
Conflict and Opportunity in "Europe's Other Sea": The Adventure of Caribbean Jewish Settlement

Author(s): Daniel M. Swetschinski

Source: *American Jewish History*, Vol. 72, No. 2 (December 1982), pp. 212-240

Published by: The Johns Hopkins University Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23882529>

Accessed: 25-06-2017 10:26 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://about.jstor.org/terms>



The Johns Hopkins University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *American Jewish History*

Conflict and Opportunity in “Europe’s Other Sea”: The Adventure of Caribbean Jewish Settlement

Daniel M. Swetschinski

In 1797, during one more European war that had spilled over into Caribbean waters, the French navy captured a Portuguese merchant vessel named *Princeza Real*. The French took the *Princeza Real* to Surinam where they sold the ship and its cargo. The Portuguese crew was simply dumped in Paramaribo without ship or means. In search of some way out of their predicament the Portuguese sailors made contact with Surinam’s Portuguese Jews. Amongst the Jews they discovered – probably to their surprise, but certainly to ours – the survival of other than language ties. For the Surinam Jews treated the destitute sailors as if they were their fellow countrymen. They sheltered and fed them and chartered a ship to sail the penniless crewmen to Lisbon, refusing any reimbursement for their expenses. Upon their return to Portugal the sailors notified the Portuguese authorities of the generosity of the Surinam Jews. The Portuguese government, in turn, sent a hand-delivered letter of gratitude, in the name of Prince João, to Doctor David Nassi, one of the leaders of the Surinam Jewish Community.

I [i.e., Don Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, governor of the State of Pará and Rio Negro, in Brazil] am commanded by His Royal Highness to thank you in his royal name for this noble and generous act . . . in which his Highness recognizes, with great pleasure, a demonstration of the positive memories [uma prova da estimavel lembrança] of its former fatherland retained by the Portuguese Jewish nation. And it would please Him greatly if all or some of you, gentlemen, wished to return and settle in Portugal where you would enjoy the greatest security and peace. For presently, under the reign of the august and enlightened Prince who rules us, none of the reasons which occasioned your expatriation exists any longer.

This royal expression of gratitude flustered the humble Doctor Nassi. In reply he wrote that “[our action] had no other objective than to meet our human obligations” and admitted to a partial satisfaction “of our desire to demonstrate our love, our devotion and our loyalty to the fatherland of our ancestors, notwithstanding the harsh persecutions that they suffered there in the ages of darkness and ignorance.” On witnessing the enthusiasm and tears of Surinam’s Portuguese Jews, Francisco José Rodrigues Barata, the Portuguese messenger who had been sent on a six-month journey (mostly by canoe) to deliver the letter to Doctor Nassi, was re-

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

mind of Ovid's Latin verses: "I do not know by what sweetness the native land attracts all of us and will not let us forget it."¹

This "little incident" occurred exactly three hundred years after the forcible conversion of all of Portugal's Jews in 1497. The two dates and the events and emotions associated with them could hardly stand in starker contrast. Their juxtaposition, however, may serve to remind us that underneath or alongside the history of the Inquisition's persecutions of the Portuguese Marranos and that of Portuguese Jewish exile there exists another history of Portuguese and Marrano collaboration and one of Portuguese Jewish "attachment" to their former fatherland. The integration of these seemingly incompatible histories tends to be made difficult by drawing too sharp a distinction between New Christian or Marrano and Jew. Attachment to Portugal characterizes the first, detachment – if not hostility – the latter. Hence it is often thought unnecessary to consider the "pre-exilic" days of the Portuguese Jews to understand their behavior in the Sephardic diaspora. I hope to demonstrate to you that we can understand the three centuries of Portuguese Jewish history from 1497 to 1797 only if we acknowledge the positive with the negative in the relationship between Portugal and the New Christians or Jews.

Caribbean Jewish history may not appear the most propitious territory for an exploration of possible linkages between Portuguese New Christian and Jewish histories. The Caribbean islands and their Jewish settlements are too far removed, in time and in place, to reveal any more or less patent interrelation with Portugal. Relations, of course, existed between the Caribbean Jews of Curaçao, Barbados and Jamaica and the Portuguese New Christians of New Spain, Tierra Firme and New Granada, but their significance seemed, at first sight, hardly to transcend the local scene. Paradoxically and surprisingly, however, it was just these seemingly peripheral and tenuous connections that alerted me to seeking an explanation for "the adventure of Caribbean Jewish settlement" in the more remote corners of Portuguese New Christian history.

For of the two kinds of relations that existed between the Jews of the Caribbean islands and the New Christians of Spanish America

1 Richard J. H. Gottheil, "Contributions to the History of the Jews in Surinam," *PAJHS*, 9 (1901), 143-144; Mário Barata, "A 'nação judaico-portuguêsa' do Surinam e suas relações com o Brasil, no século XVIII," *Comentário*, 1, 1 (1960), 54-57; and "Diario da viagem que fez á colonia hollandeza de Surinam o porta-bandeira . . .," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, 8 (1846), esp. pp. 161-204.

American Jewish History

one is decidedly overrated and the other equally tellingly depreciated. Many writers refer to the English-, Dutch- and, even, French-controlled islands as places of refuge for New Christians persecuted by the Mexican or Cartagena Inquisitions.² Very little evidence of such refuge actually exists. True, some of the names of Caribbean Jewish families bear a striking resemblance to those of families tried in Mexico City or Cartagena de Indias. One must be very careful, however, with Portuguese family names. Names like Nunes, Dias, Rodrigues, Sousa, Medina, Lopes, Valverde, Mercado, Serrano, Gomes, Antunes, Navarro and Pacheco³ are extremely common in Portugal as well as in Spain, among Old and New Christians as well as Jews. Moreover, unfortunately for modern historians, members of the same New Christian family frequently carried quite different surnames. For it was the practice in Portugal for children to receive the surname of either their father or their mother or their grandfather or their grandmother or any combination thereof. Thus, among the children of Dr. Jeronimo Nunes Ramires and Maria da Fonseca we find the surnames da Costa, da Fonseca, Nunes da Costa, Henriques and Ramires.⁴ Taken together, the commonness of the names and the non-identity of surnames among members of the same family make any conclusions drawn from a coincidence of names entirely meaningless.

One New Christian who seemed definitely to have established a connection with Curaçao appears on closer examination never to have been there. Juan de Araujo (or Arauxo) was tried by the Mexican Inquisition after his death and condemned in effigy, in 1649.⁵ De Araujo had been a minor slave trader who had travelled widely through the Spanish Indies, between Puebla, Vera Cruz, Cartagena, Havana and, possibly even, Angola. During one of these voyages he appeared to have visited Curaçao in the 1640's. He was thus cited in the literature as possibly the second "Jew" to have set foot on this island and one whose visit showed the possibilities of interrelationship between Jews and New Christians in the years to come. Juan de Araujo, unfortunately, never set foot on Curaçao. The transcript of his trial never mentions the island, but, instead,

2 For instance, Seymour B. Liebman, *The Jews in New Spain* (Coral Gables: 1970), pp. 275-276.

3 The names listed are those suggested by Liebman, *The Jews in New Spain*, p. 276.

4 I. S. Révah, "Pour l'histoire des 'Nouveaux-Chrétiens' portugais. La relation généalogique d'I. de M. Aboab," *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, 2 (1961), 303-306.

5 Isaac S. and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati: 1970), p. 38.

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

refers several times to Caracas, where, by the way, Juan de Araujo died in the collapse of a church.⁶ Thus, direct New Christian contact with the Caribbean, however plausible, must not be too easily taken for granted. If and when New Christians sought refuge on Curaçao, Barbados or Jamaica, the occasion was sporadic, their number small, and their significance in the greater scheme of Caribbean Jewish history negligible.

Juan de Araujo's non-visit to Curacao has the merit, however, of pointing to the other kind of misconceived relations between New Christians and Jews: those of commercial exchange. A great deal of evidence testifies to commercial relations between Caribbean Jewish and Spanish American, i.e., mostly Portuguese New Christian, merchants. It is in the general nature of such early modern commercial evidence, however, to be extremely fragmentary, and especially so when it comes, as it does here, to trade between the territories of political and religious enemies, the so-called *contrabando*, to use a seventeenth-century term. The subtropical Caribbean may be the last place one would expect icebergs. Studying Caribbean Jewish trade, however, is like navigating in a sea of icebergs. One must constantly assume there to be much more than the eye perceives. The problem thus becomes one of trying to imagine from a view of the proverbial tip of the iceberg the contours and size of its invisible larger part. Now, as regards the history of Caribbean Jewish trade, this larger context extends to Europe. And our imagination may be anchored in what we know of Amsterdam, London and Hamburg Jewish trade and especially, as I hope to show, in what we can learn of Portuguese New Christian trade. As a matter of fact, as I sought to throw light on Caribbean Jewish history, I discovered, to my own surprise, that the clarities gained in the Caribbean reflect back and illumine certain aspects of Amsterdam Jewish history that were otherwise hidden in the dark.

As we all know, the Jews were expelled from Spain in the same year that Columbus and his crew became the first Europeans to set foot on the Caribbean islands. And, we may be sure, none of the

6 The transcript may be found in the G. R. G. Conway Collection of the Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma, no. 75; Ivie E. Cadenhead Jr., "The G. R. G. Conway Collection in the Gilcrease Institute: A Checklist," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 38 (1958), 373-382. I would like to thank the librarian of the Conway Collection for making a photostat of the "Processo y causa criminal contra Juan de Araujo Portugues obseruante de la lei de Moisen vezino de Caracas donde murio" available to me.

American Jewish History

approximately 120,000 Jews who fled to Portugal in 1492⁷ ever dreamed that one day his or her descendants would settle in the same region. Much was to happen, however, in the intervening century and a half.

In 1492 the Portuguese King was as yet uncertain as to what to do with this large influx of immigrants. Eventually, however, the next King, Manoel I, came to appreciate the Jews so much that, when in 1496, he was forced under Spanish pressure to rid his country of all Jews, he chose not to expel them but forcibly converted them instead, in 1497. The Jews had entered the country at a most decisive moment as Portugal was expanding its empire first into Africa and, after 1498, into Asia.⁸ A first indication that the Portuguese authorities were beginning to think of using the Jewish immigrants in their overseas explorations came in 1493. For in that year, João II ordered that Jewish children between the ages of two and ten be taken from their parents and shipped to São Tomé, an island off the African coast that “was inhabited by lizards, snakes and other venomous reptiles and was devoid of rational beings.”⁹ (The Portuguese governor of São Tomé preferred children so as to ensure future population growth.) Certainly Manoel I considered using the Jews in a similar fashion to assist him more or less voluntarily in his expansionist plans, when he ordered their conversion in 1497. More or less voluntarily. For by sheer necessity, as they were generally debarred from leaving the Kingdom, the Portuguese New Christians contributed greatly to the success of Portugal’s sixteenth-century commercial expansion.

It is, of course, not my intention to attribute all subsequent developments in Portuguese trade to the New Christians. For, however prominent, they never truly monopolized Portuguese commerce. On the other hand, I also do not wish to abridge our understanding of the New Christians by ignoring insights to be gained from the study of Portuguese trade. Now, at the time of the Spanish Jews’ immigration, Portugal hardly possessed the kind of active and literate commercial class to sustain the expansion of its

-
- 7 J. Lucio d’Azevedo, *Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon: 1921), p. 21. The estimate is based on the figures of the contemporary chronicler André Bernaldez.
 - 8 For comprehensive surveys of early Portuguese colonial expansion, see Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825* (London: 1969), pp. 15–38; and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (New York: 1972), v. I, pp. 217–270.
 - 9 D’Azevedo, *Christãos Novos*, pp. 24–25. The quote is from Samuel Usque, *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*, trans. Martin A. Cohen (Philadelphia: 1965), p. 201.

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

empire. Old Christian Portugal had traditionally disdained the mercantile profession which it rated below the seven "mechanical arts" (peasant, hunter, soldier, sailor, surgeon, weaver, blacksmith).¹⁰ It was, therefore, natural for many New Christian outcasts to assume a position in that segment of Portuguese society that was numerically understaffed and socially underrated. If seventeenth-century estimates are any indication, New Christians constituted about 65–75% of the total Portuguese mercantile community while hardly totalling more than 10% of the population.¹¹

During the sixteenth century these New Christian merchants became active along Portugal's major trade routes, first in Africa, then in East India, and finally in Brazil. In Africa they participated in the development of the sugar islands of Madeira and São Tomé and its adjunct, the infamous slave trade. After 1510, in East India, in Goa and Cochin to be precise, they became involved in the spice and jewel trade.¹² The settlement of an expatriate Portuguese New Christian colony in Antwerp was an offshoot, primarily, of their East Indian trade.¹³ After the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1536,¹⁴ Portuguese authorities appear to have become aware of the prominence of the New Christians particularly in the East India trade. For in 1549–50, Charles V sought to expel them from Antwerp, and in 1560 the Portuguese Inquisition established its only permanent office in the colonies, in Goa.¹⁵ From about the middle of the century, finally, the Portuguese began more seriously to direct their attention to the Western Hemisphere. Brazil helped to secure the *Carreira da Índia* (i.e., the East India route), proved

-
- 10 Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, p. 320.
 - 11 David Grant Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Bahia in the Seventeenth Century: A Socio-Economic Study of the Merchants of Lisbon and Bahia, 1620–1690" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1975), pp. 16–19.
 - 12 There exists as yet no study of New Christian participation in Portugal's East Indian trade. For this Portuguese colonial expansion in general, see Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, pp. 39–107.
 - 13 J. A. Goris, *Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain: 1925).
 - 14 Alexandre Herculano, *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal* (Stanford: 1926; repr., with a prolegomenon by Y. H. Yerushalmi, New York: 1972); and I. S. Révah, "Les Marranes portugais et l'Inquisition au XVI^e siècle," in *The Sephardi Heritage*, ed. Richard D. Barnett (London: 1971), pp. 479–526.
 - 15 On the Antwerp expulsion, see Goris, *Colonies marchandes*, p. 54; and Hans Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567–1648): Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit* (Wiesbaden: 1977), p. 63. On the Inquisition of Goa, see Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa* (Coimbra: 1930–1945).

American Jewish History

conducive to the cultivation of sugar cane, created increasing demands for the slave trade and, last but not least, supplied an additional export article in brazilwood.¹⁶ Needless to say, New Christian merchants were also drawn into this final – and soon-to-become most promising – expansion of the Portuguese empire.

Thus, on the eve of the union of the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns by Philip II in 1580, the Portuguese New Christian merchants were solidly entrenched in some of the most lucrative enterprises of sixteenth-century colonial exploration and trade. One particular aspect of their commercial activities, moreover, tended to increase their significance beyond even their numerical superiority amongst Portugal's merchants, inquisitorial harassment notwithstanding. Given the disdain in which most Portuguese held commerce, Old Christian merchants inclined to leave their odious profession as soon as their fortunes allowed. They would buy an estate or plantation, acquire a noble title, and retire to the aristocratic life. The New Christians, however, were largely, though never completely, cut off from this avenue of upward, if sterile, social mobility by reason of the purity of blood statutes. These statutes excluded any one of Jewish or Muslim descent from all ecclesiastical, military and administrative posts as well as from membership in the Military Orders, municipal councils, charitable foundations, etc. Hence, New Christian mercantile careers either lasted longer than Old Christian ones or were never "betrayed." The result was not primarily, or not even necessarily, greater financial success, but a greater pool of kin engaged in commerce at any given time, a vaster network of trade associates. And if one thing clearly distinguishes the New from the Old Christian merchant it is this commerce *cum* familial solidarity that spanned the entire Portuguese empire from India via Lisbon to Brazil and beyond to Antwerp.¹⁷

The union of the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns in 1580, opened many new opportunities to these internationally well-connected Portuguese family firms or *casas* as they were called. Portuguese merchants had been active in the slave trade with Spanish America before 1580 and the Spanish government tried very hard to prevent or restrict any further Portuguese commercial penetration into the Spanish colonies after 1580. Either economic demands or political incompetence or corruption, however, enabled the Portuguese merchants to expand their efforts in Spanish America vastly and to bypass, legally and illegally, the Spanish measures against them.

16 Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, pp. 85–107.

17 Smith, "Mercantile Class," pp. 104–105, 117–160.

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

Spanish emigration statistics for the years 1579–1600 give us an initial impression of what areas in Spanish America interested the Portuguese the most.¹⁸ High percentages of Portuguese immigrants are recorded for New Mexico and Cuba, and an extremely high percentage for the Rio de la Plata region. Tierra Firme, Cartagena and New Granada drew comparatively few Portuguese settlers. During the first few decades of the seventeenth century, Portuguese penetration seems to have deepened. For in those years, Spanish authorities almost constantly complained of alarming numbers of Portuguese New Christian merchants in Lima, Cartagena, Vera Cruz and Mexico City.¹⁹ Thus we witness, from 1580 to 1640, a slow, but certain expansion of Portuguese commercial enterprise in the Spanish Indies, gradually edging from the peripheries of Havana and Buenos Aires to the great colonial centers.

The reasons for the Portuguese migration to New Mexico escape me at present. They may, perhaps, have been related to the conquering exploits of the New Leonese Governor Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva, himself a Portuguese from Mogadouro, of whose place in New Christian history one needs hardly to be reminded.²⁰ Or the immigrants may have been attracted to New Mexico in search of the legendary Eldorado. In our present context, however, New Mexico need not detain us. We possess more information about the Cuban settlers. Strategically well-placed, Havana proved a favorable outpost particularly for intercolonial trade. The monopoly of European-American trade jealously guarded by the merchants of Seville resulted in a perennial – premeditated or accidental – under-supply of the colonies and created a constant high demand for European goods.²¹ Northern European merchants exploited the supply deficiency between Europe and America, but local Spanish American merchants saw to the distribution of these European goods within the colonies. Here is where the Portuguese who may originally have settled on Cuba as agriculturists or sailors became important. For as *rescatadores* (i.e., colonists who ex-

-
- 18 Peter Boyd-Bowman, "Patterns of Spanish Emigration to the Indies, 1579–1600," *The Americas*, 33 (1976–77), 78–95.
- 19 In addition to the literature cited in subsequent footnotes, see Lewis Hanke, "The Portuguese in Spanish America, with Special Reference to the Villa Imperial de Potosí," *Revista de Historia de America*, 5 (1961), 1–48.
- 20 Martin A. Cohen, *The Martyr: The Story of a Secret Jew and the Mexican Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia: 1973); and Liebman, *Jews in New Spain*, pp. 159–182.
- 21 The best introduction to the subject is still C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1918).

American Jewish History

change goods in barter with foreign merchants) the Portuguese Cubans constituted one final, all-important and necessary link in the importation of European goods to the Spanish American mainland.²² A similar *rescate* trade was conducted by Portuguese in Santo Domingo and eventually, of course, throughout the American continent.

Far more important was the Portuguese colony of Buenos Aires and the Rio de la Plata region, including the central province of Tucumán. Though settlement attempts had been made in that area before 1580, none proved successful until the second and definite foundation of Buenos Aires in that year established a permanent Spanish port on the Atlantic coast of South America. Previously, all trade with South America passed through the Caribbean or the Pacific. The rich yields of the Peruvian silver mines were transported over land from Potosí to Lima to Callão whence they were shipped to Panamá where they were unloaded onto mules and transported across the Isthmus to Nombre de Dios or Puerto Bello whence they were shipped to Spain. An alternate route now came to connect Potosí to Buenos Aires. Though far longer than the route to Callão, the Buenos Aires connection had the distinct advantage of eliminating the need for expensive transshipment at the Isthmus of Panama and was particularly lucrative, as it escaped, at least until 1623, Spanish governmental control. In view of the proximity of Buenos Aires to Brazil, it can come as no surprise that licensed as well as unlicensed Portuguese infiltration was especially effective in that area of Spanish America. Brazilian trade, moreover, was far less regulated than that with Spanish America. Brazil, therefore, did not suffer the same supply problems as the Spanish colonies and could more readily and more cheaply meet the demands for European goods in Buenos Aires, Tucumán, and, even, Peru.²³

The first Portuguese (and European) to exploit the possibilities of the clandestine Buenos Aires route was Francisco de Vitória, the celebrated bishop of Tucumán. Vitória, a New Christian merchant who had settled in Peru, had joined the Dominican Order late in

22 Irene A. Wright, "Rescate: with Special Reference to Cuba, 1599-1610," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 3 (1920), 333-361; and Henry H. Keith, "New World Interlopers: The Portuguese in the Spanish West Indies, from the Discovery to 1640," *The Americas*, 25 (1968-69), 360-371.

23 Alice Piffer Canabrava, *O comércio português no Rio da Prata (1580-1640)* (São Paulo: 1944); Charles R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola 1602-1686* (London: 1952), pp. 69-110; Fernand Braudel, "Du Potosi à Buenos Aires: Une route clandestine de l'argent," *Annales E.S.C.*, 4 (1949), 546-550; and Ricardo de Lafuente Machain, *Los portugueses en Buenos Aires (siglo XVII)* (Madrid: 1931).

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

life and was nominated bishop of Tucumán in 1577. Soon after he had established himself in San Miguel de Tucumán, he obtained permission to import slaves for his personal use. Thus began a lucrative exchange of slaves imported from Brazil for silver from Potosí exported to Brazil and Portugal. Vitória was assisted in this trade by accomplices in the province of Charcas, his brother, Diego Pérez de Acosta, in Tucumán and Buenos Aires, and friends in Brazil such as the famous Captain Salvador Correia de Sá. Vitória's activities did not last very long. In 1589, denunciations by local Spanish officials forced him to retire to Madrid where he died shortly thereafter. Diego Pérez da Costa, too, was denounced to the Buenos Aires branch of the Lima Inquisition. He fled to Venice in Italy and, reportedly, died in Safed in the Holy Land.²⁴ The departure of Bishop Vitória by no means put a stop to Potosí – Buenos Aires – Brazil contraband. On the contrary, it grew in the ensuing years into a well-organized, widely ramified trade which may, according to one estimate, have diverted as much as 10% of the annual Potosí silver production into Portuguese coffers. We can gain a good picture of this Peruleiro trade from a letter (dated 1596) written by a Rio de Janeiro merchant, Francisco Soares, to his brother, Diogo Soares, in Lisbon.

The employment of 100 ducats, being brought hither, will yield 1,200 and 1,500 ducats profit For we can go up to the mines of Potosí, which are the best and richest mines in all Peru. If the merchants of Spain and Portugal did know this trade, they would not send or venture so much merchandise to Cartagena as they do. For up this river [Rio de la Plata] is a great deal the nearer way, and the easier to go to Peru. For the Peruleiros or merchants of Peru, which dwell there, come down to this harbour and river in January and bring with them 15,000 and 20,000 ducats in rials of plate and gold, and employ it here in this river in commodities; and when there are no commodities to be had for money in this place, then these merchants of Peru are constrained to go to Bahia and Pernambuco, and there to employ their money For here with 500 ducats in five months space a man may get 5,000 ducats For a rapier which doth cost in Spain 24 and 25 rials, is sold here for 40 and 50 ducats; a bridle for a horse is sold for 15 ducats; a lock of a door and the key is sold for 10 ducats . . . an ounce of musk is sold for 40 ducats, and all kinds of commodities after this rate. So 1,000 ducats of Spanish commodity will gain 10,000 ducats.²⁵

24 On Vitória, see Canabrava, *Comércio português*, pp. 60–63; Marie Helmer, “Comércio e contrabando entre a Bahia e Potosí no século XVI,” *Revista de Historia*, 4, 15 (1953), 195–212; and Rozendo Sampaio Garcia, “A margem de ‘Comércio e contrabando . . .,’” *Revista de Historia*, 6, 23 (1955), 169–176. On Pérez de Acosta, see Jose Toribio Medina, *El Tribunal del Santo Officio de la Inquisición en las Provincias del Plata* (Buenos Aires: 1945), p. 144; and Révah, “Relation généalogique,” p. 298.

25 Boxer, *Salvador de Sá*, p. 76.

American Jewish History

Even though Spanish authorities occasionally tried to prohibit foreign trade with Buenos Aires, legal entrance into that port was always gained by licensed Portuguese slave traders. These merchants' major profits did not come from the slave trade but from the illegal trade they were able to carry on once they had entered a port. Portuguese trade with Buenos Aires, finally, subsided after 1623, as a result of more effective Spanish control in the form of a custom's house at Cordoba and, more importantly, the decline of the Potosí silver production.²⁶

The access licensed Portuguese slave traders gained to Buenos Aires typified the last, but not least, variety of Portuguese infiltration in Spanish America. We noted above the relative insignificance of the Portuguese migration, between 1579 and 1600, to Tierra Firme, Cartagena and New Granada. The reason may lie in the fact that Portuguese merchants already had access to Cartagena, the major slave importing center of the Spanish empire, in the form of slave trading contracts known as *asientos*, negotiated with the Spanish Crown. The real advantage of these *asientos* was in the opportunity it afforded for illicit sales of European goods in return for silver. From about 1610, we begin to hear ever more frequent complaints about the abundance of Portuguese merchants in Cartagena. Thus, these Portuguese must either have arrived after 1600 or have settled under the protection of the *asentistas*.²⁷

Given these varieties of Portuguese expansion into Spanish America in Cuba, in the Rio de la Plata region and in Cartagena, we would expect their infiltration slowly to have proceeded into the heartlands of Peru and New Spain. The inquisitorial records of Lima and Mexico City give ample evidence of the Portuguese New Christians' ubiquity during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. More about that later. First we need to return to Europe, where developments were also adding to the complexity of Portuguese New Christian trade.

For Portuguese activities in East India and Brazil were not neglected. Especially, Brazilian sugar production was rising rapidly. The number of sugar plantations in Portuguese America rose from 70 in 1570, to 130 in 1585, to 230 in 1610, and to 346 in 1629.²⁸

26 Canabrava, *Comércio português*, pp. 143–48; Braudel, "Route clandestine," p. 550.

27 Miguel Acosta Saignes, *Historia de los portugueses en Venezuela* (Caracas: 1959); Manuel Tejado Fernandez, *Aspectos de la vida social en Cartagena de Indias durante el sescentos* (Seville: 1954), pp. 147–192.

28 Frederic Mauro, *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique au XVII^e siècle (1570–1670): Etude économique* (Paris: 1960), pp. 194–195.

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

Meanwhile, the Netherlands had gone to war with Spain with which Portugal became united in 1580. In terms of Portuguese trade the most threatening consequence of the war was the Dutch rebels' closure of the port of Antwerp in 1585.²⁹ This blockade deprived the Portuguese merchants of the principal market for their colonial wares. To make matters even worse, in the wake of a series of bad harvests during the 1590's, Portugal became permanently dependent on foreign cereal imports.³⁰ And finally the Portuguese merchants in Spanish America, as we have seen, increased their demands for European goods to be supplied in the various contraband exchanges there. These export as well as import pressures combined to inaugurate a wholly new expansion of Portuguese New Christian merchants in northern Europe.

They did not abandon Antwerp immediately. The closure of its port was either regarded as possibly just temporary or circumvented by way of Dunkirk and Ostend. They did, however, establish new colonies: at first, in Amsterdam and Hamburg (both in the early 1590's) and, later, in Rouen (in 1609).³¹ Amsterdam and Hamburg each had their own advantage and disadvantage. Amsterdam had the better international connections and the larger market. Hamburg, on the other hand, was not at war with Spain. Both, finally, shared in one all-important and truly revolutionary characteristic: they allowed the Portuguese New Christians to live as Jews. Whether the Portuguese merchants chose to reconvert to Judaism because they had tired of their hypocritical and despised existence as New Christians or because it was not expedient to live in these cities as Catholics matters little in our present context of Portuguese New Christian and Jewish trade. For, notwithstanding the conversion and its psychological and cultural impact, settlement in Amsterdam and Hamburg made all the economic sense in the Portuguese world. And, for several decades to come, Amsterdam's and

29 Pohl, *Portugiesen*, *passim*.

30 Mauro, *Portugal*, pp. 294–306.

31 On Amsterdam, see Herbert I. Bloom, *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsport: 1937); Johan G. van Dillen, "Vreemdelingen te Amsterdam in de eerste helft der zeventiende eeuw. I. De Portugeesche Joden," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 50 (1935), 4–35; and my article, "Kinship and Commerce: The Foundations of Portuguese Jewish Life in Seventeenth-Century Holland," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 15 (1981), 52–74. On Hamburg, see Hermann Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (Wiesbaden: 1958). On Rouen, see I. S. Révah, "Le premier établissement des Marranes portugais à Rouen (1603–1607)," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, Université Libre de Bruxelles*, 13 (1955), 539–552.

American Jewish History

Hamburg's Portuguese Jews continued to operate, commercially, as truly Portuguese expatriate colonies whose headquarters, as yet, were still in the Iberian peninsula. They evinced, for instance, little interest in the early voyages of either the Dutch East India Company (founded in 1609) or the Dutch West India Company (founded in 1621).³² It could not have been otherwise. In the greater scheme of Portuguese New Christian and Jewish trade, the East and West India Companies could only be regarded as fearsome competitors in the most lucrative branches of Portuguese trade.

The Portuguese Jewish merchants of Amsterdam and Hamburg worked very much in unison. Until about 1640, there existed a certain balance between the two colonies. In peace time, as during most of the Twelve Years Truce from 1609 to 1621, the market and shipping advantages of Amsterdam favored Portuguese immigration to the Dutch port. After the renewed imposition of embargoes (in 1618) and outbreak of war (in 1621), Portuguese immigration gravitated towards the German port.³³ This is not to suggest that this latest expansion of Portuguese merchants into northern Europe satisfactorily settled all export and import problems of the now truly international Portuguese mercantile community. The Amsterdam-Hamburg arrangement allowed the Portuguese merchants to surmount many of the difficulties created by the war between Spain and the Republic. Certain consequences of that war, however, proved inescapable. And, then, the Dutch war on the Portuguese colonies of East India and Brazil entirely eluded the resources of the northern European Portuguese and seriously hit at the trade of their New Christian associates.

The 1620's were extremely difficult years for the New Christian merchants of Portugal. To begin with, in 1618, the Portuguese Inquisition clamped down on New Christian merchants in Oporto and Brazil.³⁴ In 1623, the Spanish authorities initiated a stricter supervision over the Portuguese ports than the laxer Portuguese officials had been willing to impose, in an attempt to disrupt Dutch trade.³⁵ This destroyed most of the Setúbal salt and Brazilian sugar trade between Portugal and Holland. Also in 1623, as we noted, the Spaniards halted the illegal trade between Peru and Brazil by the es-

32 A. M. Vaz Dias, "De deelname der Marranen in het oprichtingskapitaal der Oost-Indische Compagnie," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 33 (1936), 43-58; and Van Dillen, "Vreemdelingen," p. 16.

33 Jonathan Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim, 1609-1660," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 12 (1978), 16-19.

34 Israel, "Spain," pp. 15-16; and Anita Novinsky, *Cristãos Novos na Bahia* (São Paulo: 1972).

35 Israel, "Spain," p. 22.

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

establishment of a customhouse at Córdoba in the province of Tucumán. And, finally, throughout the 1620's, the Dutch East India Company slowly demolished much of the Portuguese empire in Asia and the Dutch West India Company began attacking Portuguese and Spanish commerce in America.³⁶ Thus, in the 1620's, we witness a steadily increasing immigration of wealthy Portuguese New Christian merchants to Spain, particularly to Madrid and Seville, following in the footsteps of earlier compatriots who had become involved in Spanish American trade at Seville.³⁷

The expansion of Portuguese commerce from 1580 to about 1625, in Africa, Asia, Brazil and Spanish America, had made very wealthy merchants of some of the Lisbon New Christians.³⁸ It is interesting to note, for instance, that, whereas Seville silver imports had peaked in 1600, those at Lisbon continued to increase until 1627.³⁹ The commercial decline of the 1620's now inspired the Lisbon merchants to seek new opportunities. And they found them in Spain. With the accession (in 1621) of Philip IV and his powerful minister, the Conde Duque de Olivares, the Spanish government had embarked on an ambitious course of reforms amongst which the reorganization of state finances loomed largest.⁴⁰ In previous years the Spanish State had become excessively dependent on foreign, primarily Genoese, bankers. Drawing the Portuguese merchant-bankers into the financing of state contracts offered the prospect of competition with the Genoese and had the added advantage of their being allied with the Spanish Crown. To quote a *consulta* of the Council of Finance, dated 17 August 1626:

Once these men have been introduced to the contracting of *asientos* with This Majesty and have opened commercial establishments in the court, they will be very useful because of the competition in which they will be

-
- 36 Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, pp. 108-129; Cornelius Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast 1580-1680* (Assen: 1971), pp. 89-202.
- 37 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Los Judeoconversos en España y América* (Madrid: 1971), pp. 61-77; I. S. Révah, "Les Marranes," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 118 (1959-60), 37-39; Julio Caro Baroja, *La sociedad criptojudía en la corte de Felipe IV* (Madrid: 1963).
- 38 Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: 1973), II, p. 823: "Historians already refer to the 'age' of the Fuggers and the 'age' of the Genoese: it is not entirely unrealistic in the present state of scholarship to talk of an 'age' of great Jewish merchants, beginning in the decade of the 1590s and lasting until 1621 or possibly even 1650."
- 39 Mauro, *Portugal*, pp. 417-418; Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1934), p. 35.
- 40 J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (London: 1963), pp. 320-345.

American Jewish History

able to engage the Genovese and the benefits one will be able to draw therefrom.⁴¹

To the Portuguese the *asientos* provided a welcome opportunity in a time of commercial slump and opened the door to expansion in the Spanish American trade beyond slave trading. For even though Spanish American trade as a whole suffered its great depression between 1623 and 1650, the Tierra Firme trade, in which the Portuguese had always been most interested, resisted the general trend.⁴² Thus, during the reign of the Conde Duque de Olivares (1621–43), Portuguese New Christian merchant-bankers penetrated into the Spanish *asiento* business, tax-farming, the wool and colonial trade.⁴³ And by 1640, much of the center of Portuguese New Christian trade had moved from Lisbon to Madrid and Seville.

Not merely the attraction of Spanish opportunities fostered Portuguese immigration. The increased activity of the Portuguese Inquisition in the 1620's and 1630's helped make Portugal a less attractive place in which to live and do business.⁴⁴ And, beginning in 1630, the Dutch conquest of northern Brazil cut dramatically into what had been the lifeline of Portuguese trade.⁴⁵ As recent research has shown, the Brazilian New Christians did not welcome the Dutch invasion at Bahia in 1624.⁴⁶ And we have no reason to assume that their initial reaction was any different in 1630. In 1630, however, the Dutch occupation of Recife and Pernambuco became semi-permanent and it was, therefore, necessary for the New Christians to come to terms with it, in Portugal, in Brazil and in Holland. Portugal's New Christians could do little more than swallow the loss and try to make the best of what was left of Portuguese Brazil. In Dutch Brazil some New Christians converted to Judaism and became active in the reopened sugar trade with Holland; others remained Catholics; and still others left for southern Brazil or returned to Portugal. In Holland, Portuguese Jews also made their peace with the occupation. Some, most probably recent refugees from the Portuguese Inquisition, immigrated to Dutch Brazil to grab an opportunity they had missed in Portuguese Brazil and

41 Cited in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV* (Madrid: 1960), p. 320.

42 Huguette and Pierre Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650)* (Paris: 1955-59), VIII, 2 bis: 1554-1557.

43 Israel, "Spain," pp. 41-42.

44 Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (London: 1906-07), III, pp. 272-276; D'Azevedo, *Christãos Novos*, pp. 171-235.

45 Charles R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654* (Oxford: 1957).

46 Eduardo d'Oliveira França, "Um problema: A traição dos cristãos-novos em 1624," *Revista de Historia*, 41, 83 (1970), 21-71.

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

swelled the ranks of the recently converted Brazilian Jewish community; others who had previously imported Brazilian sugar via Lisbon ventured into the free-trading options available under the monopoly of the Dutch West India Company; and still others did in Dutch Brazil what their compatriots had done in Portugal and Spain: they went in to tax-farming.⁴⁷ All in all, the Dutch occupation of Brazil weakened the position of the New Christian merchants in Portugal and worsened an already dire situation. More importantly, it threw the shared perspective of Lisbon and Amsterdam merchants out of focus and promoted a certain shift in commercial gravitation in favor of the Portuguese Jews of northern Europe.

In sum, the sixty-year period of Spanish-Portuguese union (1580–1640) radically transformed the picture of Portuguese New Christian and Jewish trade. The once undisputed preeminence of Lisbon and Oporto had been eroded irreversibly. And the new commercial and financial initiatives in Spain and its colonies, on the one hand, and in northern Europe, on the other, threatened to tear apart, for want of a strong center, the tightly knit, kin-based, interlocking network of the Portuguese New Christian and Jewish mercantile community. Once more, however, fortunes or misfortunes were reversed and in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam emerged as the new center redirecting Portuguese Jewish trade.

For the Portuguese rebellion in 1640 and a veritable wave of xenophobic persecution in Spain and Spanish America dashed whatever hopes the Portuguese New Christians may have entertained of a peaceful and prosperous future under the Spanish Crown. Relations between the Portuguese New Christians and the Spanish government had started rather auspiciously and continued to be positive and tolerant as long as the Conde Duque de Olivares was firmly in power. New Christian wealth had been able to purchase freedom of movement within the Portuguese and Spanish empires (in 1601 and 1627) and general pardons for past offenses against the Christian faith (in 1605, 1627 and 1630).⁴⁸ Other segments of Spanish and Portuguese society, however, were not and never became reconciled to the large numbers of New Christians whom most everyone suspected of secret judaizing. The Por-

47 Arnold Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York: 1960); Herbert I. Bloom, "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History, 1623–1654," *PAJHS*, 33 (1934), 43–125.

48 Lea, *Inquisition of Spain*, III, pp. 268–274; D'Azevedo, *Christãos Novos*, pp. 162–164, 185–192.

American Jewish History

tuguese Inquisition relentlessly prosecuted New Christians during the 1620's and the 1630's. The Spanish Inquisition, at first, ignored the recent Portuguese immigrants. The Mexican and Peruvian Inquisitions, on the other hand, responded immediately to the first waves of Portuguese immigration, as early as the 1590's.⁴⁹ In 1610, a permanent Holy Office was established at Cartagena.⁵⁰ And, in Seville, Spanish officials never tired of bemoaning the infiltration of Portuguese New Christians in the colonial trade.⁵¹ In the mid-1630's, i.e., well before the Portuguese rebellion of 1640, however, this social and inquisitorial antagonism began to gain momentum. In Madrid, several Portuguese *asentistas* were captured and tried by the Toledo Inquisition.⁵² It was in Spanish America, however, that anti-Portuguese sentiment first erupted on a large scale. The *Complicidad Grande*, as the affair became known, was "discovered" in Lima, in 1635. The Peruvian inquisitors had come to believe that the Portuguese New Christians of Lima were planning the take-over of Peru with the help of Portuguese Jews from Holland and Brazil. In 1639 and 1641, 71 of the wealthiest Portuguese merchants appeared at two *autos-da-fe* and had all their property confiscated.⁵³ In 1642, after the Portuguese rebellion had added fuel to Spanish xenophobia, the Mexican Inquisition discovered its *complicidad grande*. Almost two hundred Portuguese New Christians were tried before the Mexican Inquisition between 1642 and 1650 and most of their considerable wealth was confiscated.⁵⁴ Finally, in Spain itself, the Portuguese rebellion raised anti-Portuguese sentiments to new heights at the same time that the death of the Conde Duque de Olivares (1643) deprived the Portuguese New Christians of their powerful protector. Thus, the Spanish government, when in financial difficulties in 1647, felt no compunction in cancelling its debts to the Portuguese *asentistas*, and the road was cleared for an inquisitorial Judaizer-hunt that

-
- 49 Liebman, *Jews in New Spain*, p. 151; Ricardo Palma, *Anales de la Inquisición de Lima* (Buenos Aires: 1937), pp. 37-38.
- 50 Jose Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias* (Santiago de Chile: 1899), pp. 7-34.
- 51 Chaunu, *Séville*, IV, pp. 314-316, 345-348, 396-399; V, pp. 369-370; VIII, 1:214-217; VIII, 2 bis:1327-1329, 1711.
- 52 Israel, "Spain," pp. 48-49; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "El proceso inquisitorial de Juan Nuñez Saravia, banquero de Felipe IV," *Hispania*, 61 (1955), 559-581.
- 53 Seymour B. Liebman, "The Great Conspiracy in Peru," *The Americas*, 28 (1971-72), 176-90; Harry E. Cross, "Commerce and Orthodoxy: A Spanish Response to Portuguese Commercial Penetration in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1580-1640," *The Americas*, 35 (1978-79), 151-167.
- 54 Seymour B. Liebman, "The Great Conspiracy in New Spain," *The Americas*, 30 (1973-74), 18-31.

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

lasted well into the 1660's.⁵⁵ Together, unrelenting large-scale persecution and impending financial ruin set in motion the commercially and financially most substantial immigration, in all of Portuguese New Christian history, from Seville, Madrid and Antwerp to Amsterdam. And within the decade 1646–1655 Amsterdam became the center of the entire Portuguese New Christian and Jewish world.⁵⁶

The second half of the seventeenth century must truly be called the Golden Age of Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewry. As Amsterdam had become the center of the Portuguese New Christian and Jewish world, the future was hers. A dazzling array of new initiatives characterize the years following the mass influx of substantial Portuguese New Christians. The sudden concentration of so much capital and so many people needed an outlet. Characteristically, however, this outlet was sought – and found – in areas in which the Portuguese Jews already had some foothold and not a little expertise.

After 1640, trade with Portugal was resumed. The peace of Westphalia (1648) enabled renewed exchanges with Spain. Neither the Portuguese nor the Spanish trade, however, ever regained their previous prominence. For that the Portuguese New Christian community of the Iberain peninsula had been thinned out too much. Amsterdam's Portuguese Jews further ventured into such industrial enterprises as were related to their previous commercial experiences. Sugar, tobacco and diamonds – into which industries they invested – were main staples of Portugal's former colonial empire. Aided by the existence of daughter communities in Hamburg, Rouen and, eventually, London, Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewish brokers expanded their services to include the flourishing and profitable trade in bills of exchange. Venturesome souls such as Joseph Penso de la Vega developed speculation in stocks and bonds to a high art. A few especially wealthy merchant-bankers entered into financial contracts with the Dutch and Spanish governments of the Hague and Brussels. Others assumed a role as army purveyors. Finally, some tens of intrepid or restless families re-emigrated abroad.⁵⁷

55 Israel, "Spain," p. 48.

56 Israel, "Spain," p. 49: "Amsterdam and Rotterdam, from being far inferior to Madrid and Antwerp as centres of Jewish and New Christian capital accumulation, suddenly in the later 1640s outstripped them making Holland, for the first time, the economic centre of the *converso* and European Sephardi world."

57 Bloom, *Economic Activities*, passim; and my dissertation, "The Portuguese

American Jewish History

The choices of London and the Caribbean islands for this second expatriation were not dictated by population pressures. It is a well-known fact that the Amsterdam as well as the Hamburg, Livorno and London Jewish communities sent many unfortunate Portuguese Jews who could not find employ in Europe to the Caribbean colonies, in an act of charity that also helped reduce their own welfare rolls. That was never the prime motivation behind the original Caribbean settlement, however. Some of the same reasons that went into the London settlement also propelled the contemporaneous Caribbean explorations.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648) had put an end to the privateering of the Dutch West India Company and, thereby, spelled the beginning of the end for Dutch Brazil.⁵⁸ The loss of the colony in 1654, thus, hardly came as a surprise. As early as 1649 the Lisbon New Christians had sought to expand their Brazilian trade in the foundation of the Portuguese Brazil Company.⁵⁹ And meanwhile, during the 1640's, England had become Portugal's major trading partner in northern Europe.⁶⁰ Finally, the English Navigation Act of 1651 announced an impending trade, if not military war between England and the Republic.⁶¹ The promise of an expanding Portugal trade as well as the certainty of future international conflict suggested to the Amsterdam merchants the same kind of bilateral arrangement as had allowed Amsterdam and Hamburg to control some of the vicissitudes of the same trade during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. A similar arrangement between Lisbon and Seville, moreover, had also made Portuguese infiltration in the Spanish-American trade easier.

Caribbean settlement, of course, did not sprout from the same

Jewish Merchants of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: A Social Profile" (Brandeis University, 1980), pp. 276-326.

- 58 W. J. van Hoboken, "The Dutch West India Company: The Political Background of Its Rise and Decline," *Britain and the Netherlands* (London: 1960), I, pp. 59-60.
- 59 Gustavo de Freitas, *A Companhia Geral do Comércio do Brasil, 1649-1720* (São Paulo: 1951); Charles R. Boxer, "Padre Antonio Vieira, S.J. and the Institution of the Brazil Company," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 29 (1949), 474-494; David Grant Smith, "Old Christian Merchants and the Foundation of the Brazil Company," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 54 (1974), 233-259.
- 60 V. M. Shillington and A. B. Wallis Chapman, *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal* (London: 1907), pp. 205-226.
- 61 Lawrence A. Harper, *The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth-Century Experiment in Social Engineering* (New York: 1939); Charles Wilson, *Profit and Power: A Study of England and the Dutch Wars* (London: 1957), pp. 48-60.

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

conditions, but it was inspired by the same kind of reasoning. In not too distant, more apologetic days of Jewish historiography it was customary to draw attention to the agricultural and prospecting proposals of the earliest Caribbean settlers. For instance, as early as 1651, João de Yllan made a proposal to the Dutch West India Company to establish a Jewish colony of at least fifty persons on Curaçao. In 1652, a second such proposal was made by David Nassi.⁶² In 1658, David Nassi and Paulo Jacomo Pinto arranged to settle Jewish colonists in Essequibo on the Guyana coast.⁶³ In 1661, Abraham Israel (de Pisa) and Abraham Cohen, in conjunction with Sir William Davidson, proposed “to discover the [gold] mine [within the island of Jamaica] and to be at the charge and hazard in the discovery and working thereof with and upon the allowances and agreements herein after mentioned.”⁶⁴ At about the same time, Jacob Joshua Bueno Enriques claimed to have received information from a former Spanish inhabitant of Jamaica “that there was in a certain place a copper mine,” which he offered to explore if he and his brothers could be naturalized.⁶⁵ All these endeavors failed, excepting to some degree the Essequibo colony. Not surprisingly. For as contemporary observers noted the intention of the proposals had been quite different from that stated. Regarding João de Yllan, the directors of the Dutch West India Company wrote to Governor Stuyvesant: “He intends to bring a considerable number of people there to settle and cultivate the land, but we began to suspect that he and his associates have quite another object in view, namely, to trade from there to the West Indies and the Main. Be that as it may, we are willing to make the experiment.”⁶⁶ With regard to the gold prospectors of Jamaica, one Colonel Beeston intimated that their proposal “was basely a pretence for their design was only to insinuate themselves into the country for the sake of trade.”⁶⁷ In the light of what we know of subsequent Caribbean Jewish history no one can doubt that their observations were basically accurate.

If we rule out the seriousness of the colonizing and prospecting schemes of the fifties and sixties, we must likewise step back a little from the almost axiomatic belief that the first Caribbean Jewish

62 Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, pp. 39–44.

63 Samuel Oppenheim, “An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana, 1658–1666,” *PAJHS*, 16 (1907), 102.

64 Wilfred S. Samuel, “Sir William Davidson, Royalist, (1616–1689) and the Jews,” *TJHSE*, 14 (1940), 46.

65 Herbert Friedenwald, “Material for the History of the Jews in the British West Indies,” *PAJHS*, 5 (1897), 48, 67.

66 G. Herbert Cone, “The Jews in Curaçao,” *PAJHS*, 10 (1902), 143.

67 Samuel, “Davidson,” p. 46.

American Jewish History

settlers were primarily refugees from Dutch Brazil. Quite a few Brazilian Jews are indeed later encountered in the Caribbean following the Portuguese reconquest of 1654. They seem to fall into two quite distinct groups, however. There were a few poorer Jews who immigrated to the Caribbean directly from Brazil. These, it seems, had been retail merchants in Brazil and resumed the same occupation on the Caribbean islands. The majority of the Brazilian Jews, however, returned to Amsterdam. Certainly the more prosperous ones did so. When some of these Amsterdam returnees subsequently settle in the Caribbean, the connection between Brazilian expulsion and Caribbean settlement is obviously much less immediate. They had returned to Holland to retrieve some of the losses caused by the Brazilian exodus and, in general, to gather their wits. In Amsterdam some discovered that the opportunities that had formerly drawn them to Brazil now lay in the Caribbean. And this discovery they made in consultations and discussions with Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish merchants, particularly with the merchant-bankers who had recently emigrated from Spain.

A proper consideration of Caribbean Jewish trade is, it seems to me, impeded not only by the fragmentariness of the evidence, as I noted in the introduction. It also suffers from the fact that most of our information, insofar as it stems from non-commercial sources, tends to be derogatory, if not outright hostile. We need not – indeed, must not – dismiss this evidence just because it is negative.

Caribbean Jewish trade may be divided into three branches, depending on whether it was between Europe and the Caribbean, inter-Caribbean or between the Caribbean and the Spanish colonies. Some merchants may have specialized in one branch or another; others probably combined activities in more than one. The percentage of European-Caribbean trade that passed through Jewish channels was, most likely, lower than that in any of the other two branches, though figures to substantiate such a claim are entirely lacking. Whatever its proportion may have been, Portuguese Jewish trade between London and Barbados or Jamaica was evidently important enough a business to attract such great merchants as Abraham Pereyra in Amsterdam and George & Domingo Rodrigues Francia in London.⁶⁸ Certain aspects of this trade deserve a little attention. The English Navigation Laws compelled the English colonists in Jamaica and Barbados to buy all European goods from England and to export most all their products via En-

68 Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, pp. 47, 68; M. Woolf, "Foreign Trade of London Jews in the Seventeenth Century," *TJHSE*, 24 (1975), 48.

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

gland. These restrictions added significantly (excessively, one Barbados author complained) to the cost of all non-English imports and made their exports less competitive on Continental markets. The laws could be evaded by registering the im- or exported goods at an English customhouse in the name of an English merchant, thus avoiding the heavy alien duties or middleman costs. The existence of a small Portuguese Jewish community in London allowed Amsterdam's Portuguese Jews the fairly ready exploitation of this expedient. They were certainly not the only ones to do so, but their activities were more noted. So much so that it was reported that "the Jews in Barbados sell more Hollands there, than all the English merchants do." Much to the chagrin, of course, of English merchants and customs officials, as expressed by the same author: "They may in every voyage from Amsterdam or Rotterdam to Barbados, and back again . . . sell 20% cheaper than the English. And this is the main, if not the only reason, our merchants have to complain of the small advance they make in our plantation trade . . . the Jews can undersell them there."⁶⁹ As far as Curaçao is concerned, the West India Company reserved one monopoly strictly to itself: the importation of slaves. The company was unable, however, to prevent some encroachment by enterprising interlopers. And at least one Amsterdam Jewish merchant appears to have tried doing exactly that. More about this subject later, however.

Inter-Caribbean trade, too, was activated by the restrictive Navigation Laws. For within the Caribbean, the same reasons applied that fostered trade between Amsterdam and Barbados or Jamaica. Dutch goods were cheaper to be had from Curaçao than from local English merchants and Curaçao buyers offered higher prices for exports than could be gotten in England. Thus, the English merchants of Jamaica described the Jews as a "kind of joint stock company . . . [who] frequently buy up whole cargoes, undersell petitioners, which they can better because of their own penurious way of living, and at last give the whole measure to the market."⁷⁰ The many Jewish "shopkeepers" of Barbados, Jamaica and Martinique of whom we hear were probably modest inter-Caribbean traders bound into a more or less efficient network primarily by kin ties.⁷¹

69 Vincent T. Harlow, *A History of Barbados 1625-1685* (Cambridge: 1926), pp. 263-264.

70 Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies 1623-1775* (Baltimore: 1974), p. 368

71 On Barbados, see Wilfred S. Samuel, "A Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbados in the Year 1680," *TJHSE* 13, (1936), 1-111. On Martinique, see J. Petitjean-Roget, "Les Juifs à la Martinique sous l'ancien régime," *Revue de*

American Jewish History

On a slightly larger scale was the inter-Caribbean horse trade between Aruba and the Leeward islands; scale enough, however, for the already mentioned Abraham Pereyra to be interested in it.⁷² The horse trade also brought Isaac da Fonseca of Barbados to come to Curaçao with a cargo of flower, brandy, oil, and dry goods when the island was as yet not sufficiently supplied from Amsterdam.⁷³

The mainstay of Caribbean Jewish trade, however, was the trade with the Spanish colonies. It is, therefore, all the more regrettable that we possess so little specific information on this subject. This lack of information, of course, stems from the fact that this trade more than any other was carefully hidden from official view. Most Spanish officials stood to gain from it and, therefore, reported little of it to Madrid. As far as Dutch and English officials were concerned, the illegalities lay mostly outside their jurisdictions. And fellow Dutch or English merchants could hardly be expected to complain about competition in this judicial and political no-man's-land.

These, then, are the facts as far as we can surmise them. Curaçaoan Jews traded primarily, and more extensively than the others, with Cartagena and Puerto Bello; Jamaican Jews, in much smaller measure, with Vera Cruz; Barbadian Jews, probably, with either Tierra Firme or New Spain.⁷⁴ Otherwise the trades were quite similar and came in three varieties: contraband under cover of the slave trade, contraband in the guise of *arribadas* and contraband pure and simple. Simple contraband consisted in a ship landing at an out-of-the-way port and the merchant selling his wares at an inland market. Or it took the form of slooptrade,

for it was usually managed by sloops which hovered near some secluded spot on the coast, often at the mouth of a river, and informed the inhabitants of their presence in the neighborhood by firing a shot from a cannon. Sometimes a large ship filled with merchandise was stationed in a bay close at hand, and by means of these smaller craft made its trade

l'histoire des colonies, 43 (1956), 138-158; I. S. Emmanuel, "Les Juifs de la Martinique et leurs coreligionnaires d'Amsterdam au XVII^e siècle," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 123 (1964), 511-516. On Jamaica, see Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew 1492-1776* (Detroit: 1970), I, pp. 85-211.

72 Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, p. 69.

73 Cone, "Curaçao," pp. 153-156; Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, p. 68.

74 On trade between the Caribbean islands and the Spanish colonies, see Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socio-Economic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley: 1973), pp. 348-373; Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, sub "contraband."

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

with the colonists. The latter, generally in disguise, came off in canoes by night.⁷⁵

If and when Curaçaoan Jews engaged in such contraband, as might be expected, but of which I have no evidence, their advantage over other such traders must have lain in their ability to communicate in Spanish with their clients; an advantage not to be underestimated given the precarious nature of these exchanges.

Contraband in the guise of *arribadas* called for a Dutch or English ship to enter a Spanish port claiming to have been blown off course, to have been damaged or simply to have run out of victuals. Once inside the Spanish harbor it was fairly easy to sell some or all of the ship's cargo surreptitiously. Here is where the real advantage of the Portuguese Jews came through. For they possessed in many of the harbors along the coast between Panamá and Guyana Portuguese New Christian associates, if not more or less immediate kinsmen, who weathered the inquisitorial storms of the mid-century. The Cartagena Inquisition had discovered its own minor *complicidad*, but its effectiveness was generally reduced by constant infighting amongst the inquisitors.⁷⁶ As we noted before, Portuguese New Christian trade with Tierra Firme had been a major occupation of the Portuguese slave traders before 1640 and of the Seville Portuguese from about 1600, but especially after 1625.⁷⁷ It was, probably, also amongst the activities of Brazilian Jewry. For it was in Cartagena that the inquisition had first learned of the "conspiracy" of the *Cofradía de los Judíos de Holanda*.⁷⁸ The bulion and pearls loaded by Manoel de Pina at Curaçao and claimed by Jeronimo Nunes da Costa from the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company unquestionably represented some of the profits of this latter-day *rescate* trade.⁷⁹ Very faint and negative (as usual) evidence of such contraband may be recognized in David Raphael de Mercado's importation of "extraordinary light Spanish" coins in Barbados, in 1682.⁸⁰ Only whether he obtained these himself or bought them from another Portuguese Jewish merchant remains uncertain.

75 C. H. Haring, *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the XVIIth Century* (1910), p. 27

76 Medina, *Inquisición de Cartagena*, pp. 221–262.

77 See note 51.

78 Liebman, *Jews in New Spain*, pp. 220–221.

79 Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Amsterdam (-GAA), Notarieel Archief (-NA) 4084, p. 531 (6 April 1677; not. Dirck van der Groe).

80 N. Darnell Davis, "Notes on the History of the Jews in Barbados," *PAJHS*, 18 (1909), 138.

American Jewish History

Contraband under cover of the slave trade was as old as the slave trade itself. As mentioned earlier infinitely more money was probably made in the contraband than in the trade proper.⁸¹ Portuguese merchants, many of them New Christians, had controlled most of the slave trade between Africa and America until the Portuguese rebellion of 1640.⁸² It had afforded them the easiest access to Spanish American harbors and had given them ample opportunity for contraband. In 1635, however, the Dutch West India Company had captured the African center of Elmina Castle, and, in 1641, the great centers of Luanda and São Tomé. Thus, as the Portuguese were forced out of the slave trade in 1640, their place was taken by the Dutch West India Company and a few competitors, amongst whom only the English proved to be formidable. The Company first turned Brazil and, after 1654, Curaçao into large slave depots and concentrated most of its remaining financial and military strength to supplying the Caribbean and the Spanish colonies with slaves. Other than the fairly well-organized foreign competition, the Company suffered minor infractions of its slave trading monopoly from so-called Dutch *lorredraaiers* or interlopers.⁸³ One such *lorredraaiier* appears to have been none other than Jeronimo Nunes da Costa who, as agent of the Portuguese Crown, ranked high amongst the elite of Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewry. Da Costa's ship carried papers for the West Indies only, where it was to fetch salt, wood and tobacco. When it appeared near Ilha do Principe off the coast of Guinea, therefore, it naturally aroused the suspicion of the West India Company, and the ship was summarily confiscated.⁸⁴ A more extensive, though less immediate involvement in the slave trade made a wealthy man of another luminary of Amsterdam Jewry: Manuel de Belmonte, resident of the Spanish Crown. The Spanish Crown, which had allowed the *asientos* to lapse after 1640, had begun to negotiate new slave trading contracts in 1663. These Spanish *asentistas* fulfilled their obligations by purchasing slaves from the West India Company at Curaçao. In 1685, this *asiento* fell into the hands – and remained there until 1689 – of Balthazar Coymans, a Dutch merchant of Cadiz. In order to obtain the *asiento* Coymans had to convince the reluctant Spanish government that, though a foreigner, and a heretic to boot, he would be

81 Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: 1969), p. 21.

82 Georges Scelle, *La traite négrière aux Indes de Castille* (Paris: 1906).

83 Goslinga, *Dutch in the Caribbean*, pp. 339–370.

84 GAA, NA 2207, p. 246 (8 August 1659; not. Adriaen Lock); 2208, p. 284 (5 March 1660; not. Adriaen Lock); and 2208, p. 930 (25 June 1660; not. Adriaen Lock).

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

able to meet the *asiento*'s obligations better than any Spanish merchant. He succeeded in doing so thanks, to no small degree, to the persuasive efforts of Manuel de Belmonte, the Spanish resident in Amsterdam, and his cousin, François de Schonenberg, the Dutch envoy in Madrid. In return for their services, Manuel de Belmonte and François de Schonenberg received a ten percent silent partnership in the *asiento*.⁸⁵ Before, during and after the Coymans *asiento* which lasted only until 1689, Curaçaoan Jews functioned as the local representatives of the Spanish *asentistas* responsible for transportation of the slaves from Curaçao to the Spanish American ports. Francisco Lopes Henriques was such a representative for Manuel de Belmonte.⁸⁶ Most prominent, however, were the brothers Philipe Henriques (alias Jacob Senior) and David Senior.⁸⁷ Their arms and ammunition shipments to Cartagena, almost certainly, were made possible by the cover of the legal *asiento* trade.⁸⁸ Finally, certain Portuguese Jews – most notably Manuel Alvares Correa, it appears – bought slaves at the Curaçao market for *arribada* – type contraband trade with the Spanish American colonies or other Caribbean islands.⁸⁹

Such were, in the main, the varieties of Caribbean Jewish trade. Their interest for us, however, goes beyond an understanding of Caribbean Jewish realities. For this trade shows remarkable similarities to that of the erstwhile Portuguese New Christian *rescadores*, *Peruleiros*, *asentistas* or just merchants. It is, of course, not my intention to argue that the Portuguese New Christian and Jewish merchants had a more or less innate talent for such enterprises; nor, however, that they engaged in these affairs merely because that is how one conducted his business in the seventeenth-century Caribbean. For the prominence of the Caribbean Jews during the second half of the seventeenth century represents, it seems

85 W. R. Menkman, "Slavenhandel en rechtsbedeling op Curaçao op het einde der 17e eeuw," *West-Indische Gids*, 17de Jrg. (1935–36), 18 (1936), 11–26; Irene A. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento (1685–1689)," *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 6th ser., 1 (1924), 23–62; Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, pp. 75–76; Richard J. H. Gottheil, *The Belmont-Belmonte Family: A Record of Four Hundred Years* (New York: 1917), pp. 101–102.

86 Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, p. 76.

87 *Ibid.*, pp. 76–78; Cornelis Ch. Goslinga, "Curaçao as a Slave-Trading Center during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714)," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, 52, 1–50.

88 Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, p. 73.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 78. On the slave trade with Cartagena in general, see Jorge Palacios Preciado, *La trata de negros por Cartagena de Indias* (Tunja: 1973).

American Jewish History

to me, also more than a commercial tradition transmitted by the generation of Portuguese New Christians of the first half of the century. Insofar as Caribbean Jewish historiography hinted at all at such a tradition, it failed to provide the link tying later to earlier generations.

Connections between the earlier generations of Portuguese New Christian merchants active in Spanish American trade and the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam had existed from the beginning of the seventeenth century. To mention just a few particularly salient examples: Jorge Lopes Correa, a Lisbon merchant with many ties to the Portuguese trade in the Rio de la Plata region, also maintained correspondence with Duarte Saraiva in Amsterdam.⁹⁰ During the Dutch occupation of Brazil, Saraiva became one of its main tax-farmers.⁹¹ Surely more than a mere coincidence. Manuel Dias Henriques, who settled in Amsterdam during the 1620's, was a kin of the same Nunes da Costa family and of the wife of Duarte Saraiva and had lived in New Spain during the early 1620's where he had been a representative of Portuguese slave traders.⁹² Several Portuguese Jewish merchants of Amsterdam during the 1610's insured or shipped cargoes to the West Indies.⁹³ The evidence could easily be multiplied. All these connections, however, passed through the central New Christian communities of Portugal and Spain.

The centrality of Lisbon, Seville and Madrid came to an end during the forties and fifties of the seventeenth century, as we have seen. The great Portuguese merchant-bankers who settled in Amsterdam may have lost their foothold in the Iberian peninsula. They brought with them their connections with Spanish America which had been intensive in Tierra Firme and had largely escaped the inquisitorial fury.⁹⁴ These provide the missing link in the tradition of Portuguese New Christian and Jewish enterprise in the Caribbean.

I must again offer a few salient examples. The following Carib-

90 Canabrava, *Comércio português*, p. 105; W. Chr. Pieterse and E. M. Koen, eds., "Amsterdam Notarial Deeds Pertaining to the Portuguese Jews up to 1639," nos. 1251 [*Studia Rosenthaliana*, 11 (1977), 226] and 1689 [*Ibid.*, 14 (1980), 93].

91 Wiznitzer, *Colonial Brazil*, pp. 71-72.

92 Liebman, *Jews in New Spain*, pp. 209-211; Révah, "Relation généalogique," p. 307; Cecil Roth, "The Strange Case of Hector Mendes Bravo," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 18 (1944), 237; GAA, NA 642, f. 304 (10 December 1636; not. S. Cornelisz.) and 1504, f. 216 (19 October 1645; not. Jan Volckertsz. Oli).

93 Pieterse and Koen, "Notarial Deeds," nos. 955 [*Studia Rosenthaliana*, 10 (1976), 215], 1446-1447 and 1543 [*Ibid.* 13 (1979), 110-11, 230].

94 See note 51. Also note the rise in Portuguese merchants obtaining licenses to trade with Spanish America; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la

Caribbean Jewish Settlement

bean Jews were born in Madrid: Ishac Pereira Coutinho and Jeronimo Nunes Navarro, both of Curaçao; and Ishac Pinheiro of Nevis.⁹⁵ The Bueno Henriques brothers, the copper prospectors of Jamaica, who settled on Barbados, came from Seville.⁹⁶ Ishac de Marchena of Curaçao was originally from Antwerp.⁹⁷ Even though the number of Spanish-born Caribbean Jews is, thus, about equal to that of former Brazilian Jews, these are minor indications. The really significant connections were with former Spanish merchant-bankers. João de Yllan, born in Portalegre (Portugal) around 1610, would appear to have been a relative of the great Antwerp financier Garcia de Yllan, Heer van Bornival, resident of the Queen of Sweden. There is not only the similarity of their uncommon surname, but also the reoccurrence of the same surname in João's father, Abraham Baraso, and Garcia's daughter, Mensia de Yllan y Barroza.⁹⁸ Abraham Pereyra of Madrid, whose firm, after the death of his son, was named Abraham Isaac Pereyra, was particularly heavily involved in Curaçaoan affairs. His cousin, Ishac Pereira Coutinho, resided in the Caribbean.⁹⁹ He was also represented by David Saraiva Coronel.¹⁰⁰ Abraham Pereyra and his sons, Jacob and Moseh Pereira, are frequently mentioned in connection with Caribbean trade.¹⁰¹ Manuel de Belmonte's interests, another recent and well-connected immigrant from Spain, were cared for by Francisco Lopes Henriques, as we noted. Finally, Antonio Alvares Machado shared not only a partnership with Jacob Pereira in army purveyance. He was also the financier behind Manuel Alvares Correa's Curaçaoan ventures, possessed a plantation in Surinam, and was closely related to David Gabay of Jamaica.¹⁰²

vida española durante el siglo XVII," *Estudios de Historia Social de Espana*, 4,2 (Madrid: 1960), pp. 357–368, 397–407.

95 GAA, Doop-, Trouw- en Begraafboeken (-DTB) 685, p. 262 (9 March 1663); 684, p. 114 (8 November 1658); and 682, p. 374 (27 January 1656), respectively.

96 Samuel, "Davidson," p. 50.

97 GAA, DTB 684, p. 142 (24 January 1659).

98 GAA, DTB 676, p. 62 (14 June 1641); and Pohl, *Portugiesen*, pp. 95, 236, 238, 323.

99 Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, p. 47.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

101 GAA, NA 2209, p. 253 (10 September 1660; not. Adriaen Lock); 2231, p. 286 (1 October 1669; not. Adriaen Lock); and 2251, p. 105 (19 January 1677; not. Adriaen Lock).

102 Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, p. 78; GAA, NA 2230, p. 426 (13 June 1669; not. Adriaen Lock); 4106A, p. 447 (11 May 1683; not. Dirck van der Groe); 4106B, p. 259 (4 June 1683; not. Dirck van der Groe); and 4107, p. 141 (16 July 1683; not. Dirck van der Groe).

American Jewish History

Scant as these signs may appear, they do concern some of the most prominent Caribbean Jews and date from the early years of Caribbean settlement. It was this link, I firmly believe, rather than the immigration of Brazilian refugees that laid the foundation for the viability and success of Jewish life in the Caribbean. Future research in the Amsterdam, Antwerp and Iberian archives will unquestionably bear out the validity of this more than plausible hypothesis.

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation

Date of Filing: Sept. 15, 1982. *Title of Publication:* American Jewish History; *Frequency of Issue:* Quarterly, four times annually; *Location of Known Office of Publication:* 2 Thornton Rd., Waltham, Mass. 02154; *Location of the Headquarters or General Business Office of the Publisher:* 2 Thornton Rd., Waltham, Mass. 02154; *Editor:* Dr. Henry L. Feingold, 280 Ninth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10001; *Managing Editor:* Dr. Nathan M. Kaganoff, 2 Thornton Rd., Waltham, Mass. 02154; *Owner:* American Jewish Historical Society, 2 Thornton Rd., Waltham, Mass. 02154; *Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities:* None. A. *Total No. Copies Printed:* Average No. Copies Each Issue during Preceding 12 months: 4,283; Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date: 4,229, B. *Paid Circulation* 1. *Sales through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales:* None; 2. *Mail Subscriptions:* 3,466; C. *Total Paid Circulation:* 3,466; D. *Free Distribution By Mail Carrier or Other Means:* 141; E. *Total Distribution:* 3,607; F. *Office Use, Left-Over, Unaccounted, Spoiled after Printing:* 676; G. *Total:* 4,283; I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Bernard Wax
Comptroller