sugar must have 18 fire-buckets in their factories.
120. Reesse, ibid, p.47, 63 and 105. " Register van de nummering der Stad Amsterdam naar authentieke opgaven bewerkt, 1853," ~~XX~~ , p.271, Resolutie Vroedschap Amsterdam July 2nd, 1771
121. Wagenaar, " Amsterdam" IV, p.248, Wagenaar " Amsterdam " II, 484.
122. Handvesten van Amsterdam 1748, p.1173, keur van November 6, 1670.
- 123.a Hans Bontemantel in a manuscript " Civile en militaire Regeering der Stad Amsterdam, 1653-1672, edited by Kernkamp

p. 498.

123. The building which still **exists** has a Hebrew inscription on its gable stone. (See first page of this treatise).
124. Reesse, *ibid.* p. 127. Archief van Portugeesch Israelitische Gemeente, Amsterdam. (Archive Portuguese Israelitische Congregation, Amsterdam).
125. Resolutie Vroedschap van Amsterdam #.22, fol. 161 v. and Quytchekingen 1563- 1811, Archive Amsterdam , Reesse , *ibid.*, p.130
126. There is nothing more known about this branch of the Del Pina family.
127. Verpondingsboeken, Archive Amsterdam, Reesse, *ibid.*, p.131
128. N. W. Goldstein . " Die Juden in der Amsterdamer Diamant-industrie,

The first record of a diamond worker in Amsterdam is Peter Goos from Antwerp , in 1588. Archive Amsterdam, E. E. Danekamp, " Die Amsterdamer Diamantenindustrie" p.19

129. E. Luzac in " Hollands Rijkdom" writes : " The art of diamond cleaving and polishing is the more important because the city of Amsterdam is practically alone in its possession. Nowhere has the cleaving and polishing of diamonds been so developed as in Amsterdam and nowhere is there a more active trade."

Tandier Oudermeulen, a wellknown writer of the eighteenth century writes in his " Recherche sur le Commerce " p.134 and note 60 : " Souvent on a eu besoin d'eux (Jews) dans les opérations les plus lucratives, des finances, des échanges, dans le Commerce des Byoux et des Pierres précieuses..... Plusieurs Juifs à Amsterdam travaillent à polir etc. les Pierres precieuses, surtout les Diamants bruts, et un grand nombre d'eux n'est occupe que de ce travail, d'autres en font le commerce et d'autres une espèce de trafic."

"De Hoopman, year 1770 II # 23:" Er worden in Amsterdam meer Juweelen, goud en zilver verhandeld dan op de plaats waar men ze graaft."

(There are more jewels, gold and silver handled in Amsterdam than in the places where they are mined.)

130. Danekamp, " Diamantindustrie "p.19 seq points out that the Jews had their whole families working with them, while the Christians employed paid servants.

131. Ibid, p.21.

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 Tsebi, one of the false Messiahs of the previ-

ous century. So sure had the majority of Amsterdam Jews been of the truth of his messiahship that for some time they neglected their business and their commerce came to a standstill because they were certain of returning to the Holy Land.

- 131a. Hillesum " Uit de Geschiedenis " p, 121 , Resolutie Amsterdam Government : " omdat de Joden de negotie van den Diamanthandel hier ter stede hebben opgericht"
(because the Jews have established the diamondtrade in this city)
132. J. H. van Zanten. " Eenige Demografische gegevens over de Joden te Amsterdam."
133. Document, dated November 24th, 1629 composed by the notary P. Cardis , Amsterdam, reads in part : "... ende gevonden ten huizen ende an de personen van de Portugeesen van de Joodsche natie binnen deser voorsz. stede zich generende met Taback vercoopen ende daarvan open winkel houdende..... door expresse last van de E. Heeren Burgemeesteren deser stede de gemelte jodische natie heeft geinterdiceert ende strictelijk verboden sodanige winkelneringe ende verkopen van taback te exerceren, dock de winkelsdoen sluyten ende teykenen ende d'uithanghrollen van taback inhalen... dat de gemelte Heeren Burgemeesteren ende die van den gerechte eendrachtelijk verstanden, dat de gemelte joodse natie sodanige winkel neringe van taback vercoopen ook

niet mochten doen, schoon zij al burger waren...."

(... 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 stores for the sale of that producton special commands of the Burgomasters of this city the afore mentioned Jewish nation is strictly forbidden to carry on such store keeping or the sale of tobacco, the stores were closed and signs and tobacco rolls are taken in.... the said burgomasters and those of the Court unanimously decreed that the said Jewish nation can not carry on such tobacco store keeping, even if they are citizens....)

134. Jac. Zwarts, "Portugeesche Joden te Maarsse en Maarsseveen in de 17e eeuw," Jaarboekje Nifterlake.

135. Wagenaar " Amsterdam " IV, p.235.

136. ibid. VIII, p.181

137. The placard forbids : "... Joden met goud of zilver 't zij materiaal of geld langs de huizen te loopen, noch heimelijk opkopen of verhandelen bij boete van 10 ducaten door de officieren van het goud of zilversmidsgilde de tweede keer dubbel!"

(... Jews to peddle from house to house with goods made from gold or silver or with species, or to secretly sell 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 or silversmith guild, a double amount to be paid for the second offense.) Van Zurck, Codex Batavus p. 468.

138. Article makes mention of the Jews but Article IV is more specific in its restrictions : " Dat mede gene Joden nog te anderen sig sullen verstouten dagelijks aen de Beurs of op eenige andere marktplaats, ook aen enige Huysen om te loopen, om te soecken of in te wisselen of te verwisselen eenige specien hoedanig die souden mogen wesen."

(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.) Wagenaar, " Amsterdam II, p. 234, Luzac " Holland s' Rijkdom " III, p. 387.

139. "..... geen Hoogduitsche en Poolische Joden en anderen op de Jooden Breestraat geen waren op stoepen, kruiwagens of anderszins mogen veilen of verkoopen, op verbeurte van de goederen en den tweeden keer daarenboven 6 weken op water en brood, en vervolgens naar omstandigheden om de bewoners niet te ~~ver~~hinderen en de passage niet te belemmeren."
- (...no High German or Polish Jew or others may auction 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.)

140. " De Koopman, year 1770, II, # 23.

141. Resolutie dated January 28th, 1723.

142. Vander Oudermeulen, "Recherche sur le Commerce, II, p.134 and note 61 : " Souvent on a eu besoin d'eux.... dans l'achapt et ventes des plus viles guénilles, qu'on jette- roit dans la rue, s' il n' y avoit pas des Juifs pour les acheter et les revendre. Il y a peu de jours qu'un de nos premiers négociants de la ville me dit : " Auriez vous pu croire que j'ai encore depuis peu en de Pologne un ordre de compter a un Juif qui est venue de ce royaume pour la valeur de 10 a 12 mille florins, destinés au seul achapt de vieilles guénilles ?"... et combien le bas peuple parmi les Juifs ne se mêle t'il pas de courir par les rues pour acheter et vendre des guénilles, de la por- celaine, des fruits et des légumes, qu'ils donnent a des prix extrêmement bas ? Cet objet est d'une grande res- source pour cette classe du peuple, qui vivrait sans cela dans la misère."

143. Handvesten van Amsterdam, January 26th, 1731, and January 28th, 1737.

144. Wm. Heyd, "Geschichte des Levantehandels" II.
145. C. Busken Huet, "Het Land van Rembrandt"., p.141
146. R. Ehrenberg, " Das Zeitalter der Fugger ", II, p. 213
147. Prins, " Vestiging " p. 122
Prins quotes J. W. IJzerman for the year 1579 : " De vaart op Spanje en Portugal wierd middlerwijl op vercierte namen gedreven."
(The traffic to Spain and Portugal in the meantime was carried on under disguised names.)
148. H. Wätjen. " Die Niederländer in Mittelmeergebiet zur Zeit ihrer höchsten Machtstellung.", p/4
149. C. Busken Huet, " Het Land van Rembrandt." p.141
150. Bredius, " Amsterdam " p.97
151. G. B. Depping. " Historie du Commerce entre le Levant et l' Europe I, p.325
152. J. C. de Jonge " Nederland en Venetië ", p.292
The author does not locate the document referred to.
153. H. J. Koenen, " Geschiedenis der Joden " p. 62
154. Extract from a letter from the Magistrate of Antwerp to the Bishop of Utrecht, quoted by J. Nanninga Uitterdijk. " Een Kamper Handelshuis te Lissabon " p. LXV and Prins " Vestiging " p. 37
J. C. de Jonge, " Nederland en Venetië ", W. Sombart,

" Der Moderne Kapitalismus, I. II, W. Sombart,

" Die Juden in das Wirtschaftsleben, English translation,

A. Goris , " Les colonies marchandes méridionales",

Da Silva Rosa, " Geschichte der Portugiesische Juden "

p.32, Prins, " Vestiging " p. 37

are all of the opinion that the Marranos brought Levantine trade to Antwerp.

155. Depping " Historie du Commerce ", I, p.325

156. Koenen, " Geschichte der Juden "p/ 180

157. Sombart " Judenbuch ", p.72

158. I. P. Arend, O van Rees en W. G. Brill , Algemeene
Geschiedenis des Vaderlands. III, II, p.81

These authors say that before 1590 Antwerp merchants
and Portuguese Jews , established in Amsterdam had loaded Dutch merchantships going to Italy.

159. Velius, " Hoerner Chronijk "

160. Janigon, État présent de la République du Provinces
Unies.

161. Wagenaar, " Amsterdam"

162. Levantsche " handel begon tebloeien ontrent den
aanvang der 17e eeuw, nadat de Joden zich, onder anderen
hier ter stede, hadden begonnen neder te zetten en den
handel op Italie en de Levant eerst hier vestigden".

163. Luzac " Hollands Rijkdom "

164. " deze vrijheid (van godsdienst eene menigte Spaansche en Portugeesche Joden naar Holland en vooral te Amsterdam deed samenkomen, alwaar zij een belangrijk stads-gedeelte bewonen..... dat deze zelfde niet alleen hunne bezittingen en rijkdommen derwaarts met zich hebben overgebracht, maar ook eene correspondentie met de buitenlandsche Joden en handelsbetrekkingen met plaatsen in de Levant en andere streken hebben geopend."

On this subject vide :

Koenen " Geschiedenis der Joden "	p.180
J. C. de Jonge, " Holland en Venetie "	p 298
Bredius, " Amsterdam "	p.18
Wätjen, " Mittelmeergebiet "	p. 4
W. Sombart, " Judenbuch "	p.24
W. Sombart, " Kapitalismus "	part I,II
Da Silva Rosa, " Geschiedenis"	p. 32

Watjen, 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 to the Straits of Gibraltar. He does not give the reasons for his doubts.

165. H. de Castries, " Les Sources inédites de l' Histoire du Maroc" VI, I, p.555

This author writes : " a Amsterdam ils (the Portuguese Jews) avaient presque monopolisé le commerce avec le

Maroc, utilisant leur coreligionnaires établis à Salé
à Safi et à Sainte Croix.

Dr. Bredius " Amsterdam " p. 97 : " In denzelfden tijd
dat Nederlanders Middellandsche Zee begonnen te bevaren
verkregen zij, vooral van den Joden den impuls hun on-
dernemingen tot de verste eindpunten dier zee uit te
strekken." (At the same time that the Netherlands
began to sail the Mediterranean, they received particular-
ly from the Jews the impuls to extend their enterprises
to the most remote parts of that sea.

166. Wolff, " Bijdragen " 4-10, p. 142

167. Art 4, from the Treaty of Munster : "~~The subjects and
inhabitants of the countries of the aforesaid King and
States will be permitted also to come and remain in the
respective countries and carry on traffic and commerce~~
" de ondersaten en inwoners van de Landschappen van voor-
zegde Heeren Koning en Staten zullen ook mogen komen en
verblijven in de landen de een van de andere en daar
hun trafieken dien en hun koophandel drijven zoo ter zee
als ter land."

(The subjects and inhabitants of the countries of the
aforesaid King and States will be permitted also to
come and remain in the respective countries and carry on
traffic and commerce by sea and land)

Koenen, " Geschiedenis der Joden ", J. Hartog, " Eene

bladzijde uit de geschiedenis der Joden in ons vaderland ". Wolff, " Bijdragen ", Da Silva Rosa, " Geschiedenis " and others.

168. Resolutie Ridderſchap, Wolff, " Bijdragen " 4-9, p.384
169. Resolutie Staten van Holland , March 23rd, 1651, Koenen, " Geſchiedenis "
170. L. Wolf. " Menasseh ben Israel's mission to Oliver Cromwell/
171. There was a lively correſpondance between the Spaniſh conſul in Amsterdam and the Spaniſh ambaffador at The Hague. Part of the correſpondance is edited by V. Braſts
Une page de ſemitisme diplomatique et commercial. Incidents de la vie d' Amsterdam au XVIIe ſiècle d'après des pièces inédites. Academie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la claſſe des Lettres, 1905, p.573.
Ricart, the conſul writes to the ambaffador concerning aliases,: " preſident de la Synagogue qui ſe ſouſſigne Cortez au lieu de Corticos qui eſt ſon proper nom, ſelon que j'en ay eſté aſſuré par pluſieurs de ſa nation, et en ce changement de nom il y a du miſtère, comme il eſt de coutume a ceux de ſa nation qui en prennent tant qu'il leur plait ſoit pour tromper ou pour pas porter ou pour ne pas porter preiudices leurs parents du même nom qui ſont en Eſpagne ". Secretary d' Etat et de Guerre (Brussels) cartons 2468 et ſuivant : Correſpondance

de Ricart, consul a Amsterdam avec l'ambassadeur a La Haye.

172. Brants, " Une page de sémitisme" p. 581
173. Ibid., p581 and 588 gives the names of two Sephardic Jews, Emanuel Laville and Tedellion, who supplied information about Jews trading in contraband.
174. Resolutie States General, September 24th, 1658, Koenen " Geschiedenis der Joden " p. 183
175. Wagenaar, "Amsterdam " II, p. 234
176. In 1680 we find still a complaint against Spain recorded. Resolutie of July 31st and Sept 21st, 1680 quoted by Wolff, " Bijdragen " 4- 9 , p. 386
177. " De Koopman " in 1771 quoted by Wolff " Bijdragen " 4-10, p. 368 " Het knotten vanteitak van hunnen handel op Spanje en Portugal."
(the decline of their trade with Spain and Portugal)
178. T. Tal. " Oranjabloesems " Uit de Gedenkbladen van Nederlands Israel.
179. De Castries, " Maroc " I, IV, p.29 from a document in the Rijksarchief Staten Generaal # 7106, Lias Barbarije 1596- 1644.
180. ibid , I, IV, p. 29 a document in the Rijksarchief,

Staten Generaal. # 5106, Lias Barbariye, 1596 -1644, of following content : La Haye, 22 Octobre 1624.

Lettre des États Generaux à Moulay Zidan.

Al roi de Marocco.

Sire,

Les Bourguemaières de la ville d' Amsterdam nous ont présenté le denombrement des marchants portugois, qui s'estant retirez de la tyrannie du roi d' Espagne, se sont transportez en leur ville pur y vivre en seureté et exercer leur commerce comme les autres manans et inhabitants d' icelle, nous aiant prie de les vouloir recommander a Vostre Majesté pour jouir de la mesme liberté es vos royaumes avec nos autres subjects y trafiquans. Ce que leur m' avons acue n'y voulu refuser, puis qu'ils se sont rendus en nostre subjection et protection se comportans denement et sincerement comme les autres nos subjects.

Prions pourtant bien affectueusement qu'il plaise a Vostre Majesté les traicter en ses royaume comme nos autres subjects, et leur octroier la mesme liberté et franchise pour exercer leur commerce en vostre pais , de laquelle vostre Majesté favorise nos dito autres subjects estant de nostre nation....."

181. Ibid, V., p. 429 from a document in Rijksarchief Staten Generaal # 5549, Lias Admiraliteit August-December 1654

182. The original text reads : de Witte Valck niet alleen ge-

plundert " maar bovendien daer uytgenomen verscheydene
coopmanschappen, toebehoorende Michiel Spinoza, Joodts
coopman tot Amsterdam, die een van de bevrachters van
't selve schip was."

183. De Castries " Maroc " I, VI, p. 120 document in Rijks-
archief Staten Generaal, Loketkas, loquet V, littera W.
184. See ~~below~~ note # 193
185. De Castries, " Maroc " IV, p. 556, document in Rijks-
archief Staten Generaal, Resolution, register # 610,
p. 379
186. ibid VI, p. 574 document in Rijksarchief, Staten Generaal,
Resolution, register # 610, p.473.
187. See page 9 and note # 28.
188. Da Silva Rosa " Geschiedenis " p. 32, substantiated by
De Castries, " Maroc " VI, I, p.555 and K. Heeringa
" Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levenschen Handel "
II, p. 1109.
- 188a De Castries, ibid I, III p. 503 document in Rijksarchief
Staten Generaal, Secreta Cassa, Littera D, Loquet Q, # 13.
189. De Castries, ibid, I, IV, p.41, document in Rijksarchief
Staten Generaal # 7106, Lias Barbarije, 1596 - 1644.
- 189a De Castries , ibid I, IV , p.42, Document in Rijksarchief
Resoluties Regeering, # 573, p. 666. The Estates ^{General} decided

to write to the Admiralty of Amsterdam in order to ask them to send Nunez Belmonte to The Hague to be interrogated.

Nunez Belmonte and his associate Vaes de Leon present documents which prove to the authorities that they are acting by order of Querado. This document in Rijksarchief, Staten Generaal, Secrete Cassa, Littera D, Loquet Q # 13.

190. De Castries, *ibid.* I, IV, p. 42 document in Rijksarchief Staten Generaal, Resolutien Register # 578, p. 580.
191. De Castries, *ibid.* I, III, p. 438. Document in Rijksarchief resoluties Staten Generaal. December 16th, 1623, register # 572.
192. De Castries, *ibid.* I, V, p.45. Document in Rijksarchief Staten Generaal # 7106, Lias Barbarije, 1596- 1644.
193. The original text is : " Soo hebben diesniettegenstaande deselve (Hebreuwche coopluysden) gedreven grooten handel in 't leger van den voorschreven vijandt ende in zijn fa-
veur gedaen verscheyde debvoiren met hem toe te brengen
pulver, musquetten ende andere amunitie van oorloch in
schepen , comende aen de voormoemde Hebreusche coopluysden,
genaemt Benjamin Cohin ende Haron Querido ende anders,
ende toebehoorende Uwe Hoog Mogenden."
- Other documents illustrating Jewish activity as war sup-
ply agents are the following :
- De Castries, *ibid.* I, IV, p.482 document Rijksarchief
Staten Generaal, # 7106, Lias Barbarije # 1596, dated

1639, in which Joseph Cohen, Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam, brother of Benjamin Cohen, of Salé requests for his brother that ammunition be sent to Sidi Mohammed el Ayachi who rules 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.

De Castries, *ibid* V, p.112, quotes a letter from Moulay Mohammed ech cheickh el Asegher to the Estates General, dated, July 5-14, 1646, in which he complains that Benjamin Cohen supplies merchandises of all kind and ammunition and other contraband to the enemy.

De Castries, *ibid*, VI, p.216 from a letter dated November 21st, 1655, from Admiral de Ruyter to the States General, Rijksarchief Staten Generaal, Loketkas, loquet V, littera W # 35, in which he says that if the States General consents to the shipping of ammunition to the King of Morocco, the shipment should be made through Isaac Seconto, Portuguese merchant of Amsterdam.

K. Heeringa, " Levantschen Handel " II, p.1109 mentions that the pirates of Salé received war supplies chiefly from Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam. In the letters dated October 18th, 25th, 26th October, 1623, July 25th 1624, the States General request Muley Zidan and the consuls of Morocco, Algeria and Tunis to treat the following Amsterdam Jewish merchants as Dutch subjects: Francisco Vaes de Leon, Diego Lopez Tello, D. Nunez da Costa. Jeronimus

... Henriques, David Curiel, Francisco Gomez Henriques, Manuel Dacunha, Michael Cardoso, Diego Nunes Belmonte, Manoel de Pinas. There are documents, dated November 6th, 1629, January 30 and December 12th, 1631 about the delivery of war supplies to Salé. The merchants named in these documents are Francisco Vaes 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 2nd, 1644, the king of Morocco accuses the Dutch consul Bijsterveld and other (!) merchants of trading with the enemy which justifies the taking of Dutch ships by pirates.

194. See page 45.

H. de Castries, " Maroc " VI, I. p. 555 quotes Dujardin et Sellius, Histoire gen. des Provinces Unies I, p.192 and Savory, Dictionnaire Universelle du Commerce 1750, II col. 951 : " Les Juifs d' Amsterdam " sont si habiles qu' après en avoir déguisé les marchandises, soit en les mêlant avec d' autres, soit en les remballant d' une autre manière, soit en leur mettant d' autres marques, ils ne craignent point d' aller les revendre dans quelques ports de Portugal, et souvent même aux marchands sur lesquels les prises avaient été faites."

195. De Castries, ibid, V. p. 132, " Memoire des trafiquants d' Amsterdam, 14 June, 1647.

196. The original text reads : " De principaelste negotianten op Barbarijens/ zijn Joden, die daer hare residentie hebben/ 't Is waar, dat ter een tin mine in Barbarijen is die redelijck veel tin uytlevert ende van deught zoo goed is als Engelsch tin, welke mine by eenige Joden aldaer in pacht ~~as~~ genomen."
197. De Castries " Maroc " I, IV, p.311, document in Rijksarchief Staten Generaal # 7106, Lias Barbarije, 1596-1644.
198. *ibid.*
199. Wätjen, "Mittelmeergebiet", p.52
200. De Barrios, "Casa de Jacob.
201. De Castries, " Maroc ", I, II, Rijksarchief Staten Generaal, Resolutien Register # 559, p.59.
202. H. de Castro, " Grafsteenen " p. 5. We cannot find the source for this remark.
203. T. Tal. " Oranjobloesems " p. 30 Notulen der Staten Generaal, February 9th, 1616/
204. Tal, *ibid.* p. 30. Notulen der Staten Generaal, February 5th, 1616 : " Is geaccordeert, dat men Senor Samuel Palache, agent des Coninx van Barbarijen, liggende in doodsnoot ten aensien van sijne tegenwoordige sobere gelegenheijt, sal assisteeren bij leeninge mette somme

van ses hondert gulden eens, en de diselve somme hem doen verstrecken bij den ontvanger generaal onder zijne broeders recepisse. " { }

(It is accorded that Senor Samuel Pallache, 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."

- 204.a De Castries, *ibid* III, p.327
Heeringa, "Levantschen Handel" II, p.1106
205. Heeringa, *ibid*.
206. De Barrios, "Casa de Jacob "
207. T, Tal, " Oranjobloesems " p. 29
208. Heeringa " Levantschen Handel " III, p. 1106, Resolutie November 15, 1624, November 29, 1627.
209. Wolff " Bijdragen ", §.- 10, p. 145, Resolution of August 10th, 1622.
210. H. de Castro, " Grafsteenen ", p.92
211. Heeringa, " Levantschen Handel " I, p. 437, 503, 504, 571, 575, 576, 613, 621, II, p. 641. 802, 969.

212. Heeringa, *ibid.* Ip. 308, 682, 667, 611, 612 October 25th,

1613, Rijksarchief Staten Generaal
213. Rijksarchief Staten Generaal # 7075

214. Heeringa, "Levantsche Handel" I, p. 304. In a letter to the States General Haga writes (October 25th, 1613, Rijksarchief Staten Generaal, # 7075) : " De Joden principelijck onder dewelcke de voorneemijste was Pimontel - niet tegenstaende hare vrunden ende gantsche natie aldaer door U.H. M. E. goedertierenheyt ende de conscientie op eene sijde geset hebbende..."

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 there of You, Honorable Sirs, have set aside their conscience....)

and in another letter, (Heeringa *ibid* I, p. 314, Rijksarchief Staten Generaal # 7075, dated November 8th, 1613 ".... en den hoogen noot mijn dwingt van bij andre luyden credyt te soucken, soo heb ick van seker Joodsch coopman alhier ontvangen twee duysent hondert sesensestich rijxdalers ende 2/3, waarvan een wisselbrieff op Sr. Gaspar Quingetti heb gepasseerd."

(...and dire need compels me to seek credit from other people, therefore I have received 2166 rijxdalers (is 2,50 guilders) from a certain Jewish merchant, for two third of which I have acknowledged a bill of exchange on Sr. Gaspar Quingetti.)

In the Journal of Antonio Keyser, (De Castries, " Maroc, I, IV, p. 254, Rijksarchief Staten Generaal, Loketkas, Loquet V, Litt W.) we find: "... ende om sulcke inconvenientes te verhoeden so moeten sij met de cooplieden recht handelen ende niet bedriegen gelijk als sij gewoon sijn te doen."

(....and in order to prevent such inconveniences they (the Jews]should treat the merchants honestly and not deceive them as is their wont).

215. Wätjen, " Mittelmeergebiet ", p. 188
216. This resolution is dated, November 28th, 1613.
217. See note # 214.
218. See note # 214.
219. Heeringa " Levantschen Handel " I, p. 113, Archief der Staten Generaal.
220. ibid, I, p. 404 ~~ad~~ seq. Resolutie Staten Generaal # 7080.
221. P. J. Blok. "Relazione Veneziane" Venetiaansche berichten over de Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1600- 1795. Serie V p. 387. Rapport of Alvise Contarini to the Signoria.
222. Masson, " Historie du Commerce francais dans le Levant au 17e siecle, Paris
223. Resoluties van de Staten Generaal dated December 17, 1676, July 8th and 14th 1677.

224. Koenen " Geschiedenis der Joden " Resolution of Holland
December 17th, 1676.
225. The original text reads : " dat de Joden ofte Portu-
giezen in de Vereenichde Provincien vrij mogen wonen
onder H.H. M. protectie ende in dezelve wel getrac-
teert werden."
226. Wätjen, " Mittelmeergebiet " p. 174, Missiveboek I, p.1
227. Hillebrandt den Otter, Elias Trip, Albert Schuyt,
Gerrit Hudde, Marcus de Vogelaer, Philippo Calandrini
and Jan Bicker.
228. Wätjen, " Mittelmeergebiet ", p. 181, Remonstrantieboek,
I, p.247.
Händr. C. Diferee, " De Geschiedenis van den Nederland-
schen Handel tot den val der Republiek " p. 340, note 1
claims that O. Pringsheim " Beiträge zur wirtschaftli-
chen Entwicklungsgeschichte der Vereinigte Nieder-
landen im 17 und 18 Jhrhdt" is wrong in his statement that
the consuls were paid by the Levantine Trading Company.
Wätjen " Mittelmeergebiet" agrees with Pringsheim and
quotes an original source for his opinion. As Wätjen's
study on this matter is based on the Archives of the
Levantine Trading Company, which I have not been able
to investigate at ~~the~~ present, I am inclined towards his
view.

229. See note # 228.
230. Wätjen, "Mittelmeergebiet " quotes Archief Levantsche Handelsmaatschappij, Jaarlijksche rekeningen # 264.
231. The imported goods were : alaun, amalgam, anchovis, southern fruits, anice, silks, cotton, rockcrystal, brandy, pictures, books, cassia, fistula, lemons, drugs, dyes, skins, gall nuts, thread, seeds, glassware, marble, and sugar : goods exported were mainly fish.
232. Raphael Abandana, Ruy Gomez/ Barbosa, Rento Osorio, Duarte Polatio, Manuel Behevista, Jeronimus Nunes da Costa, Duarto Dias, Manuel Farro, Francisco Peronis, Lopo Hamirus, Maanuel Dias de Pas, Daniel Pinto, Maanuel Dias Henriques, Menassah ben Israel, Manuel Mendes, Joseph de los Rios, Diego Rodrigos, Jeronimo de Sousa, Symon de Sousa, David de Spinosa, Judo Toro, Salvador Rodrigos.
233. Wätjen, "Mittelmeergebiet" does not include Francisco Vaes de Crasto among the Jewish merchants but Da Silva Rosa " Geschiedenis " mentions him as a Jew.
234. The population of Amsterdam in the middle of the seventeenth century was 115. 249, (Oosthoek 's Geillustreerde Encyclopedia, p.416, Article "Amsterdam".) at that time there were 400 Jewish families in Amsterdam (Menassah ben Israel, " Denkschrift " II, p.153.) that is about 1.600 persons.

235. Bredius " Amsterdam " from document Generaliteitsrekenkamer, Rijksarchief. This list gives figures on the total import and export duty over the period from 1614 till 1699. In 1614 the duty amounted to 62.780,- guilders, in 1648 1.409.347,- guilders and in 1699 1.967.498,- guilders.
236. Wätjen. " Mittelmeergebiet ", p.330
237. Wagenaar " Amsterdam " IX, p. 416
238. Heeringa, " Levantsche Handel " II, p. 839. Extraat van het Rapport van den Admiraal Haultain van zijn reis door de Straat, 1620- 1621
239. De Jonge " Nederland en Venetië, p. 313.
240. Wagenaar " Amsterdam " IX, p. 415 " Nadat de Joden... zig onder anderen hier ter stede hadden begonnen neder te zetten en den handel op Italie en de Levant eerst hier vestigden. Eenige Amsterdammers regtten sedert ook in Italie huizen van koophandel op "
(After the Jews.... among others had begun to settle in this city they established trade with Italy and the levant, some Amsterdammers also founded branch offices in Italy.)
De Jonge " Nederland en Venetië, p.298
Bredius, " Amsterdam ", p.96.
241. It is worthy of mention that De Jonge in his detailed study of the relations between Netherland and Venice

does not advance any documentary proofs. The situation would warrant a belief in the fact that there was a lively trade between Dutch and Italian Jews since both elements were wealthy traders, interested in Mediterranean trade. It is peculiar that Wätjen "Mittelmeergebiet" who has made a thorough study of Mediterranean trade and has searched the archives on the subject, quotes very few documents concerning Dutch Jewish connections with Italy, although he takes pains to quote dozens of documents in his work.

- 242. Wätjen, "Mittelmeergebiet" p. 118
- 243. Heeringa "Levantsche Handel" I, p. 587
- 244. ibid, p. 113. The letter is dated November 24th, 1632.
- 245. Da Silva Rosa, "Geschiedenis" p. 113.
- 246. See notes # 158, 161, 162, 163, 164.
- 247. Theophile Malvezin, "Histoire des Juifs à Bordeaux.
- 248. Sombast "Judenbuch"
- 249. Oudermeulen, "Recherche sur le Commerce II, 2 p. 148 states:
" Par exemple le commerce du change et en especes entre
London, Hambourg et Amsterdam est en grand partie entre
leurs (the Jews) mains."

250. Koenen, " Geschiedenis der Joden " p. 207 mentions De Barrios, Hist. Univ. Judayca p. 21,22. Lettre de quelques Juifs a Voltaire, Lettre Ire, see also Da Silva Rosa, p.101.
251. See page 6 and 7.
252. Carl Gebhardt. " Die Schriften des Uriel da Costa.
253. See note # 249.
254. Felix Friebatsch. " Die Judenpolitik des fürstlichen Absolutismus in 17 und 18 Jhdt" p. 598, quotes Dietz, Stammbuch der Judengasse in Frankfurt, p.234.
255. R. Markgraf, "Der Einfluss der Juden auf die Leipziger Messe ", Sembast, " Kapitalismus " I, 2. p.897 and Jewish Encyclopedia vol VII, art Leipsic.
256. Busken Huet, " Het Land van Rembrandt " chapter "Kolonien".
257. Oshlow Burnish, "Batavia Illustrata or a view of the policy and commerce of the United Provinces.
258. Prins " Vestiging " p. 187, Resolutie van Holland 1602 p. 300 (335)
259. ibid, p. 195, Resolutie Bewindhebberen der Kamer Zeeland, Oost Indische Compagnie, Rijksarchief/
260. ibid, p.118 quotes Haebler, " Konrad Rott."

261. J. Nanniga Uitterdijk LXXII, " Een Kamper Handelshuis "
See also page 3.
262. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, "Itenerario, Voyage ofte
Scipvaert naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, 1579- 1592.
263. Compagnie van Verre
264. Etienne Laspeyres, " Geschichte des Volkswirtschaftliche
Anschauungen der Niederländer und ihrer Literatur zur
Zeit der Republik"
265. In 1660 the Frenchman , Samuel Sobriere, writes : " L' Op-
ulence de la Cie des Indes Orientales qui occupa plus
de 50.000 hommes a son service.... Le gain de cette Cie
(des Indes) fur si prodigieux dans 6 ans, que l' an 1608
il se trouva que toutes les repartitions faites aux
participants qui avoient tiré 25 et 30 % toutes les annees
et tous les frais remboursees, el fonds, qui estoit au
commencement de 6.600.000 livres passoit 30.000.000
Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genoot-
schap Utrecht, p.18, "Drie brieven van Samuel Sobriere"
266. Second half of the eighteenth century.
267. Sombart " Kapitalismus II, 2, p.1072, states that 5.000
ton pepper cost the Dutch nearly 900.000,- guilders
upon which they made yearly 30.000.000,- guilders profit.
At the end of the fifteenth centary a pound of pepper
cost 1,20 guilders, or four days wages of a skilled
carpenter., H. G. Rawlinson, " Early trade between England

and the Levant" in the Journal of Indian History II,

268. See note #409,410

269. Amsterdam and Middelburg.

270. Jan Kampen, "Gefaderlândsche Karakterkunde II, p. 644, 647

271. T. Tal. " Oranjebloesems, p.39

272. Watjen, " Das Judentum und die Anfänge der modernen Kolonisation. Kritische Bemerkungen zu Sombarts: Die Juden in das Wirtschaftsleben. p.11

273. Oudermeulen, Recherche sur le Commerce II, 3., p.147

274. Heerenboekjes

275. /Wolff, " Bijdragen " 4-10, p.40 Amsterdamsch archief, in " Portefeuille voor Joodsche Zaken.

276. Sombart " Kapitalismus " I, II, p.52, points out that silver was important because most colonial goods had to be paid for with it.

277. Watjen, " Das Judentum quotes these figures and the following names from " T Eerste Capitael Boeck, Aanvang met nemende in Novembr, Anno 1623 in Amsterd. Archief West Indische Company. (Oude Companie # 18, Rijksarchief .)

The Jewish participants were :

Francisco Coutinco (Coutinho?)
Bento Osorio
Anthonio Nunez Torres
Duarte de Palacio

4.000,- guilders
6.000,- "
1.200,- "
1.000,- "

Francisco Mendes Medeiros	1.800,-	guilders
Francisco Baes de Leon	2.400,-	"
Jeronimo Rodrigues Mendes	1.800,-	"
Gaspar Nunes Torres	1.500,-	"
Francisco Mendes and Miguel de Castro	1.800,-	"
Estevan Cardoza	1.000,-	"
Diego Fernandez Dias	2.400,-	"
Duarte Nunez da Costa	4.000,-	"
Jeronimo Rodrigo de Souza	1.800,-	"
Simon Rodrigo de Souza	600,-	"
Witwe Elomar Henriquez	1.200,-	"
Fernando Airez Mezurando	900,-	"
Branqua de Pina	1.200,-	"
Duarte Rodrigues Mendes	1.500,-	"

277. However there are lists of the main participants (Hooft-participanten) for the years 1656, 1658, and 1671. On the first list we find seven Jewish names in a total of 167 names mentioned, on the second, 1658, there are 11 Jews in a total of 169 names and in the third, 1671, there are 10 Jews in a total of 192 names. These lists are of very little illustrative value as they show no figures. Samuel Oppenheim, " The Early History of the Jews in New York, 1654 - 1664" Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society # 18, p.1 et seq.

278. Knapp. " Der Ursprung in den Kolonien" p. 11

279 100 Cruzados equal 105,- guilders.

280. Lippmann, " Geschichte des Zucker" p. 260. One case

equalled 50 pounds. To estimate the profit that Holland would derive from Brazilian sugar, we cite the

following figures :	60.000 cases costs	3.500.000,-	guilders
	expenses and freight	720.000,-	"
	cost price Amsterdam	4.220.000,-	guilders
	sale price	9.500.000,-	"
	yields profit of	5.280.000,-	guilders

281. Beauchamp, " Histoire du Bresil " II, p. 159 and Southey's " History of Brazil ", see also Prins " Vestiging " p. 150, 151., W. M. Netscher, " Les Hollandais au Bresil " p. 14 and G. A. Kohut " Les Juifs dans les Colonies Hollandaises " Revue des Etudes Juives # 31, p. 294.
282. Da Silva Rosa, " Geschiedenis ", p. 73
283. T. Tal, " Oranjobloesems " p. 37
G. A. Kohut, " Les Juifs dans les Colonies Hollandaises " Rev. des Et. Juives # 31, p. 294.
284. In that short time the Portuguese authorities succeeded in putting at least five Jews to death, who had been friendly with the Dutch, Max J. Kohler, " Beginning of New York Jewish History " American Jewish Historical Society, 1892, p. 44
285. During that period they seized 39.355 cases sugar which amounted to 7.871.000,- guilders. De Laet " Historie ofte jaerlijks verhael "
286. Koenen, " Geschiedenis der Joden " quotes Groot Plakaatboek I, p. 606 and T. Tal, " Oranjobloesems " quotes article 32 of the " Instructie van de Staten Generaal voor de hooge en lage Regteringe der geoctroyeerde West Ind. Compagnie in de geconquesteerde plaatsen in Brazijl ".... and also " Reglement op het Openstellen van den handel op Pernambuco en Brasil van den 9 Januari 1634, art XII.

287. Groot Placaatboek II, p. 261, Art 85/ 89
 288. In the archive of the Portuguese Jewish congregation in Amsterdam there is a book of statutes containing the regulations of the congregation "Tszur Yisrael " in Recief, dated 1648 - 1654. The community was modelled after that of Amsterdam with its Talmud Torah, Ets Haim, charity organisations and cementary. In order to maintain unity it was decided that no other congregation could be established in Recief or Antonio Vaz and that other groups in Brazil desiring to form congregations must meet with the approval of the mother congregation before they can be established. The chief congregation forbade Jews to talk against other religions, Da Silva Rosa, " Geschiedenis " p. 74.
 289. A visitor to Brazil reports " The profits they (the Jews) make after being nine or ten years in those lands are marvellous, for they all come back rich." E. F. Pyard's "Travels".
 290. Da Silva Rosa, " Gesciedenis " p. 74.
 291. Watjen, " Das Judentum " p. 36 et seq. states that this contradicts Sombart's contention that the purchase of the mills proved that ^{the} Jewish colonists in Brazil were wealthy.
- 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 the Jews were the most considerable in number, who had transplanted themselves thither from Holland. They had a vast traffic beyond the rest; they purchased sugar mills and built stately houses in the Recief", Nieuhoff, quoted by Netscher " Les Hollandais en Bresil, p. 103, Max J. Kohler, Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800, "Transactions" " Publications " II, p. 95, see also Sombart " Judenbuch" p. 33 and " Kapitalismus " p. 903.

292. June 13th, 1643, Adriaen Jems writes to the Company's office in Middelburg that the Jews know how to make a business out of everything but the planters (non- Jewish) cannot prosper because negroes are too dear and interest is too high, quoted by Watjen, " Das Judentum " p. 40
293. Of which the " Classicale acta " of Brazil speaks.
294. Watjen " Judentum, p.36 et seq quotes from West India Company archive (Oude Company) # 56
295. These figures are quoted in a contemporary pamphlet " De Brasilische Geldsack ", Rijksarchief, Reesse " Suikerhandel, p.188 et seq.
It is strange that ivory is mentioned in a list of American products, this is probably due to a confusion on the writer's part with the products of the Company's African colonies.

296. G. A. Kohat " Les Juifs dans les Colonies hollandaises,
"Rev. des Et. Juives p. 294 mentions a letter from the
Jews to Prince Maurits, dated May 1st, 1642.
- 297.-----
298. Menassah ben Israel dedicates the second part of his
" Consiliador " to ; " Nobilissimos Magnificos Senores
David Senior Coronel, Doctor Abraham de Mercado, Jaha-
cob Mucate, y mas Senores de nuestra nacion habitantes
en al Recifi de Pernambuco "
299. Luzac, " Hollands Rijkdom I, p. 330
300. Wätjen, " Das Judentum " p. 40 quotes from a letter to
the " Hooge Raad van den kamer van Zeeland, February 13th,
1645, West Indische Compagnie (Oude Company) # 60.
301. It is said that Holland found out about the Portuguese
intrigue through the good offices of Dutch Jews but that
she received that information too late to save her co-
lony. Van Kampen " Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten
Europa " p. 120
302. Rabbi Aboab who was an eye witness of the horrors of the
fight wrote a poem about it, the manuscript of which is
to be found in the Livrairia Montezinos, Amsterdam.
303. Wätjen, " Das Judentum " , p.40 et seq.
304. De Meza, Aboab, Pereira, de Leon, La Parra, Touro, Sardose,

Jesurun, Marchena, Chaviz, Oleviera, Henriques Coutinho,
. Corcos, "History of the Jews of Curaçao , p.7 et seq.
and G. Herbert Cone, " The Jews in Curacao, " Publications"
10, p. 142.

305. Rabbi A. M. Chumaceiro, " Toespraak ter gelegenheid van
de 50 jarigen hereeniging van Curacao met Nederland ".
306. Cone " The Jews in Curaçao ", Publications ibid p.143
quotes volume 14 of Documents relating to the Colonial
History of the State of New York p. 135, Albany Manuscripts.
- 306.a Cone, ibid, quotes Vander kemp's Manuscript translation
of the Dutch records of New York in the State Library
at Albany, p.34, see O'Callaghan's Calendar of Hist.Mss
Dutch MSS, Vol XVII, Curacao Paper p. 329 " Grant of
privileges accorded to David Nassy by the Company, February
22nd, 1652.
307. This contract was probably the first charter of religious
liberties granted the Jews in the New World.

Concerning this group the Company wrote to Stuyvesant on
April 4th, 1652, that they were a crafty and generally
treacherous people in whom not much confidence must be
placed and that time would show whether they would suc-
ceed well with the Jews. Cone, ibid, Vol. 14, Documents
relating to Colonial History of New York p. 172.

- 308a Cone, ibid. letter December 13, 1652, Directors of West

India Company to Stuyvesant, Documents relating etc. p. 193.

308. Cone, ibid, Vander Kemp's translations ibid vol. 14, p. 101.
309. Cone, ibid. Letter from the Vice Director Rodenborch to Directors of West India Company April 2nd, 1654, Vander Kemp, ibid, vol 8 p. 107
310. Wäitjen, *Das Judentum*, p. 49. et seq.
311. Cone, ibid, Vanderkemp, ibid, vol 12, p.99
312. Cone, ibid, December 26th, 1659, Vanderkemp ibid, vol 12, p.79
313. Cone, ibid, Document relating etc. p. 454-455.
314. Chumaceiro, " Toespraak " ibid.
315. Corcos, History of the Jews of Curacao, Cone, ibid.
316. Corcos, ibid, p.24.
317. Chumaceira " Toespraak " ibid.
318. Jaarboeken van den Israëlieten 1835, p.215/16
- 318 a Sam. Oppenheim, "An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana", Publications # 16, p.95
319. P. M. Netscher, " Geschiedenis van de Kolonies Essequibo Demarary en Berbice.
320. Netscher ibid, p. 73, ,Oppenheim. Early Jewish Colony p.130

321. Oppenheim, *ibid*
322. January 23, 1661, Oppenheim *ibid*, p.170 quotes " Resolutions rakende de Nieuwe Collonie in Isekepe, November 1st, 1657, November 19th, 1663.
323. Oppenheim , *ibid*, p.162 appends several resolutions *ibid* about Jewish slave trade, in Rijksarchief The Hague :
324. ~~September~~
ibid, p.170, resolutions *ibid*.
September 9th, 1660 : " Is binnen gestaan Moses Netto, seggende schrijven te hebben van zijn swager die uit den naem van de Jootsche Natie versoekt op enige of de commissarissen genegen zijn de hant aende Colonie te houden ofte niet ofte dat andersints genegen zijn van daer te vertrecken ende de Colonie te abandonneren."
(There appeared Moses Netto, saying he had received letters from his brother- in- law who, in the name of the Jewish nation, asks whether the Committee is willing to keep up the colony, otherwise they are inclined to depart from here and abandon it.)
325. In 1684 the Commander at Essequibo writes to the Directors of the West India Company that a Jew, Salomon de la Roche, had died there and that he was the only one who knew how to prepare the vanille bean for the market, Oppenheim, *ibid*, p. 158. Rapport W. S. Committee II, p.161p162.
326. Heerenboekjes West India Company, quoted by Wätjen " Das Judentum, p.49 et seq.

327. April 15th, 1773
328. January 31st, 1774.
329. September 22nd, 1774
330. Hartog, " Joden in ons Vaderland " p. 121
331. May 14th, July 24th, September 20th, November 30th, 1776
quoted by Roenen " Geschiedenis der Joden " p. 223.
332. Oppenheim, "Early Jewish Colony, ibid, p.155, reprinted
from "Annals of Guiana" by James Rodway and Thomas Watt,
I, p. 145 et seq.
333. Oppenheim, ibid, p. 184, Article 2 of the grant.
334. L. D. Feenstra, " De Landbouw in de Kolonie Suriname
p. 24, Roenen " Geschiedenis der Joden" 255, Netscher
" Les Hollandais au Bresil, but this same writer in his
" Geschiedenis van de Kolonies Essequibo, Demerary and
Berbice" recognizes his error."
335. Wätjen, " Das Judentum, par43, mentions Liassen States
General, West Indische Compagnie # 5773, Rijksarchief
336. Nevertheless the Rev. P. A. Hilfman " Some further Notes
on the History of the Jews in Surinam " Publications # 16,
p.9 states that there is evidence in the archives of the
Dutch Portuguese Jews showing that in 1639 Jews had set-
tled in Surinam (Which archives ?)

- 336a. Storm van's Gravesande " The Rise of British Guiana".
337. Proclamation of the British Government, August 7th, 1665.
G. A. Kohut, " Who was the first Rabbi of Surinam ?" Publications # 5, p. 120
338. Janiçon, " Etats present de la Republique du Provinces Unies" p. 411, 427. " Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam " II, p.49-57
339. Jewish Encyclopedia, art. West Indies. According to the " Essai historique" p. 127 these families left two years later.
340. David Nassy, Isaac Pereira, Isaac Arias , Henriques de Caspères, Raphael Aboab, Samuel Nassy, Isaac R. de Prado, Aaron de Sylva, Alaus de Fonseca, Isaac Meza, Daniel Mesiah, Jacob Nunez, Isaac Gabay Cid, Isaac da Costa, Isaac Diago, Bento da Costa, quoted from "Essai Historique " I, 2, p.134.
341. Oppenheim, " Early Jewish Colony " ibid, p.181 quotes " Petition for and grant of additional privileges to the Jews of Surinam, dated Paramaribo, October 1st, 1669. "Essai Historique II, p. 131 et seq.
342. Oppenheim, ibid.
343. Kohut, " First Rabbi, Publications, ibid, p.123.
344. Hilfman, Publications, ibid. " Further Notes " p.9

345. Dr. B. Felsenthal and Professor Richard Gottheil.
" Chronological Sketch of the History of the Jews in
Surinam, Publications 1894.
346. Hiffman " Further Notes, ibid
347. "Essai historique " I, p. 83, 88
348. In 1683 the West India Company, in need of money, sold
two third of the land at public auction. One third of
this was bought by the city of Amsterdam . the other
third by a certain Aerssen van Sommelsdijk. Van Kampen,
" Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten Europa "II, p.416
420.
In 1682 the colony was repurchased by the new West India
Company for 260,000, guilders, Koenen quotes Can & Schel-
tas; Groot Plakaatboek III,p.142.
349. Wätjem , " Das Judentum ", p.48. quotes " Essai historique"
350. Essai historique I, p.78

There is a map dated 1737 of the " Joodsch Dorp "(Jewish
Settlement) near the Savane on the Suriname River and
Caxapora Creeck". It is found in Museum Bodel Nijenhuis,
Leyde, Portefeuille 63-66 and reprinted in Reesse " Suiker-
handel" which mentions the following Jewish names and the
area of land they possessed:

Lev. Berlin	167 Rijnlandsch feet	Wed. Jos. Loh. Nassi	800
Marsil. Jacobi	1500 "	Wed. Sam dela Para	1200
"	1500 "	Jos. Castilho	
Erv, Est. Arras	3500 "	Jos. Rod. Monsanto	

San Meza.	1000	Rijnlandsch feet	Isaac H. de Barrios	1800
Is. gr. de Fonseca			Is. Uz. d'Avilar	800
Ab. Cohen Nassi			Jac. H. de Barrios	
David Cohen Nass			Erv. Jonas Witzzen	
Abm. de Britto			Wed. Gab. Baeza	
Mos. Nuno Henriques			David de Iz. Messias	
Das dela Para			Ab. Fonseca Meza	
id.			David San Coronel	110
Ab. Mementan	500	"	Mos. Card. Baeza	200
Ab. H. de Barrios			Erv. Messias Penco	550
Ab. de Pinto	400	2	W. Abm. Meza	250
Ar. Bueno Bibas			Erv. Moses Demesquito	
W. Samdela Para			Erv. Jos. Arias	500
Erv. Sam Cohen Nassi			Bina H. Granada	450
Ab. Nuno Henriques			Jos. Coh. Nassi	450
Jac. Cabay			B. H. Granada	1850
Nephtali Messias			Moses Naar	
Jas. H. de Barrios	2250	"	Is. de David Mesa	1000
W. Samdela Para	1050		Montezinos	100
Jacob Gabay de Castro			Ms. de Britto	3140
Ar. de Ab. da Costa	1042	"	Is. Henriq	1000
Erv. Baeza & Da Costa			Ab. Pinto	750
Jos. Gabay Isidro	288	"	W. Coh. Nassi	1081
W. Ab. de Pina		"	Is. de Britto	1700
Sam Nr. d'Avilar	1000	"	Is. Carilho	1800
Jos. Gabay Faro	1452	"	Ab. en Is. de Pinto	250
W. Jue Uz. d'Avilar	2200	"	Jac de Pina	250
Eath. Lorenes	200	"	Jac Coh. Nassi	250
Ben. H. Moron			David Uz. d'Avilas	300
Erv. Mos. Cotinsio			Sal. Jos. Levi	500
David Meza.			Wed. Rodrigues	250
Raphael Henriques	1775	"	M. S. Pallak	500
M. S. Pallak	957		"	500
"	500		"	500
"	500		"	500
Abigail Bion	600			

351. Average price 35,- guilders per 100 pounds , according to a pricelist in Amsterdam, Archive 1776-1795 quoted by Reesse " Suikerhandel" p.63
352. Rapport of Governor Scharphuyzen, dated May 11th, 1697 in Port. " Stukken aangaande Surinam # 1, mentioned by Reesse " Suikerhandel p.207.

353. Half a century before adult slaves brought 150,- guilders a piece, according to a contract that Nassy made with the West India Company.
354. Since 1730 the West India Company had lost its monopoly on slave trade, J. W. Pik, "Leerboek der Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis" II, p.259
355. Jaarboeken der Israëlieten, 1837, p.65-67 and p. 357-358
356. Reesse " Suikerhandel" p.207
357. Van Kampen " Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten Europa " III, p.274
358. Rumor had it that a slave poisoned a number of his fellows.
359. Oppenheim, " Early Jewish Colony" ibid, p.95 seems to differ from the consensus of opinion about the authorship of the " Essai historique ", apparently claiming that it was compiled by a society of learned Jews. Possibly this refers to a Dutch translation as there is little doubt as to the authorship of the original.
360. Collection de Memoires et correspondances officielles sur l'administration des colonies et notamment sur la Guyane française et hollandaise" by Mr. Malxonet, administrator of the French colony of Cayenne. He writes "... Je fis particulièrement connaissance avec des Juifs donc l'érudition et les lumières m'ont fort étonné, l'un se nomme Joseph Barrios et l'autre Isaac Nassi (the wri-

- t ter means David Nassy). Le dernier est un homme extraordinaire.....a en approfondir l'histoire,.... a apprendre methodiquement l' Arab, le caldeen, l'Hebreu rabbinique et la plupart des langues modernes, qu'il parle et ecrit purement." Bijdragen 5-6, p.218 et seq. Mr. R. Bijlsma, " David de Is. C. Nassy, Schrijver van de " Essai historique sur Suriname".
361. " Essai historique" I, p.182-183
362. Van Kampen " Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten Europa" III, p.335- 337.
363. between the Orangemen and the Patriots.
364. Resolutie Ridderschap August 23rd, 1786, Wolff ,Bijdragen 4-9, p.388 et seq, Koenen, p.311 etseq.
365. Wolff Bijdragen, ibid.
Although in 1750 the Jews only owned 115 of the total 400 plantations they are now (1786) spoken of as the majority of the population. Probably within thirty six years more Jews had come to Surinam and those not concerned with agriculture were occupied with trade.
366. Archive Notaris Outgers, quoted by Reesse p.Suikerhandel p.201
367. Lord Arlington wrote a letter to the King of England on December 17th, 1671 : " He was of the opinion that H.M. could not have more profitable subjects than Jews and Hollanders." quoted from Wätjen " Das Judentum" p.53. Wät-

jen thinks that by " Jews " are meant the old Jewish inhabitants of the colony and by " Hollanders " are meant the more recently arrived Jews from Brazil, subjects of Holland. He infers this because the whole controversy concerns itself with regulations about Jews.

368. See page 80,81
369. Several Jews are said to have left Holland for New Netherlands in 1652. However, Oppenheim " Early Jewish Colony, ibid,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 ".
370. Sam. Oppenheim , " Early Jewish Colony, ibid, p. 1 et seq. Watjen, " Das Judentum " p.63 et seq. , Da Silva Rosa " Geschiedenis " p.78 et seq.
371. Oppenheim " Early Jewish Colony, ibid, p. 6
372. Dated September 22. 1652, quoted by Oppenheim " Early Jewish Colony " ibid.p.
373. Oppenheim " Early Jewish Colony" p. 9 et seq.
See also notes # 277, 278
374. See note # 273
375. Oppenheim, " Early Jewish Colony " ibid.
376. " De jootsche vrijheyte seer schadelijck aldaer te weesen

alsoo de Christenen daer tegl. niet connen handelen, ende haer vrijicheijt gevende, de Lutraensche papisten niet sullen connen weijgeren."

(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 Luterian papists.)

377. Oppenheim " Early Jewish Colony, p.21
378. ^{ibid.} p.27. This petition is signed by Abraham de Lucena Salvador Dandrada and Jacob Cohen who wrote in their name and in behalf of their fellow Jews.
379. ^{ibid.} p.21
380. ^{ibid.} p.29 quotes a document to that effect.
381. ^{ibid.} See original documents ~~tax~~
382. The ~~tax~~ amounted to 65 stuivers monthly.
383. Oppenheim " Early Jewish Colony " p. 26.
384. dated June 14th quoted by Oppenheim, ^{ibid}, p.33
- 385.....
386. Among the wellknown Jews that came to Amsterdam in 1655 was Joseph da Costa, a large shareholder in the West India Company.
387. Oppenheim " Early Jewish Colony, ~~Appendix~~, p.75

101. There is a document, dated November 2nd, 1855 in which Asser Levy and Jacob Barmanson petition for the right to mount guard, and was refused until 1857. D'Ardenne "Bibliographie Coloniale", p. 25
102. Leveau, "Soudanien", p. 225
103. Leveau de Fribourg, in his "Etude sur la civilisation et la morale" p. 84
104. Etienne Lapeyrette, "Description des Tribus nomades de l'ouest algériennes des Beni-Melike" p. 172 quotes Lapeyrette "Description de l'Algérie" p. 50
105. Vagstad "Australien" VIII, p. 160-172
106. "Iris" written by Samuel Schreier "by J. J. Mack in "Mémoires de la Société Géographique. Tenebris", VIII, p. 15 (dated 1860) : "Que les mares de 6000 talibans font toujours au port la représentation d'une grande forêt".
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. Bousisgault, "Le Guide Universel de tous les dix sept provinces" (Hollande) a plus de maisons sur mer que sur terre"
107. Hans Bontemmel, "Euxen eine Herren bij de Stadt van tijt tot tijt aengekoft ende bij tachtie aengemenen

ten dienste van 't oudt ende om te maeken een nieuwe stadthuys"., in " De Navorscher," Nieuwe Reeks, 1891, p. 123, with notes by Jacobus Noordkerk, first clerk of the city at that time. Hans Bontemaatel was in the employ of the city from 1653- 1672.

395. Menassah ben Israel, in his " Gedenkboek " II, p.153
396. Schudt, "Judische Merkwurdigkeiten" gives the text of De Pinto's will.
397. Jaarboeken voor Israelieten, 1835, 3rd volume, p.51, also in Schudt, " Judische Merkwurdigkeiten".
398. Antonio Ribeira dos Santos, " Memorias de Litteratura Portugueza III, mentioned by Da Silva Rosa, " Geschiedenis".
399. As early as May 15th, 1631, the philosopher Descartes writes to Balzac speaking of Amsterdam : " En cette grande ville ou je suis, n8 ayant aucun homme, excepté moi, qui n' exerce la marchandise, chacun est tellement attentif a son profit que j' y pourrai demeurer toute ma vie sans etre jamais vu de personne ".
Usselinx, a leading merchant of the time ; said : " The greatest nobleman is he, who invests most in the (India) companies. Felix Priebatsch. " Die Judenpolitik des fürstlichen Absolutismus in 17. und 18. Jhdt."
400. In 1675 there were 898 Portuguese Jewish men. De Castro " De Synagogue ", Bijlage E. Forty five years later

there were at least 1.600 adult males among the Ashkenazic Jews, Unpublished travels of Abr. Tull.

401. " Le Curieux antiquaire ou Recueil Hist. et Geograph. par Berkemeyer,
402. J. Trigland, mentioned in " De Navorscher, 16, p.6
403. Sombart " Judenbuch " p.19, refers to Thurloe, " Collection of State Papers " IV, p.333 , also letter of Whalley p. 308.
404.
405. Extrait d'une memoire presenté en 1618, Revue historique 1890, p. 327
406. This is strange in view of the fact that it has been pointed out (Wätjen, "Das Judentum " p.11 and 15) that it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century, when all the Amsterdam Jews became citizens, that they took an active part in the East India Company because citizenship was a necessary requisite for participation in that Company.
407. Sigmund Seeligmann, "Mitteilungen zur Judischen Volkskunde " 1906, p.5-8, C. P. Burger Jr. " De Gazetta de Amsterdam " in " Het Boek " p. 57 et seq.
408. We do not know whether or not its contents dealt with commerce.

409. The first Jewish participants are :

In 1602 :

Stephan Cardoza	1.800,-	guilders
Elisabeth Pinto	3.000,-	"

In 1603 :

Stephan Cardoza	450,-	"
Elisabeth Pinto	750,-	"
Melchior Mendes	13.500,-	"
Manuel Tomas	3.600,-	"
Michel Lopez Fernandez (for Simon Henriques, Florence.)	2.875,-	"
Manuel Carvalho	1.900,-	"
Diego Dias Querido		

Wätjen, " Das Judentum ", "Kapitaalboeken" East India Company, Chamber Amsterdam.

410. Wätjen, ibid. p. 11 et seq quotes figures from the books of the East India Company, Chamber Amsterdam # 10574, 10572, 10578, 10594, 10596. Among the largest Jewish subscribers of that time we find Issac de Pinto, 1668- 1681 6.750,- guilders, Jacob Nunez Henriques 1675-1681, 10.326,- guilders, Athias Elevy, 1680, 5.000,- guilders, David de Pinto, 1681- 1682, 5.958,- guilders.

411. ibid.

412. O. Pringsheim, "Beiträge zur Wirtschaftliche Entwicklungs-geschichte der Vereinigte Niederlanden in 17. u. 18 Jhdt." p.15 quotes " Lessen over de Statistiek" II, Kluit, Manuscript. Wätjen " Mittelmeergebiet " p. 330 doubts whether Holland's total trade exceeded 100.000.000,- guilders yearly about the middle of the seventeenth century.

413. Pringsheim, " Beiträge " p. 12,13

We find in Bredius, " Amsterdam " the following figures representing the amount of duty paid on imports and exports taken from the books of the " Generaliteits rekenkamer " Rijksarchief :

In 1654	1.103.426-11-0	guilders
1655	490.609-18-2	"
2nd English war	1.150.000-0 -0	"
1668	1.967.498- 2-0	"
1699		

414. There were dealings in Dutch States Loans.

415. although the period of greatest speculation came in the eighteenth century.

416. Bredius " Amsterdam ", p.33 gives a bill showing that 61.969,- guilders was paid for twenty two bulbs.

417. The most reliable sources for the history of stock exchange dealings in Amsterdam in the first decade of the seventeenth century are the " placards " of the States General, which prohibit the sale of more shares of the East India Company than are actually on hand.

418. A study of the growth and development of the Amsterdam Exchange and its complicated transactions is not my present purpose. A detailed analysis of the activities and importance of the Jews on the Amsterdam Exchange warrants a very careful investigation which I hope to undertake at some future date. My comments on the Exchange here are only offered to complete the outline

of Jewish economic life in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

- 419. R. Ehrenberg. " Das Zeitalter der Fugger " II, p. 1 and others.
- 420. Prins, " Vestiging " p. 86.
- 421. Revue historique, Vol. 44, from Archives of the French Foreign Office.
- 422. Wagenaar, " Amsterdam VIIII, p.130
- 423. Handvesten, May 8th, 1612
- 424. Stedelijke Ordonnantie op de Makelaardij, January 27th, 1612. , Stuart, De Amsterdamsche Makelaardij, p.48
- 425. Amstelodamm 1909, p.219
- 426. Handvesten van Amsterdam, May 8th, 1612, § 1063, Wagenaar VIII, p.130.
- 427. Stuart, " De Makelaardij " p.48
- 428. Brück. " Die Effectenbörse., p.200
- 428a. J. P. Ricard, " Negoce d' Amsterdam " 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 Sam. Ricard, Traité du Commerce I, p.91..
- 429. See note #464

Early in the eighteenth century (December 9th, 1701) the Austrian Government ordered Baron Pechmann, who was negotiating the matter, to make private inquiries whether, in view of the fact , that the Hungarian coppermines were being pledged to guarantee the loan, a greater sum might not be raised. More especially was he to communicate with the Portuguese Jews in Holland, since the other subjects of the United Provinces asked for an additional guarantee besides the general one. F. von Mensi, " Die Finanzen Oesterreichs von 1701 - 1740, p.367.

430. L. Wolf. " The Jewry of the Restauration "p.11

431. In 1687 a Dutch lawyer published a pamphlet to this effect, and in 1698 the French ambassador in The Hague writes to his Government about the great influence exerted by Jews on the Stock ,arket, Revue Historique, vol 44, 1895, from Archives of French Foreign Office.

432. Otto Fringsheim, Introduction to De^{la}Vega's "Confusion de Confusione "

433. De la Vega was his mother's family name.

434. Otto Fringsheim, in the Introduction to his German translation of part of the work.

435. Dr. M. Kayserling, " Menassah ben Israel ", Da Silva Rosa, " Geschiedenis " p. 34.

436. De Castro " De Synagogue "

437. Schudt, "Judische Merkwurdigkeiten", quotes William Temple, as saying that he finds it worthy of note " that they (the Spaniards) who so hate the Jews, appoint them to offices of Agent and Resident".
438. Schudt, ibid, calls this worth Don " Baron Schwans ".
439. Koenen " Geschiedenis der Joden " p. 209 quotes document. On diplomats see De Barrios " Aumento de Israel " p.172, Wagenaar " Tegenwoordige Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden" XVI p.298, XVII p.23,28,47, Bijvoegsels and Nalezingen XVI p.62, 91, 98 and XVII p.18, Van Hamelsveld, " Geschiedenis der Joden " p.333, J. Scheltema " Staatkundig Nederland " II, p.299,300, Da Silva Rosa, " Geschiedenis ", p.101.
440. It is curious that the Dutch Government itself seldom employed Jews to represent it.
441. Possibly Boas Pinhas 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, " Tegenwoordige Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden XVII, p. 19
442. Vissering, " Het Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid ", De Gids, 1856, p.665-666.
443. Wagenaar " Amsterdam I, p.537.
444. Vissering " Tafereel der Dwaasheid" p.665 -666

445. *ibid.* p.669
449. Pringsheim, Introduction to De La Vega's "Confusion de Conscience" p.XIII from Archives of the Chamber of Amsterdam.
450. Isaac de Pinto, "Reflexões politicas".
451. Wagenaar, "Amsterdam" VIII, p.155, Handvesten p.485,492
452. 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 an circumcision was unlimited but at weddings, which "only" could last two days, "only" twenty households might be entertained. If these rules were broken, in the case of a circumcision, a fine of twenty five rijksdaalders (One rijksdaalder is 2,50 guilders) was to be imposed, in the case of a wedding the penalty was to be 100 rijksdaalders. , quoted by Wolff "Bijdragen", taken from the archives of the Great Synagogue of the Ashkenazic Community in Amsterdam.
453. Handvesten van Amsterdam, November 21st, 1698, February 17th, 1748, March 17th, 1769 and July 6th, 1785, Wolff Bijdragen 5-1 p.357.
454. Handvesten, August 25th, 1725, October 27th, 1734 and May 7th, 1737.
455. In Livraria Montezinos # 18, B. 17 quoted by Jacob Wijler, "Isaac de Pinto, Sa vie et ses Oeuvres" p.21 et seq

456. Wijler, *ibid* points out that ~~De~~ Pinto made a mistake, he actually got 4 percent interest.
457. dated July 24th, 1748
458. In the secrete resoluties, register van den Raad van State, Algemeen Rijksarchief, quoted by Wijler, *Ibid*.
459. Wijler, *ibid*.
460. Wijler, *ibid*, p. 16 and Appendix C, quotes a document from the "Notarieele Archieven # 9885, prot. #101, Archives Amsterdam, which states that in 1759, De Pinto is interested in floating a loan, amounting to 6.600.000 £ pounds sterling.
461. Wijler, *ibid*. p.22 quotes document Libreria Montezinos.
462. Reflexões politicas, tocante a constituição de Nacao Judaica, Amsterdam, 1748
463. There seems not to have been much desire to emigrate, for on January 29th, 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 will not leave will be imprisoned."
464. The eighteenth century writer Oudermeulen in his "Recherche sur le Commerce" says: "I can not suppress the observation that the great trade in English stock on the Amsterdam

Exchange is almost entirely in the hands of Portuguese Jews, who, since the time of the English national debt have, for the most part, substituted Exchange activities for Commerce, which they carry on on a commission basis or on their own account.... If one more closely scrutinize the matter and investigate the complex question, one comes to the conclusion that this business ruins the Portuguese Nation more than it enriches them".

465. W. P. Sautijn Kluit " De Amsterdamsche Beurs "in 1763 en 1773 ".
466. ibid.
467. " De Koopman ", 1771
468. " het voorbeeld der Portugeesche Jooden, het totale verlies van hunne wezenlijke negotie en bestendige zee vaardige hier te lande, het knotten van de tak van hunnen handel op Spanje, Portugal en de West, den ondergang van hunnen Zuikerhandel, Raffinaarderijen, Juweelen negotie, Diamantslijperijen en andere Trafijcken."
469. " De Koopman " V # 30, year 1773.
470. " De actiennegotie en de handel in den wind bloeit hier en te London etc. meest onder de Portugeesche Joodenmen zij houden er behalve de Beurs, nog hunne aparte collegien en koffijhuizen op na en hebben in hun Joodsche quartieren gemeenlijk dan nog een Actiebeurs bijzonder : want deesse Negotie is van te veel belang voor Staat en Stad. Het zijn

deezee Port. Jooden door den bank een gemakkelijk en lui volk, 't welke niet veel arbeid gelust en uit den aard geneigd tot weelde en bravades maken, welke meest de reele Commercie verlaaten en zig aan deezen windhandel ene halve dolheid, die alles in rep en roer zet, geheel overgegeven hebben: zij hebben er zig, die voor eeuwen schatrijk en capitaalisten waren, alrede over het algemeen zodanig mee geruineerd, dat de tekenen van armoede reeds zichtbaar worden ".

471. Vissering " Tagereel der Dwaasheid".
472. This amount was a year's salary as Director of the East India Company.
473. Traité de la Circulation et du Credit.
474. Mordechai van Aaron de Pinto , in"~~DE~~ Koopman ", 1770
475. " Onze natie wordt van jaar tot jaar armer, onze voornaamste huizen van Negotie zijn al voor een groot deel op allerlei wijzen gekrenkt, zommigen door Bankroeten, anderen door de steeds toenemende pragt en verteringen. 't Gemeen altoos, heeft 't maat zeer zoer. Bijzondere kostwinningen zijn er niet, en de Negotie wordt hoe langer hoe slechter, en is veelal onzeker, voornaamlijk de Aktiehandel, daar onze voornaamste lieden tans hun eenig fait van maken. Alles rijpelijk beschouwd, de Portugeesch Joodsche Natie heeft haar Zomer gehad en naderd ~~tans~~ derzelver Winter, terwijl de Hoogduitse, meest in armoede hier gekomen, door ons weleer met veragting aangezien

maar inderdaad zeer ijverig en zuiniger dan wij over den winter heen is en den zoeten tijd ziet naderen. Zij gaan op en wij gaan onder."

476. Hillesum " Uit de Geschiedenis "

In that same year the census shows that there were 31.000 Jews in the Netherlands, 22.000 of whom lived in Amsterdam."

477. In his " Reflexions critiques sur le premier chapitre du 7e Tome des Oeuvres de Monsieur de Voltaire au sujet des Juifs."

478. f.i. the Asser and Lemon families.

479. Oosthoek " Nederlandsche Encyclopedia " article Amsterdam, p. 416. Oudermeulen " Recherche sur le Commerce" II,2 p.147

480. 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 action in anti - Orange Amsterdam.

481. The founders of the society were M. S. Asser, Dr. H. de Lemon, S. de Jonge Meyersz., Mr. Carolus Asser, H. L. Bromet, E. Schabracq, Juda Littwack and David Friedrichfeld, twenty four more members joined the ranks.

482. The title of the pamphlet is " Zeer interessante Brief van een Joodsch Burger te Amsterdam aan een Joodsch Burger te Rotterdam over de tegenwoordige staatsomwenteling in Nederland", signed by A.... Amsterdam, 1795.

453. Diveray Ne gidim by Zwi Hirsch ben Mordechai Meilveldt.

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