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THE PLEA FOR THE JEWS.
IN CONNECTION WITH
THEIR READMISSION INTO ENGLAND.

Alvin S. Luhrs.

Recd. 11/78



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CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY PERIOD.

We have no certain evidence of the existence of Jews in England until the last quarter of the Eleventh Century. 1. Jews were brought into England by William the Conqueror from Rouen in about 1070. 2. The presence of the Jews in England, it seems is to be accounted for only as a financial experiment on the part of William the Conqueror. The king needed a middle class. He wanted to purchase luxuries in order that his court might resemble those on the Continent. In view of these facts, he preferred to receive the payment on his feudal dues in coin rather than in kind, and the Jews

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1. There are, however, several references to Jews in earlier periods. In the *Liber Poenitentialis* of Archbishop Theodore (c. 669 C.E.), we find enactments against the Jews. They are expressly forbidden to hold Christian slaves. No Christian is permitted to celebrate the Passover with the Jews, nor can mass be celebrated where a Jew is buried. In the "*Excerptiones*" of Egbert, Archbishop of York, (c. 750 C.E.), these enactments are repeated. There is likewise a reference to the Jews in the Laws of Edward the Confessor, (c.1050 C.E.) stating that the Jews are under the king's protection and that they may not put themselves under the protection of another without the king's license. However, according to Jacobs' "*Jews in Angevin England*" p. 3, these laws do not necessarily apply to the Jews in England but rather to Jewish practices about Easter, concerning which there was a bitter quarrel in the Church as to whether Easter should be held on the same day as the Jewish Passover. Then, too, these laws may have been copies of Canonical codes from the Continent, taken bodily and incorporated into the English Law. There is a tendency in all Church matters towards uniformity and this may explain the existence of laws concerning the Jews, although in reality there were no Jews residing in England at the time. These laws may be found in Joseph Jacobs' "*Jews in Angevin England*", pp. 1, 2.

Both D'Blossiers Tovey (*Anglia Judaica*) and John Blunt, however, take these documents as being authentic, and hence they are agreed that the settlement of the Jews in England dates from at least the middle of the Seventh Century.

2. On the authority of William of Malmesbury "*Gesta Regum Anglorum*".

were the medium by which this could be accomplished. There was one sphere of activity which was open to the Jews. Usury, which in a broader sense includes all manner of capitalism was strictly forbidden the Christians by the Church. The Jews had no such scruples. They lent money at interest rates which were exorbitant. But a high rate of interest was necessary in view of the great risk which was assumed whenever a Jew made a loan. In order to finance any large building project or commerical enterprise, capital was needed. The Jews alone could furnish the necessary money. This was the need which the Jews in Norman England filled, and this was the reason for their introduction into England by William the Conqueror.

The Jews had no determined status under the early Norman kings. They did not mingle with the inhabitants but kept to themselves, practising their own laws and customs. They were not called upon to bear arms in defense of the country. The Jews can best be described as chattels of the king. It was the king who had the sole right to legislate for them and to deal with them, and he might even sell them, as actually did occur once.¹ There is little doubt that the people hated them on account of their exactions. However, as long as they enjoyed the good will and the favor of the king, they need have no fear. During the reigns of William I, William II (Rufus) (1087-1100), and Henry I (Beauclerc) (1100-1135), they suffered no annoyance. William II was more of an infidel than a Christian, and he seemed to take particular delight at the annoyance which the Jews caused the Christians. William of Malmesbury testifies to the fact that

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1. Infra p. 11.

William II offered to become a Jew should they be able to best their opponents in a public disputation. We know very little as to the status of the Jews during the reign of Henry I. We do know, however, that Henry laid very heavy taxes upon all the people, and we can be sure that the Jews who had plenty of ready money were not excluded nor forgotten when the king needed money. "He who had any property was bereaved of it by heavy taxes and assessments, and he who had none starved with hunger", says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

With the death of Henry I begin the annoyances to which the Jews were continually subjected^{thereafter.} Henry desired his daughter Maude to succeed him but the barons passed over her, and chose Stephen of Blois, a grandson of William the Conqueror. Stephen reigned for nineteen years, and during the entire time there were hostilities between him and Maude.¹ The Jews were mulcted again and again by both parties. In order to prosper, the Jews need a stable government and in the absence of this they are sure to suffer. In the reign of Stephen we have the first case of ritual murder in Europe. In 1144 the Jews of Norwich were accused of having purchased a Christian boy at Easter, and of having tortured him to death, in imitation of the Crucifixion of Jesus. As a result the Jews suffered massacres in several parts of England. Many Jews were summoned on the Blood Accusation and hundreds were put to death without even the formality of a trial. Stephen died in 1154 and Henry II (of Anjou), grandson of Henry I, came to the throne and established a strong and well-regulated government. Under his rule the Jews flourished. In fact, this was the golden age of early English Jewry. As far as is

1. All secular authorities give as the name of Henry I's daughter, who was Henry II's mother, as Matilda, while the Jewish sources speak of her as Maude.

known, Henry in no way bridled them in their financial operations, and these operations were conducted on a large scale indeed. Many of the nobles desiring to build castles and large houses, and not having the necessary capital, applied to the Jews, who seemed always to have ready money. Of course, a high rate of interest was charged. Thus the barons and the lesser nobles came into the direct power of the Jews. The Church also needing money in order to build monasteries borrowed from the Jews. The money lent by the Jews made possible the erection of large buildings and the entering upon great commercial enterprises. This money, being repaid together with the high interest demanded made many of the Jews very wealthy. The king was not slow in finding this out and consequently he taxed them very heavily. Thus did the Jews amply fulfill the purpose for which they had been brought into England. They made the matter of getting money into the royal treasury easier. The Jews lending money to the people, and exhorting large interest were made to pay high taxes and great tallages.¹ Thus were the Jews a buffer between the king and the people - a sort of means between the two extremes. In reality, the king by exhorting so much money from the Jews was oppressing the people, inasmuch as the Jews had to raise their rates of interest because of the onerous taxation. Of course, it was the common people and the barons who suffered eventually. They were mulcted by the Jews and the Jews, in turn, were mulcted by the king. Then, too, the Jews through their financial operations succeeded in attracting to themselves much of the odium

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1. A tax arbitrarily imposed upon a community, which was made collectively responsible for the whole sum. The tallages were levied upon the Jews in addition to the regular taxes. They were imposed by the King whenever he needed money, and there was no limit to the amount which he might demand.

which should properly have fallen upon the king and his appointed officials. Hence, we can see why the kings were so favorably inclined toward the Jews and why they protected them. There were two other ways in which the kings might receive financial aid through the agency of the Jews. If he should help a Jew to collect a debt by forcing the debtor, threatening the latter with great punishment, the king always received his share of the proceeds. On the other hand, should the king assist a Christian debtor in reducing the amount of his indebtedness to a Jew, or succeed in having the debt cancelled entirely, he was certain to receive a large stipend.¹

There was a law on the statute books, that upon the death of a usurer, all of his property escheated to the crown. Nearly all of the Jews of England practised usury, since all other avenues of livelihood were closed to them. Hence, at the death of each Jew, one would expect that the king would take over his entire property. This, however, was seldom the case. It was not to the king's best advantage to keep this money, inasmuch as he, as a good son of the Church could get no interest on it, while the Jews, having no such scruples, could turn the money over and over again, and this would in the end naturally redound to the king's advantage. So, as a general thing, the property of a Jew, upon his death would descend to his rightful heirs. Of course, the king received quite a sum for such a favor.

On the whole, the life of the Jews in England during the reign of Henry II was very agreeable. Although they were taxed heavily,

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1. For examples of this, see Jacobs, "The Jews of Angevin England", pp. 14-15.

they always possessed plenty of money due to the fact that they were well repaid for their loans. In 1177, the restriction prohibiting the burial of their dead outside of London was removed, and henceforth they acquired a number of burial grounds throughout England. ¹. All legal disputes between Jew and Jew were to be settled in their own courts. In 1181, a law known as "The Assize of Arms" was passed - "No Jew shall have about him any mail or hauberk". ². This law completely disarmed the Jews, and laid them open to the terrible massacres which were shortly to follow, at the opening of the reign of Richard I. The purpose of this law, however, was not thus to lay the Jews open to massacres, as has been conjectured. The fact remains that the army needed all of the war material which it could acquire, and, inasmuch as the Jews did not serve in the army, these weapons could serve a much better purpose than to lie idle as pledges in the hands of the Jews.

In 1186 the wealthiest Jew of England, Aaron of Lincoln, died. All of his property, according to law, fell into the hands of the king. On this occasion the king accepted all of the property and the outstanding debts of Aaron. How vast his estate was may be judged by the fact that the king constituted a special branch of the exchequer to deal with these large accounts. It was known as Aaron's exchequer, and it kept four men very busy with various transactions for at least six years after Aaron's death.

At the death of Henry II, in 1189, his son Richard I (Coeur de Lion) ascended the throne. The day of Richard's coronation marks what

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1. Jacobs "The Jews of Angevin England" p.62.

2. Ibid. p. 75.

is probably the bloodiest period of Anglo-Jewish History. Up to this time, the Jews had been heavily taxed, tallaged, and sometimes plundered. They had been accused of ritual murder, and of desecrating church property in consequence of which some were put to death. But never before had they suffered such wholesale massacres as occurred during Richard I's reign. The accounts as to the exact cause of the massacres on Coronation Day differ slightly, but from them we are able to draw a fairly accurate account of just what happened.¹ It seems that the leading Jews of England wished to bring Richard a present at the coronation but there was a superstition against admitting Jews to such a ceremony. When they tried to force their way (or when they were peacefully leaving - - the accounts differing) they were attacked by the Westminster guards. At once a mob arose and then a massacre. Somehow or other the report was spread abroad that Richard wanted the Jews massacred, and the prejudice already rife was converted into murder. The fury spread from London to Stamford, Norwich, Lynn and other cities. At Lincoln, the Jews saved themselves by taking refuge in the castle. The cruelties and atrocities of this day are almost without parallel in the annals of England. The Jews were offered their choice of baptism or death. Most of them chose the latter. We have the case of Benedict of York, who permitted himself to be baptised in order to save himself from the fury of the mob. The next day, however, he returned "to his Jewish depravity", much to the disgust and against the vehement protests

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1. Accounts of Benedict Abbas, Roger of Hoveden, William of Newburgh, Matthew Paris, Roger of Wendover and Ephraim Bonn - contained in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. V, pp.101-108.

of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Richard was furious when he learned of the massacre and the violence done the Jews, and although he ordered a strict investigation of the whole affair, very little was done to those who had been guilty of these atrocities. Richard, however, warned the officers of the towns to leave nothing undone in the matter of protecting his Jews.

Early the following year, Richard set out for the Holy Land as a Crusader. No sooner had he departed than the Jews were made victims of further massacres. At York, the entire Jewry was imprisoned in Clifford's Tower, whither they had sought refuge from the arson and pillage. Within a week, their food gave out, and rather than surrender themselves persecutors to be massacred, at the advice of Rabbi Yom Tob of Joigny, they immolated themselves, each man killing his own family and then the men slew one another. The few who refused to take this action were slaughtered by the mob after it had gained possession of the castle. The first act of the besiegers after they had gotten possession of the castle, clearly shows the purpose of the assault. They destroyed every deed and every record of their indebtedness to the Jews. This was the easiest way for the barons, who were behind the whole affair to rid themselves of obnoxious debts. When Richard, who was across the seas heard of this, he was very angry, and although he tried to punish the culprits upon his return to England, not one of the guilty parties paid for the massacre with his life. Such outbreaks as these were very detrimental to the king's interest. There were no duplicates of the bonds nor record of the indebtedness, and consequently Richard lost all of this which would have come to him naturally by means of escheat. Richard determined to remove this premium on lawlessness - this method was absolving a debt - by the establishment of The Exchequer of the Jews. The new system provided for the recording in duplicate of all records of debts

one copy to be given the creditor, and the other, to be deposited with the king's officers. Chirographers, copyists and clerks were appointed to take charge of the Exchequer of the Jews, in every city where there was a great number of them. This "Ordinance of the Jewry" served a triple purpose. It afforded protection to the Jews, for the murder of a Jew would not absolve his debtors, inasmuch as the king had a record of each debt; it provided against loss of the king's revenue by the destruction of the records of the Jews; and what proved to be most important to Richard's successors, it gave the king an accurate account of the wealth of each Jew. Thus could the king more easily force the hand of the Jews, whenever he desired to tax or tallage them.

Richard I died in 1199 and was succeeded by his brother John (Lackland). Early in his reign, John was quite friendly to the Jews.¹ He appointed Jacob of London as Chief Presbyter,² and he permitted the Jews with their families and servants free movement throughout England. In 1201, he granted all the Jews a very liberal Charter,³. He protested against the persecution of the Jews in London and publicly asked all loyal subjects to protect them. In the three-cornered struggle be-

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1. Tovey supplies us with a keen conjecture as to the reason for John's early favor to the Jews - *Anglia Judaica*, p. 53, - "But as he (John) was a crafty man, and without any sense of religion, he soon perceived what a rich Harvest might be gathered from the Jews, if they were well cultivated; and therefore in the beginning of his reign, used several Arts to draw them into his Kingdom from foreign parts; not only confirming their ancient privileges, but granting them many new ones.

2. See Jacobs "Jews of Angevin England", pp. 202-203.

3. *Ibid* pp. 212-15. See also Hyamson, "History of the Jews in England" p. 56.

tween John, the barons and the church, the Jews were a great help to the king. In 1205, he levied a tallage of 66,000 marks, and several years later when he needed more money he had the entire English Jewry cast into prison, with a view of investigating their property. John's cruelty during the last years of his reign is notorious. He was gradually killing the goose that laid the golden eggs, and the Jews were becoming more and more impoverished. It was a great relief therefore when in 1216, he died and the crown passed to his son Henry III. During the minority of the king, England was ruled by the Earl of Pembroke. Regarding the policy of John during his last years as extremely harmful to the country at large, he ordered the release of all Jews in prison for any cause whatever. He confirmed the charter granted by John. As a means of protection to the Jews, he ordered them to wear two strips of white linen on their upper garments, and commanded that no Jew, so identified, should be harmed. Under this splendid government the Jews again prospered. But their joy was short lived. The opposition to them was becoming greater and more severe. The Pope had ruled that Christians and Jews must not associate together, and now the two strips of linen became the insignia of isolation. In 1232, upon the completion of their new synagogue, it was at once confiscated. This is the first instance, as far as we can ascertain, where the religious liberty of the Jews was interfered with. From this time on, the life of the Jews in England becomes unbearable. They are victimized time after time. They are oppressed, persecuted and mulcted on every possible occasion. Tallage after tallage is imposed upon them. Ritual murder, desecration of church property, blasphemy of the Christian religion become daily accusations. In the whole category of crimes there is hardly one which is not laid at the door of the Jews.

The charge of coin clipping and counterfeiting had been laid against the Jews so frequently, and prosecuted with so much vehemence that in 1238, the Jews, for their own protection requested that any Jew who had been found guilty of coin clipping, counterfeiting or forgery should be banished from the land. Nevertheless, the persecution continued with unabated vigor. In 1241, Henry summoned a "Parliament of the Jews" at Worcester, ostensibly for the purpose of considering matters Jewish and improving their condition. The more optimistic began to hope. But no sooner had the assemblage been called to order than the real reason for the convocation was brought to light. The purpose of the Parliament was only to find out how much Henry could tallage the Jews. The sum named was 20,000 marks. Then the members of the Parliament dispersed and went about to raise it.

And now, by contraction of the territory in which the Jews were permitted to live and engage in money lending, their means of profit were lessened, while the constant exactions of the king reduced them to the verge of poverty. More and more tallages and more and more exactions made the life of the Jews now unbearable. Finally, in 1254, the Chief Presbyter Elias petitioned the king that the Jews be permitted peacefully to leave the country. Henry refused this. This illustrates the entire dependence of the Jews upon the royal will. An event of the following year further demonstrates the sorry plight of the Jews. Henry had tallaged the Jews again and finding that they were unable to pay the amount he demanded, he sold them with all rights, for a year to his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, for £ 5000. ¹.

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1. Graetz, I believe, errs when he states that Henry was at this time filled with remorse at his treatment of the Jews. In vol. V, page 590 (English Edition), he says "when at length, Henry had exhorted enough from the Jews and a feeling of shame prevented him from demanding

At about this time, the laws of the Church Synod of 1222 were revived. These laws provided that no Christian may stay with a Jew nor work for a Jew; that a Jew could not buy nor eat meat during Lent; that no Jew should dispute concerning Christian observances; that a Jew might not enter a church; nor should the Jews interfere with proselytizing on the part of the Christians. The violation of any of these laws entailed the forfeiture of all their property. When these laws were originally made by the Church Synod in 1222, they could not be enforced due to the fact that the administrative power refused to sanction them and to enforce them. But now the Church and the State had become reconciled and these laws were to be relentlessly enforced.

At about this time, (August, 1255) ^{1.} the Jews were again

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any more money from them, he pledged them on certain conditions to his brother Richard, who had even less consideration for them. "

It is quite unlikely that Henry III felt any pangs of remorse or any shame at his treatment of the Jews. At least his later acts would not seem to bear out this statement. There can be little doubt of Henry's real motive in pledging his Jews. He needed the money, and he could not get it from the Jews, who were physically unable to meet his large demands. His brother was willing to advance him the money on condition that he acquire the right over the Jews for a certain period. Here again Graetz seems to err. It seems almost providential that Richard acquired them, as he was very liberal and tolerant towards them as compared to the other rulers at the time. Life for the Jews during the brief period of Richard's rule was a paradise in comparison to the preceding three decades. For Richard's treatment of the Jews see Hyamson "The History of the Jews in England", p. 76-8, 84, 86. Neither Tovey nor Blunt has much to say on either side of the question.

1. See Hyamson, op. cit. p. 80-7; Blunt "History of the Jews in England", 40-1; Tovey, op. cit. 136 ff, and the article "Little St. Hugh of Lincoln - Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. I, by Joseph Jacobs.

brought before the bar of justice on the charge of Ritual Murder.

A little boy of Lincoln, named Hugh, was found dead, and at once the Jews were accused of having murdered him. The charge was never proved - in fact, it has been substantially disproved, but many Jews were executed, and hundreds of others were imprisoned and tortured for the "crime".

The long and disastrous reign of Henry III was brought to a close by his death, in 1272, and his son Edward I, who had been the nominal ruler during the declining days of Henry, came to the throne. By this time, the Jews had been so despoiled and tallaged, that they had very little left, in fact, they again expressed their desire to leave England before their last penny had been wrung from them. Consequently, due to their poverty, they could be of very little service to the king. Besides the laws against usury had been reiterated with unusual vehemence, and Edward, being a good Christian - better by far, than any of his predecessors determined to obey the will of the Pope. He felt that there was a positive harm in the fact that the Jews were in England. One of the first acts of his reign was a large tallage, levied not only upon men and women, but also upon children. This was a great hardship, but the Jews managed to raise the money.

Hitherto, Parliament had nothing to do with the Jews, nor did the Commons nor the Nobles, but the Jews were solely the king's property. The next event in Edward's reign was the passage of the Statute de Judaismo, ^{by Parliament,} probably at the instance of Edward himself. It contained the following provisions:-

1. No Jew shall practise usury. Bonds and contracts made since the preceding feast of St. Edwards shall bear no interest.
2. Penalties for usury.
3. The Jews may not collect their debts from the heirs of a debtor.

4. The Jews may reside only in burroughs which belong to the king.
5. All Jews past the age of twelve shall pay a tax of three pence each Easter.
6. The king takes measures to guard the lives of the Jews. He orders that none shall molest them.
7. The Jews may labor and trade in merchandise (wool).
8. The Jews have the liberty to purchase the houses in which they live.
9. The Jews may take lands to farm for a period not exceeding ten years, but they shall claim no homage no fealty.
10. The Jews may mix freely with Christians, and hold intercourse with them.
11. Jews of both sexes must wear badges.

This law"absolutely forbade the Jews to lend on usury, (robbing them of their very means of existence), but granted them permission to engage in commerce and handicrafts, and even to take farms for a period not exceeding ten years, though the feudal advantages of such possession were denied them. This permission, however, regarded as a means by which the Jews in general could gain a livelihood, was illusory. Farming cannot be taken up at a moment's notice, nor can handicrafts be acquired at once. Moreover in England, in the 13 Century, the guilds were already securing a monopoly of all skilled labor, and ⁱⁿ the majority of the markets, only those could buy and sell, who were members of the Guild Merchant. By depriving the Jews of a resort to usury, Edward was practically preventing them from earning a living at all, under the conditions of life then existing in feudal England; and in principle, the "Statute of Judaism", expelled them from England fifteen years before the final expulsion".¹

The letter of this law being enforced, it placed the Jews face to face with starvation. A few did engage in the wool trade,

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1. Joseph Jacobs' estimation of the "Statute de Judaismo", Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. V, p. 166.

but this was not so extensive as to afford employment for many. Some of the Jews evaded the statute by practising usury as did the Cahorsins. If a man desired money, say for six months, the Cahorsins lent it to him free of interest for three months but charged such an enormous rate for the remainder of the time, that it was far worse for the debtor than was the usury as practised by the Jews. ^{1.} The richer Jews who had supported a number of their poor co-religionists, and had given them positions were no longer able to continue this practice, and many of the poorer Jews became thieves and robbers as the only means of maintaining themselves. Though we have no record of this, it is inevitable in the case of many. Some of the Jews resorted to coin clipping, and as a result, three years later, two hundred and ninety-three Jews were hanged in London on this charge. The same year (1278), the entire English Jewery was imprisoned, charged with this offense. In 1282 all of the synagogues were suppressed, and by law, the Jews were compelled to listen to the sermons of the Dominican friars, with a view of their conversion to Christianity. Any Jew who blasphemed Christianity was to be put to death.

In spite of all this, however, the church was still not satisfied. Popes Nicholas IV, Martin IV and Honorius IV complained that Edward's statute had been altogether too lenient. The Church wanted to prevent the mingling of the Jews with the Christians and the Statute de Judaismo encouraged their intermingling. ^{2.} Edward I, in 1290 was in Gascony, one of his continental possessions, and while there, Pope Honorius IV urged him to revoke the permission thus to intermingle.

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1. For example of the Cahorsin methods see Tovey op. cit. p. 123.

2. See Clause 10, Statute de Judaismo, Supra page 14.

Edward being a good Christian desired to obey the behests of the Pope, and being a farsighted and well-meaning ruler, realized that if the Jews were permitted neither to practise usury nor to mingle with the Christians as farmers and merchants they would not be able to exist. His only alternative, therefore, was expulsion. The order for the expulsion of the Jews from England was promulgated on July 18, 1290. The Jews were given a certain time by which they must all leave England.¹ Edward made preparations for their safe conduct, and ordered that none should do them harm while they were leaving the country. He permitted them to take all their moveable property and their pledges with them. Their immovables reverted to the crown. Although Edward ordered their safe conduct positively and unequivocally, many of the Jews were defrauded, others were shipwrecked and many lost their lives.² For the greater part the Jews expelled from England went to Spain, France and Germany.

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November 1. 1. Presumably until the Feast of All Saints, i.e. about
See Tovey op. cit. p. 233.

2. Ibid. p. 243-5.

CHAPTER II.

THE MIDDLE AGE.

A. Were All of the Jews Expelled from England. 1.

The question as to the existence of Jews in England after the expulsion, and before the tacit readmission granted by Oliver Cromwell in the middle of the 17th Century has been discussed pro and con, and many pages have been written on the subject. The evidence, it seems to me, is all in favor of the supposition that there did exist in England during this entire period a varying number of Jews. 2. This conclusion is based upon various strands of evidence, each strand, although not in itself conclusive, nevertheless when woven together, the net result represents a supporting chain

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1. This question is taken up in a well written article in The Jewish Chronicle - April 27, 1883, in which it is proved that all of the Jews were not expelled in 1290.

2. Henriques to the contrary. Mr. Henriques seems to feel throughout his entire work "The Return of the Jews to England" that Jews could not live in England because there was a law forbidding them to do so. Concerning Mr. Henriques' notion, Israel Abrahams, in his "Science of Jewish History" (Jewish Historical Society of England Transactions vol. V, p. 197) has said "A lawyer like Mr. Henriques tells us that the Jews could not celebrate public worship, that such celebration was impossible, being illegal. Mr. Wolf, the historian, collects the facts which prove that such a celebration actually took place". It is certainly a fact that no one has the right to conclude that something could not happen because there was a law against it. Very few laws are obeyed by everyone, and certainly the anti-Jewish laws of the Middle Ages were being constantly violated by the Jews, who tried every means within their power to frustrate them. We have the facts to prove that there were any number of Jews in England after the expulsion and the legality of them being there does not enter into the question. The opposite mistake is likewise made by some historians. In many instances, for example Graetz, finds that the Jews were expelled from a certain country at such and such a time. A hundred years later, he finds that there is quite a colony of Jews in that place. Therefore, a law must have been made in the meantime readmitting the Jews. Of course, such does not follow,

of evidence which is not easily refutable.

The fact that there was no organized body of Jewry in England from 1290 until the period immediately preceding the Commonwealth, however, is practically a certainty. Officially and legally, such could not exist, and it is hardly likely that Jews would practise their proscribed religion openly. Upon this, however, I shall have occasion to dwell later.

It does not seem likely, however strict the expulsion decree of Edward I, and however rigorously it was carried out, that all of the Jews left England in 1290. The main reason consists in the magnitude of the matter. It would be a physical impossibility for the king's officers to ferret out every Jew in the land.

Without doubt there were many Jews in England at the period of the expulsion, who did not have time to finish up their business in the short time of grace allowed them for this purpose. These may have done one of two things. They might have accepted baptism, and lived as Marranos, publicly professing Christianity, but privately continuing as Jews and holding secret Jewish services. This could easily be done, and to the Jews who were accustomed to practise wiles by which the unust edicts of the Inquisitorial governments could be frustrated, this presented no very difficult matter. It is a known fact, too, that in the 14th Century, there were "converted Jews" living outside of the walls of the Domus Conversorum. Of this, we shall speak in greater detail, when we consider the history of the Domus.¹ On the other hand, many Jews in England were not known as such

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and many egregious mistakes in history have been made, due to the adopting of such fallacious methods by historians.

1. Infra, pp. 20-24.

At the times when Henry III and Edward I had levied immense tallages with the threat that if they were not paid, those refusing to do their share toward the payment, would be banished to Ireland, many Jews moved from the towns which they then inhabited to other cities where they were not known as Jews. Thus they not only escaped that particular tallage, but they rendered themselves immune from future tallages and spoliation. The succession of terrors and persecutions assured them that there was no hope for the Jews in England, Hence they remained Crypto-Jews, worshipping privately, but in all outer respects Christians. It is not inconceivable that some Jews did this in 1290. for not all of them had the stamina and the faith to sacrifice all else for their religion, in view of the terrible persecutions then being waged throughout Europe. Thus, many refused the martyrdom of expulsion. Some of these accepted baptism and conversion, some of them practised their religion secretly, and others of them were able to remain in England because their identity as Jews was unknown. There is a tradition of a remnant that remained at Oxford and was tolerated there, but no proofs have been brought to establish this contention. It is likewise recorded in a contemporary manuscript that in 1310, twenty years after the expulsion, a deputation of six Jews came from France to plead for the readmission. Who these six Jews were, whether they returned to France or remained in England is not stated, but we do know that in 1376, the House of Commons complains "that there are still Jews in England", masquerading as "Lombards". The Lombards were a class of foreigners of mixed blood who were engaged in money lending, and it is quite possible that Jews entered England and assumed the guise of Lombards. At any rate, there is the definite statement of the existence of Jews in England as late as 1376.

B. The Domus Conversorum. 1.

The Domus Conversorum was founded in 1232, by Henry III at the behests of the clergy. Henry established it and ordered its maintenance, "for the health of his own soul, and for the souls of his ancestors and heirs, to the honor of God and of the glorious Virgin, to found a home for the destitute Jews, converted to Christianity. 2. Henry endowed the House with 700 marks per year and gave it a site for building. It was one grand idea of the clergy. Here, they thought, converted Jews could retire, and could have a home and safe refuge for their entire lives "living under honorable rule, with sufficient sustenance, without servile work or the profits of usury". It was the hope of the English clergy that within a few years, the entire English Jewry, seeing in the Domus a chance to live a life free from the terrors of persecution and spoliation, would become converted en masse to Christianity. Not knowing the spirit of the Jewish people, not realizing that persecution and massacre was to them only an incident, they felt sure of the ultimate success of this bribe. Our respect for ancient^{Anglo-}Jewry must be greatly enhanced when we realize that out of 16,000 Jews in England in 1290, only eighty went to the Domus, the remainder preferring exile with the privilege of holding to their religion. Even in this

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1. A most interesting article on this subject, giving in brief form the purposes and the activities of the House of Converts appears in four parts, in The Jewish Chronicle, under the dates of Jan. 26, Feb. 16, Apr. 27, and June 15, 1883.

2. There was a Statute that upon conversion, the entire property of that convert escheated to the King. See next page.

extremity, the Jews refused Christianity and the comforts and ease which the acceptance of it would vouchsafe for them, in order to remain true to their Judaism with all of the persecution and terrors entailed. And so, retrospectively, we can see what a forlorn hope the English clergy could have, when no imminent danger threatened the Jews.

It might be said, however, that there was one economic hitch to this bright idea of the clergy. Upon conversion, the Jew must surrender his entire property to the crown. This law dates back to the early part of the Twelfth Century and was a means of self protection on the part of the king. A Jew, converted to Christianity could no longer practise usury, and thus, the crown would be the loser in the long run, inasmuch as there would be one less usurer to tallage and despoil. To compensate himself for this loss, there was a law that the entire property of a convert escheated to the King. The clergy and the Pope complained bitterly against this law, as they claimed that it stood in the way of conversions and gave the Jews an excuse to persist in their "heretical blindness". It was not, however, until the reign of Edward I, "the loyal son of the Church", that this law was changed, and then only so as to read that one-half of a convert's property went to the crown. The clergy was right. This law probably stood in the way of many conversions.

It would seem therefore that a converted Jew entering the Domus was absolutely destitute. For their maintenance, there was provided, from the royal treasury for each male convert the sum of 1 1/2 d. daily,¹.

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1. In addition to this, there were a number of private bequests. There was also a tax called "chevage", levied upon all Jews above the age of 12, for the support of their converted brethren.

and for each female convert 1 d. each day. From the time of its foundation until the year of the expulsion, the Domus was well kept, for the clergy persisted in the illusory hope that the Jews might accept Christianity. In 1290, the year of the expulsion, the grant for the maintenance of the institution was renewed, and two overseers were appointed. Whether the money in the following years was withheld by the king, or whether it was paid to the overseers, and misappropriated by them, is not known, but we do find a letter from the converts to Edward, later in his reign that the Domus is being sorely neglected. At the beginning of the reign of Edward II, (1307) he ordered an investigation of the Domus, and insisted that the stipend be paid regularly to the converts. The number of converts who resided at the Domus varied from time to time, but never did it reach sixty, after the beginning of the 14th Century. In 1305, there were twenty-three men and twenty-eight women. In 1330, there still remained eight men and thirteen women from the pre-expulsion period. Periodically, we find new names enrolled in the Domus. During the 14th, 15th and 16th Century, we find a few men and women entering the House of Converts. Where did they come from and why did they come to England? ¹.

It may be that a few Jews, not knowing the law of banishment, infiltrated into England. They, naturally, made known their religion upon their arrival, and this being the case, one of two courses was open to them. They might leave the country at once, as no doubt the majority of them did, or attracted by the ease of living at the Domus, several may have established themselves there. On the other hand, it may have

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1. See Michael Adler: "History of the Domus Conversorum", vol. 4. Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, page 32 ff.

occurred that the down-trodden and oppressed Jews of Spain and Portugal, hearing of the condition of the converted Jews in England, determined to go to England, become converts, enter the Domus, and thereto enjoy their lives with no worry or concern as to their maintenance and support. Michael Adler, in his "History of the Domus Conversorum" is evidently surprised that there was not a greater number of Spanish and Portuguese Jews who, realizing this situation, came to England to enjoy the benefits of this House supported by the state. It is not at all surprising, however, when it is considered that of over 16,000 Jews who were in England in 1290, only 80 of them went to the Domus, the remainder unquestionably preferring exile to this enforced Christianity.

There are, however, several well authenticated cases, which will fit in with neither of these two theories. We have the record of a certain Jew, who came to England, lived in the Domus for thirty-two days and then disappeared.¹ What happened to him? Upon this interesting point, we are without information. It seems to me a logical conclusion that he settled in some part of England, feeling more secure there than in Spain, where he would be in constant fear of the Inquisition. If our surmise as to the existence of other Jews in England be correct, he may have joined a small secret community, and as a Marrano, may have practised his religion. There is another peculiar case which will fit in with neither of the above theories. In 1409, we have a record of "two Jewish miscreants, Johanna and her daughter Alice, desiring to be of the Christian faith, yielded their goods and chattel, and were baptized", and joined the Domus. Both came to the Domus from Dartmouth. The natural question is, "What were they doing in Dartmouth,

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1. Adler op. cit., p. 32.

in the 15th Century ?" It was illegal, for any Jew to be in England unless having been converted, he lived at the Domus. The logical conclusion, in this case, if we judge correctly, is, that these women were the descendants of one of the families, which had not gone into exile in 1290, and being unknown as Jews, in Dartmouth (or wherever they were living at the time), had continued dwelling in England. In time the family became extinct and these two, Johanna and Alice, not being able to maintain themselves, or not caring to do so, became converts to Christianity and joined the House of Converts. ¹. We know, too, that there were Jews in England, no doubt converts, who were not paupers, and who did not live at the Domus, but in their own private homes.

Thus, we see again, that the chances are great that there were Jews living in England during this entire period. The several cases quoted can be explained in no other way. No other records of the House of Converts throw light upon this problem. The records end in 1608. From the year 1331 to 1608 there were thirty-eight men and ten women entering the Domus, while mention is made of four other converts who are not recorded as residents of the Domus. ².

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1. This is Michael Adler's theory.

2. Jewish Encyclopedia. Article Domus Conversorum, vol. IV, p. 638.

C. Data Concerning the Question of the Existence of Jews in England During the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries. 1.

There is a mass of evidence concerning the existence of Jews in England during the Middle Age, but it will lead too far afield to consider any single piece of evidence at any great length. A mere mention of the leading personages, with a few leading incidents, together with a few deductions will have to suffice. In 1410, we have a record of the coming to England of Dr. Elias Sabot, an avowed Jew. He was granted a safe conduct and was permitted by Henry IV to practise medicine in any part of England. Here we find an avowed Jew in England. In 1485, a short time after Henry Tudor (VII) had ascended the throne of England, Perkin Warbeck arose as a pretender to the throne. His supporters said that he was the younger of the two little princes (sons of Edward IV) who had probably been murdered by Richard III, and since the elder was dead, he (Warbeck) was the rightful heir to the throne. Some of his opponents, however, declared that he was of lowly birth, in fact the son of a Jew. It is not our aim to establish the identity of Perkin Warbeck or to determine his rights to the throne of England. What interests us is the fact that, the declaration that he was of Jewish descent was not considered anything remarkable. Evidently the existence of Jews in England at this time was a thing taken for granted, and the mention of it occasioned no particular surprise on the part of anyone.

It has been conjectured that immediately after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, quite a number of these refugees came to England, and there is, indeed not a little detail bearing upon this matter. Amador de los Rios states specifically that after 1492, there

1. Most of the data in this division of the chapter is taken from L. Wolf. "Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History".

were Jews in England and he mentioned the fact that secret synagogues were established at London, Dover and York. ¹. That a well founded suspicion of the dwelling of the Jews in England existed in the minds of the Spanish monarchs, is beyond dispute, for when Ferdinand and Isabella sent emissaries to England six years later in order to negotiate for the marriage of Catherine of Aragon to Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII, they instructed these ambassadors to express their sorrow "that while Spain had been purged of infidelity, England was infested by that scourge". Whereupon Henry swore that he would persecute without mercy any cursed Jew that the King or Queen of Spain might point out in his dominions. The entire matter is significant. The Spanish King seems to be certain that England is harboring quite a number of Jews. This is beyond doubt. We have records of only one Spanish Jew coming to England at this time who entered the Domus Conversorum. It seems that many others came too, judging from Ferdinand's statement. Where did the others go? There is little doubt, but that they settled broadcast throughout England, and that they were remarkably successful in concealing their religion. This, however, need not excite especial surprise, for, the Jews, through long years of persecution had well learned how to practise their religion secretly. They had done so under the very nose of the Inquisition and it was indeed an easy matter to do so in England, where the Inquisitorial system had never held sway. I do not think it too great a venture to surmise that there were at this time in England several small Jewish communities secretly practising their religion. We know with certainty that this was true early in the 17th Century.

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1. Historia de los Judios de España, vol. III, p. 357.

The next case which arrests our attention is the struggle of Henry VIII with Pope Clement VII concerning Catherine of Aragon. After his brother's death, Henry had married Catherine, his brother's widow, in order to continue the good relationship between Spain and England. Henry, however, was never satisfied with the marriage. He had applied to Clement for a dissolution of the contract, claiming that it was against the law for one to marry his brother's widow. This was, indeed, true, but the fact remains that a preceding Pope had given permission for the marriage and had declared it legal according to ecclesiastical law. Since the Pope was infallible, the marriage stood, much to the chagrin of the king. None of Henry's arguments were of avail. At about this time, a ^Qlevirate marriage was performed in Mantua. Whereupon Henry came to the conclusion that he needed some Jewish evidence on his side. In 1531, Henry called for Mark Raphael, a Venetian Jew, to assist him in his case. Raphael went to England and prepared the following plea for the king. "The queen's marriage ought not be disputed, but nevertheless the king may and can take another wife conjointly with the first Although the King's marriage with widow of his brother was ^alegitimate act, yet he does not style himself properly husband of the queen, inasmuch as, according to Jewish law, the posterity issuing from such a union is ascribed to the first husband; and as it would be unreasonable that in order to preserve the name and race of the deceased, the survivor should be prevented from having posterity of his own, the law allows him to take another wife". This scheme was too radical to suit Henry and he dare not adopt it, so Raphael set to work to excogitate another view of the case. In the second opinion, he said that a ^Xlevirate marriage was permitted only in case the brother-in-law were perfectly willing.

without willingness and intention such a marriage is forbidden. Since their marriage had not been blessed with male issue, the King must have married Catherine without intention, hence according to the Jewish law, his marriage was illegitimate and invalid. 1. Raphael journeyed about England and enjoyed the good will of the King.

It seems unlikely that plays portraying Jewish characters would have been written in England during the late 16th Century and the early 17th Century, were there not Jews in England at this time. This alone, I believe, would tend to prove their existence. We have Christopher Marlowe's "The Jew of Malta", Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice", Robert Wilson's "The Three Ladies of London", and others.

That Queen Elizabeth knew of the existence of the Jews in England is an established fact. Her physician, Roderigo Lopez was a professing Jew, who married a professing Jewess of Amsterdam. He lived in England, as a Jew, for over thirty-five years, and his tragic death was due not in the least to the fact that he was a Jew. 2. When Maria Nunez and a shipload of fugitive Marranos were captured in 1590, they were brought to England. Elizabeth received the prisoners very graciously, and was much attached to Maria. 3. Maria Nunez, however, returned to Holland, where she "could openly practise her religion". There is evidence that Elizabeth used her influence to obtain the appointment of a Jew as Viceroy of Wallachia, through her ambassador at Constantinople.

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1. See L. Wolf: "Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History". pp. 12, 13.

2. For details, see Article "The So-Called Conspiracy of Dr. Ruy. Lopez", M. Hume. Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, Volume 6.

3. L. Wolf: "Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History", p. 20.

We have a slight bit of evidence from the pen of a Thomas Coryat, who when in Constantinople in 1612, wrote that he visited the home of a Jew and his two sisters, while in England. All three of them practised Judaism. That the Jews were among the first to develop mining in England is another known fact. Henry VIII invited a Jew, Joachim Hochstatter to England for that purpose. In 1381, Joachim Gaunse came to England from Prague in order to develop the copper mines in Cumberland.¹ He was a Jew and he publicly denied the divinity of Jesus. He was haled to court on the charge of blasphemy. In his examination, Gaunse explicitly stated that he was a Jew, that he had been trained in Talmudic lore, and that he had never been baptised. This is another bit of evidence that conforming Jews were living in England during the Middle Age.

Another interesting episode is brought to light under date of 1608. Jacob Barnett, a Jew, was teaching Hebrew at Oxford. While there, he became a close friend of Isaac Casaubon. The latter admired Barnett for his learning and induced him to become converted to Christianity. Barnett agreed and all was prepared for the great event. A special preacher had been appointed, and the matter was looked upon with the widest interest on all sides. Everything was ready, on the appointed day - - but Barnett did not show himself. A search was made for him, and he was located on the road to London trying to leave the country. He was apprehended and imprisoned but through the influence of Cassaubon he was released from prison. Later, however, he was expelled from the University, and exiled from the country.

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1. A detailed account is given in an article by Israel Abrahams; "Joachim Gaunse, A Mining Incident in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth". Transactions, Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. IV.

And finally we have a few other scattered references to this period: A David Sollom purchased an estate in Meath, Ireland. Antonio de Verona is found at Oxford, as well as Allesandro Amedei, who taught Hebrew. We have a record that in 1627, Charles I borrowed money from an Abraham Jacobs, and in 1650, Jacob, a Jew opened a coffee house at Oxford and introduced the beverage into England.

This, I believe, sums up all of the evidence which we have on the point. It is not absolutely conclusive, but I do believe that it is convincing and entirely sufficient to disprove John Richard Green's statement ¹. "From the time of Edward I until Cromwell, no Jew touched English ground".

We have tried to show that there were Jews, both converted and professing who infiltrated into England during the entire period of the Middle Age.

D. The Colony of Crypto-Jews in England.

Under the date of 1655, we have the record of the endenization of Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, and his two sons, who according to the papers had been living in England for the past twenty years. Inasmuch as Carvajal plays an important part in the readmission of the Jews into England, it would be well for us to trace the scanty strands of the history dealing with him. It would appear from this document that Carvajal was a Marrano, born in Portugal late in the 16th Century. While in Portugal, he probably practised his religion secretly. At a later time, for fear of being apprehended by the Inquisition, he went

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1. "Short History of the English People", p.205. Graetz seems to agree with this. See vol. V, p. 19. "The English people, Who for centuries had seen no Jew, shared to the full the antipathy of the clergy".

to the Canary Islands. Here he remained for a time, but in 1635 (c.) for commercial reasons, he decided to come to England. Already, at this time, he had acquired considerable movable property and he carried on a rather extensive trade with the East and West Indies, the Levant and Brazil. Lucien Wolf surmises that inasmuch as he left Portugal for fear of the Inquisition, he wanted to be a professing Jew and hold worship, so that he brought to England with him a retinue of Jews to comprise a Minyan, so that they could worship. This is not unlikely, inasmuch as we have seen that Jews were constantly coming into England, and there was no more danger for a dozen to come than for one. As long as they did not make themselves conspicuous, or obtrude their religion upon others, or practise their ceremonies publicly there was little danger. The status of these men was simple. They were aliens, thought to be Spanish or Portuguese Papists, who were tolerated in England in accordance with the Laws of Recusancy, of which we shall speak in greater detail later on. ¹ In 1645 he was denounced as violating the Law of Uniformity, by not attending Church services and several prominent merchants petitioned Parliament to protect him. ² The House of Lords immediately quashed the proceedings.

In 1653, we have an important piece of evidence in a letter of James Howell, to a friend in Amsterdam, in which he declares "touching Judaism, some corners of our city (London) smell as rank as doth yours there". ³ This statement without a doubt refers to the

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1. Infra. p. 47, footnote.

2. For commercial reasons and not because he was so beloved as is generally claimed.

3. James Howell: Epistolae Ho-Elanae, Book 4, Letter 35.

colony of Crypto-Jews then existing in London. It illustrates, further, the tenability of Mr. Wolf's hypothesis that there were other Jews living in London, besides Carvajal. Which would probably mean that there were in Carvajal's train quite a number of men and even Jewish families. The statement is quite strong, and it cannot be interpreted as denoting one or two Jewish families; it probably means very specifically that there was existing in England at that time quite a number of Jews. The statement of Howell throws light upon another fact, namely that these "Spanish Papists" were not only suspected of being of the Jewish faith, but such is explicitly stated. Evidently then, it was no longer a secret in some quarters that there were in England at this time a number of professing Jews.

In 1655, we have the statement of Paul Isaiah, a converted Jew, who writes specifically that "there are Jews in England, who have their synagogue and exercise their religion." This probably refers to the Cree Church Lane Synagogue of which Moses Athias, cousin of Carvajal was rabbi. There is also record of another synagogue of which David Mier was "priest". The evidence in the Robles Case shows that a Jewish wedding was solemnized in London in 1654.

These facts seem to show clearly the existence of a Jewish community in England early in the 17th Century, and that this community practised some form of religious ceremony according to the Jewish ritual. The fugitive Marranos in Hamburg, Antwerp and Amsterdam had established these services long before they had obtained toleration as Jews. And so, I believe, that we are justified in concluding that as long as the Jews which had infiltrated into England did nothing to bring upon themselves the attention of the authorities by injuring the sensibilities of the Christians, or by offending the Common Law, or preaching their religious

views, they were safe. This, I believe, accounts for the existence of the Cree Church Lane Synagogue, and for the activities of the Crypto-Jews during the early period of the Commonwealth. We shall have occasion to speak of this activity in greater detail.

CHAPTER III.

THE ATTRACTION THE JEWS HELD FOR ENGLAND.

So many and varied are the motives connecting England and, the Jews, at this period, that it will be best for us to consider each separately. Certainly there was no unanimity of opinion either on the part of the English "Admissionists" or on the part of the Jews, respecting the appeal of Menasseh ben Israel, and this fact makes our study slightly complicated. Two external changes had occurred in England during the two hundred years preceding the readmission which have a great bearing upon the final return of the Jews. The one was the extinction of villenage, and the other, the break with the Church of Rome. ¹. One other chain of facts must be kept in mind, likewise, and that is the existence of the community of Crypto-Jews in London. Mr. Lucien Wolf gives all the credit for the Readmission of the Jews to Carvajal and his groups. In this, however, we cannot agree with him. While their attitude is of great consequence, it is altogether unlikely that any determined step would have been taken toward the Readmission of the Jews, had it not been for the great ardor and enthusiasm of Menasseh ben Israel. This point, we shall deal with completely when we consider the reasons for which Menasseh ben Israel undertook the mission to England.

It cannot be said that one or two ideas or ideals attracted all of the English people to the Jews, nor can it be said that all of the English people were attracted to the Jews because of one or two ideas. In the first place the factors which motivated one group of Englishmen were far different than those which attracted another group,

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1. The arguments illustrating this are found in Henriques "The Return of the Jews to England" pp. 15-29.

and in the second place, it seems to us that by far the great majority of the English people either had no interest whatever in the return of the Jews or they were inexorably opposed to the readmission. The whole matter, which is represented by most Jewish writers, as having stirred England to its very depths, and as having consumed the minds of nearly all Englishmen, was in reality the concern of a very few men, these men being divided into three groups, differing absolutely in ideas one with the other, as to the reasons for and the advantage of readmitting the Jews to England. This point, will be brought out fully in our discussion of the Whitehall Conference, where the absolute opposition of so many people - even liberals - to the re-admission of the Jews with any privileges whatever, will be clearly seen.

There had arisen in England, at this time, a small group of men, who were far beyond their times in the matter of religion. These men espoused what we shall call the Tolerance idea. It would be of great interest to sketch the origin of these ideas and their progress in England, but this would lead us far afield. What is important for us, is that the idea and ideal of toleration to all religious groups was found in England at the time of Cromwell. The Renaissance, of course, had affected England to no small degree. It had affected such men as John Colet, Thomas More and Desiderius Erasmus, while their writings and thoughts influenced the movement of the new birth of learning, and the revival of thinking. These men did all that was in their power to spread the new learning as widely and as quickly as possible and to get rid of the ignorance and superstition which stood in the way of intellectual and religious reform. With the religious reform came the spirit of toleration, and this took deep root in the

minds of a number of higher-minded Englishmen. The Reformation did affect England profoundly, for England ^{had} had a reformation of her own, immediately preceding this, when, in 1534, England broke with the Church of Rome, and established her state Episcopal Church. This state church, which from this time on exercised complete sway on the English conscience, within a century became more bigoted and intolerant than the Popery which it persecuted. And so, there arose within it a group known as Puritans, whose religious ideas were far in advance of the Episcopal Church, and who championed the cause of toleration and religious freedom of thought. This group was greatly persecuted during the first half of the 17th Century. The Civil War, which started in 1642, and which ended in 1649 with the beheading of Charles I, was in many respects a religious war. The Puritans and free thinkers aligned themselves against the Royalists, the supporters of the Church of England, and they were finally victorious. Their victory, they themselves thought was due to the inspiration which they had received from the Bible - the Old Testament, indeed, with its fighting heroes, Saul, David, Abner and Joab, for they could find no justification for their war against Charles in the New Testament. One of the leading principles of the Puritan group was toleration. They had fought for it, gained it for themselves, and now, they determined to give it to others. And for whom was it more appropriate than the Jews, the descendants in flesh, of the ancient Hebrews, the authors of the Old Testament from whom they had received the inspiration to carry on their religious war to a successful issue? This idea was the first, in point of time, and it arose independent of any external Jewish influence except, of course, as might enter accidentally from the intimate relationship existing between prominent

Jews and non-Jews. We do not find the great Jewish influence brought to bear until a few years later. The first step in the direction of toleration for the Jews in England came not from the Jews but from the Puritans.

The first step for Toleration in England came from the pen of Leonard Busher, who in 1614 wrote a pamphlet "Religious Peace - a plea for the Libert of Conscience." It is worthy of note that religious liberty for the Jews in connection with the performance of their ceremonies is specifically demanded. In 1621, there appeared a book, "The Calling of the Jews", by a Sergeant Finch, asking for toleration of and even homage to the Jewish people. This work, however, has Millenarian tendencies, inasmuch as it looks forward to the reestablishment of the Jewish State in Palestine and the advent of the Millenium. Next Thomas Fuller, in his work "A Pisgah Sight of Jerusalem" unequivocally states that religious toleration should be granted the Jews. Following this comes Roger Williams, with his several pleas for the liberty of conscience. He claims that the civil authorities should have no control over the conscience of men, and he was actuated by this principle in his establishment of the Colony of Rhode Island. "For who knows" says Williams, "but many of the Jewish Religion may be clear and free from scandalous offenses in their life, and also from disobediance to the laws of the State". ¹. In 1643, Roger Williams returned to England from his Rhode Island Colony, in order to obtain a charter from the government. As soon as he had obtained it, and while he was yet in England, he wrote a pamphlet "The Bloody tenet of Persecution for Causes of Conscience, Discussed in a Conference between Truth and Peace." In this, he defended church freedom and he devoted

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1. See Sokolow: History of Zionism, p. 49.

a generous passage to his ideas on complete toleration of religious beliefs to the Jews. In 1647, the question was taken up again by Hugh Peters, Williams' successor in the Salem pulpit. His pamphlet is entitled "A Word for the Army and Two Words for the Kingdom". Herein he advocated that "strangers, even Jews be admitted (into England) to trade with us". The following year, the Council of Mechanics voted for "A Toleration of all religions, whatsoever, not excepting Turks, nor Papists, nor Jews". A few years later, when Roger Williams was again in England, he advocated that "all consciences, even Papists, Jews, (etc.) ought freely and impartially to be permitted their several respective worships, their ministers of worship, and what way of ministering them, they freely chose". The pulpits of England had started to ring with these ideas of toleration. Men like John Dury, Henry Jessey, Edward Nicholas and Hugh Peters advocated toleration to the Jews and plead for their readmission. However, the ideas of these men were mixed with mystical agitation and Millenarian projects. Of this we shall speak in detail shortly. These ideas, and this movement culminated in something very definite - the petition of Johanna Cartwright and her son Ebenezer Cartwright. In 1649, these two tolerationists, native Englishmen, who were then living in Amsterdam, addressed a petition to Lord Thomas Fairfax and the Council of War, urging the readmission of the Jews on the grounds of repentance on the part of the English people for the previous ill treatment and expulsion of the Jews. In this way, too, they would fulfill the Christian doctrines of charity and brotherly love. This petition, in essence, asked that the Jews be permitted legally to enter England, to trade and dwell there, with rights and privileges, as they had in Holland. This petition was favorably received, with a promise

that it would be speedily considered "as soon as the present more public affairs are dispatched". The public affairs included such matters as the beheading of Charles I, and the establishment of an entirely new form of government in England, so that the question of religious liberty, comparatively unimportant could not be considered seriously at that time. But when in the opinion of The Protector, the time was ripe for the consideration of this question, it was seriously taken up. Cromwell, too, was a strict tolerationist, except for his attitude toward the Catholics. I do not believe that we are greatly in error, when we assert that Cromwell believed in toleration as long as this toleration did not interfere with important affairs of the state. But it is almost certain that he subordinated all else to political exigencies. When toleration did not interfere with other matters, he was a tolerationist, when it did, he was not. We have one statement of his, however, which throws important light upon the question. In a letter written to Major General Crawford, he writes - "The State in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions - if they be willing faithfully to serve it - that satisfies. 1. Holding this opinion far in advance of his time, it is quite possible that he believed that the Jews ought be admitted into England on the score of toleration.

The apex of the thought concerning toleration may be summed up in the words of Locke, uttered a few years later. "If we may openly speak the truth, and as becomes one man to another, neither pagan, nor Mahometan nor Jew ought to be excluded from civil rights of the Commonwealth because of his religion."

1. Carlyle: Cromwell's Letters and Speeches I, pp. 201, 202.

This, I believe sums up in a brief, but general way, the attitude of the English, who wanted complete religious liberty for all people. The men who advocated these ideas were far beyond their times. The movement for toleration was certainly not a Jewish movement. Few, if any, Jews took part in it. The Jews enter into the argument only objectively and only incidentally; their main argument was for complete religious liberty for all people, and consequently, the Jews. Sometime between 1649 and 1650, the toleration movement collapsed. This, was mainly due to the fact that the Puritans had just gained their notable victory over the royalists, and were now in power. While the outcome of the struggle was in doubt, they remained firm in their stand for toleration. Now, that they were in power, not only was the idea of toleration not necessary for them, but it even opposed their then chief idea of getting rid of several classes of people, who would interfere with their government - namely, the Royalists and the Presbyterians. All else must be made subservient to the political exigencies, and hence the idea of toleration for all peoples, which was one of the chief notes in their battle cry, was now relegated to the scrap heap, the idea no longer serving them any purpose. It has always been thus; it shall always be so. How different are the ideas and the ideals of a downtrodden, oppressed party, from the practises which they execute when they come into power. The relinquishing of the toleration idea was in no way directed against the Jews. This we shall see clearly in a moment. It was not abolished at all - it was quietly dropped to meet the exigencies of the times.

Operating alongside of the toleration movement, but enduring much longer, was the idea of the Millenarian mystics. When the toleration movement completely collapsed in 1649 or 1650, it was the Millen-

arian idea which came into great prominence. As in the case of the Toleration movement, the idea was started, in England at least wholly by non-Jews. The difference was, that in the end, the Jews took up the cudgels on their own behalf and worked side by side with the Judeophiles. We must now consider in some detail, the ideas and works of these mystics, in order to see what bearing they had upon the final readmission of the Jews into England. The reason that we say that the Millenarian movement went on collaterally with the toleration agitation is the fact that a great many of the Puritans and the Independents, stern believers in toleration, held the mystical views also.

Due mainly to the Renaissance and the Reformation, there was at this time a great recrudescence of religious ideas, and especially the mystical. Men were in a receptive and expectant state of mind. There was an inner feeling among men that something was going to happen, and that the recent Civil War betokened a thorough-going change, not only in England, but in the world at large. A further point to be taken into consideration is the revived interest in Hebrew studies and Hebrew literature due to the Renaissance. The interest in ancient Hebrew lore, naturally brought in its wake interest in the authors of this literature. People who had made such a contribution to the world should be treated with some consideration. However, it must not be thought that these visionaries were Judeophiles because they loved the Jews. On the contrary, I do not believe that they had any love whatever for the people. They needed the Jews in order to fulfill a grand universal ideal which they held. They intended to use the Jews merely as "a spade to dig with" in order to bring into realization their own selfish designs; namely, the Christian Millennium. The existence of the Jews, and a change in their present status, were absolutely

necessary to bring about this end, as we shall try to illustrate. Briefly, the views of these mystics were based upon the Apocalypse in Daniel. They believed literally that the four great empires as described there had come and had gone, and they were awaiting eagerly the advent of the Fifth Monarchy, the time of the reappearance of the Messiah, the period when the saints would rule. Before this could take place, however, they believed that the prophecy in Daniel 12:7 would have to be fulfilled, namely, that the holy people, Israel, would have to be scattered over the entire world. They based this, also, on Deuteronomy 28:64, which they interpreted as meaning that the Israelites would have to be scattered over the world, from one end to the other, ere the advent of the Messiah would take place. It was therefore deemed by them as a religious duty to assist in the dispersion of the Jews. For this reason they loudly advocated the Readmission of the Jews into England. Thus they would be hastening the footsteps of the Messiah and the Millenium. It was this sentiment which obtruded itself upon the minds of the people when the Toleration agitation collapsed in 1649 or 1650, and the movement for the readmission of the Jews as a religious duty was set afoot. Such men as Edward Nicholas, John Dury, and Henry Jessey supported this view, wrote pamphlets on the subject and strove to attain this end. They felt that England, by excluding the Jews, was preventing the coming of the Messiah. The Fifth Monarchy advocates believed that as soon as the dispersion of the Jews had become an accomplished fact, the Jews would assemble from all parts of the world to two or three meeting places and thence return in a body to Palestine and reestablish the State and the Temple at Jerusalem. This, however, was but an intermediate stage. The end would be that the Jews would acknowledge Jesus, and

that they would all be converted to Christianity. Here the English chauvinistic element comes to light. The other European Christian nations had shamefully failed in their attempt to draw the Jews away from their heresy into the fold of Christianity. The Jews all over Europe were more deeply entrenched in their heresy than ever before. However, the English people were the best of all Europe. Should the Jews be admitted into England, they would meet the godliest people on earth, and they would not be able to resist them, so that within a short time all of them would be converted to Christianity. This would be the real millenium as pictured in the various apocalypses, and in the footsteps of the Messiah would come joy and happiness for all peoples. This, then, was their plan for the redemption of the whole world. Sincere as these visionaries were in their speculations and their hopes, they could never attain their end, because those in power were far too busy with the affairs of state to give any heed to these mystical doctrines. Something more tangible, more real and more practical was necessary to give to the movement a compelling force. The whole idea of readmission would have collapsed had it not been for the advocacy of a third party of Englishmen, and principally the persistence of the head of the party then in power - Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector of the English Commonwealth. And this brings us to the third group of men, advocating the readmission of the Jews, and basing their advocacy on the grounds of Political and Commercial Expediency. It was this group which finally brought about a solution to the problem. ¹

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1. That the Toleration and Messianic ideas had nothing to do with the readmission of the Jews to England is clearly illustrated by the protests against their residing in England, after the Readmission had become an actual fact. One need only read the petitions of Richard Baker, Thomas Violet and The City Corporation, in order to

We have said that Oliver Cromwell was an exponent of religious toleration. He believed that as long as a group of people did not interfere with the laws and regulations of the State, they should be tolerated by the State. Therefore Cromwell sided with the tolerationists and would have been perfectly willing to admit the Jews to England on this score. However, as we have seen, this movement collapsed completely just at the time when Cromwell came into power. With the Millenarians, I do not believe that Cromwell had any sympathy, in spite of the fact that he was willing to listen to their plea for the readmission of the Jews. The fact is that Cromwell, was interested in the views and arguments of the visionaries precisely because they advocated readmission. Oliver Cromwell was a hard-headed politician, who was looking out mainly for the enhancement of his country and his commonwealth. Fantastical ideas did not appeal to him; Millenarian designs were to him not cogent; the visionary ideals which had no practical application to statecraft meant absolutely nothing to him. His attitude towards the visionaries is well set forth in his speech to Parliament in September 1651, when he opposed the Millenarians, the Levellers and the Judaisers.¹ To imagine that men like Cromwell and Thurloe, his secretary, who advocated the readmission of the Jews were slaves of the great religious revival which had put them in power is entirely to misconceive their character, motives and aims.²

understand that both the urging for and the opposition to the readmission was for the most part argued on the lines of political and economic expediency. Infra p. 126.

1. Carlyle: "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches" vol.3, pp.25-26.

2. I entirely agree with Mr. Lucien Wolf in this: See "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell". p. xxviii.

The logical outcome of that revival and the triumph of the Puritan arms, would have been the Kingdom of Saints. But Cromwell's ambition aimed at something far more conventional. Imperial expansion and trade ascendancy filled a larger place in his mind than the other-worldly inspirations which had carried him into power. And herein lies, essentially the cause for the readmission of the Jews into England. It is, I believe, a mistake to assert that Cromwell connived at and assisted in the movement for the readmission. The readmission of the Jews into England was Cromwell's own idea. It was he, who essentially advocated it and who urged it from the point of vantage which was his, as the head of the English nation. It mattered not to him who advocated the idea or who sponsored it. If the tolerationists could accomplish it, he was with them; if the Millenarians could bring about this end, he was interested in them. If neither of these could do it, he would try to create a movement or a group which could do it. The main point, in his mind, was that the Jews be admitted into England. The reason for this need not be sought afar.

As has been stated, Cromwell was foremost and essentially a politician and a clear thinking statesman. His chief aim as dictator of England was to make England the greatest country in Europe. This end he hoped to attain by means of imperial expansion and trade ascendancy. He knew that the Jews on the Continent had wealth and plenty of money. He knew that the Jews controlled the Spanish and the Portuguese trade, that the Levant commerce as well as that of the East and West Indies was in their hands. He knew that the Jews were financially interested in the Dutch East and West Indies Companies, that they controlled a great deal of the shipping of Europe, and that they had command of a great deal of bullion. Why should England not also derive some benefits from the Jews.

Trade and Commerce are most important in making a nation wealthy and great. Money is essential in equipping a government with supplies. If the Jews were in England, they could import many Indian commodities such as spices, cochineal, silver, etc.; they could export wool and other English products. This could be made the beginning of a great foreign trade, which would rank England as among the first powers of the world. Why then, did Cromwell not come forth openly with his advocacy of the readmission of the Jews into England? We have said, that, after all, it was but a very small number of Englishmen who were interested in the readmission of the Jews. ¹.

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1. Supra p. 34. I believe that Mr. Wolf errs when he gives us to understand that the matter of the readmission of the Jews was the burning question in the minds of all Englishmen of the day. From what I can discern, the question was relatively unimportant. The only group which was interested in the question per se, that is, on its own merits, was the exceedingly small group of tolerationists. That this could not be a large group of men, can easily be arrived at by internal evidence. It is a known psychological and historical fact that not many men in a period are beyond their age. Certainly the advocates of unrestricted toleration and religious freedom were years ahead of their period. Even we of the twentieth century are rather chary of this idea. By far the majority of people today are just as intolerant as were those living three centuries ago. I believe, therefore, that we are justified in saying that this group of men was exceedingly small. The Millenarians comprised a small and insignificant group. Mystics are never very popular and it is a fact that in England at this time, only a few men, influential though they were, believed in the coming advent of the Messiah in the near future. That there was very little opposition to the Jewish question is quite natural, and this too, shows that it was not a burning question of the day. Those men, who naturally would be expected to oppose the readmission, were absolutely silent in the earlier days. They probably thought that the ideas of the tolerationists and the visionaries were nothing but fantastical exuberances of distorted minds. They probably thought that the whole agitation would be abortive, and the less they said the better it would be. They figured that it would soon be forgotten. However, when Cromwell took up the matter, and was conniving at the readmission, the great army of opponents arose and fought the question bitterly.

The main body of the people was not at all interested in the question. Those who would naturally oppose the readmission held their peace because they did not believe that there was any imminent danger of the theory of readmission becoming a fact. Cromwell knew this, and he also knew that the moment that he came out openly and advocated the question from the point of view of political expediency and commercial advantage, the cohorts of the whole business interests of England would rise against him, and that the question would be greeted with a storm of protests from every angle. That he was correct in this view is proved amply by subsequent events. It was therefore to Cromwell's best interests to keep himself in the background as much as possible, and to keep especially in the background the main motives which prompted his desire for the readmission of the Jews. If either of the other two groups could accomplish this, he was more than willing that they should do so.

In the preceding chapter, we discussed the formation of the colony of Crypto-Jews in England, sometime during the second quarter of the 17th Century. Nominally these Jews were Spanish or Portuguese Catholics, and in order to continue living in England and plying their trade, they outwardly conformed to Catholicism, and attended mass at the chapel of the Spanish ambassador at regular intervals. ¹.

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1. In 1630, in conjunction with the marriage between Charles I, and the Spanish princess Henrietta Maria, a treaty was entered into, between England and Spain. Provisions were made in the treaty for the practice in England, of the religion of the queen. In this manner, the practice of the Catholic religion was made legal in England. There was also a clause inserted, entitling all Spanish subjects exemption from the penalties of the laws against recusancy. In return for this, no Englishman, in Spain was to be persecuted for the public practice of his religion. It must not be thought that this was a grant of mutual toleration between the two countries. It was nothing more or

The lot of these few Jews in England must have been not at all unpleasant. They were well-to-do men; their families were with them, and they were above all not subject to persecution. Theoretically, anti-Semitism could not exist in England, for there were no Jews in England. The question as to whether Cromwell knew that these men, Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, Simon de Caceres et al., were Jews in disguise is an interesting one. ¹.

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less than a piece of commercial expediency, solely for reasons of trade and commerce.

It was shortly after this that a few Jews ventured to settle in England, not as Jews however, but as Spaniards. They avoided taking part in the religious services of the Church of England, but worshipped as Catholics at the chapel of the Spanish ambassador. This settlement must have taken place at about 1635, for in Carvajal's papers of endenization (1655) he is mentioned as having, "for a space of twenty years, and upwards, been an inhabitant of this nation." Of course, these Jews were not persecuted, for they worshipped as Catholics which, according to the treaty of 1630 was permitted.

The real reason that these Catholics (and Jews) were not subject to any persecution whatever, is the fact that they were amply protected by the merchants of England. These merchants were doing a lucrative business through their factors in Spain, and they realized that if any injury were done to the Spaniards, in England because of their religion, retribution would be shown by the Spaniards toward their (the English) factors in Spain. So that when, as an example, Carvajal was at one time persecuted, the London merchants at once sent a strong petition to Parliament, and the proceedings against him were at once dropped. It is important to note, however, that although there were Jews in England at this time, there was absolutely no toleration of Jewish worship. The entire project was but a commercial expedient - toleration to Spaniards for business reasons only - and the "toleration" was immediately withdrawn at the outbreak of the war with Spain in 1656. Certain aspects of the Robles case (See Chapter XII) are directly traceable to this condition, prevalent at that time.

1. This, of course, refers to the period between 1650 and 1655. After the Robles case, and after the permission to acquire cemetery and to practise their religion secretly, of course Cromwell knew that they were Jews.

As far as we can discover, there are no facts which can be adduced to support either side of the theory. Hence whatever we shall have to say on this subject, will be more in the nature of conjecture than anything else. Certain internal evidence, however, leads us to believe, that Cromwell was fully aware that these were Jews, and that they were secretly practising the Jewish religion.

Cromwell's intolerance of Catholics is a notorious fact. In truth the Catholics were the only people of whom he was intolerant. In view of this, it would seem highly improbably that he would grant papers of denization to Carvajal and his two sons. To all outward appearances these men were Catholics, and for this reason it seems that Cromwell knew what they really were. That we have no positive proof of Cromwell's knowledge of these men as Jews is not surprising. He could not legally recognize them as such inasmuch as no Jews could legally reside in England at that time according to the ideas which were then prevalent. That Carvajal was not a good Catholic was likewise known from the proceedings against him in 1645, when he was summoned for not attending church. 1.

We have shown, also, that by this time it was generally known that there were Jews living in England. 2. It is inconceivable that Cromwell as the head of the government did not know this fact, and it is equally inconceivable that he did not know who these Jews were.

Furthermore, it is a known fact, that during the early days of the Commonwealth, Cromwell was receiving information concerning the Royalist movements on the continent. It is not known, however, from whom he received it, nor the means by which he received it. Carvajal and De Caceres, being wealthy merchants had an army of agents and factors

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1. Supra page 31.

2. Supra, statements of Howell and Isaiah, pp. 31, 32.

on the continent, and especially in Holland, the headquarters of the Royalist adherents. Here, it seems to me, was the machinery for obtaining valuable and reliable information as to the movements and the designs of the Stuarts. The Marranos had bitter hatred for their fatherland, Spain, and having developed a genius for political intrigue, they were more than willing to use it against Spain. Cromwell's hatred of Spain, too, was bitter. Spain supported Holland in the Royalist intrigues, and Spain stood in the way of England's commercial and territorial expansion. Thus, in Cromwell's continental and colonial policy, the London Marranos could render a great service. Thus, a common enemy might have driven Cromwell and the London Marranos together, both having in mind the ultimate discomfiture of the Spanish monarchy. Through Henriques Jorge Mendes' alliance with the great firm Grades, at Bordeaux, not a vessel could enter or leave the Mediterranean without his (Mendes') knowing it. He received letters from the East and West Indies, from the Levant and from South America and these, he communicated to Cromwell. Cromwell was thus able to seize valuable prize vessels through the good offices of Mendes and Carvajal. These men, too, were able to supply the government with money and with necessary commodities and were able also to aid England in her shipping industry. ¹.

Thus, we see the influences which attracted Cromwell and his party to the Jews, on the grounds of commercial expediency. ². It is

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1. The facts quoted are well known. The conclusions however, are mere conjectures, which we cannot substantiate by any historical evidence.

2. There was some idea, too, on the part of the party in power, that the Commonwealth should change everything which the monarchy had done. Since the monarchy had for three and a half centuries excluded the Jews, the Commonwealth ought to admit them.

the general opinion that Cromwell was a great lover of the Jews. This we do not believe. If he really were an ardent Judeophile, and if he valued this sentiment, then he would have fought for them openly, not fearing the consequences involved. As it was, he desired the admission of the Jews, not for their sake, but for his own political and commercial aggrandizement, and for the purpose of making England a leading commercial and trading country.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ATTRACTION ENGLAND HELD FOR THE JEWS.

England had probably attracted the attention of the Jews for several hundred years before the question of their readmission was considered. In the first place, there was the Domus Conversorum of which we have spoken. Then there must have been a great satisfaction on the part of the Jews all over Europe, when Henry VIII broke off relations with the Papacy. The Pope was the arch-enemy of the Jews, and any defeat which he sustained, however small, must have been viewed with general interest and abundant joy by the Jews, who had suffered so much through the Papacy. The appeal of Henry VIII to Jewish scholars and the coming of Mark Raphael to England in order to assist him in his efforts to have his marriage to Catherine of Aragon annulled, certainly attracted the attention of the leading Jews on the continent. The ultimate victory of Henry meant very little to them, but the defeat of the Pope meant a great deal, and with this defeat and discomfiture, the name of England was inseparably bound up. 1. Immediately following this², came the break and total rupture with the Church of Rome, when by the Act of Supremacy, Parliament declared Henry the head of the Church of the Church of England, and that whosoever denied this was guilty of treason. 3.

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1. Supra, pp. 27, 28.

2. In 1534.

3. The peculiar condition of things in England at this time might also have interested the Jews. Henry VIII was inexorably opposed to the Lutheran Reformation, and there was a law on the statute books, making the advocacy of Protestant doctrines a capital offense. Thus, if a man were a Protestant and agreed with Luther, he might be burned as a heretic; while if he were a Roman Catholic and said that the Pope was the head of the Church, he might be beheaded as a traitor. Instances of this actually occurred.

In the struggle between Queen Elizabeth and Spain, the sympathy of the Jews naturally was all with the former. Spain, to the Jews, was a sore spot. The Inquisition still burned into their flesh, and any lessening of the power or the prestige of Spain, was greeted by them with the utmost delight. Hence, we can easily imagine with what thrills the Jews all over Europe received the intelligence of the defeat of Phillip II's Great Armada by England in 1588. Elizabeth's apparent interest in the Jews, too, must have riveted their eyes upon England. ¹.

The coming to England by Carvajal in 1635, followed by other Jews, must have been known to Continental Jewry, and there is little doubt that others followed Carvajal, when his easy lot in England became a more generally known fact. According to the statement of James Howell,² there were quite a number of Jews in London in 1653, and this being before the negotiations with Cromwell, these Jews must have come into England from the continent forming the Crypto-Jewish Community of which we spoke in Chapter II. Thus the interests of the Jews in England had become a practical one by the middle of the 17th Century. Actually engaged in traffic and trade in England, these Crypto-Jews probably felt themselves as a part of the Commonwealth.

One other point which should be mentioned in this connection is the respect which the Continental Jewries must have had for England, and especially for the Puritans, in view of their intense interest in the Hebrew Scriptures. While it is true, that this did not involve love or affection for the Jews, yet it did entail devotion for things Jewish - for the Torah, and this was after all a great deal in the minds

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1. Supra, pp. 28, 29.

2. Quoted Supra, p. 31.

of the learned Jews of Continental Europe.

It must not be forgotten, too, that an entrance of the Jews into England meant a widening of their influence in the world of trade and commerce. The Jews of Holland controlled to a great extent the commerce of the East and West Indies, of South America and of the Levant. It would be a great asset to them, if they could gain a hold in England too. This thought must have come into the minds of many of the Dutch Jews, and certainly those Jews who were engaged in commerce and trade could not have been averse to the idea.

It is generally thought that in 1655, the question of the re-admission of the Jews to England created a great stir among the Jews all over Europe and that all of them were clamoring for entrance into England, and furthermore that Menasseh ben Israel was the emissary sent by the Jews to secure this plum. Logically, this cannot be true. In the first place, as we have shown, the question of readmission at this time hardly entered the minds of the Jews; the idea was Cromwell's, and it seems that he was the initiator of nearly every act in the progress of the movement by which the Jews were finally readmitted; that Menasseh was, moreover, merely a tool - not an unwilling one - in the crafty hands of Cromwell, and was used as the occasion demanded for the best interests of the Commonwealth, towards securing for it greater commercial and trade ascendancy.

Moreover, Menasseh ben Israel was the only Jew of whom we know (outside of the several others whom he sent to England and the three who accompanied him on his trip), who worked for the project. It seems to us that the greater proportion of the Jews were absolutely apathetic to the whole question at this time, and one group of Jews, at least, was inexorably opposed to the entire idea. The Dutch Jews were hostile to the entire proceedings for they were Royalists in their sympathies and

would have nothing whatever to do with the "Usurper". 1. This is amply proved by the financial assistance given to Charles II by Augustin Coronel and the Da Costas in Amsterdam during the period of his exile. Their assistance in the real readmission of the Jews has been greatly overlooked and underestimated. We shall dwell upon this later. 2.

There was probably one other group of Jews, which, while not openly opposed to Menasseh's mission, still must have had some doubts concerning the efficacy of it, and its value. This was the little community of Crypto-Jews living in London. It is hardly to the credit of Carvajal, De Caceres and the remainder of this group, that they entirely ignored Menasseh for months after his arrival in London. Their reasons are not hard to comprehend. They were selfish and inconsiderate

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1. The attitude of the majority of the Dutch Jews is best seen in a letter which I believe to be illustrative and typical. In a letter, written by the Duke of Ormonde, is found this statement. "This morning, I had some discourse with a Jew, who spoke English and he believed that none of his religion would ever adventure themselves among such bloody traitors, who had murdered their own king".

Menasseh ben Israel himself had not always favored the Commonwealth, in fact, at first his sympathies were entirely with the Royalists. In 1642, he extolled Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I, in no mistakable terms. Writing to a friend in England as late as 1647, he described the Civil war, not as a struggle of the good (Cromwell) against the wicked (the monarchy), but as a Divine punishment for the expulsion of the Jews in 1290. "Your country (England) (is) now heavily afflicted with Civil wars, without doubt, by the just judgment of God. And it should not be in vain to attribute it to the punishment of your predecessor's faults committed against ours (the Jews), when ours being deprived of their liberty, under deceitfulness, so many men were slain only because they kept close under the tenets of Moses, their legislator". It is here clearly shown that in 1647, Menasseh had no sympathy with the Puritans and Independents, and from his earlier attitude, one would think that he were as strongly in favor of the monarchy as were the rest of the members of the Amsterdam community.

For further reasons accounting for the strong Royalistic sympathy of the Amsterdam Jews, and their antipathy to the Commonwealth, see Infra, footnote on pages 78 - 79.

2. Infra, footnote p. 78 - 79.

to the utmost. They were in no way different from modern men, who desire no change in affairs, because they themselves are securing the greatest amount of material joy from their lives. A change, they figure, while it might work to the better interests of some, could do them, themselves, no good, and it might redound to their disadvantage and material loss. This I believe best characterizes the group of Crypto-Jews living in London at the time of Menasseh's arrival. Happy in their portion and satisfied in their lot, they were unwilling that their material prosperity be in any way endangered even though it might result in the alleviation of the pressure upon thousands of their brethren. They knew that legally, Jews could not live in England at that time; ^{1.} that it was not generally known that they were Jews, except by Cromwell, and the men higher up in governmental affairs, and finally, that once the question of Jewish Readmission were brought up, it might be decided adversely, and that the few Jews then in England would be ferretted out and forced to leave the country. For this reason they did not meet Menasseh upon his arrival in England, nor did they even intimate that they knew that he was in the country, nor that his being there might have any connection with them. It was only when the hands of these men were forced by the war which broke out with Spain the next year, when they had to choose between claiming Spanish nationality, which would involve the confiscation of all their property, or owning their Judaism, which involved a risk, but no loss, that they finally claimed their Judaism, and threw their forces to Menassah and assisted him in obtaining rights and privileges for the Jews.^{2.}

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1. It was so thought at that time. At the Whitehall Conference a few months later it was found that there were no legal barriers to the entrance of the Jews into England.

2. Mr. Lucien Wolf has been exceedingly good to these men. He has asserted that they were the first Modern English Jews and that it was they who in reality secured the readmission of the Jews. He denies

Little credit however, is due to the group of Marranos, even though they were in a small measure responsible for the final readmission. They did not desire to take part in the negotiations at all, but when they realized that their status as residents of England was about to be imperiled, they decided that it would be to their greater advantage openly to profess their Judaism.

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all credit to Menasseh ben Israel, whom he characterizes as weak and mentally eccentric. The case of Menasseh, we shall take up later; we are primarily interested at this moment in the Crypto-Jewish community. We feel that Mr. Wolf has erred greatly, when he comes to the conclusion, with absolutely no historical data to back it up, that Carvajal, De Caceres and the other members of the community were great heroes. Cowardice is the last attribute to be found in a hero. The motives of a man or a group of men, who do not do the right thing, until they are forced to do it, are certainly not above question. They were Jews, as are many today - Jews, when it was convenient, or better still, when it was to their greatest advantage to claim their Jewish birth. I wish in no way to detract from their glory, and the part which they really played in securing the readmission, but I feel certain that their motives were only those of selfishness and self-preservation, and we certainly should not make heroes of this type of men. It was unquestionably their duty to have come forth to help Menasseh, upon his arrival instead of having remained aloof in the background until their own interests were jeopardized, and only then rushing to him as a last resort and as a matter of economic opportunism. Mr. Wolf treats of this subject mainly in two articles, "Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth" (vol. 1) and, "The First English Jew" (vol. 2) Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLY LIFE OF MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL.

The one person who stands out most prominently, alongside of Oliver Cromwell in the readmission of the Jews to England, is the Dutch rabbi Menasseh ben Israel. It would be well for us to take a brief view of his life preceding his negotiations with England. He was born in Portugal ¹. in 1604. His father was a Marrano, who, in 1605 escaped the terrors of the Inquisition by fleeing to Amsterdam, with his wife and infant son. There Menasseh was educated by the renowned Isaac Uzziel. He preached his first sermon at the age of fifteen, and when Isaac Uzziel died in 1622, Menasseh, though only eighteen years of age, was appointed rabbi of the Neveh Shalom Congregation, as his successor. He is said to have understood and to have spoken ten languages, and he wrote in Latin, in Spanish, English and Portuguese as well as in Hebrew. He was a student of the classics as well as ^{of} Theology. His stipend as rabbi being very small, he was forced to look about for a means of increasing his income. With this in view, he established a Hebrew printing press at Amsterdam. Here he printed between 1627 and 1630, the Sephardic Prayer Book, a grammar by Uzziel, and an index to the Midrash Rabbah (פני רבה). He then wrote his first important work, "De Terminis Vitae", in Latin, a book on free will and predestination. His thesis was that the end of Human life is not pre-determined by God but depends upon constitution, temperament and climatic influences. His next effort was a book in Spanish, treating of human frailty and the inclination to sin. In it, he opposed the Catholic doctrine of hereditary sin. He claims that man, upon his entering the world is free from guilt, but that it is an innate

1. Joseph Jacobs and others assert that he was born in La Rochelle.

human tendency to sin. The impulse to sin must be combatted by laws which he classes under the heads of Ethical, Economic and Political.

The "Conciliador" appeared in four parts in 1632, 1641, 1650 and 1651. It was written in Spanish and it dealt with the discrepancies and contradictions in the Bible, especially in the Pentateuch. It was translated into Latin by Dionysius Vossius and into Italian by Marco Luzzatto. In all of his work, he evidenced great knowledge and vast reading in profane and well as in sacred literature. He quotes Euripides, Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Albertus Magnus and Duns Scotus, alongside of the Midrash, Zohar and Maimonides. His Conciliador is a stupendous compilation. There are few original ideas in it, but it contains a huge mass of opinions, put forth by previous writers. In 1655, he added a supplement in Spanish, which he called *אגרות*. In 1636, he published his work "De Resurrectione Mortuorum", in which he collected all the biblical passages dealing with resurrection and immortality. In a Cabbalistic fashion he proves that the dead rise to a new life. He refutes the conflicting views of the Sadducees and discusses the nature of rewards and punishments. He also gives opinions as to the nature of the future world, and the life therein. His next work was in Hebrew, *אגרות*, a Cabbalistic and extravagant treatise on immortality and transmigration of souls. In all these works he betrays a strong leaning toward mysticism which was characteristic of his age.

In 1645 he wrote a theological exposition ^{1.} in Spanish which

1. Most of his theological expositions which he mentions, remain unpublished. "Seventy Weeks of Daniel", "Divine Origin and Authority of the Mosaic Law", "A Summary of Jewish Theology", "Rabbinical Philosophy", "The Science of the Talmudists in all its Branches", "Necessity of Tradition", and "Image Worship". His "Heroic History", which he also mentions, was likewise never published.

he called "Tesoro dos Dinim", in which he gives the 613 precepts of the Law in simple form. There were in his congregation many Marranos, who for fear of the Inquisition, had neglected to teach their children the Bible and the ordinances of Judaism. This work was intended^{ed} for them. By his translation of Phocylides into Spanish verse, he gained the rank of a Spanish poet.

Menasseh ben Israel gathered about himself a large retinue of admiring friends, many of them, men of great learning. Father Antonio Vieyra, celebrated preacher at Amsterdam, visited the Neveh Shalom Synagogue in order to hear Menasseh preach. As we have previously stated Hebrew and the Hebrew Classics were being greatly studied at that time and Menasseh's opinion in all matters pertaining thereto was eagerly sought. Gerhard Vossius, although inclined toward anti-Semitism, cherished the friendship of Menasseh. His son Dionysius, translated the "Conciliador" into Latin. Isaac Vossius, another son, who was chamberlain to Queen Christina of Sweden was at his service. In a letter to Menasseh, Hugo Grotius, the famous Dutch jurist, tells him in what great esteem he is held by all the Christian scholars.

In spite of his prolific work, his great knowledge and his host of admiring friends, Menasseh's income was very small. As rabbi of the congregation, he received a very small stipend, and the returns from his printing press were very meager. He had resolved to enter into partnership with his brother-in-law Ephraim Soeira, (c.1640) to enter merchandising and trade and to go to Brazil. When this became known, there was great lamentation on the part of both Jews and Christians. Vossius wrote the news to Grotius with regret, telling Grotius what a wonderful man Menasseh was, and that he (Vossius) is ready to serve him in any way he could. He berates the Jews of Amsterdam for not giving

Menasseh a living salary. Fortunately however, Menasseh was saved to Holland (and to England) by the coming to Amsterdam of Abraham and Isaac Periera, who established a Hebrew school and appointed Menasseh as principal, with a good salary. Thus, he was, for the time being at least, free from financial troubles.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MISSION OF MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL.

The fame of Menasseh ben Israel rests not upon any one of his writings, nor upon the sum total of them, nor upon his retinue of friends, nor upon his high standing in Holland. He is renowned for his ceaseless activity in a most practical endeavor. His eminence is due to his untiring efforts in behalf of his co-religionists in Europe. That he was but a tool in the hands of Oliver Cromwell should not detract from the standing which he deserves. A servant is to do the bidding of his master. If he does it well he deserves credit. That the idea did not originate with the servant, does not affect the case. A general is always given for a victory in battle, but in the final analysis, it is the sum total of his forces, his soldiers and his subjects, which has won the battle. Honorable mention should also be given to them. Thus,

I believe, was the case of Menasseh ben Israel. He did not originate the idea of readmission to England at this time; that was done by the Tolerationists, the Millenarians, and finally by the Cromwellian party in England. It was, in the last analysis, Cromwell's idea, his desire, his hope, and to his utmost advantage that the Jews be admitted into the Commonwealth. But Menasseh, the tool and the accomplice did a great deal of the actual work, while Cromwell, the instigator remained, for the greater part, behind the scenes, advising and counseling, but not active until the very end, when he realized that further refusal on his part to come out into the open and publicly advocate the readmission, would mean annihilation for the entire plan. For reasons which I shall state hereafter, I do not believe that Menasseh has been given full credit by modern writers for the arduous tasks which he performed.

The condition of the Jews in Europe in the middle of the 17th Century was anything but the best. Although persecutions in the first half of the 17th Century were of rarer occurrence than in former times, we still witness a number of horrible massacres. The condition of the Jews in Poland from 1648 to 1655 was deplorable. That period is probably one of the worst sieges which the Polish Jews have had to undergo. Under the Cossack officer Chmelnicki, thousands were massacred, and the Jews fled in all directions from Poland to seek a harbor of refuge in Western Europe. The fanatical Jesuits in Poland, Galicia and Lithuania were inciting mobs against the Jews. The lot of the Marranos in Spain was deplorable, and the Jews of Austria and Bohemia were being persecuted and harassed. The period before the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna was attended by many hardships and oppressions, so that, although this is the age immediately preceding the period of Emancipation, it nevertheless was attended by severe hardships on the part of the Jews.

None realized these conditions with more sorrow than Menasseh ben Israel, and none felt more keenly concerning them. He was resolved to do all within his power to alleviate these horrible conditions, and if possible to secure for the Jews a haven of refuge, wherethey would be free from the horrors of massacre and persecution. He held a high place in the mind of Christina, Queen of Sweden, to whom he introduced himself by letter through his friend Isaac Vossius. He had helped her in her Hebrew studies, and likewise assisted her, in collecting a Hebrew library and Hebrew Manuscripts. When she visited Amsterdam, a few years previously, he had waited upon her. Now, he sought her favor and tried to enlist her sympathies concerning the condition of the Jews. Thus it is clearly shown that, it mattered not to Menasseh, where the Jews found refuge, as long as they could

find a haven where they would be free from persecutions. This was his motive and this accounts for all of his actions. He desired to secure a place where the Jews might be admitted on the best possible terms.

That, during the midst of his negotiations with Queen Christina, he turned his attention to England was no fault nor desire of his own. It seems to me that the matter was foisted bodily upon him. That he was in correspondence with men of high station in England, such men as Dury, Sadler, Nicholas and others, in no manner proves that in 1647, he had turned his thoughts to England in particular as the country for the readmission of the Jews; he was in correspondence with any number of great men all over Europe, and not only in England. It was quite natural that, being in correspondence with such men, he should receive a copy of Edward Nicholas' "An Apology for the Honorable Nation of the Jews and all the sons of Israel", soon after it was printed in 1648. There is little doubt but that Menasseh well knew of the view of the English mystics and was interested in them, as he was interested in all fields of knowledge and endeavor. Menasseh himself was a mystic to a certain degree; in fact, I believe that all great men have a touch - many of them, a large amount of mysticism. His earlier writings especially show his leanings toward Cabbalism, but there were very few Jewish writers of that period who did not write something on Cabbala. While Nicholas' work interested Menasseh, he took no active steps, because he did not feel that he could accomplish anything in England. Other works and pamphlets just as apologetic and just as complimentary to the Jews had preceded Nicholas' book, ¹ and no one became fanatically excited about the question. This was only another step in the grand procession, and to Menasseh, it was nothing extraordinary. A dozen other books of

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1. Supra, pp. 37-40.- The pleas of Williams, Dury and others, also the very definite petition of the Cartwrights.

similar character might have followed this one, and yet, I do not believe that Menasseh would have taken particular notice of them, so as to have started an active campaign in behalf of the readmission of the Jews. The Cartwright petition and the appeals of Roger Williams were much more to the point, and certainly more expressive of the desire for the readmission of the Jews to England on the part of the non-Jewish tolerationists and mystics, than Nicholas' book.

The point which we are trying to drive is this: that it would take something far more definite and pointed than any pamphlet or book, that Menasseh dismiss so quickly the idea of the admission of the Jews to Sweden, in favor of a readmission to England. And I believe that we have a very definite hint as to just what induced Menasseh to take this step. In the seventh section of his *Vindiciae Judaearum*, published after the plans for readmission had failed, in spite of his and Cromwell's unceasing activity in behalf of it, Menasseh tells us that he knew that his coming to England to plead for the readmission of the Jews would not be unwelcome to Cromwell. It would seem from this statement that Menasseh ben Israel took up this arduous task, at the instigation and special invitation of Oliver Cromwell. He did not assign this as his reason for coming to England in his "Humble Addresses", published upon his arrival the previous year, because he did not want to prejudice the case, but now that he had apparently failed, and nothing towards the readmission would be done unless it be by Cromwell himself, he had no compunctions in stating the truth - namely, that he had come at the invitation of the Lord Protector himself.

Viewing the matter from this angle, we can easily see what actually transpired, why the *Mikveh Yisro'el* was published just when it

was, why it is so mystical, and finally the real motive in Menasseh's coming to England. Knowing now, as we do, Cromwell's desire to have the Jews settle in England, and his reasons for desiring such a settlement, we can see also, why he waited until 1649 or 1650 before giving expression to this desire. Up until this time, he was too busy a man to take any active steps. He had just come into power; he had to build up a government and he had to combat the Royalist intrigues which were very numerous until this time. Now that he was securely established at the head of the Commonwealth of England, he could give time to the carrying out of his desire for the readmission of the Jews into England. At this time (1649 or 1650), I believe that in some way or other, Cromwell made known his desire to the famous rabbi of Amsterdam, believing that he would be the most powerful man in Europe, in the effort to secure this, and that through him, he (Cromwell) could secure the readmission of the Jews into England, without attracting undue attention to himself.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL.

There is quite a history preceding the publication of the "Hope of Israel", and it shall be our concern briefly to trace this.^{1.} In 1648, Thomas Thorowgood, interested in the missionary efforts of John Eliot among the American Indians, and in order to induce the (then) philo-Semitic public to contribute financially to the evangelical work, wrote a pamphlet, "Jews in America", with the thesis that the American Indians were the ten lost tribes. This work was largely founded on the conjectures of the early Spanish missionaries, who up to that time had had a monopoly on the solution of the "Ten Tribes Problem". This theory of Thorowgood was a great "find" to the mystics and the Millenarians. As has been stated, ^{2.} they believed that the time of the Messianic kingdom was drawing near, and they already entertained very vivid pictures of the rule of the Saints. The sufferings produced by the Thirty Years War, and by the struggle in England, France and Germany for inward freedom and liberty of conscience, convinced them that this long-dreamed of period was about at hand. Therefore preparations must be made for the great event. According to their belief, the Jews must be scattered over the whole world (to fulfill the prophecy in Daniel ^{3.}). This had almost been accomplished; all that had to

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1. The facts herein stated are mainly the work of Mr. Lucien Wolf, in his chapter by the same title, contained in "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell", pp. 18 - 28.

2. Supra, pp. 40, 43.

3. Daniel 12:7.

happen now was the reception of the Jews by England and then the Messianic Age would begin. But now, another question agitated the hearts and the minds of the Millenarians, namely "where were the Ten Tribes?" The prophecy could not be fulfilled until they had been found. Hence there was a great deal of activity and speculation at this time concerning the lost tribes.¹ Finally, they had been discovered as the American Indians and we can well imagine that the glorious news was received with wild delight among the mystics in Europe.

Now, Thorowgood, before the publication of his work sought the help of John Dury who was considered quite highly, among the mystics, and he sent Dury the proofs of the book, so that he could peruse them and form an opinion. Four years previous to this time,² John Dury, while at The Hague had heard of the wonderful story which a certain Antonio Montezinos (Aaron Levy) a Jew, had told to Menasseh ben Israel. It was to the effect that while he (Montezinos) had been in Brazil a few years previously, he had met a tribe of Indians who recited the Shema, practised Jewish customs and ceremonies, and were Israelites of the Tribe of Reuben. As soon as Dury had received the proofs of Thorowgood's book, he wrote to Menasseh, inquiring as to the details of the story of Montezinos, asking his opinion of the story and also requesting that Menasseh send him a copy of Montezinos' affidavit, which he desired to publish as an appendix to Thorowgood's book. Menasseh complied, and the affidavit was published as stated.

It was at this time, that Menasseh determined to publish his "Hope of Israel", feeling for several reasons that it would be well re-

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1. For details on this subject, see the article by Albert M. Hyamson, "The Lost Tribes", Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. 5.

2. In 1644.

ceived in England. It is difficult to assert whether or not Menasseh had at this early time received the assurance of Cromwell that he desired the readmission of the Jews. If he had received this assurance then this is one of the reasons which motivated the "Hope of Israel". If he had not as yet heard from Cromwell, he was definitely certain that his work would receive great applause from the Millenarians and the visionaries in England. And it was precisely for them, and in order to gain their good will, that the "Hope of Israel" was written. Menasseh desired to appeal to them on their own grounds. He desired to show that he agreed with them in nearly every detail. The question of toleration of the Jewish religion and the Jewish people is absolutely omitted. There is not the slightest reference to toleration in the "Mikveh Yisro'el", as there is in his earlier work, "The Conciliator". And the reason for its absence is significant. The toleration movement, as we have shown, had died out at about that time, hence there would be little use to appeal to the English people on this ground. The entire lack of any word of political expediency or commercial advantage is likewise conspicuous. The reason for this is also evident. Up to this time Cromwell had given no hint to anyone of his real designs, and even if he had invited Menasseh to come to England at this time, it is quite logical that he would not have told him his real motives. He would if anything, rather have appealed to Menasseh on the grounds of philo-Semitism - the desire to give the oppressed Jews of Europe a home wherein they would be free from persecution. It is therefore evident that the "Hope of Israel", was written especially for the minds of those whom he wished to persuade, namely, the mystics, visionaries and Millenarians, who were at this time at the height of their influence in England, and through whom Menasseh felt he could accomplish his ardent hope and desire - the finding of a place of refuge for his stricken and

persecuted brethren, the Marranos in Spain and Portugal, and the expatriated Jews of Poland and Eastern Europe. When one reads the "Hope of Israel" alongside of the work which Menasseh wrote a few years later, keeping in mind the motives and influences which prompted the composition of each of them, then he can only come to the conclusion that Menasseh ben Israel was an opportunist of the first rank. He had one aim and ideal in life, and he used all of his knowledge and versatility, his skill and acumen, all the resources at his command, in order to gain that goal. And we cannot condemn or blame him, for his aim and his purpose were to the highest degree unselfish. Menasseh ben Israel was a self-sacrificing patriot. ¹.

The "Hope of Israel" was dedicated to "the Parliament, the Supreme Court of England", in order "to gain your good will and your favor to our nation, now scattered all over the Earth". Menasseh con-

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1. In the opinion of the writer, Menasseh ben Israel has been badly mishandled by nearly all of the modern writers. The only men who have been at all fair to Menasseh are Kayserling in his "Life and Labors of Menasseh ben Israel", and Dr. H. Adler, in his "A Homage to Menasseh ben Israel". In particular, I believe, that Mr. Lucien Wolf has been somewhat prejudiced against him. It seems that he would take all of the credit from Menasseh, and bestow it upon Carvajal and the colony of Crypto-Jews residing in England before Menasseh's coming. This, I believe, is entirely unfair. How little credit Carvajal and his group deserve, I have tried to show (see *Supra*, pp. 55-57.). Mr. Wolf, however, exalts this act of cowardice, (See "Resettlement of the Jews in England, p. 10) claiming that this was the only expedient course to take. He seems to be very certain in his articles "Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth" and "The First English Jew", that Carvajal was the man who strove and worked for the Jewish people, and that Menasseh was but an intermediary, and hence the credit for the readmission of the Jews to England is due almost wholly to the colony of Crypto-Jews in London.

"The secret of the distinction which Menasseh secured for himself", says Mr. Wolf, "in spite of the weakness of his character and the eccentricity of his mental tendency, lies in the fact that the world in which he lived was very largely given over to philo-Semitism and to the special form of mysticism to which he had yielded himself;..... the wild dreams of the English Millenarians appealed to him with something of a personal force". Mr. Wolf continues in this strain. I am not so certain that the world was given over so largely to philo-Semitism.

tinues, that he "is not ignorant of how much Parliament has hitherto favored the Jews, not only by prayers". It is evident that Menasseh knew of the existence of the Marrano community in London, and also of Cromwell's silent toleration of it, although it was against the law of the land. This is, without doubt, the manner in which Parliament had "hitherto favored the Jews". The book was translated into English by an Englishman, Moses Wall, who in his preface to the translation says among other things, "(Menasseh ben Israel) cordially and openly owns

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Certainly the admiration of Hebrew lore and literature was to be found, but I am not so sure that entailed any especial love for the people. The tolerationists advocated not so much the readmission of the Jews, as the toleration of all people. Freedom of worship and liberty of conscience for everyone is the keynote of their doctrine. The Millenarians needed the Jews only for purposes of their own - in order that their wild dreams and fantasies might be realized. The Jews were essential for the realization of their dream (Supra, 41-42.), in order that the kingdom of their hearts' desire might be established. They loved Judaism and the Jewish people so much, that the only reason for their desiring the readmission of the Jews to England was, that they might become converted to Christianity. The Jews, therefore, were necessary to their religion. Their regard for the Jews was purely selfish, hence, I believe that it is a mistake to call them Judeophiles. I have tried to show the falsity of the notion that Cromwell was a lover of the Jews per se (Supra, pp. 44-47). Hence, I believe, that Mr. Wolf is in error, when he makes a large point of this so-called philo-Semitism.

Furthermore, I do not believe that Menasseh was weak of character nor especially eccentric nor greatly given over to wild dreams and fantastical flights of imagination. Mr. Wolf bases this assertion upon the strange and fanciful narrations in the "Hope of Israel". I believe that the opposite of Mr. Wolf's statement is the truth. Menasseh was a well-grounded diplomat and a skillful opportunist, as has been shown (Supra, p. 69.). He knew the group with which he had to deal, and was well acquainted with the arguments which would appeal to them. The "Hope of Israel" was written especially for the Millenarians and the mystics, and Menasseh was shrewd enough and sufficiently diplomatic to know that their own arguments would appeal to them most. Therefore, the "Hope of Israel" must not be taken at its face value, but considered from the point of view suggested. I do not deny that Menasseh was a mystic - all great men are, but it does seem highly improbable to me, that the ideas of the "Hope of Israel" are truly his, i.e. advocated as the truth by him. Then, too, if Menasseh were irresponsible and flighty, fantastical and visionary, it would seem to be impossible to account for his failure to publish the Montezinos story at the very time he first heard it. If he really were as Mr. Wolf believes him to have been, it seems that he would have been wild with delight at the account of Montezinos, and himself being such an indefatigable and prolific publisher,

the Parliament, who as far as I know never did him nor his nation any further good than to pray for them". Thus, Menasseh, in Holland knew something about London which Moses Wall, in England, did not know, namely, of the existence of the Crypto-Jewish community. Without doubt, Wall, thought them to be Spanish Papists, as did the rest of London with but few exceptions. In his preface, Wall continues, "Do not think that I aim to propagate or commend Judaism. I simply want to remove sinful hatred from the Jews, and to bring them to England, hoping for their conversion". The last phrase amply proves what we have contended concerning the aims of the Millenarians, of whom Wall was one. And he concludes, ".....the Jews, we shall hear to be, ere long, real Christians".

The "Hope of Israel" proper begins with the fanciful tale of Montezinos. The ten tribes, ¹. according to the story had been dispersed to Tartary and China, and from there through the Strait of Anian to America. Certain manners and customs of these Indians are identical with

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would have set the type at once for the wide circulation of the wonderful discovery which had been made. Instead of this, even though supplied with an affidavit by Montezinos, he calmly pushed the whole matter aside and went about his regular work. He did not even think of the matter again, until he was reminded of it by John Bury's request for Montezinos' affidavit, some decade or so later. This, it seems to me, illustrates beyond doubt, that Menasseh was not so weak and eccentric as Mr. Wolf imagines. When he did publish the fanciful and imaginative story, he had ample and sufficient reason for so doing, as we have seen. We shall have occasion to inquire a little further into the question of Menasseh's character, when we come to study his "Humble Addresses", and the "Vindiciae Judaeorum".

1. The theory of the dispersion of the ten tribes was not new with Menasseh. There had always been some general interest in the subject. For details, see Albert M. Hyamson, "The Lost Tribes", Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. 5, pp. 115 ff.

those of the Jews. There is also linguistical similarity between the Jews and the Indians. There is a possibility that the name "Peru" is simply the name "Ophir", transposed, and that "Yucatan" is nothing else than "Yokt^an". The prophetic idea of the dispersion had been carried out. The Jewish people had now been scattered over the entire world. Likewise, had the prophetic teaching of the indestructibility of the Jewish people been confirmed. Through the prophets, God had promised the restoration of the Jewish people as soon as their punishment had been completed. Surely the Jewish people had been sufficiently punished for their early infidelity to God. The dispersion was a terrible calamity; the Inquisition had wreaked horrible vengeance upon the Jews. Since all of the prophecies had been almost fulfilled, the time of restoration must be close at hand, and the restoration would be closely followed by the Millenium. Only one event was now necessary to insure the Messianic Age. The Book of Deuteronomy 1. says that the dispersion will have to be complete; the Jews must be scattered from one end of the earth to the other. That they had reached one end of the earth (America) was amply proved by Montezinos' discovery. The other end of the earth was England, and should England persist in refusing admission to the Jews, it would be hindering the coming of the Messiah and delaying the advent of the Millenium.

The conclusions to which the "Hope of Israel" leads are as follows:

1. That the West Indies were anciently inhabited by a part of the ten tribes, which passed therein from Tartary, by the Strait of Anian;
2. That the ten tribes were not in one place but in many;
3. That the ten tribes did not return to the second Temple;
4. That the ten tribes keep the Jewish religion to the present day;
5. That the prophecies concerning their return to their country are of necessity to be fulfilled;
6. That at the time of the Messiah, they will assemble from all parts of the world to Egypt and Assyria, and from there they will return to Jerusalem; and
7. That the kingdom shall no more be divided but the twelve tribes shall be joined together under one prince, a son of David,

the Messiah, and they shall never again be driven from their land.

Thus, it will be seen, upon what grounds Menasseh appealed to the English people. He thought that this was what they wanted, and ^{was} he/correct. The mystics of England went wild over the book. Their feverish and frantic faith had received the sanction of one of the chosen people, and they became louder and more vehement in their advocacy of the unrestricted admission of the Jews. Wall, the translator, fully satisfied with the "Hope of Israel", added a translator's comment, which he styled "Considerations upon the point of the Conversion of the Jews", in which he gives seven arguments concerning the readmission:

1. He desires the reception of the Jews into England, only because of the opportunity for conversion.
2. The Jews are extracted from the same seed as the Christians and they are of the same blood, therefore, the Christians should be kind to them.
3. God's covenant with the Jews is not annulled but only suspended.
4. The casting off of the Jews by God has meant great prosperity to the Christians; therefore they should be kind to the Jews.
5. God and Jesus will be the gainers by the readmission of the Jews, as it will mean their conversion.
6. The Jews have been faithful, and are martyrs to God's cause. He cites the case of the Maccabees.
7. The Prophets of Israel have predicted the rise and success of Christ, and the conversion of the Christians to God; the Christians should retaliate good for good, by converting the Jews to God. The time is now ripe; the means of converting them will be by inviting them into England. They will not be able to resist conversion.

It must not be imagined that the "Hope of Israel" and the wild ravings of the Millenarians was received all over England with enthusiasm. Such is far from being the case. A short time after Wall had published the English translation, together with his preface and concluding comment, he received a letter from Edward Spencer, one of the members of Parliament for Middlesex,¹ saying that he (Wall) considered

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1. This tract has been a source of curious misunderstanding. Kayserling, who apparently never examined more of it than the title page, on which the author is described as "E. S. Middlesex", ascribed it to "Lord Middlesex", and regarded it as favorable to Menasseh (Miscellany of

the "Hope of Israel" altogether too highly; that this attitude would beget pride on the part of the Jews, and that this is certainly not conducive to their conversion to Christianity. They must first turn from their idolatry, and then they will be saved. The Jews, as a people, have been a complete failure in the world. They were the Chosen People, but they did not live up to their name; therefore the Christians were chosen in their stead. Then addressing Menasseh, as "my dear brother Menasseh ben Israel, the Hebrew Philosopher", he expressed willingness to agree to the readmission of the Jews, "on twelve conditions, artfully designed to strengthen the hands of the sectaries, who naturally believed that beside the dispersion of the Jews, their conversion was also a necessary condition of the Millenium".¹ This tract evidently had the widest influence, inasmuch as the greatest

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Hebrew Literature, II p.33). Moreover, the writer, so far from being philo-Semitic, expressly states that the object of his pamphlet was the "taking off the scandal of our too great desire of entertaining the unbelieving Nation of the Jews". These errors have been adopted without inquiry by Graetz, Adler and other writers. (See Kayserling, "The Life and Labors of Menasseh ben Israel, page 33). I am responsible for this footnote to Mr. Lucien Wolf.

1. Among the conditions incident to the readmission of the Jews, Spencer mentions the following:

- (a.) Circumcision must be abandoned;
- (b.) Conversion to Christianity must not be forced, but reversion to Judaism must be stringently punished;
- (c.) The confiscation of two-thirds of a Jew's estate upon his death;
- (d.) Compulsory attendance at conversion sermons on Good Friday;
- (e.) The payment of double customs and duties until their conversion;
- (f.) Exclusion from guilds and corporations;
- (g.) Prohibition of a Jew, while yet unconverted, to marry a Christian;
- (h.) The Jews may not form an "imperium in imperio".

It can easily be seen why such conditions would not meet with the approval of Cromwell. He was not interested in the conversion of the Jews. What he was interested in, was the money, commerce and trade which the Jews would bring to England, thus securing for England supremacy in the world of finance and commerce.

friends of the Jews now became cold and apathetic to the whole question. Men like Sadler, Jessey, and Fuller were in full accord with the restrictions suggest^{ed} by Spencer. Moses Wall answered Spencer's letter. He said that he hoped to convert the Jews through a supernatural event (through God), just as Paul's conversion had been through God. He admits that he prizes the learning of Jews as highly as that of Gentiles, and he further contends that Menasseh ben Israel is a very learned man. He refuses to admit that he is too charitable to the Jews. The only way to convert them is through kindness. If the Christians are too harsh, they will remove the Jews still further from Christianity. Nevertheless, the poison had been artfully spread by Spencer, and the revulsion of feeling on the part of the Millenarians was indeed very strong. And this meant the total collapse of the Millenarian movement. Although they still existed throughout England,¹ only a few continued to advocate the re-admission of the Jews. Spencer and the other pamphleteers had done their work well, and so the Millenarian agitation, as the Toleration movement, a short time previously, went to pieces. From this time on, Oliver Cromwell was thoroughly determined to have the Jews admitted into

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1. Dr. Hermann Gollancz has found a work, written in 1655, entitled "Charles Stuart and Oliver Cromwell United", in which there is a letter from a Walter Gostelo to Menasseh ben Israel, commenting favorably on the "Hope of Israel", and assuring him of the interest of England in his enterprise, for the sake of the conversion of the Jews. It will thus be seen, that even at this time the spirit of Millenarianism had not completely died out. See Hermann Gollancz, "A Contribution to the Readmission of the Jews". Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. 6.

England for reasons which he himself best knew, and in all future acts and incidents, Cromwell's influence can be clearly felt and seen.¹

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1. That Menasseh ben Israel was indeed a wonderful man and knew the exact limitations of himself and of others, is shown pre-eminently in his reply to Edward Spencer, which reply annulled whatever of his "Hope of Israel" had appealed to the Millenarians, but Menasseh felt that he had to take this step in order to avoid compromising himself. He had said in the "Hope of Israel" that, like the English mystics he was looking forward to the time of the Millenium, when the Jews would return to their country. This return must precede the Millenium. In Spencer's work, designed to strengthen the hands of the sectaries, it is brought out most clearly and definitely that this would be only an intermediate step of the Millenium. In the end, all the Jews must be converted to Christianity. Right here is shown Menasseh's strength of character. He refused to permit himself to be compromised, and in answering this idea of Spencer's he said that he had no sympathy with those who contended that the conversion of the Jews was a necessary prerequisite for the Millenium. This, he said he did not believe to be true. He was uncompromising on the point which affected Judaism so deeply, and here he lost the support of many of the Millenarians.

CHAPTER VIII.

DORMIDO AND SAMUEL BEN ISRAEL.

The question of the readmission of the Jews into England would have solved itself, had the St. John mission to Holland early in 1651 been successful. For by the provisions of the proposed treaty, the merchants of Amsterdam would have had the same rights in England that they enjoyed at home, and ipso facto, the Jewish merchants. Had this treaty been negotiated the Dutch Jewish merchants could have entered and left England as they saw fit. The treaty however was never completed, and as a result, Parliament passed the Navigation Act, designed to exclude other nations from all colonial trade. It was especially aimed at the Dutch who at this time were the carriers of the European trade.¹

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1. The results of these negotiations are important. In the first place, Cromwell had fully expected the St. John mission to return a favorable treaty, and thus the admission of the Jews, at least for trading purposes, which after all was what he desired, would be an accomplished fact. When this treaty did not go through, Cromwell had to look about for other means of admitting the Jews. The Navigation Act was quite disastrous to the Dutch merchants, as can easily be surmised. Their trade supremacy was seriously threatened, and indeed the Navigation Act was almost its death blow. The effect ~~was~~ this was two-fold. In the first place, it made some of the Dutch Jewish merchants all the more anxious to enter England, in order to carry on their Colonial trade. In the second place, many of these merchants were embittered at the Commonwealth on account of its excluding them from trade with the colonies, and they at once started Stuart propaganda, so that Holland became the hotbed of Royalist intrigues. It can thus be seen why Menasseh ben Israel's feelings with England met with no favorable response on the part of his co-religionists in Holland, and why they hindered rather than assisted him in his enterprise. It will likewise be seen why the Jews of Amsterdam, absolutely contrary to what might be expected, did all in their power to assist Charles II in regaining his lost throne. This is of prime importance, for due to it, it seems to me, the Jews were not re-expelled, when Charles II was returned to power in 1660, in spite of the many protests of the London merchants.

The part which the Dutch Jews, by their friendly and sympathetic attitude toward Charles II, played in the final readmission of the Jews to England should by no means be overlooked. The logical thing

Cromwell's next act in this matter, was to send Menasseh ben Israel a passport to come to England, and personally to plead for the readmission of the Jews. Cromwell felt that the influence of such an important personage in England would surely secure that which he desired, and besides, it would assist him in keeping the eyes of the opponents of the readmission, especially the London merchants, from centering upon himself, and thus revealing the real motives behind his desire for the readmission. For several reasons, however, Menasseh was unable to come to England at that time. There was probably a lack of financial means, for he was always a poor man. In the second place, he knew that the Dutch Jews, and especially the members of his congregation, would be inexorably opposed to such a scheme,¹ and should he undertake the venture, it might so anger them as to force him to forfeit his position as rabbi of the congregation, which, in his present financial circumstances, he could not afford. Thirdly, and probably the most important reason, was the fact that war had just been declared between England and Holland,

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for the monarchy to have done when Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660, was to have re-expelled the Jews, on the grounds that their readmission had not been legal, in view of the fact that it had been granted by the usurper, Cromwell, and all of the acts of that government from the standpoint of the Royalists, had been illegal and spurious. Such was not done, however. The Jews flourished in England during the reign of Charles II (see Chapter XIV). Among other reasons for the favor of Charles II to them, remains the fact that Charles was bound to the Jews through the favors and the aid which he had received from the rich Dutch merchants of Amsterdam - Coroneel, the Da Costas and others - while he was in exile. By their help of Charles and the Royalists at this time, although altogether unconsciously on their part, they helped in the final resettlement of the Jews in England, upon the restoration of the monarchy.

1. See footnote page 78.

and that a trip to England at that time would be particularly perilous and hazardous. In spite of this, it seems that Cromwell was so anxious that Menasseh come to England, that he sent him another passport, with instructions to come as soon as he possibly could. The war which had ended shortly previous to this time, was renewed with even greater vigor, and again the trip had to be postponed.

When peace was finally concluded, in 1654, Menasseh sent his only surviving son, Samuel ben Israel, with his brother-in-law, 1. Manuel Martinez (David Abarbanel) Dormido, to England, instead of going himself. The reason that Menasseh did not go is the fact that he still feared the loss of his position in Amsterdam, which would have been disastrous to him, as we have previously shown. Samuel ben Israel 2. and

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1. According to Joseph Jacobs, Dormido was Menasseh's nephew.

2. There is a persistent tradition that these men were received in England with great joy and ostentation by the people. This is probably not true, as the people, with the exception of Cromwell and a few out and out Tolerationists were not interested in the question any more. Those who formerly had been deeply concerned, the Millenarians, had become estranged due to Menasseh ben Israel's answer to Sir Edward Spencer's proposals (see footnote on page 77). This tradition has persisted moreover, due to the discovery of a document in the Oxford Library, wherein it is asserted that the authorities of the University were so pleased with Samuel ben Israel, that they conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine. Nearly all historians have accepted the document as genuine. Graetz even tells us that this is a most significant circumstance that a Christian University should confer this degree upon a Jew. Other historians have copied this error in all its essential details. Through Dr. Neubauer, the fact has been fully established that the statements made by Koenen (who originally copied the document, and gave it publicity) is absolutely misleading and incorrect, and cannot be substantiated, and furthermore, if Koenen copied an actual diploma, that document was a piece of forgery. For the complete account of this, see Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. 1, pp. 48-54, and Kayserling's "The Life and Labors of Menasseh ben Israel", p. 92, footnote 241. When Mr. Lucien Wolf wrote "The Resettlement of the Jews in England", he evidently believed that the document was genuine. (See p. 10). Since then, he has probably changed his mind.

Dormido¹. were cordially received by the Protector, and immediately Dormido set about to arrange his petitions. He had nothing to lose and everything to gain by his mission. If he accomplished nothing, he could not be in any worse straits than he was, and anything at all which he did accomplish would redound to his advantage. He at once sent two petitions to Cromwell, the first dealing with his own affairs, and the second requesting the readmission of the Jews into England, on the grounds of business and commerce and the increase of the public revenue. He furthermore stated that the Jews were a fine and respectable people, and that they would make good English citizens. He requested that the Commonwealth shall "grant them liberty to come with their families and estates, and to be dwellers here with the same equalness and conveniences which your inland home subjects do enjoy". In the petitions, he played very skillfully to Cromwell's prejudice against the Catholic Church. He opened with a diatribe against the "idolatrous church of Spain and Portugal, which tries to judge interiors reserved to God alone". He then proceeded

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1. While Dormido was certainly sent by Menasseh, with instructions as to his aim and his method of action, Dormido's mission was to a great extent a personal undertaking.

Until the year 1654, Pernambuco (Brazil) had been in the hands of the Dutch, and there was quite a number of Jews living there, who carried on an extensive traffic with the mother country and the West Indies. Among these was Dormido, who through great trading ventures had become a very wealthy man. Early in 1654, Pernambuco was captured by the Portuguese, and in consequence, all of the Jews were expelled from the colony, and their property was confiscated. The purpose of Dormido's mission to Cromwell then was to a great extent personal. He desired to repair his shattered fortunes, and admission to England would give him the opportunity to start his commercial activities anew.

In this relation, Mr. Lucien Wolf takes another occasion to disparage Menasseh ben Israel. He claims that (unlike Menasseh), Dormido had no Millenarian nor mystical designs. He had therefore, taken the matter out of Menasseh's hands, because he had no confidence in his discretion. The truth of the matter is that he could not take the matter out of Menasseh's hands. He was sent to England by Menasseh, with all instructions as to how to act. Menasseh sent his son with Dormido, which he would not have done, had Dormido's mission been contrary to his desire. For Wolf's account of this, see "The Resettlement of the Jews in England", pp. 9-13.

to take a few jabs at the Papists, and then told to what miseries the Jews in Spain and Portugal had been subjected by the Inquisition. It was carefully and diplomatically composed. This, however, mattered very little, as Cromwell would have accepted it in any form whatever, as he was just as anxious to secure the admission of the Jews to England as was Dormido. Cromwell sent the latter petition to the Council of State, recommending it "in an especial manner for their speedy consideration". At a meeting of the Council, at which Cromwell was not present,¹ Council saw no good reason to act upon the petition, nor "an excuse to make any order". This clearly shows the attitude of England to the question. If England were "given over to philo-Semitism", as Lucien Wolf asserts, then certainly Dormido's petition would not have been so coldly rejected. Clearly, the English people were not interested in the question. Cromwell was sincerely disappointed at the peremptory answer which Council had given. He, however, salved the feelings of Dormido, in the matter of his personal petition, by writing a personal letter to the King of Portugal, asking that Dormido's property be restored. Why he should thus have taken upon himself such a matter for a man who had absolutely no claim upon him, - a man who was not even an English citizen, cannot be explained, unless it be by the conjecture that Cromwell wanted to keep on the good side of Menasseh and Dormido, for he knew that he would have occasion to use them again, in the carrying out of his project - the readmission of the Jews. Dormido must have experienced mixed feelings at this time. He was happy in that so influential a man as Cromwell had written in behalf of the restoration of his property, which he now stood a good chance of recovering; he was distressed, however, at the decision of Council, for technically he

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1. According to Lucien Wolf.

and Samuel ben Israel, being avowed Jews, could not longer remain in England.

Cromwell now decided that it would take a vastly more important personage than Dormido to arouse the public sentiment, so as to justify the government in taking steps for the solution of the problem. The man whom he had always considered in this light was Menasseh ben Israel, whom twice previously,¹ he had tried to persuade to come to England to plead the case. And so, it was decided, in May 1655, to send Samuel ben Israel back to Amsterdam, in order to lay the situation before Menasseh, and finally, as a last resort to secure his assent to visit England. The chances are that his son made the urgency of the situation so clear, and in laying the matter before him, told him in what high esteem Cromwell held him, that Menasseh, after considering the matter for a short time, threw all of his former scruples² and his previous cautiousness to the winds, and resolved to go to England, whatever the cost might be - even if it involved the loss of his position, as rabbi of the Neveh Shalom Congregation. It required several months for Menasseh to prepare to leave for England. Finally, in October 1655, he had made final preparations, and bidding Holland farewell, Menasseh, with three other rabbis

1. Supra, p. 79.

2. Supra, p. 79. That the idea for the readmission originated with Cromwell is borne out, by two pieces of evidence, one of which is almost irrefutable. In the seventh section of the "Vindiciae Judaeorum", Menasseh states that he knew that his coming to England would not be altogether "unwelcome to his Highness, the Lord Protector", which is merely a case of litotes, telling us that Menasseh knew that Cromwell desired his coming to England. There is also a letter by John Sadler to Richard Cromwell, written shortly after the death of Oliver Cromwell, in which it is definitely stated that Menasseh was invited to come to England "by some letters of your late father". (See Wolf, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell", p. lxxxvii). Sadler spoke from personal knowledge, for at that time, he was secretary to Oliver Cromwell.

whom he had persuaded to go with him, set sail for England.

In the meanwhile, Cromwell had not been idle. During the interim, he had given a charter to the English colony of Surinam, granting full liberty of conscience, together with civil rights, land grants, and a degree of communal autonomy to any Jews who might settle there. Cromwell was acting under the assumption that having granted the Jews permission to live, to own land, and to have civil liberties in one of the colonies, it would render the matter of similar concessions in England itself, the easier. To put it in the words of Lucien Wolf, "Thus, a beginning was made in the solution of the Jewish question by their admission as citizens, to one of the colonial dependencies of Great Britain. This was the first important step achieved by Cromwell, and it illustrates at once, his deep interest in the Jewish question, and the practical considerations which actuated him in seeking its solution".

CHAPTER IX.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESSES.

The first matter to which Menasseh ben Israel attended upon his arrival in London, ^{1.} was the publication of his pamphlet, known as "The Humble Addresses", which he dedicated to "The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland". He prays that you (Cromwell) may grant us a place in your country, that we may have our synagogues, and the full exercise of our religion".

At the outset, Menasseh flatters Cromwell. He supports the "Divine Right Theory", and deduces from it that God has placed Cromwell at the head of the English government because he is a righteous and just and tolerant man. Therefore, the Jews should be admitted into England. Menasseh claims that all of the kings and all of the nations which have persecuted the Jews have been punished (he gives the examples of Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes and Pompey), while those nations which have helped the Jews and have been kind to them have received their due rewards from God. It was the Monarchy which had expelled the Jews from England, and it was the Monarchy which had persisted in keeping the Jews out of England for these many years. The Commonwealth should adjust this error of the Monarchy. In fact all of the errors of the Monarchy

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1. While in London, Menasseh lived in "The Strand over against the New Exchange". This is a significant fact, inasmuch as this was at the time one of the most fashionable parts of London. The fact that Menasseh, a very poor man lived in so prominent a place while in England, only serves as another piece of evidence to prove that Menasseh came to England at the especial invitation of Cromwell, and that the famous rabbi was a guest of the Protector of the Commonwealth. Cromwell, realizing that the success of Menasseh's mission depended to a great extent upon outward appearances, sought the best location in the city for his dwelling.

should be rectified. Hence the Jews should be admitted into England. As a result of this admission, the government would receive material as well as spiritual rewards. Menasseh therefore petitions for the free exercise of religion, synagogues and public Jewish worship. He then proceeds to relate his purposes in coming over to England. He desires, in the first place liberty of conscience, and freedom of worship for the Jews - also that England be blessed by this evidence of toleration. In the second place, the complete dispersion of the Jews is necessary to bring about the Millenium. The Jews are at the present time scattered over the whole world. They dwell in every flourishing kingdom and country - even in America. England alone excludes the Jews. The admission of the Jews into England, is therefore the only preliminary necessary to the advent of the Messiah ¹. The third reason for Menasseh's coming to England, he states, is that should his mission come to a successful issue he knows that it will redound to the profit and blessing of the English people, and in the fourth place, he expresses his affections for England, the Commonwealth ². and the people.

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1. This was probably intended for the attention of the Millenarians, should any of the mystic sentiments still exist in England.

2. It is a very interesting matter to note Menasseh's change in his attitude towards the Commonwealth. It will be noticed that as late as 1647, Menasseh was opposed to the Commonwealth, and favored the Royalist party, as did the remainder of the Amsterdam community. (Supra, footnote 1, page 55). But when he found out from Cromwell, that there lay a great deal of hope for the betterment of the condition of European Jewry in the Commonwealth, and when he realized that Cromwell wanted him to come to England to try to gain the readmission of the Jews, Menasseh at once became the proponent of the Commonwealth. This cannot be called hypocrisy or deceit, but it is tact and diplomacy. Menasseh's unselfish aim was to accomplish as much as possible for his people, and the end justified the means. The question of the difference in tone between the "Humble Addresses" and the "Hope of Israel" will be considered when we come to study the "Vindiciae Judaearum", (see Chapter XIII).

"The Humble Addresses" is divided into two divisions entitled "How profitable the Nation of the Jews are" and "How faithful the Nation of the Jews are" respectively. Both are apologetical, and they are written in excellent and convincing style. Menasseh claims that most of the Jews engage in commerce and merchandising, because it is the only thing open to them. They have no country of their own, and since they are subjected to periodic expulsions, they do not care to own landed property. It was of necessity that they engage in commerce and trade for many governments forced them into it. Wherever the Jews live, trade, commerce and inventions flourish. Leghorn (Italy), an insignificant town, became a great city because of the Jews. They imported diamonds, gold, cochineal, wine, oil, spices and many other things, and the shipping of these from place to place makes for commerce and trade. In this manner, the Jews enrich every land in which they live, by the payment of great tolls and customs, by the transporting of merchandise from remote countries, by importing jewels and other luxuries and by encouraging manufactures, which result in great exports and a large amount of commerce between nations. Thus, the whole question resolves itself into one of profit for the nation. The Jews enrich not only themselves but also the native peoples. Other foreigners, enter a land only for personal profit, and when they have amassed great wealth, they leave the country for their native homes. Not so the Jews. They have no land of their own. In every case they are highly desirous of becoming citizens of the country of their adoption.

The greatest cities in Europe are those which have Jews, and the Jews have to a great extent made these cities great. Examples of this are numerous. The King of Denmark, Christian IV, in 1622, invited the Jews to live in Glückstaät and Altona, and they became quite prosperous. Menasseh then proceeds to point out the favors of the rulers of Savoy,

China, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, the German States, Italy, Tuscany, Holland, and the Barbary States toward the Jews, and how, in each case, it has redounded to the good of the country. In these countries, there is no prejudice against the Jews. Hence, it would be to the highest extent profitable to the English Commonwealth to admit the Jews. It would mean an increase of commerce and trade, taxes and customs, manufactures and exports, which would greatly enrich England and make it any extremely prosperous country.

In the second division of the addresses, Menasseh treats of the loyalty of the Jews, to the various rulers under whose sovereignty they have lived. The Ptolemies invariably chose Jews for their bodyguards, feeling that their faithfulness and fidelity was beyond question. Julius Caesar was kind to the Jews, and they were very faithful to him. In the Civil War in Spain between Peter, the Cruel (1350-67) and his brother Henry II (1369-79), the Jews of Burgos, remained faithful to their rightful sovereign Peter, even after his death, for which the usurper Henry, admired them very much, and he felt very proud of having subjects, giving evidence of such loyalty, even though, in this particular case, it was not to his (Henry's) advantage. During the siege of Mantua in 1630, the Jews fought most valiantly, and saved the city from capture by the enemy,¹. So loyal are the Jews to their sovereigns that in the expulsion from Spain in 1492, not a hand was raised by the Jews in self defense, although they could have raised a considerable army. They had great love for Ferdinand and Isabella in spite of the cruel expulsion decree.

On the Sabbaths and holy days, the Jews, in their ritual pray for the welfare of the king and of the government. In this connection,

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1. It is rather surprising that Menasseh does not here mention the defense of Prague by the Jews, in 1648.

he quotes Jeremiah and Aboth. Menasseh then proceeds to disprove the statement that the Jews were expelled from Spain for disloyalty, and he insists that the real reason was the fact that so many Christians were becoming proselytes, that the Church and the Catholic sovereigns feared for Christianity. He then traces the history of the Jews in Portugal, before their expulsion from that country (1498). He shows the cruelty of it, and claims that the kings of Portugal, who were righteous did not desire the expulsion, but that it was forced upon them by Pope Paul IV (Caraffa ^{1.}).

From this point on, he becomes even more apologetic. He takes up the three principal charges leveled against the Jews, namely, usury,, the slaying of Christian infants in order to celebrate the Passover, and the inducing of Christians to become Jews. In answer to the first charge, he asserts that it is against the Jewish law to oppress the "stranger" (non-Jew), and therefore the Jews do not do it. As a general thing their interest rates are not exorbitant. However, there are bad Jews, just as there are bad among any other people, but one ought not hold all the Jews responsible for the misdeeds of a few miscreants. In countries where the Jews are not oppressed and where they do not suffer periodic tallages and spoliation, their interest rates are very nominal.

As far as the slaying of infants in order to mix their blood with the Passover bread is concerned, he answers that the Jews are forbidden to eat blood of any kind. How much the more then, human blood. This charge has been firmly denied even by the Popes, the Jews' worst enemy and by many other good Christians. The Christians should remember that there was a time immediately after the rise of Christianity when

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1. At that time, probably Cardinal Giovanni. Pietro Caraffa.

they were accused of sorcery and murder of children. They denied it vehemently, but nevertheless they were horribly persecuted. This being the case, true Christians should feel for the Jews when this charge is leveled at them, and do all they can to convince others of its falsity.

Menasseh does not wholly deny the charge of proselyting. He insists, however, that the Jews do not seek conversions to their faith. However, if a man comes to them voluntarily and wants to accept Judaism, they do not refuse him. If some of the better minded people desire to leave Catholicism, ^{1.} the Jews accept them. At the end of the discourse, he refers to the writings of English scholars favorable to the Jews. He mentions specifically Henry Jessey's "The Glory of Judah and Israel", and Edward Nicholas' "An Apology for the Honorable Nation of the Jews and all the sons of Israel".

Mr. Lucien Wolf asserts that the style and the matter of the Addresses are in welcome contrast to the fantastical theories of the "Hope of Israel". The tone is very matter of fact. The admission was now urged almost solely on the grounds of political expediency. "The prudent restraints which Menasseh had imposed upon himself are very marked", says Mr. Wolf. We must not overlook the fact, however, that the two works were written for different classes of readers; and this again shows Menasseh's extreme versatility. A good actor knows how to play to any kind of an audience, and a competent writer is one who can adjust himself to the exigencies of the times. When the air was full of mysticism and Millenarianism, Menasseh wrote the "Hope of Israel". It was designed to interest and to stir to action the Millenarians and Conversionists in England. Had Menasseh, at this time written a practical matter of fact

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1. Another knock at the Church of Rome, which was purposed to play to Cromwell's anti-Catholic sentiments.

pamphlet, it would certainly not have appealed to these and they would have scrapped it. The "Humble Addresses" on the other hand was written for business men and Parliamentarians. The extreme mysticism, characterizing the years 1649 and 1650 had died down, due largely to Sir Edward Spenser's attack and Menasseh's answer to it. The addresses are based upon hard and cold facts, with an element of the emotional and the persuasive. That Menasseh did not obtain what he petitioned for, in no way alters the intrinsic value of the work. A word of Millenarianism is inserted to satisfy the mystics, should any who harbored mystical sentiment, still remain in England and be disposed to read the addresses. It seems rather unfair, in my opinion to say that in writing the "Humble Addresses" Menasseh had "imposed prudent restraints upon himself". This might be said with equal truth of the "Hope of Israel". Menasseh, the opportunist, the patriot and the skillful diplomat, always considered how he could get the most and the best for his people, and his actions and his writings should be judged accordingly. 1.

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1. Mr. Wolf claims that the ideas enunciated in the "Hope of Israel", are Menasseh's true sentiments and feelings. That we have tried to disprove, or at least to mitigate. (Supra, footnote Page 70). To prove that Menasseh had in no way changed these views, at the time he wrote the "Humble Addresses", Mr. Wolf refers to a letter written at this time to Paul Felgenhauer, the Bohemian physician and mystic by Menasseh thanking Felgenhauer for having dedicated to him his "Bonum Nuncium Israeli", ("Good News for Israel") which Mr. Wolf declares to be "one of the maddest rhapsodies ever written". This, we believe, is far too critical a judgment upon Menasseh. That the "Bonum Nuncium Israeli" may be extremely visionary and mystical may very well be true, but inasmuch as it was dedicated to Menasseh he was obliged to answer it, and this he did, as the letter itself shows (and as Graetz avers - volume V, p.36)" with great prudence, gladly welcoming the pages favorable to the Jews, and passing over the rest in silence. The good news, concerning the near future was the more welcome to his heart, he said, as he himself, in spite of the afflictions of many centuries, did not cease ardently to hope for better times". This statement is certainly non-committal, and does not tend to show that Menasseh agreed with the "mad rhapsody". Mr. Wolf furthermore asserts Menasseh's behavior and attitude were most extravagant. He demanded an unrestricted asylum in England, absolute freedom

The work did not at all meet with the favorable applause which Cromwell and Menasseh had expected. The result was quite the opposite. In fact, a few days after its publication Menasseh found himself without a friend in England (Cromwell, of course, and his advisors Thurloe and Blake excepted). The unrestricted Tolerationists had been securely muzzled,¹ and the conversionists and Millenarians were far from pleased with the practical suggestions in Menasseh's latest work. They lived in the sky, not on earth, and anything terrestrial did not appeal to them. The celestial and mystical were the only things upon which they would permit their minds to dwell. Even the expedientists did not come out favorably for Menasseh's project, alarmed by the antipathy of the London Merchants, who did not care to have Jewish rivals, in their commercial activity. They were afraid, too, of arousing the ire of the extreme religionists, to whom Menasseh's latest petition contained no appeal whatever. The Royalist party was absolutely opposed to the proposition, because it was continually a method of theirs to oppose anything which they

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of movement of the Jews in England, and the unrestricted exercise of their religion. This is not at all surprising. Menasseh was anxious to secure the readmission of his co-religionists on the best possible terms. Clear-thinking man that he was, he realized that most petitions are compromised, and that the less he asked for the less he would get. I do not believe that Menasseh had the least idea that his petition would be granted as it was. He knew that restrictions would be insisted upon, but whatever the result, he desired the readmission of the Jews, uppermost, and he wanted the best terms which he could secure. At that time, too, the Jews of Poland were being terribly harassed, due to the Chmelnicki riots, and Menasseh was anxious to find a home for them, as well as for the Marranos. Therefore, the "extravagance" of Menasseh's petition is not to be wondered at.

1. "Of their chief exponents, Roger Williams was in America, John Sadler was muzzled by the responsibilities of office, and Hugh Peters was without influential following. The prosecution of Naylor and Biddle were prominently before the eyes of the public, as a lesson that Toleration had yet to triumph within the Christian pale". See Wolf, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell", p. xl.

knew that Cromwell favored. Then, there was foreign hostility on the part of the Dutch, due to reasons already mentioned,¹ and on the part Spanish, who always opposed anything favorable to the Jews. Immediately, insidious and false rumors, destined to prejudice the minds of the fairer element of the English people were set in motion, by the Royalists, the foreign agents and the jealous London merchants. The report that the Jews proposed to buy St. Paul's Cathedral and the Bodleian Library gained great credence. It was stated that Cromwell intended handing over the customs and taxes to the Jews to farm, and finally, that the purpose of Menasseh's coming to England was to trace Cromwell's ancestry in order to ascertain if Cromwell were not in some way descended from David, with the view that he were the Jewish Messiah; then started the stream of anti-Jewish pamphlets, circulated throughout England. At this time, William Prynne's "A Short Demurrer" was published. The object of this work, was to show that the Jews had never lived in England excepting under severe restrictions and disabilities; that while in England, centuries ago, they had been guilty of all manner of crimes; that they did not make an honest living, but resorted to coin clipping, forgery and usury; that they were a vicious people, crucifiers of children and blasphemers of the holy Christian Religion and of Christ.²

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1. Supra, footnotes on pages 55, 78.

2. The book, however, historically speaking, is based upon bedrock material. He states most of the facts correctly and draws his own conclusions from these facts. We differ with the conclusions, first, because of his passionate anti-Semitic bias, and secondly, because he shows himself imbued with preconceived and prejudicial views. He does not pause to question the historicity of any of his data.

"The work represents a mountain of research, which until a few years ago, was the chief printed source of our knowledge of the medieval history of the English Jews", Lucien Wolf.

While disturbed at all this opposition from so many sources, and although he received encouragement from almost no one,¹ Menasseh was not abashed nor daunted. They could not intimidate him, for he felt that he had a great mission to perform. During this period, he visited many members of the Parliament and other important personages. Finally, Menasseh petitioned Cromwell and Parliament for the following:

- (1.) That the Jews be readmitted into England and protected from all violence;
- (2.) That the Jews be allowed to have public synagogues and freely to perform the rites of their religion;
- (3.) That they be allowed to consecrate a burial ground outside of the city, and to inter their dead without interference;
- (4.) That the Jews be permitted to trade in any manner of merchandise;
- (5.) That the Lord Protector appoint an officer to receive the passports of all Jewish immigrants, and that the immigrants be compelled to swear allegiance to England;
- (6.) That the Jews be allowed to have a certain degree of autonomy, in that difference between Jew and Jew be left to the decision of the rabbis and the heads of the synagogues; and
- (7.) That for greater security, all laws against the Jews, then on the statute books, be repealed.

This petition together with the "Humble Addresses" were handed by Cromwell to the Council, with the recommendation of speedy favorable action. The Council, in turn appointed a committee to consider the entire matter. The committee felt itself between two fires. A refusal to report favorably on the matter, they were certain, would arouse the wrath of Cromwell, whom, by now, they knew, ^{to be} ~~was~~ deeply interested in the question. A favorable decision, on the other hand would beget the ire and animosity of the London merchants and the pamphleteers who

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1. Only three ungrudging defenses of the Jews were published - Copley's "Case of the Jews", D. L.'s "Israel's Condition and Cause Pleaded", (a very feeble reply to Prynne) and Colliers "Brief Answer". (Quoted from Lucien Wolf, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell". p. xliii, footnote 3.).

had indeed a very large following. Not feeling equal to the occasion, the committee recommended to Council, which in turn recommended to Cromwell, the calling of a conference of representative Englishmen to consider the question of the readmission of the Jews. Thus would the Council and the committee be absolved from the responsibility of rendering a decision in the weighty matter. This is just what Cromwell desired. In a conference of men picked by himself, he felt absolutely certain that he could receive a favorable answer on the project, and so he set to work to prepare a list of important men for the conference.

CHAPTER X.

THE WHITEHALL CONFERENCE.

As representatives to the Whitehall Conference, assembled by Cromwell on December 5, 1655, were many of the greatest and brainiest men in England. It was composed of three classes of men, lawyers, divines and merchants. It had been recruited from the best men in England, for to Cromwell, the question at hand was of prime importance. As has already been stated, the representatives were especially chosen because of their premonstrated liberal attitude and favorable views toward the question. The personnel of the Conference is mentioned in detail by Mr. Wolf.¹ After the first meeting had been called to order, the business of the Conference was announced by Cromwell. Two questions were to be considered. Of first importance was the question of whether it be legal to readmit the Jews into England.² This, of course, was a purely technical matter, and the two judges present as members of the Conference expressed their opinion that "there was no law which forbade the Jews' return into England."³

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1. See Wolf, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell", pp.xlvii - xlvihi, quoted from State Papers, Domestic Interregnum, I: 76, page 378. The Biographies of some of the Whitehall celebrities are given in an article by Albert Hyamson, "The Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Whitehall Conference", appearing in the Jewish Chronicle of December 1, 1905.

2. This question depended upon whether the Jews had been expelled in 1290, by an edict of Edward I, which would be effective only until the end of his reign, or by an Act of Parliament, which would have required another Act of Parliament, annulling the previous one, before the readmission could legally be considered.

3. The judges evidently decided in favor of the former view. Supra, note 2. The entire question of the legality of the Readmission is taken up by Henriques, "The Return of the Jews to England"; pp. 10-14.

Thus was the first point gained for Cromwell, and he was elated at the result. We do not know what happened at the next meeting, held on December 7th. Something adverse to the proposition of the admission of the Jews on favorable terms must have been brought out, for now we hear that most severe restrictions should be imposed upon the Jews when they were admitted. This was in answer to the second proposition which Cromwell had placed before the conference, namely "Upon what terms should the Jews be received". The battle was waged very vehemently concerning the terms of readmission. There was on the one hand the party for unrestricted admission, very small indeed, but quite powerful (probably so because of Cromwell's great influence). On the other hand there was the party of absolute exclusionists, such as Prynne and the other pamphleteers. Between the two extremes there were various shades of opinions,¹ but on the whole, the balance of power rested with the opposition party. "The calumnies of the pamphleteers had done their work. The idea of public religious services at which Christ might be blasphemed stayed the

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1. John Dury, for example, believed that when it comes to the lawfulness of readmitting the Jews, the only answer can be affirmative.

When it comes to expediency he is not absolutely sure.

He would advocate the readmission of the Jews on the following grounds.

- (a.) To advance the glory of God by their admission he recommends that the Jews be restricted from blaspheming Jesus; from making proselytes and profaning the Christian Sabbath, and from dishonoring the ordinances of Christians that they may be induced to listen to Christians with the view of conversion.
- (b.) To advance the edification of the Christians;
- (c.) In order to avoid ruptures the Jews should worship in their own tongue;
- (d.) Not to bring a yoke upon the original inhabitants of the land by the covetous practises of the Jews and their subtle capacity for trade.

See "John Dury and the English Jewry". S. Levy, Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England", vol. 4.

hands of the most tolerant. Others feared that the unrestricted liberty of Jewish worship would create in the Synagogue a nucleus around which the Judaical sectaries would gather. Dr. Newcomen drew a harrowing picture of English converts to Judaism joining the immigrants in offering children to Moloch, The most tolerant and level headed asked for 'due cautions in the matter, warranted by Holy Scriptures'".¹ As soon as Cromwell realized the way in which the opinion was running, and that if he permitted it to continue so, the report of the conference would be adverse, he sought to strengthen the hands of the party in favor, by adding to the conference three Judeophiles, among whom, was Hugh Peters, the champion of unrestricted toleration. Peters had, however in the meantime gotten wind of the existence in London of the small community of Marranos, who were in England under the guise of Spanish Catholics, and at once he hated them for this dissimulation, and so, instead of bolstering up the tottering forces of the Admissionists, he unequivocally denounced the Jews as "a self-seeking generation", who "made but little conscience of their own principles". This was the condition when the final meeting of the conference opened on December 18th. The chances for Cromwell's gaining his point seemed very meager indeed. On the previous day, Thurloe, who stood very high in the affairs of state, expressed himself in a letter that "nothing will be done". Up until this time, however, the essential point for which Cromwell had been striving had not been jeopardized. It mattered little to Cromwell what religious and civil restrictions be imposed upon the Jews as long as their commercial activity be unhampered. But on the 18th, this question was brought to the fore, and the London Merchants entered into tirades against the admission of the Jews. Their

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1. Wolf, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell, pp. xlix, 1.

admission would mean the enriching of foreigners at the expense of the natives. Within a few years all of the English merchants would be in a state of poverty. Then it was that a compromise was suggested. Henry Jessey, a friend of Cromwell and Menasseh, a "Judeophile", arose and loudly advocated that Jews be received into England, but that they should be admitted only "to decayed ports and towns, and that they should pay double customs duties on their imports and exports". The clergy and the Millenarians were pleased with the idea, and hailed it with great delight. The Jews would be admitted, and here, then, was the great chance for their conversion. That was all in which they were really interested. The few out and out tolerationists were satisfied for nothing adverse to the liberty of conscience or the freedom of worship had been incorporated in the compromise. But Cromwell realized that if this compromise were passed, it would entail the entire annihilation of his plans. Cromwell arose from his chair with certitude and promptness; he ignored the compromise completely. Lucien Wolf gives a very clear description of what happened. "He began his speech with a review of the differences of opinion revealed by the various speakers. They were, he scornfully declared a babel of discordances. He had hoped that the preachers would have given him some clear and practical advice, but they had only multiplied his doubts. Protesting that he had no engagement to the Jews but what the Scriptures held forth, he insisted that 'since there was a promise of their conversion, means must be used to that end, which was the preaching of the Gospel, and that could not be done, unless they were permitted to dwell where the Gospel was preached'. Then, turning to the merchants, he harped sarcastically on the accusations which they had brought against the Jews. 'You say that they are the meanest and most despised of all peoples. So be it. But in that case, what becomes of

your fears ? Can you really be afraid that this contemptible and despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants of the whole world ?' It was clear, he added sharply, that no help was to be expected from the conference, and that he and his council would have to take their own course. So saying, he vacated his chair in token that the proceedings were at an end. The speech was a fighting speech, delivered with great animation, and it is said to be one of the best that Cromwell ever made. It achieved its object for the conference broke up without a word of protest and the crowds dispersed in cowed silence". 1.

We have it upon the evidence of Thurloe that for a few days thereafter Cromwell was in a towering passion. "I do assure you that his highness is put to exercise every day with the peevishness and wrath of some persons here". 2.

Menasseh, however, was far from satisfied. ² True enough, his mission had resulted in one great gain. Through his coming, it had been proved that there was nothing in English law which prevented the Resettlement of the Jews in England. This in itself was a great boon. But he realized that Parliament had the power so to legislate as to prohibit the coming to England of the Polish refugees, which question was one of his chief motives in coming to England. For this reason, if for no other, he was sorely disappointed with the result of the Conference, for he himself, did not think that he had achieved his purpose. . 3.

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1. Wolf, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell", pp. xliii, xliv.

2. Ibid, p. xliv, note 1.

3. Lucien Wolf says that it is a blessing that Menasseh's mission as he understood it was not fulfilled, as if it had been successful, the result would have been "The importation into England of thousands of fanaticized and degraded Polish Jews, who would have

The decision of the Conference that the settlement of the Jews in England was not illegal, was the basis of the report of the Committee of the Council. As a condition of readmission, however, the Committee laid down certain restrictions by which the readmission should be governed. This is the text of the recommendation:

That the Jews deserving it may be admitted into this nation to trade and traffic and dwell amongst us as providence shall occasion. We, humbly represent, (however)

(a.) That they be not admitted to have any public Judicatories, whether civil or ecclesiastical, which were to grant them terms beyond the condition of strangers (aliens).

(b.) That they be not admitted either to speak or do anything to the defamation or dishonor of the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ, or of the Christian religion.

(c.) That they be not permitted to do any work, or anything to the profanation of the Lord's Day or Christian Sabbath.

(d.) That they be not admitted to have Christians to dwell with them as their servants.

(e.) That they bear no public office or trust in this Commonwealth.

(f.) That they be not allowed to print anything which in the least opposeth the Christian religion in our language.

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aggravated numberless forms of religious mania by which the country was convulsed, and might have proven calamitous to the permanent settlement of the Jews in England - "Resettlement of the Jews in England" p. 13. This, however, is looking at the matter through the lenses of later history. The result of an unrestricted resettlement would probably have been as Mr. Wolf has pictured it, but at the time, Menasseh thought it most unfortunate that the unrestricted readmission was unaccomplished. This, however, in no way detracts from Menasseh's glory. That clear-seeing and whole heartedly emotional patriot was looking out for the best interests of his persecuted brethren, and he was willing to subserve everything - position, money and even life itself, to that end. We shall deal in greater detail with the results of Menasseh's mission in the concluding chapter.

(g.) That so far as may not be suffered to discourage any of their own from using or applying themselves to any which may tend to convince them of their error and turn to Christianity. And that some severe penalty be imposed upon them who shall apostatize from Christianity to Judaism. 1.

Evidently no restriction upon their trading was recommended. This result seems to be far better for Cromwell, at least than could have been forecasted the day on which the Conference was dissolved. Oliver Cromwell had gained what he desired. Menasseh, however, seemed still to think that there was a chance of having all restrictions removed, and securing an unconditional readmission to England, and so he tarried in London. It may be that he intended to locate there permanently, for he knew that the chances were, that he was a persona non grata in Holland, due to the uncompromising opposition of the Dutch Jews to his mission to England. The struggle for permission to return to England, however, had taken a great step in advance.

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1. This report has been greatly misunderstood, and widely interpreted and misinterpreted.

For the diversity of opinion, see Gardiner "History of the Commonwealth, vol. 2, State Papers, Domestic of the Interregnum vol. 1, Art. 76, also Lucien Wolf, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell", pp. xlv, xlvi, lv, lxxxv, and Henriques, "The Return of the Jews to England, pp. 51 - 54.

I have, as a general rule, followed Mr. Wolf's interpretation of these resolutions.

CHAPTER XI.

CROMWELL'S BOLD STROKE AND HIS TRIUMPH. 1.

Although, legally, the Jews had a right to resettle in England, several obstacles stood in the way of its immediate realization. From what has been said at the conclusion of Chapter IX, it will be seen that the animus against the Jews was very great, and it would have been an extremely dangerous matter for the Jews to have attempted a resettlement on any large scale at that time. Believing that prudence is the better part of valor, the Jews desiring to come to England, probably determined to wait until the matter had cooled down a bit. Of course, the Marrano community in London was still ex-

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1. Both Henriques and Gaster say that the Jews were granted no favors by Cromwell, and that the entire idea of Mr. Wolf and those who follow this view, belongs to the domain of romance. If Henriques and Gaster be correct, it would be impossible to account for Richard Baker's petition to Richard Cromwell - "Humble Petition and Remonstrance to his late Highness" (Infra, page 126). This shows definitely that Oliver Cromwell had done something for the Jews. Again, immediately upon the restoration of Charles II, the Privy Council and the Mayor and Aldermen petitioned the King for the re-expulsion of the Jews, on the grounds that Cromwell, who had readmitted them, was a usurper, and that his acts were therefore invalid. Had the Jews come into England without Cromwell's knowledge and consent, the petition would have read to re-expel the Jews, on the grounds that they were intruders and had no right to be in England. The petition of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London specifically states that Cromwell had admitted the Jews to "free cohabitation and trade, and had given them liberty to profess and practice the Judaical superstition". These incidents which had happened but a short time before were well in the minds of these men who petitioned for the re-expulsion of the Jews, and they knew whereof they spoke.

Finally, Edward Chamberlaine, in his "Angliae Notitia" says, "The Jews, which by the late usurper were admitted into London, were since continued there by the bare permission of the King (Charles II). Two other works published later, tell how Cromwell was heart and soul in the question of readmission. These are "The Perfect Politician or a Full View of the Life and Actions of Oliver Cromwell", (3d Edition London 1681), and "On the Life of Cromwell" published in 1724. It is certain that he favored the Jews to no slight degree.

isting but they were supposed to be Spanish Catholics, even though some people in London knew their true faith. Carvajal and his group realizing the high feelings of the people against the Jews still remained under cover, and made no attempt to assert their Judaism. Of course, they were under the protection of Cromwell, and they need fear no harm. Cromwell was naturally still as solicitous for them as he had ever been. That Cromwell took no decided action towards the immediate readmission of the Jews is not at all surprising. He was too skillful a politician and too clever a diplomat to rush into such a matter when the popular sentiment was so deeply against it. He, too, determined to bide his time, and to wait for a more appropriate occasion to announce the readmission publicly.

The anti-Semites were still on the alert, and were willing to do anything to intimidate the Protector and to stay his hand. The final decision at the Whitehall Conference was, that he and the council would take the matter into their own hands,¹ which, in the opinion of

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For the full account and proofs for the position, that it was Cromwell who actually readmitted the Jews, see the article, "The Jewry of the Restoration" by Lucien Wolf. (Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. V.) The writer of this article goes even further than Mr. Wolf, in contending that Cromwell not only admitted the Jews, but was personally interested in their readmission and worked hard for it. Supra, pp. 44 ff.

Henriques and Gaster conclude that the legal settlement of the Jews in England was August 1664, when Charles II, in answer to the petition of the Jews asking for protection against the blackmailing project of the Earl of Berkshire and Mr. Ricaut, issued the statement that he had not ordered the molestation of the Jews but they may enjoy the same favors as formerly. They contend that formerly refers to the Royalist promises while Charles II was in exile. Wolf contends it meant under Cromwell -- his favors and toleration. That the Jews were recognized in England is borne out by the petition of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in 1660 and by the testimony of Thomas Violet.

1. Supra, pp. 99, 100.

the Judeophobes meant that a formal proclamation of the readmission would soon be given. In this, however, they were mistaken, as we have shown. Nevertheless, they again started their pamphleteering, in the hope that they might further stir up the populace against the contemplated act. If they could only keep up the agitation long enough, they felt that they might accomplish their end. And so, in January, 1656, William Prynne, arch anti-Semite, published an enlarged edition of his "Demurrer", arguing vehemently that the expulsion in 1290 had been by an Act of Parliament, and that it could be reversed only by an Act of Parliament, and that as conditions now stood, the exclusion of the Jews was legal and valid. Alexander Ross next published his venomous ^calumny "View of the Jewish Religion", in which his main thesis was that there could be nothing in common between Judaism and Christianity, for the former was nothing but a peculiar kind of Paganism. This work was received with high approbation by the anti-Semites. Other malevolent pamphlets were published anonymously.

Early in 1656, war broke out with Spain. This involved the Crypto-Jewish community in a peculiar predicament, both as regarded their status in England, ^{1.} and as regarded their simulated religion. The Act of 1650 compelled all people living in England to attend some place "where the service or worship of God is exercised". They could no longer worship at the Spanish Ambassador's chapel as Catholics, for this had been removed at the outbreak of the war. They could either become pseudo-Protestants, which would have been a dangerous procedure, after Peter's denunciation of them as hypocrites on this score, at the Whitehall Conference, ^{2.} or, they must come out and confess their Judaism, which would have been equally

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1. Infra, pp. 111 ff.

2. Supra, p. 98.

dangerous, in view of the fact that the pamphleteers were still busy, and the wounds of the anti-Semites were still fresh. Such a course might bring to naught everything which had thus far been accomplished. In this dilemma, they sought the advice of Cromwell. Cromwell decided upon a rather bold course in view of conditions as they were at that time. He conveyed to them, through John Sadler, the permission to observe Jewish divine services in their private homes. This was the first outright step towards the final readmission. Although the chances are great that they had privately worshipped as Jews ever since their arrival in England,¹ now, they had the verbal consent of the Protector. This was a bold stroke, not destined long to endure, in its present form. But at this point, it seems to me, the resettlement of the Jews in England really begins. Cromwell's action was a direct infraction upon the spirit of the Whitehall Conference, and it was an attempt, as Graetz puts it, to readmit the Jews, "nicht durch das grosse Portal, sondern durch eine Hintertür."² Cromwell's act had soon become known. In a Royalist letter of the last day of the preceding year, the writer states that "The Jews, we hear, will be admitted by way of connivancy, though the generality oppose" Lucien Wolf quotes the following pieces of correspondence. Under the date January 28, 1656, Salvetti, the diplomatic agent of the Duke of Tuscany, informed his master that "the affairs of the Jews continues in the state I have already described, meanwhile, they may meet privately in their houses, but they have not yet established a Synagogue. On February 4th, he confirms the statement and amplifies it. "It is thought that the Protector will not make any declaration in their favor,

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1. Supra, p. 32.

2. Graetz, "History of the Jews" (English) vol. 5, p. 49.

but tacitly, he will connive at their holding private conventicles, which they already do, in their houses, in order to avoid public scandal".¹ This soon became generally known throughout England, and the extreme religionists, who considered the act of Cromwell as a sort of sacrilege, and the large London merchants, who felt that their trade monopoly had been violated, were passionately angry, but they could attempt nothing of evil against the Marranos, while Cromwell's protecting hand was over them. Fortunately for the Jewish cause, the public mind was preoccupied with the Spanish War, so that nothing detrimental was accomplished by the anti-Semitic agitators. But they were only biding their time, and waiting for a good chance to gain advantage over the arch-enemy Cromwell and the Jews. For the present, at least the latter had triumphed, and the readmission of the Jews was an accomplished fact. Cromwell's tacit permission had done that. From this time on, the burden of argument is not upon the Jews but upon the anti-Semites.

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1. Quoted by Lucien Wolf, from Mss. 27962, British Museum, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell", pp.lix, lx.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ROBLES CASE AND THE VICTORY OF THE JEWS.¹

During the entire period of the negotiations for the re-admission of the Jews into England, the Marrano community in London remained absolutely in the background. Not one word is heard from them until the year 1656, when the war with Spain forced them to come out and show their colors.² The life of these men in England, pleasant though it was, was fraught with constant fear for their apprehension, and consequent expulsion, on the grounds of the Expulsion Decree of 1290, ever since Menasseh ben Israel had made his appearance in England. In view of this fact, Lucien Wolf not only justifies their action, or failure of action, but he absolutely exalts it. I can also justify it, but I cannot eulogize Carvajal and his group as he does.³ Through their trade and commerce which these Crypto-Jews built up, most of them were very wealthy men,⁴ and several of them performed valuable services for Cromwell and for the Commonwealth, during the years which they were in England. Through Carvajal's factors in Holland, Cromwell was kept well

1. Supra, footnote p. 47.

2. Supra, p. 105, 106.

3. "Menasseh ben Israel's role was most important but it was not the most important. He was the intermediary by which the prize was secured, which Carvajal and his group had so solidly earned". Wolf, "The Resettlement of the Jews in England". p. 13. Again, he says "The value of the few Jews who negotiated with Cromwell is of doubtful worth, while the men who formed the community which preceded and survived those negotiations - none can doubt their value". The extreme exaltation of the Marrano group is contained in Mr. Wolf's article, "The First English Jew". Transactions Jewish Historical Society of England. vol. 2. See also, Supra p. 70, footnote.

4. What we know of such men as Carvajal, De Caceres, Robles, Chillon and Gonzales proves this beyond a doubt.

informed as to the movements and activities of the Royalists. When Charles II and the representatives of the King of Spain met at Brussels, in 1656, to make plans for a Royalist invasion of England, Carvajal was asked to use his offices to secure information of the proceedings. He at once dispatched a servant named Somers and a relative, Alonzo de Fonseca Meza, to the Royalist camps at Flushing and Ghent. There these men ascertained the Royalist levies, nature of equipment, vessels engaged to transport the troops, who were the spies sent to England, and reported to Carvajal, who in turn told them to Cromwell and the Commonwealth government. His influence in financial affairs also probably assisted the Cromwellian government. Simon de Caceres, the "Chauvinist Jew" was very loyal to the government, and he assisted Cromwell in the British settlement of Jamaica.¹ His proposition for the British conquest of Chile, ² for the undertaking of which, he offered to equip and general an army, was due to his love for England, as well as his hatred for Spain. Furthermore, were this proposition favorably considered and carried out, it would give the Marrano colony high standing in the eyes of Parliament and Cromwell. He too, did great service to Cromwell, as a confidential informer. It is not to be wondered at, that Cromwell was cordial to these men, that he wanted them to remain in England, and that he desired others of similar mental and financial equipment to be admitted into England. Their extensive traveling in the old world and in the new, their experience and their mercantile connections were of the greatest service to Cromwell in his colonial policy and in his foreign

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1. Document quoted, Transactions: Jewish Historical Society of England. vol 3, page 96.

2. See the Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England. vol. 3, pp. 96, 97.

wars. In this respect indeed, Cromwell was far more advanced and had a far better vision, than the men whom he had to oppose in order to work this gain for England.

Mr. Wolf, through diligent search and painstaking study has been able to draw up a list of the minimum number of male adults, living in the Crypto-Jewish community. He has discovered that there were at least twenty-six male adults. 1.

As has been stated, early in 1656, war broke out with Spain. The hostility between the two countries rendered it very dangerous for the Marranos to continue to assert their Spanish nationality. The inconclusive termination of the Whitehall Conference on the Jewish question, however, gave them no material inducement publicly to acknowledge their Judaism. It is true that a verbal permission for private religious worship

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1. Mr. Wolf arrives at this minimum number, through the examination of several documents which are extant. His principal sources are as follows:

(a.) The petition of the leading Marranos, asking for a written statement of Cromwell's verbal assurance that they might hold private religious services at their homes. Beside the signature of Menasseh ben Israel, there are the signatures of six resident London Jews. (Mr. Wolf proves in the Jewish Chronicle, Sept. 6, 1889, that none of these six was a companion of Menasseh from Holland).

(b.) The documents in the Robles case contain the names of eleven Marranos. Four of these, however, are contained in Document #1. This adds seven new names to the list.

(c.) The will of Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, supplies six additional names, all of whom are relatives of Carvajal.

(d.) The perusal of several minor documents, gives us the names of seven more male adults, making the total of 26.

Many of the above were married - we have the names of several of their wives, and the wills of some of these, show that these marriages were fruitful. Many of these children were native born Englishmen, hence they could claim citizenship, at a later date. In all of the documents which Mr. Wolf had examined, he tells us that there is not a trace of money-lending among the Marranos. All of them were merchants, importers and exporters.

had been granted to them by Cromwell,¹ but nothing had been said or promised to them in regard to their civil rights. In this predicament, they had to choose between being persecuted as Spaniards or being subjected to special legislation as Jews. While they were hesitating, undecided as to which course to pursue, the Robles case was brought up, and the proceedings in this case brought them to a hasty decision.

Early in March, 1656, a proclamation was issued by the Council, declaring all Spanish moneys, merchandise and shipping to be lawful prize ². The decree had not even been published, when a certain Francis Knevett, a notary who had done a great deal of work for the Marranos informed the police that the house of Antonio Rodrigues Robles, a wealthy Spanish Merchant and a Marrano, contained such contraband articles. All of the goods and papers found in his home were seized and taken into custody. On the same day, upon similar information, two ships, also the property of Robles were also pounced upon. The whole matter was worked out in the fruitful brain of Knevett, who having obtained the confidence of several members of the Marrano community, in his professional capacity, had discovered that he might betray them with great advantage to himself. He had hired a tool, a certain Philip del Hoyo, who was ready to swear to anything that he (Knevett) would assert. The whole project had been arranged with great skill by Knevett. He had invited John Baptista Dunnington, a factor of Robles

1. Supra, p. 106.

2. While it cannot be proved definitely, it would seem, judging from what transpired, that the whole Robles case, and everything pertaining thereto was a well-conceived plan of the Judeophobes to cause the Marranos trouble, and in so doing probably to secure their expulsion from England, and also to deter the admission of others. Everything in the case points almost conclusively to an anti-Jewish conspiracy, and it is not at all unlikely that Knevett was merely the tool of the anti-Semites, who was assisting them in their malevolent work.

into his office, had hinted to him of the decree which was about to be passed by the Council, and Dunnington, agitated because of the loss which the decree might cause his employer, Robles, had given utterance to several secrets. This was precisely what Knevett wanted, and at his instigation and denunciation, the property of Robles had been seized, as that of an alien enemy. When Robles was hailed into court, he protested that the seizure of his property had been illegal, inasmuch as he was not a Spaniard, but a Portuguese. He, accordingly sent in a petition to Cromwell to this effect. The matter was ordered up for inquiry, and a Colonel Jones was delegated to collect the evidence. In Robles' petition, he had mentioned only incidentally that he was "of the Jewish Nation", stressing the fact that he was born in Portugal, and that he was a Portuguese and not a Spaniard. He averred that he was a good citizen of England, and that he had paid many pounds in customs and taxes. The course which he was pursuing, however, was fraught with danger to himself, inasmuch as it was well known that he had lived for some years in Spain, and that while in England, he had passed as a Spanish Catholic. It is quite possible that Robles was one of those, who, in 1641, had conspired to re-establish the Spanish dominion over Portugal, since he had ^{ed} flown from Portugal at just that time. Hence his claim to Portuguese nationality would hardly bear the scrutiny of a close investigation.

But this matter was not the concern of Robles alone. The continuance of the entire Marrano community was endangered, for it was discovered at about this time, that the Robles affair was only a test case, and that if he were convicted, prosecution of other members of the community on the same grounds, would immediately follow. In their own minds, the danger was the greater, for it is quite likely that many of the Marranos knew the insides of Robles' adventures, and knew furthermore that he had been at one time in the employ of the Spanish throne. They, therefore, felt

that the chances were good that the charges against Robles would be sustained. The danger was all the greater, since the recently acquired privileges had been granted only verbally. Accordingly, the Marranos presented a petition to Cromwell, in which they asked the favors and protection accorded them, be confirmed by Cromwell in writing. At the same time, they petitioned for the right to acquire ground for a Jewish cemetery. This document was signed by Menasseh ben Israel, David Abarbanel (Dormido), Abraham Israel (Antonio Fernandez) Carvajal, Abraham Coen Gonzales, Jacob (Simon) de Caceres and Isak Lopes Chillon, with four of whom, we are well acquainted. Cromwell referred this petition to Council, probably thinking that the time had come, when it were well to grant the readmission to the Jews publicly. The President of the Council, realizing that the Jewish question was coming up in a new form -- (inasmuch as Robles, in his petition had asserted that he was "of the Jewish Nation"), -- held back the petition until a decision had been rendered in the Robles Case. This, of course, filled the Marranos with great anxiety. They, at this time felt that all which had been thus far gained would be lost. Their minds were further agitated by a letter addressed to Menasseh ben Israel, from John Sadler, their best friend, stating that the Jewish question was again being widely discussed, and that he felt it up to Menasseh to answer the charges of ritual murder and idolatry, which were being so widely bruited. In the meanwhile, Knevett had filed information denouncing other Marranos as Spanish subjects. The Jews could no longer, with safety close their eyes to this conspiracy, and Menasseh ben Israel was urged to hurry forth his reply to the calumnious charges. The "Vindiciae Judaeorum", the third of Menasseh's tracts to England appeared a few days later -- on

April 10th. 1.

Meanwhile, Colonel Jones was enraged in collecting all of the evidence in the case. Robles' uncle, Duarte Henriques Alvarez, when asked how his nephew, as a Jew, could venture upon Spanish territory, answered significantly, that "any Portuguese, who took the part of Spain (in her oppression of Portugal, and in attempt to seat the Spanish king on the throne of Portugal) was free to live in his (the Spanish king's) territories". The outcome of the case was still in doubt, when a few days later, Robles sought the advice of Carvajal and others of the Marrano community. It was decided that in view of the stirring appeal which the "Vindiciae" had made, and in view of Cromwell's ever friendly attitude, they should throw off the mask, repudiate their Spanish (or Portuguese) nationality, and challenge a settlement of their status in the country once and for all. The decision was a bold one, but it proved to be very effective. In pursuance of this idea, Robles, on the 15th of April, sent Cromwell another petition, in which he broadly emphasized his Judaism. He said nothing about the purely legal question of his nationality, as to whether he was a Spaniard or a Portuguese. In the petition, he pleads with Cromwell for a continuance of the kindness and goodness toward his people. He related that he had come to England to seek refuge from the horrors of the Inquisition; he told briefly how his father had died under torture and how

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1. The "Vindiciae Judaearum" is taken up in detail in Chapter XIII. Mr. Wolf contradicts himself, as regards the relative dates of the Robles Case and the publication of the "Vindiciae Judaearum". In "The Resettlement of the Jews in England", p. 11, the Robles Case followed the publication of the book, while in "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell", the Robles Case constitutes one of the chief reasons for the publication of the "Vindiciae". The latter dating is the correct, and I have followed it throughout this Chapter.

his mother had been crippled for life, how all members of the Jewish faith had been harassed, tortured, persecuted and expatriated, simply because they were Jews. He had only one motive in coming to England -- "to shelter himself from those tyrannical Proceedings, and enjoy those benefits, which this Commonwealth ever afforded to afflicted strangers". He skillfully appealed to Cromwell's notorious sympathy for "afflicted ones", and insinuated that in reality, the case against him, was somewhat like the Inquisition. Cromwell was a most ardent opponent of the intolerance of Spain and of the Spanish Inquisition which made her the "natural, the providential enemy of England" -- this being one of the grounds of the war. The petition was calculated to appeal also, to the righteous and fair-minded among the English people, whose hearts at the particular moment were filled with indignation at the Inquisition and the Popery of Spain.

Upon its receipt, Cromwell sent this petition to Council, which ordered a committee to make immediate investigation. Ten members of the Marrano community were called upon to testify. Three of them avowed their Judaism. Carvajal gave testimony in Robles' behalf. All agreed that Robles was born in Portugal, and that he was Jewish by birth and by connections. Some of them swore that he had been the victim of the Inquisition. Seeing how matters then stood, Knevett tried to bribe Dunnington to perjure himself, but Dunnington, always favoring Robles, especially inasmuch as it was through him that the trouble had started, turned him down flatly. Then Knevett, realizing that his conspiracy had been frustrated, tried to regain the favor of his former clients, by testifying that he had recently heard that Robles was a Jew and not a Spaniard, and that he believed this to be true. In spite of all this testimony, the court declared that it was not wholly satisfied with the evidence and that it could not arrive at a positive opinion "as to either the religion or nationality" of Robles.

They said, however, that the preponderance of the testimony pointed to the fact that he was a Jew, born at Fundao, Portugal. This statement, they sent to the Council. The Council was not slow in arriving at an opinion. On May 14th, it ordered the immediate restoration of Robles' ships and merchandise, and at the same time, discharged the warrants against him.

There are three elements to be taken into account in this public avowal of their Judaism on the part of the Marranos. The Spanish war had given rise to the case against Robles, which, in turn had caused the publication of the "Vindiciae", which masterful address gave them the courage to come out boldly and to declare their Judaism.

It was in this manner that the Jews of London announced to England, and to the whole world that they were Jews, and that they intended to struggle with might and main for the rights and privileges which were legally and legitimately theirs. They were now in England, as professing Jews and they intended to remain there as such, and as loyal British subjects.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE VINDICIAE JUDAEORUM.

While the excitement occasioned by the Robles case was at its height, Menasseh wrote and published his "Vindiciae Judaeorum". The publication of a work of this kind was deemed necessary by John Sadler, the Jews' best friend in England. The slanderous charges of ritual murder and idolatry were being extensively spread by the Judeophobes, due to the tracts of Prynne and Ross, which had gained a very large circulation throughout England. The conspiracy against the Jews had gained great headway, and Menasseh was constrained to hasten the publication of the "Vindiciae", in order to refute the charges preferred against the Jews by Prynne and others.

The "Vindiciae" is without doubt the masterpiece of Menasseh ben Israel. It is written in clear comprehensive style. There is not a trace of Millenarianism in it. It is logical, coherent and well unified. ^{p. 122} Menasseh wrote it with deep feeling and conviction. He no longer plead for unrestricted readmission, nor unhindered freedom, nor unrestrained activity. It was simply a plea for the safe-guarding of the concessions already granted. Graetz's tribute to the work is indeed expressive. ^{1.} "It is written with deep feeling, and is therefore, convincing; learned matter is not wanting, but the learning is subordinate to the main object. In the composition of this defense, Menasseh must have had peculiar feelings. He had come to England, the interpreter or representative of the people of God, expecting speedily to conquer the sympathy of the Christians --- and now, his people had been placed at the bar, and he had to defend it. Hence the tone of this work is not aggressive and triumphant, but plaintive. He

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1. History of the Jews (Eng.) vol. 5, pp.47, 48.

affirmed that nothing had ever produced a deeper impression on his mind than the letter addressed to him, with the list of anti-Jewish charges.

'It reflects upon the credit of a nation, which amongst so many calumnies, so manifest (and therefore shameful), I dare to pronounce innocent. And in the first place, I cannot but weep bitterly, and with much anguish of soul lament, that strange and horrid accusation of some Christians against the dispersed and afflicted Jews that dwell among them, when they say (what I tremble to write) that the Jews are wont to celebrate the Feast of Unleavened Bread fermenting it with the blood of some Christian, whom they have for that purpose killed'".

And the most eloquent tribute to the "Vindiciae" comes from Lucien Wolf, who is far from being an admirer or devotee of Menasseh. ¹. "The simple eloquence of this essay, its naive garrulousness, the glimpses it yields of a pious, gentle, self-denying character, made it one of the most effective vindications of the Jews ever written. The best tribute to its value is afforded by the fact that it has since been reprinted in all parts of Europe when the calumnies it denounced have been revived".

The substance of the Vindiciae is as follows:

Section 1. The Jews are innocent of the crimes which have been laid at their door, and the truth about the matter should be told. The charge that the Jews mix the blood of a Christian with their Passover bread is a bald lie. Persons who are found murdered ~~are usually murdered~~ are usually murdered by Christians, who in order to hide their guilt, find

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1. "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell,"

it most convenient to accuse the Jews. It is strictly forbidden the Jews to eat blood of animals, (Leviticus 7:26, Deuteronomy 12:16). If they are forbidden to eat animal blood, how much more then the blood of human beings. The accusation also involves the breaking of the Second Commandment, which all good Jews do strictly observe. And especially, at Passover, may the Jews not eat blood, for nothing fermentable is permitted the Jews at this season of the year. Those who charge the Jews with ritual murder, cannot cite one passage, Scriptural or Rabbinical, in which anything like this is commanded or even countenanced. The charge is nothing more or less than malicious slander. The Jews have always prayed for the welfare of the government in which they lived. Lord St. John can testify to this for he attended Jewish services when he was in Holland. Matthew Paris' account of the ritual murder of William Norwich is untrue and it is likewise a slander and a libel. And if this evidence does not suffice, an oath upon my very life may. I swear, without any deceit or fraud, by the Most High God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, who promulgated his law to the people of Israel, upon Mount Sinai, that I never yet to this day saw any such custom among the people of Israel, and that they do not hold any such thing by divine precept of the Law, or any ordinance or any institution of their wise men, and that they never committed or endeavored such wickedness, (that I know, or have credibly heard or read in any Jewish Authors), and if I lie in this matter, then let all the curses mentioned in Leviticus and Deuteronomy come upon me, let me never see the blessings and consolations of Zion, nor attain to the resurrection of the dead. ¹.

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1. This oath has been used several times since, when similar matters arose, and when a defense for the Jews was needed. Moses Mendelssohn used it when attacks were made against the Jews in Germany, and it was used by Solomon Herschell, chief rabbi of England, during the Damascus affair in 1840.

Furthermore, the opinions of some very learned Christians who have never taken any credence in the Blood Accusation, can be quoted, for example, John Hoornbeek, (author of "De Convertendis Judaeis" - 1655) contends that the charge is absolutely false. Many instances can be quoted wherein innocent Jews have been cruelly murdered on this charge, and later it was discovered that they had been guilty of it. Instances of this are not wanting. An example is a case in Vienna. Three boys were missed, and the Jews were accused of having murdered them. Three hundred Jews were cruelly put to death. The next spring, when the lake thawed, the bodies of the three boys were found. A woman murdered a young girl, when she resisted an attempt at robbery. When apprehended, the murderess said that the Jews had put her up to the crime, in order to get blood for their Passover. A certain Jew was accused of stealing a box containing some hosts. He was horribly tortured and then burned to death. A year later, the real thief, on the gallows confessed his guilt. In tracing the history of the Blood Accusations, we find that the early Christians were also charged with it, and false witnesses were summoned against them by their pagan persecutors.

Section 2. The accusation that the Jews are guilty of idolatry is absurd. The Jews rise when the Scrolls are taken from the ark, as a mark of reverence. worship of the Law (venerari) is permitted to the Jews, and it is a good custom, and cannot be construed as idolatry. The Jews do not honor or worship images, but they do revere the Law. Nor can bowing the head to the Law be called idolatry. It is a sign of respect. When people meet one another, they bow the head.

Section 3. It is equally untrue that the Jews curse the Christians in their prayers. This is an obstinate delusion of anti-Semites. There is a voluminous literature on the subject. The Jews curse the heretics and the apostates, but not Christians. When the Jews lived under the Roman

government, they cursed it, because it was very cruel to them but under beneficent governments this curse means nothing. It is a relic which has remained in the prayers, as ritual, but it has lost its significance. The Jews will go out of their way in avoiding the injuring of a good ruler's feelings. To avoid insulting Ptolemy, the translators of the Septuagint avoided the name "hare", substituting for it "rough foot", for the name of Ptolemy's wife, and also his own name, resembled that of the Hebrew and Greek for "hare", and they did not wish to mention these as "unclean animals", so as not to insult the ruler. The Jews pray against the Zedim, i.e. the Kingdom of pride. A certain Moroccan ruler, Mulet Zidan was told of this fact in such a way as to make him believe that the Jews were praying against him. The king ordered several of the Jews to appear before him. After hearing about the matter, he understood it, but he ordered the Jews to change the word so that future misunderstandings might be avoided. Contrariwise, the dispersed Jews pray every Sabbath for the welfare of the kingdom in which they live. To prove this, take examples from Numbers 29:13 the case of Simon the Just and Alexander; I Maccabees 7:33; the case of Heliodorus and Onias. Furthermore, on the Day of Atonement the Jewish High Priest enters into prayer for the entire world ---- indeed for all of mankind, and he asks God for a year of blessings, happiness and peace for all. Philo, the great Jewish philosopher says that other priests pray only for their own nation, but the Jews pray for all. The Jews are commanded not to hate anyone --- even the Egyptian, the arch-oppressor. They certainly do not hate the people among whom they dwell. They pray for them continually and never against them.

Section 4. They say that the Jews are blasphemers. This is not true. We do not revile others' gods even though we do not believe in them. Moreover, the prayers wherein they say we blaspheme were written

in the time of Ezra, centuries before Christ. How then, can they possibly refer to him? In Italy and in Holland the Christians visit the synagogues, and they will attest to the fact that they have never heard the Jews blaspheme Christ. In our prayers, we praise God, ask for material and spiritual blessings, and implore Him for benevolence, protection and defense.

Section 5. The Jews are accused of proselytizing. This is not altogether true. The Jews do not seek proselytes, but if others come to them in good faith and desire to join the Jewish people, they are accepted. However the Jews do not encourage this, so as to give as little cause as possible for offense. The Spanish Inquisition is the most hideous and most terrible institution on earth. The charge of proselytizing was only an excuse of the Inquisition in order to expel the Jews from Spain.

Section 6. In the matter of commerce and merchandise, some people say that the Jews draw to themselves all of the trade, thus injuring and impoverishing the natives. The Jews do not try to injure. They bring into the nation great tolls and customs. The Jews bring with them transportation and trade. The Jews know the world almost perfectly, and could be of great service in securing commodities for the Commonwealth. The Jews, do not steal or defraud, as this is against the Eighth Commandment.

Section 7. The purpose of my coming to England is evident. I was assured that my coming was not displeasing to the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell. I had also correspondence with a number of great men in England. The Book of Deuteronomy forecasts a complete dispersion of the Jewish people before the advent of the Messianic era. "The Jews must be scattered from one end of the earth to the other". England was the only country in which the Jews were not permitted to live, and I came here in order to see if the Jews could not be readmitted. I was sent a passport and I came, despite

the protests of my many friends in Holland, who did not desire me to make the trip, but I felt it as a great duty, and so I came. I had a very fine position in Amsterdam, but even that mattered not to me, when it came to a question of duty. Menasseh then gives an account of his history since he has been in England, and tells of his great disappointment, that so little has been accomplished. He then closes with a prayer.

Thus ends the third and by far the best tract which Menasseh had written in connection with his mission to England. The purpose of the work was a refutation of the anti-Semitic charges which were being leveled against the Jews at the time, and as such it fulfilled its purpose admirably. It also had the effect of encouraging the London Marranos to come out boldly and profess their Judaism to England and to the world.

Toward the end of the seventh section of the book, Menasseh wrote, "As yet we have had no final determination from his most Serene Highness".¹ Had Menasseh waited for a few months, he would not have written this statement, as immediately after the decision in the Robles Case two months later, the permission for the Jews to worship was put into writing, and the little community was given the permission to acquire land for a cemetery.

Menasseh, however, was completely broken down in health, due to his tremendous exertions in behalf of his people. He had sacrificed his position in Holland as well as his health for the future English Jewry. His finances having given out, Menasseh petitioned Cromwell for a stipend

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1. In April 1656, one of the Visionaries published a small work, in which he says, "What shall be the issue of this, the most high God knoweth. Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel still remains in London desiring favorable answer to his proposals, and not receiving it, he hath desired that if they may not be granted, he may have a favorable dismissal and return home. But other great affairs being now in hand, and this being business of no very great concernment, no absolute answer is yet returned to him".

which was immediately granted. ¹. What Menasseh's intentions were, we do not know. Possibly he intended to remain in England to become rabbi of the small community. At any rate he tarried in London until September 1657, when his only son, Samuel died. Being absolutely destitute, he petitioned Cromwell for 500 pounds in order to carry his son's body to Holland, as he had promised him before his death. 200 pounds was granted him, and with Samuel's body, Menasseh sailed for Holland. He survived his son but two months, for completely broken in health he died at the house of his brother-in-law, Ephraim Abarbanel, November 20, 1657, at the age of fifty-three, and was buried in the Sephardic Jewish Cemetery at Amsterdam. His epitaph is in Spanish - "He is not dead, for in Heaven, he enjoys eternal life in Supreme glory and his writings have insured him immortality on earth".

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1. It was never paid however, as Menasseh relinquished his claim upon the pension of 100 pounds yearly. In consideration of his receiving 200 pounds, after the death of his son, when he did not have the money necessary to carry him back to Holland.

This affair is certainly a poor commentary upon the gratitude of the Marrano community. The idea of a man who had done as much for his people as had Menasseh - the spectacle of such a man's having to beg for the very means of existence is almost repulsive. Had Menasseh's faults been ever so grievous, there is, in my opinion no cogent reason for the Marranos' treatment of him. But we have no knowledge of anything excepting good which he did for the London community. Such an affair is one upon which Jews - and especially English Jews should look back with deep shame. "We shall always care for our own poor", was the answer of the Jews to Peter Stuyvesant, when the question of admitting indigent Jews to New Netherlands arose in the middle of the 17th Century. With that wonderful epigram, uttered little more than a decade previously, as a motto for all Jews, the wealthy Jews of London permitted Menasseh - the man who had done so much for them, who had been instrumental in securing for them what rights they had obtained - to go to Oliver Cromwell and ask for a pension. Mr. Wolf conjectures that he had had a grievous misunderstanding with the community, but as far as I can see, there is no basis for this assumption. Mr. Wolf bases it, however, upon the fact that if he had not quarreled with the Marranos he would not have taken his son back to Holland for burial, but would have buried him in England, where the Jews had, a month or so previously, acquired a cemetery. However, we know that the real reason for Menasseh's action was the fact that his son had "engaged him to accompany his corpse to Holland" and he had promised to do so. Mr. Wolf has evidently overlooked this phrase in Menasseh's petition to Cromwell, for financial means to carry out his son's dying request. In any event, Mr. Wolf passes very smoothly over the final days of Menasseh in London.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION.

All of the requests of the London Marranos had been granted, but the goal for which Menasseh ben Israel had striven was unattained. His desire had been to obtain equal rights for the Jews in England, and to gain a haven of rest for all the persecuted Jews in Europe. In this matter, we know that, for the time, he was unsuccessful. It is almost certain that when Menasseh left England in 1657, haggard and wan, disappointed and broken in health and spirit, he had the feeling that his work in England had been entirely abortive, and since he died, but two months later, and did not live to see the least of the fruits which his labor had wrought, it is undoubtedly true that he died with the feeling that he was unsuccessful and that his life had been in vain. Many great men have died with this feeling. But we, the later generation know differently. We know that Menasseh was pre-eminently successful, and that, as the years rolled by, that of which he had always dreamed -- a free land, of unrestricted liberty for the Jews had become indeed a reality. And it is to him, the pioneer in this field of endeavor, to whom the honor really belongs. He had built more solidly than he realized at the time, and his work has endured for generations.

A few words in conclusion, as to how the Jewish Community of England weathered the storm of the fall of the Commonwealth after the death of Oliver Cromwell, I believe, are in place. The fact that there were so few Jews in England, and the further fact that they had so few privileges at the time of the Restoration of Charles II to the throne of England, made the proposition much easier for the king to handle. In the first place, he was bound to the Jewish people through the tremendous assistance which they had rendered to him while he was an exile in Holland.

The loyalty of the Da Costa family and of Augustin Coronel to Charles and to General Monk is well known. In the second place, Charles was not at all averse to the Jews and he protected them assiduously throughout his reign. Even before his accession, during the brief term that Richard Cromwell was at the helm of the English government, a "petition and remonstrance" against the action of his father in having readmitted the Jews and in having given them privileges was presented to him by a Richard Baker, asking for the re-expulsion of the Jews. This petition was presented by the merchants of London. At the same time, Thomas Violet, the noted pamphleteer made a collection of documents, proving the illegality of the readmission of the Jews, and brought them before court, with a petition that the intruders should at once be expelled. If this condition obtained while the Commonwealth was still in existence, it can well be imagined what happened after the Restoration of Charles II. Everybody was looking for redress from all the wrongs of the deposed government, and the anti-Semites were among the first to petition Charles. Violet presented Charles with a very strong petition, on the grounds that all acts of the Usurper were illegal, and hence, the Jews had no right in England. He suggested that all their property and estates be confiscated and then they should be cast into prison and kept there until they had been ransomed by their wealthy relatives abroad. This, he thought, was the best way to dispose of the Jews then in England. The Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of London, had a petition ready upon Charles' arrival. They complained bitterly against the readmission of the Jews by Cromwell, and asked that the king "cause the former laws made against the Jews to be put in execution, and to recommend to your two Houses of Parliament to enact such new ones for the expulsion of all professed Jews out of your majesty's dominions, and to bar the door after them -- (for) the good and welfare of your subjects". But Charles was in no hurry to act, in

accordance with these petitions. The colonial and commercial enterprises organized by Cromwell, had been incorporated as a part of the program of the restored Monarchy, and the Jews played too prominent a part in these to be dismissed from England so lightly. Besides, as we have pointed out, Charles had some personal obligations to the Jews.

While the anti-Jewish campaign was confined to such as Baker and Violet, the Jews did nothing to protect themselves, but when the City Corporation of London took up the matter, they bestirred themselves at once. The Marranos met at the home of Marie Carvajal, widow of Antonio, and drew up a petition to Charles II, asking for protection, and continued residence in England. Charles had made up his mind that the Jews were to be protected, and he recommended to Parliament that measures be taken for their protection. We have no record of any act, however. Charles had ignored the petitions of the anti-Semites, and the Jews once again felt safe in the protection of the king. That Charles was favorably disposed towards the Jews is shown by the fact that in 1661, he granted permission to three Jews to settle in Barbados, although this was prohibited by the new Navigation Act. Within eighteen months after the Restoration nineteen Jews had been made citizens, and within two years, there is record of fifty-seven new families living in England.

In 1663, another anti-Jewish agitation was started, this time by the Earl of Berkshire and a certain Mr. Ricaut. They told the wardens of the congregation that the king had committed the Jews to their care, and that unless a large sum of money were forthcoming, they would authorize the confiscation of their property. The Jews refused thus to be blackmailed, and appealed to the king, disclosing the plot. In answering them, Charles said, "The king hath not given any particular order for the

molesting and disquieting of the petitioners, either in their persons or in their estates, but that they may promise themselves the effects of the same favor, as formerly they have had, as long as they demean themselves peaceably and quietly, with due obedience to his majesty's laws, and without scandal to the government". "The favors which they formerly had", hardly refers to the settlement under the Commonwealth, as Charles had to ignore this completely, if for no other reason than for the sake of his pride. But the king had, in the four years which he had been on the throne, granted the Jews many favors, and he could speak thus, without carrying his retrospect back further than his restoration. Thus, was the settlement of the Jews under Cromwell, confirmed. Although the Jews were subjected to several more unpleasant attacks during the following years, none of them was of serious nature, and they continued, peacefully and quietly to live in England.

Could Menasseh ben Israel have returned just a decade after his death, he would have seen Sir Josiah Child, the millionaire governor of the East Indies, pleading for the naturalization of the Jews as citizens of England. Then, he would have realized that his efforts had not been in vain; then, would he have beheld a prosperous Jewish settlement in England; then would he have seen several flourishing congregations and communities, then, finally, would he have recognized full well that his labor of love had been a wonderful work for humanity, and that his ardent hope and aspiration had been realized.