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The Jews in the Canary Islands: a Re-evaluation*

Professor HAIM BEINART

When Lucien Wolf published in 1926 his book *The Jews in the Canary Islands* a new world of Jewish life came to light.

The Canary Islands were taken over by Spain a few years after the Expulsion of 1492. Consequently in the Canary Islands no open Jews, only *conversos*,¹ could settle; they were accessible either to the descendants of those Jews who were converted during the riots of 1391 or later during the fifteenth century; or to Jews who were converted shortly before and after the Expulsion from Spain of 1492 and the forced conversion of 1497 in Portugal. These latter *conversos*, owing to their immediate and recent personal connection with Judaism, possessed much more Jewish knowledge than their brethren, the descendants of the earlier conversions, such as those of the fourteenth century. Both kinds of *conversos* arrived in the Canary Islands with the first wave of settlers, before the Spanish National Inquisition, which was an integral part of the system of the Spanish Government, became established in the Islands. The first such *converso* settlers there were artisans, shopkeepers, and merchants, who brought with them their families and kindred, many of them moving along to the pattern of traditional Jewish immigration. These Judeo-*converso* settlers left their impression on the image of colonisation in the Canary Islands.

We may ask: What had these islands to offer to these new settlers in general and to

conversos in particular? In these volcanic islands the autochthonous inhabitants, of African-Berber origin, were few, and the advent of Christianity to the Islands did not encounter any opposition. When the Islands were first settled by people of European descent, most of them were *conversos* from Southern Spain. They included many persons who ventured to those places where the administrative offices of the kingdom were still in the first stages of organisation and lacked the necessary power to supervise all aspects of life.² It was of course the normal sequence of events that in all the Spanish settlements overseas settlement by *conversos* preceded the establishment of the Inquisition; so it was in Mexico and Peru. Even in the Iberian Peninsula itself *conversos* migrated to faraway places where the Inquisition was only later to arrive. The Inquisition started to function in the Canary Islands only in 1504,³ and twenty-two more years were to pass till the first *auto-de-fe* was held on 24 February 1526. That such a long delay should elapse in a State where the Inquisition was headed by such zealots as Diego Deza and Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros tells

² See the testimony of Juan Delgado in the trial of Alvar González. He described the coming of New Christians to the Canary Islands. AHN Leg. 1823 No. 13, fol. 3r. See Appendix I.

³ See L. Wolf, *The Jews in the Canary Islands* (JHS, London, 1926), Introduction, p. xii (= Wolf). There are testimonies about Judaising *conversos* already in 1499. See Preface pp. 1–4. This archive was catalogued by Dr. Walter de Gray Birch, *A Catalogue of a Collection of original MSS belonging to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canaries and now in the possession of the Marquess of Bute with a notice of some unpublished records of the same series in the British Museum 1499–1693*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1903. Wolf describes this catalogue as incomplete and dealing mostly with cases of sorcery and Protestantism (such as captured British sailors). Some cases of English merchants were published in translation edited by L. de Alberti and A. B. Wallis Chapman in *English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries* (Royal Historical Society, London, 1912).

* This paper was delivered as the Lucien Wolf Memorial Lecture to the Society on 9 January 1974. My deepest gratitude goes to Dr. Richard D. Barnett for the help and encouragement he gave me during my stay in London and while working on this material.

Part of it has been published in Hebrew under the title *ראשונה של לונדון היהודית* in *Studies in the Cultural Life of the Jews in England*, presented to Avraham Harman (Folklore Research Center Studies V), Jerusalem 1975, edited by D. Noy and I. Ben-Ami, pp. 11–25, Hebrew Section.

¹ The term *converso*, 'convert', is used here to describe Jewish converts to Christianity in preference to the hostile and pejorative term '*marrano*'.

us much about the abnormal conditions which prevailed in the Islands.

Now for a few words about the material published by Lucien Wolf. In his Introduction he tells us about the purchase made by the 3rd Marquess of Bute in about 1900 of 76 volumes, divided into two series, which comprised: 'thirty-two volumes of *Testificaciones*, thirty-one volumes of *Procesos* or Trials, six volumes of Prison Registers and Visitations and seven volumes of Miscellaneous papers'.⁴ This offered an enormous amount of material to anyone who wished to cast merely a glimpse into the machinery of the Inquisition. Lucien Wolf noted that 'Jewish cases appear in thirty-six out of the seventy volumes, and of these, twenty-eight are records of depositions, while only five contain reports of trials'.⁵ He doubted then whether any relevant material on these *conversos* was missing, though the genealogical lists of those tried by the Inquisition and what he named 'cross-examinations of prisoners' might be found elsewhere. Unfortunately all these Bute MSS now seem to have disappeared—at least their present whereabouts is unknown—and trace has been lost since they were sold at Sotheby's on 30 October 1950.⁶

It is much to be regretted that Wolf published the material in the form only of a register and that he summarised only what *he thought relevant*. Even more is it to be regretted that so very few trials (*procesos*) of those tried by the Inquisition of the Canary Islands have come to light. For such *procesos* contain not only the material above mentioned, such as genealogies and detailed confessions, but also witnesses' testimonies, collected and taken down in detail, information received from other courts of the Inquisition, a variety of correspondence in connection with the accused, court decisions, and consultations revealing all the background of the accused and the evidence connected with them. Already from the beginning of the sixteenth century the net of the Inquisition was

being spread wide by means of information forwarded from one court to another, while the Central Office the *Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisición*, received reports and transferred the information necessary for the daily work of the terrible machine it had created to supervise life and State in the Kingdom of Spain. This information is of vital value in understanding the clandestine life the *conversos* were leading during the long years of their persecution.

We do not undervalue the collection of priceless material that Lucien Wolf brought to light, translated, annotated, and presented to the readers of his day. It was equally thanks to him that much activity and interest were aroused and enlisted on behalf of the still living clandestine *converso* communities discovered by the late Samuel Schwartz in Portugal, leading to the founding of an open if short-lived community at Oporto in 1927. The Canariote material that Wolf brought to light has a standing value for anyone interested in the study of organised persecution. As Jews, we are concerned with it all the more. Journals (and these are what Wolf actually published), *i.e.*, daily entries of the court of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands, if complete, would have given us a day-by-day history of this court for a period of about 300 years, describing in detail those who came forward to denounce one or other *converso*, what they had to say and inform to the Questioning Judges, and how the information was confirmed and entered into the various books kept by the court. Such journals were the pulse of the Inquisition in any of its courts. It is much to be regretted that the original journals are not now to be found, since most of those books of the courts of the Canary Inquisition were burnt and lost, and even this Bute collection is not accessible any more. (I, for my part, have tried to reconstruct this kind of journals of the court, as used in that of Ciudad Real in the years 1483–1485, and that of the court of Toledo on the Ciudad Real *conversos*.⁷)

⁴ Wolf, *op. cit.*, Preface p. v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

⁶ They were bought by Miss Emily Driscoll, a New York dealer (information by courtesy of Sotheby and Miss C. Armet, Librarian to the Marquess of Bute).

⁷ See our book: *Anusim bedin ha-Inquisitsia*, Tel-Aviv, 1965, and our *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, vol. I, Jerusalem, 1974.

I have been able to trace in the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* in Madrid a few *procesos* of Canariots also dealt with by Wolf. I intend here to discuss four of these files and compare them with the material published by Wolf and thereby bring to light new information only found in the *procesos*. One belongs to the opening period of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands; the other three date from the days when the Canariote *conversos* had established and maintained strong relations with London. Perhaps we should describe these latter *procesos* as being those of London Jews, former *conversos*, who had been tried by the court of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands as Judaizers. Their story is also in part the story of the first London congregation, and by describing their life in full we may shed some new light on Jewish London of those days.

[II]

Lucien Wolf rightly stated that the first period of the Canariote courts' activity commenced in 1504 and ended in 1510.⁸ Fifty-five Judaizers were tried then, but were not condemned to be handed over to the Secular Arm for execution. The reason may perhaps have been that the civil authorities, and as well the religious, had there at that time to deal with other more urgent matters. A more active interest in the life of the *conversos* began in 1519, when the court started filing much information and testimonies on Judaizing *conversos*. In the early 1520s a cholera epidemic broke out in the Islands and people started to look for religious reasons for their affliction. The first *auto-de-fe* was celebrated on 24 February 1526; eight *conversos* were handed over to the Secular Arm and burnt; ten returned to the fold of the Church and two more abjured their errors *de levi*. Most of the condemned were relapsed Judaizers. Those were the days of the Inquisitor Martín Jiménez. Another phase, extended to the 1630s, may be said to end the second period in the life of the court of the Canaries Inquisition. Lucien Wolf described the settlers in the Islands as Hispano-Portuguese Jews who created a new *ambience*

⁸ Wolf, p. xiiiif.

of their own. But there does not seem to be any difference between their way of life and that of any other clandestine *converso* community in Spain or Portugal. The emigrants to the Canary Islands came directly from Portugal, the Portuguese Azores, or *via* Spain, especially from Southern Spain, Seville being their port of embarkation. We thus see how the Islands were connected with that port. As already said, these emigrants were artisans and merchants who settled down, bought land, and became farmers tilling their lands with the help of Negro and Berber slaves. For this period the first *proceso* which I have found in Madrid is that of Alvar González.⁹ His file contains witnesses' testimonies only; some give the date when the witnesses testified, while others lack it. This file was prepared at a later date than the entries in the journals published by Wolf and these two sources complement one another.¹⁰ Let us now tell the story of Alvar González, according to what we can learn from his *proceso*, adding to it the material which Wolf brought out. It will perhaps give us as full a description as possible of *converso* life in the Canary Islands at that period.

Alvar González was a shoemaker born in Castelo Branco in Portugal, approximately in 1455. Together with his wife, Mencía Vázquez, and their elder children, Silvestre, Antonio, and Ana, he was forced to abandon his ancestral faith during the conversion of 1497, though in the Canaries many believed him never to have been baptised.¹¹ They did not stay much

⁹ The number of the file is AHN Leg. 1823 No. 13 and it contains 10 folios. See Appendix I. Twenty-five witnesses testified against him. See below, Appendix I, and Wolf, especially pp. xvi-xxv.

¹⁰ One can only regret the way in which Wolf wrote in some places, passing over the details, for instance: 'A great number of witnesses are called and give evidence against González' (p. 45). The names of the witnesses, their status and their testimonies would have been of great value to any historical investigation of the period concerned.

¹¹ The family's genealogy as found in the files is on page 51. Juan Delgado (fol. 3r) testified that Alvar González was not baptised. So too the monk Juan de Villalpando testified that it was common knowledge in the Islands that Alvar González was not baptised. See Wolf p. 44 and *cf.* the testimony of Juan Pinto (Wolf, p. 15).

longer in Portugal but settled in Gibraltar, whence they moved after three years to San Miguel in the Azores. According to Wolf, the Gonzalez family fled from the prison there and together with other prisoners arrived in the Canary Islands.¹² But this seems unlikely. Some witnesses testified that he fled, probably from the Azores, after having been accused of flogging a Crucifix or making signs at a Host. From 1504 Alvar González and his family lived in the island of Las Palmas.¹³ We do not know how he established himself, but soon he was a house-owner and later acquired a vineyard and became a man of means, owning at least five slaves, male and female, Negroes, Moors, and Berbers.

Immediately after settling down in Las Palmas the whole family started to follow the Jewish way of life. Alvar González slaughtered meat according to the Jewish ritual;¹⁴ all members of the family removed the sinews (*la landrecilla*) from the hind legs of slaughtered calves, lambs, and cows;¹⁵ they ate *matzot* during Passover;¹⁶ the parents, *i.e.*, Alvar González and his wife Mencia Vázquez, said their *Shahrit* prayers at dawn;¹⁷ when jailed by the Inquisition he abstained from eating cooked food and agreed only to have fried or grilled

fish and openly refused to partake in eating eels and non-*kasher* food.¹⁸ To one of the prisoners in that jail he explained why pork is forbidden: 'because God has proscribed any animal that did not chew the cud and did not have a cloven hoof,' and he openly said that pork meat made him vomit;¹⁹ while still in Gibraltar the family had *hamin* (*adafina*) on the Sabbath;²⁰ on Friday night the Sabbath candles would be lit and they were left to burn till their end;²¹ even while in prison Alvar González would change his linen, and when told that this was a Jewish custom, he paid no heed.²² If this was the man's behaviour in prison, it is easy to imagine how strictly orthodox was his way of life in his own home;²³ while in prison, after having dreamt that his son Duarte had died, he bewailed and bemoaned him in the Jewish fashion.²⁴

We can measure his Jewishness more fully by noting his knowledge of Jewish law and learning. Some witnesses called him 'Rabbi' in their testimony, and this was the opinion of the court, which considered him a great expert in Jewish learning. A special room was kept in his house as a synagogue. Of great interest are the testimonies which describe how *conversos* gathered there for prayers on Friday nights and on Sabbath. The worshippers would come in pairs or by themselves alone, and would sneak in, their faces and heads covered like women; they left after prayer in the

¹² Pp. xv-xvi. Wolf does not produce the source of his information.

¹³ According to the testimony of Alonso de Talavera (3r) and of Fernán García de Mesa (4r), the family arrived in Las Palmas from 'the islands below' (de las yslas de abaxo). From there he fled because of having flogged a crucifix (Alonso López de Talavera) or he made ugly signs (higas) at the Host (Fernán García).

¹⁴ Testimony of Juan, Negro slave (2r).

¹⁵ Alvar González confessed this. See Wolf p. 47, and *cf.* the testimony of Alonso de la Zarza (6v); once Inés, the Moorish slave girl, was ordered to do this. Inés's testimony (2v).

¹⁶ Mencia Vázquez confessed this during her trial (Wolf, p. 70).

¹⁷ Antonio González's (son of Alvar González and Mencia Vázquez) confession; Wolf, p. 68. Antonio confessed during his own trial on 14 January 1526.

¹⁸ Testimony of Alonso de la Zarza (Sarça), fol. 6v-7r.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 7r.

²⁰ Testimony of Juan Pinto, Wolf, p. 15. No date for this testimony is available.

²¹ Testimony of Inés, Moorish slave girl, fol. 3r.

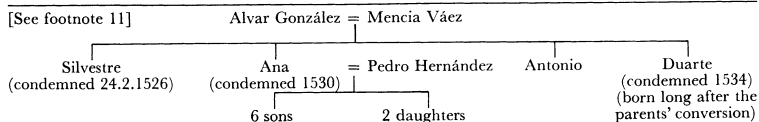
²² Testimony of Francisco de Baeza, fol. 5v;

Alonso de la Zarza, fol. 7r;

²³ Testimony of Inés, fol. 2v.

²⁴ Testimony of Francisco de Baeza, fol. 5v; Alonso de la Zarza, fol. 7r; Alonso Yañez, *ibid.* For Alvar González's synagogue, see the various testimonies, Wolf pp. 18, 40, 44.

[See footnote 11]



same order as they arrived.²⁵ Even their way of praying is described: Alvar González would stand and pray whispering while nodding head and body.²⁶ Some of the participants in these prayers are named: Maestre Diego, Alonso Enriquez, Duarte and Marcos Freres, Francisco Pérez and Mencia Vázquez's brother-in-law Duarte Pérez.²⁷ Alvar González would preach to those gathered for prayers,²⁸ and demonstrated his Jewish education and knowledge by showing that he saw it as not to be kept to himself; he knew it was his duty to teach and spread Jewish knowledge. Alvar González and his family knew and spoke Hebrew; witnesses testify that²⁹ this was his wont while still a Jew;³⁰ and Ana González

also confessed in her own trial that she spoke Hebrew with her brother Antonio González;³¹ Alvar González would call his wife and children by their Hebrew names³²—a clear sign of their yearning for their Jewish past. Alvar González felt himself near at heart to the afflictions of his people, and could not stand it if anyone spoke badly of the Jews.³³ Another *converso*, who stayed with him in prison for about half a year, saw in him the same Jew then as before conversion, a converted Jew who had returned to his old ways.³⁴ This testimony agrees in full with what Alvar González said about himself: '*... Que mas valia ser buen judio que mal christiano*'.³⁵ His devotion to his brethren was demonstrated by the help he gave to an unknown Jew who fell into the hands of the Inquisition of the Canary Islands when the ship in which he was sailing capsized. He sent a lamb to this Jew in prison, so that he might slaughter it according to the Jewish

²⁵ '*... Y vio como alli entraua despues de anochecido y tañida la oracion muchos de los dichos christianos nuevos e conuersos que alli heran venidos y otros que antes binian en la dicha villa, y que entrauan en la dicha casa de dos en dos reguardandose al tiempo que entrauan como personas que no querian ser vistas, mirando a una parte e a otra, las cabeças baxas, cubiertos las capas como mugeres, y que entrauan agora vnos y de ay a vn poco otros, y que estauan dicha casa gran rato.*'

The witness Juan Delgado did not know what they were doing there, but he suspected that they were there judaizing. '*... y que de la manera que entrauan cubiertos se tornauan a salir.*' This he saw many times, mostly Friday nights and Sabbaths, fol. 3r. Inés, a Moorish slave girl, said they would gather for prayers on Sundays and Mondays (she probably mixed the days, or perhaps it was a Holyday). They would abstain from prayer when an alien labourer was at their home (2v). She testified on the 20 February 1525, and Delgado testified on 24 December 1524. *Cf.* a *converso* gathering for prayer in Ciudad Real, H. Beinart, *Anusim*, p. 203ff.

²⁶ Testimony of Francisco de Baeza (5v); Alonso de la Zarza (7v), and of Alonso Yáñez (8r): '*... y que otras muchas vezes reza quieto que no oye nadie, y que esta con el cuerpo y con la cabeça, alçando la cabeça y abaxabdola y meneandose siempre.*' This they probably saw while imprisoned with Alvar González.

²⁷ Duarte Pérez was burnt in effigy in 1534. See Wolf, p. 70 (Confession of Mencia Vázquez).

²⁸ Testimony of Juan, Negro (also called Berber) slave (lv). He was put to guard the entry. See as well testimony of Juan González, another slave (3r).

²⁹ Testimony of Juan (lv); testified on 26 November 1525.

³⁰ Juan (there); Alvar González himself said this to the witness. In the witness's words, '*... vio*

hablar en hebrayco y dezir que asi hablaua quando hera judio.' Perhaps he meant by this, when he was judaizing.

³¹ See Wolf, p. 54ff. She confessed on 14 January 1526. See above, testimony of Inés, the Moorish slave girl (2v). She said that they spoke in a language that was neither Castilian nor Moorish and therefore she thinks it was Hebrew. Ana González was condemned in 1530 (at the age of 30), to be returned to the fold and do penance. See Appendix I. This was also the verdict passed on her brother Duarte.

³² Testimony of Juan, the slave (2r).

³³ Testimony of Alonso Yáñez, a *converso* from Villaviçosa, Portugal (7v–8r). This witness was condemned to be handed over to the Secular Arm and burnt on 24 February 1526. See Wolf, xv–xvi, 66–67. The text is: '*... Que le pesa quando hablan mal de los judios. ... Que donde el estuyese no avia nadie de dezir mal de los judios.*' This is also the reason why Alvar was angry that the *converso* Alonso de la Zarza, who later testified against him, went to urinate while he, Alvar González, was speaking about the Law of Moses. This happened when they all sat in prison (7r–7v).

³⁴ Testimony of Francisco de Baeza (5v) '*... y que por lo que este testigo ha visto contar, hablar y hazer al dicho Aluar Gonçalez de seis meses a esta parte le tyene por tal judio como antes que fuese judio.*'

³⁵ Testimony of Alonso López de Talavera (3v). Wolf, p. 44, publishes only one tiny part of his testimony.

rites and have *kasher* meat for his consumption.³⁶ He even went to visit this Jew in prison, 'because he was of his nation; and it was said, that this Jew was a Rabbi and a very learned man in his Law.'³⁷

It seems appropriate to examine more fully the evidence that we have of his knowledge of Judaism. Alvar González would not stop talking about the 'Old Law' (*La Ley Vieja*),³⁸ or the Old Testament, or, as it was commonly known, '*La Ley de Moysen*' (Moses' Law). These terms were used by him at the time when the Inquisition and the Catholic world considered and called Moses' Law *La Mortifera Ley* (the Law that brings death). Alvar González would often say: 'God performed greater miracles for Moses and for the Jews,' meaning that these miracles were greater than those the Christians tell about.³⁹ He told his audience of the miracle of Moses when he was found in the ark by Pharaoh's daughter; about the burial place of Moses, that no man could find.⁴⁰ With great feeling he would tell about the Ten Lost Tribes and the River Sambation, which keeps guard over them, and the mourning that they keep for the one lost tribe.⁴¹ This he told in detail and 'like an

expert'.⁴² What is there surprising in his love and yearning for anything Jewish? He would express this by saying that he 'regrets not having died then', meaning that he regretted that in those days during the great persecution he did not die sanctifying God's Name;⁴³ and this was what he most probably meant, mentioning those who died at that time.⁴⁴

To complete the description of Alvar González's personality we may take into account what he thought and expressed about Christian society and Christianity. He stressed that Christ was a Jew, who studied Jewish learning in the synagogue.⁴⁵ Christianity was in his eyes a joke (*burla*), or a mere wind (*todo es viento*), meaning it had no value. 'A King of the Jews arrested him, whom the Christians presume to be their God, and flogged him, and everything the Christians say and do is wind.'⁴⁶ He spoke in the same vein to his Negro slave who went to hear the Easter

y que hera gafa y que lo avia tomado y que avia sanado.'

Alonso de la Zarza (6r) speaks of the River Sambation: '... porque no quiere Dios que nadie pase alli porque no haga mal a aquellos.'

⁴² Testimony of Francisco de Baeza (*ibid.*): '... y que despues que esta preso siempre habla en las cosas de la Ley Vieja y de la Brivia como hombre que lo sabe, y dize que lo sabe muy bien.'

⁴³ Testimony of Alonso Yáñez (7v): '... y de quando era judio ende mal porque no me mori entonces.'

⁴⁴ Testimony of Francisco de Baeza (4v-5r): '... y que quando hablauan de la Ley de Moyses dezia que quien se muryera en aquel tiempo, porque hablauan de quando era judio.'

⁴⁵ Testimony of Juan Fernández (3v-4r). In Alvar González's words: '... que aquel que avian crucificado que vna vez jugando a la pelota en la Sinoga que viera vn letero que estava alto escrito en la dicha Sinoga, y que de aquello que avia leído alli avia sabido todas las cosas que el dezia, y que despues porque dezia esto su Dios avia dicho que ahorcasen de un troncho de col, y que por eso lo avian ahorcado.' When the witness said to Alvar González that this is his God, Alvar González reacted by saying: '... que hera burla todo y que lo que dicho tiene.' He must have been alluding to one of the legends about the miracle-making of Christ as commonly known among the Jews.

⁴⁶ Testimony of Juan, Negro slave (2r): '... que vn rey de los judios tenia preso al que los christianos dizen que es Nuestro Señor y lo agota, y todo lo que los christianos dizen y hazen es viento.'

³⁶ Testimony of Fernan García de Mesa (4r) and of Alonso López de Talavera (3v): '... sabe que Alvar González embio al dicho judio un cordero para que lo matase alli para que pudiese comer del, y que se dezia por ser judio le avia embiado el dicho Alvar González el dicho cordero.' We do not know when this happened.

³⁷ Testimony of Fernan García de Mesa (4r): '... Que por ser de su naçion, y que decian que el dicho judio era Rabi y hombre sabio en su ley.'

³⁸ See for instance testimony of Francisco de Baeza (5v).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, '... Mayores milagros avia hecho Dios por Moyses y por los judios que aquello [que hizo por los christianos].'

⁴⁰ So also Wolf, p. 45.

⁴¹ Testimony of Francisco de Baeza (4v-5r): '... y que contaue de ciertos tribus de los judios que se avian pasado de la otra parte de un rio que corre piedras, y que no se hazian la barua y que vestyan negro por vn tribu que avian quedado aca, y que si alguno pasa por aquel rio que lleva alguna cosa de hierro luego muere. Y que Moyses estaua enterrado en el Monte Synay, que si alguno le queria ver se mudaria de alli a otra parte. Y que Moyses avia sido echado en una caxa y que avia aportado donde estava la hija del rey Faraon,

Sermon about Christ's suffering and about the public that wept listening to it.⁴⁷ Christians were in his eyes dogs who would come to a bad end;⁴⁸ and their Land was a bad Land of Dogs.⁴⁹

Alvar González saw in Christ and Christianity the root of all the evil that befell the Jews and according to one witness's testimony he cursed Christ.⁵⁰ He did everything in his power to prevent his slaves being baptised;⁵¹ he refused his wife's request to buy some images and bring them home, although perhaps her request was only after the Inquisition became aware of their Judaizing practices.⁵² This was when he started to worry about his own arrest by the Inquisition and tried to influence his slaves not to testify against him and his family; to his slave Inés he promised liberty if she did not betray him.⁵³ He even began to go to church, but would lower his eyes when the Host was elevated,⁵⁴ and

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* (2r): '... y que este testigo fue a oyr el sermón de la Pasyon. Y que quando de allí vino, le pregunto el dicho Alvar Gonzáles que que vio allí, y el testigo respondió que vido como la gente llorava porque los judios mataron a Christo. Y que el dicho Alvar Gonzáles dixo: Todo aquello es viento y todo es nada.' This theme of the Jews having killed Christ was a common subject for preaching during Passover.

⁴⁸ Testimony of Juan (2r): '... Canes, que an de venir estos canes a mal fin.'

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* See also testimony of Juan Fernández (3v), whom Alvar González thought to be a *converso*: '... que aquella tierra era muy mala tierra, y que era tierra de perros mala.'

⁵⁰ Testimony of Juan Franco (9v). The court repealed this testimony because of the witness being a thief.

⁵¹ Testimony of Inés, his Moorish slave. He hit her for having gone to Mass (3r); his servant Fernando (9r).

⁵² Testimony of Francisco de Baeza (5v) and of Alonso de la Zarza (7v). Alonso de la Zarza said that Alvar González said on this: '... que no queria tener en su casa enbarço'.

⁵³ Her testimony (2r–2v). At the beginning she denied that he promised her this, but later she admitted it. She told the court that Mencía Vázquez asked her this. See also testimony of Pedro Pinto (2r). Inés confessed that Alvar González slept with her even after her conversion. She said that Silvestre and Duarte did so too. Alvar González denied it, saying he was old and ill. See as well Wolf, pp. 43, 47, 51.

⁵⁴ Testimony of Alonso López de Talavera (3v): '... quando yva a missa abaxava los ojos y no queria mirar al Sacramento.'

abstained from kneeling when the bells rang for prayers.⁵⁵ This was his behaviour while in prison, although he then learned to say some prayers in 'Romance', i.e., Spanish, which included *Ave Maria*, *Salve Regina*, *Pater Noster*, and the Christian *Credo*.⁵⁶ All the time he was imprisoned he never ceased to believe that he would be released,⁵⁷ and he dreamt that his mother came to him and informed him of this.⁵⁸ In comparison with his deep faith in the Law of Moses his failures in his duty to Christianity, such as eating meat during Lent and on Fridays, must have seemed very trivial to his judges.⁵⁹ It goes without saying that he had a name for being the worst Christian on the island.⁶⁰

Already in 1519 the Inquisition in the Canary Islands had got wind of his Jewish ways, but only in 1524 was he arrested. His trial was given the full procedure;⁶¹ according to this he was allowed to present a full defence, in which he tried to refute the testimonies for the prosecution.⁶² Near the date of the *auto-de-fe* the court held a *Consulta-de-fe* and it was unanimously decided that he was to be handed over to the Secular Arm and his property confiscated. The same sentence was passed against his wife Mencía Vázquez. On 24 February

⁵⁵ Testimony of Alonso de la Zarza (6v): '... que quando tenían a alçar o al Aue Maria nunca se hinchaba de rodillas como los christianos.'

⁵⁶ Testimony of Francisco de Baeza (5v); Alonso Yañez (8r) told the court that he taught him these prayers.

⁵⁷ Testimony of Baeza (4v): '... e que esperaba en Dios que avia de salir.'

⁵⁸ Testimony of Alonso de la Zarza (6v): '... que vna noche soñava que su madre avia venido a hablalle y le avia dicho no ayas miedo que todas estas pelotadas que te dan no te an de tocar que por alto an de ir.'

⁵⁹ On eating meat during Lent, Juan, his servant, testified (2r); on eating meat on Fridays see testimony of Pedro de Belmonte (4r).

⁶⁰ Testimony of Fernán García de Mesa (4r): '... que tiene la mas mala fama de mal christiano que ay en toda la isla.'

⁶¹ See Appendix I. Lucien Wolf did not pay any attention to these courts' meetings.

⁶² We do not know the names of his defence. Wolf, e.g., pp. 48–9, omitted the names of many witnesses for the prosecution and of those who testified in Alvar González's defence.

1526 both of them were burnt alive, sanctifying the Name of God.

The story of Alvar González is that of a simple Jew, a shoemaker whose Jewish education was wide and deep. But to sentence him the Inquisition had no need to note his knowledge of Judaism; it was more interested in his way of fulfilling the *Mitzvot* (Commandments), even in acts which were not considered in the eyes of the Inquisition so grave (such as removing sinews from a slaughtered calf's leg). The Inquisition believed that by sentencing him it would not only save his soul but at the same time hit hard at the *converso* community to whom he was teacher and guiding spirit.⁶³ He was a *converso* of the first generation who knew Judaism at its sources, whose yearning for his Jewish past was stronger than anything Christianity could offer him, even in a New Land such as the Canary Islands or Fortunate Islands, considered by many as the Paradise Lost.⁶⁴

[III]

Jewish life in the Canary Islands enjoyed a resurgence in the seventeenth century. As a station on the way to the New World, where the Dutch and English were fighting for a foothold, the Islands played a great rôle; they were of greatest importance in the transatlantic trade routes.⁶⁵ The *converso* founders of the Jewish communities in Western Europe saw the political and economic importance of these Islands. This led some of them either to settle there themselves or to establish there faithful and most secret correspondents, in the persons of relatives or trusted friends.

With the beginning of the seventeenth cen-

tury the numbers of *conversos* settled in the Canary Islands grew. They came mostly from Portugal, especially since the Union of Portugal with Spain in 1580 opened for them new horizons and possibilities.⁶⁶ Their numbers continued to grow during the reign of Philip IV, when the Count-Duke of Olivares, who favoured the so-called 'New Christians' or *conversos*, was Chief Minister. The files of the Inquisition tell their full story, and some of those files tell also of the story of the Jewish Settlement in London in the 'fifties of the seventeenth century. This group of earliest Canariote settlers left their mark on the London Jewish community of those days, and since the Inquisition collected its information on *conversos* so diligently and painstakingly and in the greatest detail, it proves a great aid to us to understanding their clandestine way of life in London, how closely knit their community was, and how they organised their Jewish communal life.

The Inquisition considered itself judge and saviour of souls of all those sunk in sin, especially by judaising. It made no difference if the *converso* left the area of the Inquisition's political and geographical jurisdiction. The Inquisition considered itself a judge in the redemption of the *converso's* soul not only while he officially belonged to the Catholic Church but even if and after he entirely cut himself off from his Christian past and became openly a devout Jew. So what difference did it make if a former *converso*, having left the Canary Islands, lived now as a Jew in Amsterdam, Hamburg, or London? Such a person was always liable to punishment whether he fell into the hands of the Inquisition or was tried *in absentia* or posthumously. The courts of the Inquisition had moral, religious, spiritual, and physical authority over all Catholics wherever they might be encountered. In a word: it was an institution whose main aim was once religious but had become judge and arbiter over anyone who lived within its limits of jurisdiction, for whom there was no redemption by running away or living outside the limits of its power.

⁶³ His daughter Ana, in her trial (see Wolf, p. 54), told the court how her parents tried to prevent her marrying a Christian (his name was Pedro Hernández). They tried to send her to Lisbon to marry a relative, but she refused. Later her parents brought her a bridegroom from Madeira, but to no avail. See her confession made on 5 May 1526.

⁶⁴ On their sons Silvestre and Duarte, and Ana, see Wolf, *ibid.* and Appendix I.

⁶⁵ See A. Cioranescu, *Thomas Nichols, mercader de azúcar, hispanista y hereje*, La Laguna de Tenerife, 1963.

⁶⁶ On the commerce of the *conversos* in Western Europe see H. Beinart, in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Jerusalem, 1972, p. 55-73 (in Hebrew).

Since the Inquisition saw it as its mission to judge those fugitives who aimed at returning to the faith of their ancestors, every effort was worth while, first to collect information, mostly through witnesses' testimonies, and then to wait till the backslider fell into its hands to be tried.

All sources of information were good in its eyes, and in the seventeenth century many new sources of information became available: ships' captains who visited the new *converso* and *ex-converso* centres on their voyages; Christian merchants and even *conversos* who went to those places, later returned, and went to tell the Inquisition about those whom they met and what they learned; slaves who served those *ex-converso* Jews in the new communities and returned to their old homes; wandering friars and the like. To these, with regret, in some cases we may add sons and daughters of the *ex-conversos* themselves who did not adapt themselves to circumstances in the new communities and went back to their places of origin. (This perhaps was one of the greatest tragedies in the life of the *ex-conversos*, that the way of life of their ancestors, to which they eventually returned, was sometimes no pattern for the younger generation and had no meaning for them.) And as if these dangers were not enough, the Inquisition sent out *agents-provocateurs* to those centres. We may mention a few: Juan Bautista de Villadiego, sent to France, to Rouen especially, in the 'thirties of the seventeenth century;⁶⁷ Joseph Carrera y Coligo in London (a Catalan of *converso* parents, who had Protestant leanings for a time, then became a Jew in Amsterdam and spent much time among the Jews of London);⁶⁸ and in 1655 we find in London a 'familiar' of the Segovian Inquisition, Juan de Losa Barajona,⁶⁹ probably present for the same purposes.

⁶⁷ See H. Beinart, *op. cit.*, p. 57ff.

⁶⁸ Wolf, pp. xxxvii, 178, 205f., 217f., 223ff. See also the file of the brothers Domingo and Jorge Rodríguez Francia, AHN Leg. 1823 No. 10 fol. 10v., testimony of Pedro Manzano. (See Appendix VIII.)

⁶⁹ Testimony of Juan López de Miranda. Juan López testified on 29 July 1656. See trial of Duarte Enriquez Alvarez 1823, No. 14, fol. 14r-14v.

To appreciate the connections between the Canariote *conversos* and the Sephardi communities in Western Europe we may first look into the material in the newly found *proceso* of Francisca López, wife of Diego Rodríguez Arias.⁷⁰ Diego Rodríguez Arias, born according to one report in Marchena (Andalucía), had by the 1650s become an active member of the London *ex-converso* community but he was no longer young when he arrived there.⁷¹ He is probably to be identified with a Diego Rodríguez Arias whose history has been unearthed by S. Liebman from the records of the Mexican tribunal.⁷² In 1646 we find him in Mexico, and from his trial by that court in 1648 we learn much about him and his family.⁷³ According to Liebman,⁷⁴ he was at this time a bachelor but this may mean no more than that he did not betray his full story to the Inquisition. His trial was a side-product of others which culminated in the great *auto-de-fe* of 14 April 1649 in which 109 persons were sentenced, 108 being Jews, though 66 had already died in the cells. Seymour Liebman⁷⁵ has shown that this Mexican Diego Rodríguez Arias, born in Seville about 1601 and circumcised, was a member of one of the greatest families of crypto-Jews in Mexico, where there were at least four secret communities by 1635—two in Guadalajara, one in Vera Cruz, and another in Pueblo. Until 1639, those in Mexico were controlled economically by Captain Simon Váez Sevilla, their spiritual leader being a remarkable

⁷⁰ See her trial, AHN Leg. 1824 No. 7. It contains 23 folios. Almost all the witnesses testified against her husband, Diego Rodríguez Arias. (See Appendix III.)

⁷¹ Wolf, pp. 159-161. He signed as witness testifying to Antonio Rodríguez Robles's Jewishness. See L. Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth,' the Jewish Historical Society of England (=JHSE), *Transactions*, I, 1893-1894, p. 79 (=Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews').

⁷² Seymour B. Liebman, *A Guide to Jewish References in the Mexican Colonial Era 1521-1821*, Philadelphia, 1964. Index *s.v.* Rodríguez, Diego Arias. *Idem.*, *Los judíos en México y América Central*, Mexico, 1971, p. 411.

⁷³ See Appendix II. The genealogy of Diego Rodríguez Arias of Mexico is on p. 57.

⁷⁴ Liebman, *Guide*, § 1134.

⁷⁵ Liebman, *Los judíos en México*, pp. 273 ff.

woman, his wife Juana Enríquez. So high was the esteem in which she was held that some popularly fancied her to be destined to become mother of the Messiah. She had two brothers and five sisters, almost all to become victims of the Mexican Inquisition. She was born at Marialbar, in Portugal, her parents being Antonio Rodríguez Arias (who held a high position in the Court of the Viceroy of New Spain) and Blanca Enríquez. Diego Rodríguez Arias was her brother. In 1642 Juana's son Gaspar Váez, aged 18, was arrested, and under torture denounced 114 Jews. Juana and her husband were 'reconciled' to the Mother Church in the great *auto* of 1649. From this it is clear that Diego Rodríguez Arias came from no ordinary family of secret believers. He was 'reconciled' in March 1648 though sentenced to permanent imprisonment. The list of his property made out by the court there shows that he owned four slaves, which he inherited from his mother, Blanca Enríquez.⁷⁶ Other holdings were in silver and jewellery; many people owed him considerable sums of money, but he himself had no debts, according to his own declaration made to the court's keeper of confiscated property. He was

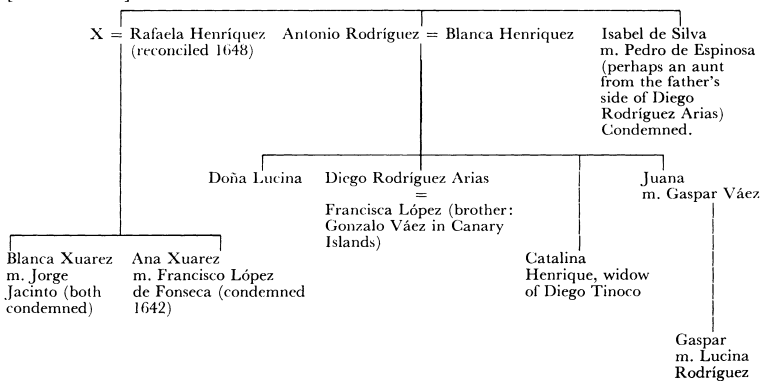
⁷⁶ He sold two slaves. See *Inq. Mexico*, vol. 427 fol. 227r. This is mentioned in the list of his confiscated property. See Appendix IV.

guarding some valuables given to him by his aunt Isabel de Silva, wife of Pedro de Espinosa; perhaps she herself was afraid of being arrested by the Inquisition. Diego Rodríguez Arias owned a house, also inherited from his mother, in Mexico, on Tacuba street. A few Indians owed him some small sums of money, but they were not even listed by the court. Most of his business was carried out in the town of Zacatecas, or its province. From the list of his property we can assume that he was, like merchants of his day, a trader in every possible merchandise: slaves, silver, jewellery, merchandise brought over from Europe, etc.

The court's decision to accept him back into the fold of the Church in a private *auto-de-fe* (*auto particular*), held in Mexico on 30 March 1648, clearly indicates that his judaising offences were not considered grave but involved confiscation of all his goods. Thereby he avoided the great *auto* of 1649. After this, he wisely did not stay long in Mexico, since we find him (if it is the same man) in Holland in 1650 and in London in 1651.⁷⁷ Even in London he did not tarry long but went to Angola

⁷⁷ Wolf, p. 159ff. [Maurice Wolf, 'Foreign Trade of London Jews in the Seventeenth Century', *Trans. JHSE* XXIV, p. 42, has now shown that he must have been in Holland by April 1650, in business dealings with Antonio Carvajal.]

[See footnote 73]



and to the West Indies, perhaps for some slave-trading from Angola to the West Indies, or to the New World. In 1653 he arrived in the Canary Islands⁷⁸ as captain and master of a ship (the *San Pedro*) on which a coloured witness accused him of whipping a crucifix.⁷⁹ In the Canary Islands, the Inquisition laid hands on him in the house of his brother-in-law, Gonzalo Rodríguez Vázquez, in Tenerife. Wolf concluded that he escaped from the Canary Islands, since in 1654 he was already back in London, where he became active in *converso* circles. So much so, that the Inquisition sent a special envoy to London to learn about his activities in detail. This was after his wife was condemned by the Canariote Inquisition in 1656. The reports which the Inquisition received stated that Diego Rodríguez Arias was now a full-fledged Jew, active in the community and synagogue, which had only just been officially organised and come into the open.

We can hardly accept without demur Wolf's suggestion that he fled the Canary Islands. Judging from his behaviour on the ship which brought him to England, and looking into the witnesses' testimonies about him, he was more probably released and had somehow still the means to hire himself a berth and buy his passage on the ship, as was customary in those days, through direct negotiation with the ship's captain. From the file of his wife, Francisca López, we learn that he went alone; she probably joined him later in London. She was tried in *absentia*, which means that she had left Tenerife already in 1654 before her trial,⁸⁰ and that the couple must have saved their property as well. Francisca López was, according to the description in her *proceso*, a woman of about forty, a little corpulent, of a clear complexion, black hair,

and good looking. This description was most probably made and, according to custom, forwarded to all ports and frontiers by courts of the Inquisition in the hope that she might be arrested. It also shows that she was well known in the Canary Islands. We can also say that for at least twenty years she had been Diego Rodríguez Arias's wife, though to the Inquisition in 1648 he claimed to be a bachelor. This is to say that he was living alone in Mexico, as was often customary in those times.⁸¹ We lack any details as to when they were married and whether they had any children. From his will it would not seem so.⁸² His behaviour while on board ship shows how strongly he adhered to the precepts of the Mosaic Law while pretending the opposite; this was after his (presumable) release from prison,⁸³ and he probably was seasick on ship. All the time he would ask for titbits from the passengers from the pork they were eating. Almost all the passengers who went on this trip and later returned to the Canary Islands testified before the Inquisition how on their arrival in London, when the berth of Diego Rodríguez Arias was cleaned, all the meat was found below the straw on which he slept.⁸⁴ The story throws an interesting light on seventeenth-century travel conditions. It also clearly shows the care which he took to maintain the Christian mask he was wearing.

From the material to be found in his wife's *proceso* much may be learned about his Jewish practices in London. Lorença Díaz de Amizqueta, a Negro slave whom he bought, intending to send her to his brother-in-law Gonzalo Rodríguez Vázquez in Tenerife, told the court how a person acting as a *Shohet* (ritual slaughterer), of Portuguese extraction, would slaughter meat for him.⁸⁵ While in London,

⁷⁸ Trial of Francisca López, AHN. Leg. 1824 No. 7 fol. 4r.

⁷⁹ Wolf, p. 136.

⁸⁰ See Appendix III. On October 1654 the court of Seville wrote to the Canary Islands to open a case against her. This letter arrived on 15 February 1655. From that date on the court began to collect information on her. Most of the witnesses testified in 1656 and sentence was passed on 24 October 1656. Thirteen witnesses for the prosecution testified; almost all of them gave evidence against Diego Rodríguez Arias.

⁸¹ No allusion is made to her property in the list of property confiscated from him in Mexico. See Appendix IV.

⁸² See Appendix V.

⁸³ See especially testimony of Cristóbal de Alvarado Bracamonte (7r); he testified on 15 May 1656. See Appendix III.

⁸⁴ See, for instance, testimony of Antonio García de Catillo and of Martín de Naveda Romero (4v; 5r).

⁸⁵ Her testimony fol. 4v. Testified on 29 November 1655.

and during the time he spent in Holland, he led a fully Jewish life,⁸⁶ but we do not know when and where he was circumcised. We have his Hebrew name: Abraham; Abraham Rodríguez Arias in full.⁸⁷ We are told of this by a witness who carried to him letters from his brother-in-law Gonzalo Rodríguez Vázquez. When this witness arrived in Amsterdam and inquired about Diego Rodríguez's whereabouts, he was told: 'Abraham is to be found in London.'⁸⁸ Diego (now Abraham) abstained from giving alms in London to poor Christians, although at the beginning he went frequently to Mass at the houses of the Spanish and Venetian Ambassadors.⁸⁹

Presumably, Abraham Rodríguez Arias was involved in the founding of the London First Synagogue. Pedro de Arechava, a ship's captain on the route between London and the Canary Islands, told the court of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands the fantastic story elsewhere recorded about the proposal some London Jews were alleged to have made to Cromwell to buy St. Paul's Cathedral in order to consecrate it as a synagogue. The price offered for the church was said to be £200,000.⁹⁰ But the testimony of another witness in this trial (of Francisca López), Captain Alonso de Molina by name,⁹¹ speaks only of buying a plot of land for this purpose and states that an offer was made accordingly to Oliver Cromwell. The sum offered was the same, but Cromwell's Council and the London merchants were opposed to it and nothing came of the proposal. No doubt, the rumour which Pedro de Arechava carried to the Canary Islands at a

time when war was raging between England and Spain, as is well known, was spread in a pamphlet in London, and we could today class it as a hoax. But this bit of news was worth telling to the Inquisition to show what those *converso*-Jews were capable of on the one hand, and what Cromwell was party to on the other, namely—the sale of a church in all its holiness. Such a story sounded alarming in a Catholic country jealous of England and at war with her. According to Alonso de Molina, the Jewish negotiators had money ready for this transaction in London and Flemish banking houses.⁹² The file does not of course tell how far Diego (Abraham) Rodríguez Arias was involved in real negotiations for a synagogue, which certainly took place and led to the founding of the modest meeting-place in Cree Church Lane. It involved

⁹² Testimony of Pedro de Arechava (6r): '... que Diego Rodríguez Arias, hermano que a oído decir es de doña Lucina, que auia declarado ante Cromuel por Judío que esa ley guardaua, y que el y otras personas que nombro pedían a Cromuel les diese la yglesia que fue de San Pablo para hacer la sinagoga y le ofrecían por ello entre todas doçientos mil libras.' Testified on 29 April 1656.

Alonso de Molina, who told of the coming of many Portuguese to London, testified on 30 April 1656: '... y que la murmuración comun en todo Londres es que los que tienen dichos son judíos muy conoçidos y se a solícitado y pretendido ante Cromuel y su consejo se les de parte señalada para hazer çinagoga ofreciendole por ello dar doçientas mil libras que dicen tienen prontas en los bancos de Flandes e Ynglaterra. Y el reyno los mercaderes lo contradigén.'

On the rumours about the proposed buying of St Paul's Church, see now A. Fraser, *Cromwell, Our Chief of Men*, London, 1973, pp. 564–565. This story was duly related to the Genoese and Venetian Governments by their gullible agents in London. For the Genoese report, see Roth, 'New Light on Resettlement,' *Trans. JHSE*, XI (1924–1927), pp. 126–127. Roth's statement that the Venetian envoy devoted only one entry about the Jews' return to England turned out to be not quite correct. A. B. Hinds, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* 28, 1647–1662, p. 138, No. 38 (London, 1927), produced the Venetian version of the canard dated 14 February 1655: the Church of St. Paul's comparable to St. Peter's remains desolate and is said to have been sold to the Jews as a synagogue. The choir will be profaned by the voices of the infidel as soon as they receive possession from the soldiers, horse and foot, who have been lodged there.

⁸⁶ Testimony of Guillermo Clerque, a Protestant who testified in the Canary Islands (7v); testified on 17 May 1656.

⁸⁷ Testimony of the monk Leonardo Petit (9v); testified on 19 June 1656.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 9r: '... y preguntando si estaua allí el dicho Diego Rodríguez Arias, le dijeron quien es Diego Rodríguez, y dijo es vn hombre cuñado de Gonzalo Rodríguez que esta en las islas, y dijeron así: Abraham, ya se fue a Ynglaterra, no esta aquí.'

⁸⁹ Testimony of Juan López de Miranda (9v); testified on 29 July 1656.

⁹⁰ His testimony in the trial of Francisca López (6r); testified on 29 April 1656.

⁹¹ His full name: Alonso de Molina y Llarena (6v); testified on 30 April 1656.

men like Duarte Enríquez Álvarez,⁹³ Antonio Fernández Carvajal,⁹⁴ and Antonio Rodríguez Robles⁹⁵ (on whom see below). But an opinion expressed on Diego (Abraham) Arias, found in the *proceso* of his wife, calls him the 'greatest Jew among those residing in Holland, and a Sacristan in the Synagogue.'⁹⁶ We do not know how much time he spent in Holland and in England, but we know that he considered moving to Antwerp.⁹⁷

This is the story of a Spanish *converso*, who crossed seas and lands in order to return to and remain faithful to the faith of his forefathers. Abraham Rodríguez Arias was buried in the Spanish and Portuguese Velho Cemetery, behind the Beth Holim in London (now

253 Mile End Road).⁹⁸ He is listed last among those buried in the year 5436 (= 1676) but the date is destroyed in the register; he probably died at the end of that year, full of deeds and years. His will, drawn up the previous year, seems to suggest some degree of distance from his wife (Appendix V).

* * *

Duarte Enríquez Álvarez was a man of different character: he was a Portuguese who was born in Fundão (Portugal) in 1613, but had risen to be chief tax- and income-collector of the Canary Islands,⁹⁹ and spread out a net of activities from La Laguna in Tenerife. We do not know when he left Portugal and how he became the holder of one of the highest positions in the Spanish administration of the Canary Islands. We can safely presume that this could have happened only in the days when Spain and Portugal were united, *i.e.*, before 1640, and that he brought with him much experience as a tax-farmer and collector as well as a good name and strong connections in Court circles. In the Canary Islands he led a strictly Christian life, giving much alms to the poor and organising feasts in honour of the revered image of Christ kept in the Church of San Francisco at La Laguna.¹⁰⁰ His three

⁹³ See on him further below. See his file AHN Leg. 1823 No. 14, and here, Appendix VII. The files of the others are not extant.

⁹⁴ Antonio Fernández Carvajal is Abraham Israel Carvajal. See Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews,' pp. 55-60, 79, 88. On the first synagogue see W. S. Samuel, 'The Jewish Oratories of Cromwellian London,' *Misc. JHSE*, III, London, 1937, pp. 46-56; The first synagogue was rented by Antonio Fernández Carvajal on 19 December 1636 and was inaugurated for prayers early in January 1637. Carvajal's house in Leadenhall Street served as synagogue in the beginning. Samuel calls it a Canariote meeting-place. See also: *Idem*, 'The First London Synagogue after the Resettlement,' *Trans. JHSE*, 1921-1923, pp. 1-148. See as well: A. S. Diamond, 'The Cemetery of the Resettlement,' *Trans. JHSE*, XIX (1955-1959), pp. 163-190, esp. pp. 166-167 (the synagogue of Creechchurch Lane). On Carvajal see: L. Wolf, 'The First English Jew,' *Trans. JHSE*, 1894-1895, pp. 14-46; W. S. Samuel, 'A List of Jewish Persons Endenized and Naturalized,' *Trans. JHSE*, XXII (1970), p. 43. He was endenized on 17 August 1665. On the synagogue in Carvajal's house there is a testimony of Francisco Tomás de Franchi Alfaro in the trial of Duarte Enríquez Álvarez, AHN Leg. 1823 No. 14 fol. 71v. (see Appendix VII). See as well, Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

⁹⁵ See further below, note 99.

⁹⁶ Testimony of Benito Suplicio Talarico (8r); testified on 20 May 1656: '... Diego Rodríguez Arias el maior judío que tiene la cinagoga de Olanda ... me dijeron que hera sacristan en la sinagoga.'

⁹⁷ See the letter which Juan de San Francisco wrote to the Inquisition. The letter was sent on 11 February 1656 and arrived on 27 December 1656. The information is based upon the testimony of Salvador Martínez (10v-11r).

⁹⁸ R. D. Barnett, 'The Burial Register of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews', London 1657-1735, *Misc. JHSE*, London, 1962, No. 35.

⁹⁹ His official title was: *Recaudador mayor de las rentas reales y almozarifazgo destas islas*. We do not know how long he served as chief tax-collector. Most probably he started in this office in the 1640s. In 1646 Antonio Rodríguez Robles visited the Canary Islands and most probably stayed with his uncle Duarte Enríquez Álvarez. See testimony of Antonio de Porto in the Robles trial, on 11 May 1656. Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews,' p. 84, which shows Duarte Enríquez Álvarez testified on the same occasion. The file of Duarte Enríquez Álvarez (AHN Leg. 1823 No. 14) consists of 120 folios. See also note 116 below, and Appendix VII.

¹⁰⁰ Testimony of Diego García de Figueroa. AHN Leg. 1823 No. 14 fol. 18v; testified on 10 October 1656. This witness was in Amsterdam during the months May-July 1656 and he met there Duarte Enríquez Álvarez. His testimony: '... y en Tenerife le tenían por bien christiano y hacia muchas limosnas y grandes fiestas al Santo Cristo que esta en San Francisco.' Duarte Enríquez Álvarez lived in La Laguna in the quarter of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (fol. 25v-26r).

children were born there;¹⁰¹ he took one son with him to London when he went there in 1652;¹⁰² the other two were brought over in 1653 or 1657,¹⁰¹ and there he tried to give them a Jewish education.¹⁰³ While living in the Canary Islands he enjoyed all the prerogatives, liberties, and exemptions of a Catholic Christian.¹⁰⁴ There is no doubt that he planned and organised his departure from the Islands very thoroughly and in the utmost secrecy, transferring his property to London little by little. I think that we can safely suggest that in this he was helped by his nephew, Antonio Rodríguez Robles, the owner of two ships, the *Two Brothers* and the *Tobias*, plying between London and the Canary Islands. In June 1652 at the latest he left the Canary Islands and was outside the boundaries of Spanish law and rule.¹⁰⁵

His *proceso* with the Canariote Inquisition¹⁰⁶ opens with a list of merchandise confiscated by order of the *Consejo de Hacienda* (Treasury Council). It contained a variety of mirrors, hats, cloth, and pipes of wine sent to Havana

in Cuba.¹⁰⁷ The confiscation order was signed by Alvaro Gil de la Sierpe, to cover Duarte's debts in tax arrears owed to the Treasury. The Inquisitors of the Canary Islands, Francisco Massia de Frias Salazar and Joseph Badarán de Osinalde, claimed in a letter to the *Suprema* (the chief Council of the Spanish Inquisition) that the merchandise should not have been confiscated for tax arrears but should have been confiscated by the Inquisition, since Duarte Enriquez Alvarez was a Judaising heretic in Amsterdam and London. This letter was sent to the *Suprema* on 17 September 1657, after he had been pronounced rebel against the Church. The Inquisitors asked the *Suprema* to intervene on their behalf with the Treasury,¹⁰⁸ basing their legal argument (and they said it formally) on the claim that Duarte Enriquez Alvarez had taken out all his belongings from the Islands and the little he left behind could easily be smuggled out. According to this the court of the Canary Islands would have found actually nothing left to confiscate after having condemned him as a heretic. The court therefore wanted to have a right to the goods confiscated in 1652 in Havana by the Treasury. The court applied as well to that of Cartagena de las Indias to find out whether there were other goods belonging to Duarte Enriquez Alvarez, or to his correspondents, that could be confiscated. The *Suprema* sided of course with the courts of its own organisation. But I stress that the confiscation carried out by the Treasury had no connection with Duarte Enriquez Alvarez's Judaising practices; it was done to guarantee any debts to the Treasury left over till his final account was worked out. The Inquisition got wind of this confiscation only after testimonies on Duarte Enriquez Alvarez were collected and his trial was well under way.

We do not know when and where his first

¹⁰¹ Two of them were: Tomás de Rojas and Diego de Rojas. Tomás returned to Tenerife in 1665.

¹⁰² His arrival in London dated to November 1652 according to his letter of 20 August 1653: see note 105 and Appendix VI, and note 5 (App. VI).

¹⁰³ See further below.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix VII. The Prosecution, fol. 88r ff.

¹⁰⁵ In a letter to Pedro Valdespino, his correspondent in San Christobal de Havana, written from London 20 August 1653, Duarte Enriquez Alvarez tells him of his intention to renew his tax-farming activities in Tenerife: '... pretendo augmentar y poner una buena pila de dinero en Madrid para tomar otra vez las rentas de las Islas de Canaria, por quanto el Consejo de Hacienda me esta rogando con ellas por el tanto que la tiene Diego Perera.' For full text of this letter see Appendix VI. Diego Perera was an inhabitant of Tenerife and had business relations with Francisco de Medina in Amsterdam. Perera fled from Tenerife to avoid arrest. See Wolf, p. xxxiii. We learn of Duarte Enriquez Alvarez's arrival in London from that letter.

¹⁰⁶ On the composition of the court and procedure see Appendix VII. There were 29 witnesses for the prosecution. The trial started on 12 October 1656, although there are testimonies of an earlier date in that year.

¹⁰⁷ Duarte Enriquez Alvarez's correspondent in Havana was Don Pedro Valdespino (fol. 7r). See above, note 105.

¹⁰⁸ In their words: '... y creemos que el dicho Duarte Enriquez a pagado todo el dicho arrendamiento como constaua en el Consejo de hacienda' (7r).

wife died,¹⁰⁹ whether in La Laguna or in London, where, he officially stated in 1656, he had been resident at least since 1653.¹¹⁰ When his sons arrived in London he hired Rabbi Shelomo Dormido to teach them Hebrew, Prayers, and *Dinim* (Laws).¹¹¹ Perhaps he himself was also in need of a teacher. We cannot state the exact date of their arrival.¹¹² In London, Duarte Enríquez Alvarez, according to Wolf now known as Daniel Cohen Henriques,¹¹³ led a full Jewish life, keeping

¹⁰⁹ His family is shown below.

¹¹⁰ Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews,' p. 84. See above note 105.

¹¹¹ On R. Shelomo Dormido, see Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews,' p. 70. He died on 29 Adar 5457 (1697). See R. Barnett, *Burial Register*, p. 8, No. 182. On him as the teacher of Duarte Enríquez's children see testimony of Francisco Bautista in the trial of the Rodríguez Francia brothers, Appendix VIII. (AHN Leg. 1823 No. 10 fol. 8v.)

¹¹² Testimony of Pedro de Arechava (9v), testified on 29 April 1656. This is the date of his testimony against Francisca López (AHN. Leg. 1824 No. 7 fol. 5v-6r; see Appendix III). From the testimony of Tomás de Rojas before the court in Tenerife (see Appendix VIII) testified on 20 November 1665 in the trial of the Rodríguez Francia brothers we learn that he is 20 years old. He and his brother Diego de Rojas arrived in London in about 1653 in the ship the *Two Brothers* (see Wolf, pp. 210-211), whose owner was Antonio Rodríguez Robles, and perhaps even accompanied by him. This ship is mentioned in Francis Knevet and John Baptista Dunnington's denunciation before the Privy Council. The other ship owned by Robles was the *Tobias*. See Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews,' p. 61.

¹¹³ Wolf, pp. 179-181, but Wolf gives no evidence for the identification. As to Daniel Cohen Henriques, it may be presumed that he was a close relative of Jacob Cohen Henriques, who died in 1674. He is buried in the Spanish and Portuguese cemetery in London and was a founder member of the community in New York. Jacob was the son of Abraham Cohen Henriques (*alias* Francisco Vázquez de León) and was a member of the Mahamad of 1651-1652 in Recife, Brazil; others of the family dwelt in Amsterdam (see A. Wischnitzer, *Records*

the Sabbath, abstaining from non-*kasher* meat and getting his needs in meat from a *Shohet*, etc. He must be considered one of the richest Canariote settlers in London,¹¹⁴ being, as already said, one of the three *converso*-Jews who applied to Oliver Cromwell to grant the London community a legal status.¹¹⁵

As was frequent among *conversos*, and especially among those living in London, Duarte Enríquez Alvarez postponed his own circumcision. Many witnesses testified that in the first years of his stay in London, he went to Mass, held in the residences of the Spanish and Venetian Ambassadors, as did Antonio Rodríguez Robles¹¹⁶ and Diego Rodríguez Arias. His sons as well were not circumcised upon arrival in London; the testimonies about Duarte Enríquez Alvarez himself give the year 1656 as the date of his circumcision, when the *converso* community of London became the semi-recognised Jewish community. But, unlike his nephew Antonio Rodríguez Robles, who was circumcised in London,¹¹⁷ he became a

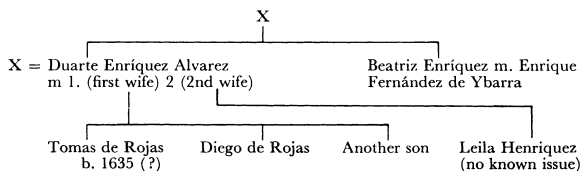
of the *Earliest Jewish Community in the New World*, and I. S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stories of Curaçao* (New York, 1957), pp. 272-275).

¹¹⁴ See below, for the dowry he received from his wife's father and the houses he bought in Amsterdam and London.

¹¹⁵ Various witnesses thought it was in 1653, but they erred. See Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews,' p. 68. On Carvajal see above, note 94.

¹¹⁶ On Robles see testimony of Francisco Machado (1823 No. 10 fol. 9r; here Appendix VIII) testified on 2 October 1665. He told the court that Robles wanted to return to the Islands and ask the Inquisition for forgiveness. See Wolf, p. 203.

¹¹⁷ Probably by R. Shelomo Dormido, Antonio Rodríguez Robles was circumcised in April 1656, i.e., just after his trial (March 1656). Some witnesses told the Inquisition of the Canary Islands in the trial of Duarte Enríquez Alvarez (see Appendix VIII) how a servant of Robles dug up the foreskin and showed it around with laughter



Jew in Amsterdam. Duarte Enríquez Alvarez arrived in Amsterdam in April 1656. This was connected with his marrying a Jewess from the Paz family,¹¹⁸ a rich Madrid-born widow who came to Amsterdam in 1653/4. Her name was Leila Henriquez and her father gave Duarte as a dowry 14,000 or 15,000 florins.¹¹⁹ Many witnesses testified that he had some troubles with his circumcision, ailing after it for some months. The marriage ceremony had to be postponed, but was celebrated with great pomp on 24 August 1656 in the Amsterdam Synagogue, in the presence of the town's Burgomasters. We illustrate his civil marriage record¹²⁰ (Pl. XI). His marriage was registered on 24 August 1656 in the Registry of Births, Marriages, and Deaths of Amsterdam. He declared that he was a

merchant, 43 years old, born in Fundão, Portugal, and living in Amsterdam on Breestraat, which was the Jewish street. But he gave as the name of his bride Beatriz de Vega, 23 years of age, from Lisbon. She was accompanied by a lady called Doña Philippa de Lisveda, housewife. No names of parents are given. This information raises many doubts, since it is unlikely that his son Tomás de Rojas, who gave her name to the court in the Canary Islands as Leila Henriquez, would not know the exact name of his own stepmother.

Duarte Enríquez Alvarez then bought a house in Amsterdam and furnished it lavishly. In the company of many fellow-Jews he would frequent the synagogue there, and many witnesses, who knew him from his days as tax-collector in the Canary Islands, testified before the court there about his open behaviour as a Jew.¹²¹ They all described the deep impression which his becoming a Jew left on them and in the town,¹²² and he was considered to be the greatest Jew in Amsterdam.¹²³ It was a sensation, to be written about and described in letters to the Canary Islands.¹²⁴ Ships' captains and visitors, who came from Spain and the Canary Islands, and out of curiosity went to visit the synagogue in Amsterdam, testified how he prayed there

¹²¹ Testimony of Nicolas Ginovez (Appendix VII, Trial fol. 26r). I wish to thank my pupil and friend Mr. Y. Kaplan for having found and forwarded this notice.

¹²² See, for instance, testimony of the friar Joseph Franco, who wrote about this to his fellow-brethren in the Augustinian monastery in Tenerife (see Appendix VII). His letter arrived on 2 October 1656 (16r). He told in his letter about the Jewish way of life of Manuel Rodriguez Lindo and his brother Lorenzo Rodriguez Lindo and their uncle Juan López Chillón. He informed as well on Dr. Reynzo, who arrived in Amsterdam from Seville, whom he described 'as a good Jew as he was a good Christian in Spain.'

¹²³ (fol. 16r): '...ya esta circuncidado y por maior judio de todos.'

¹²⁴ Mathias de Sosa, who met Duarte Enríquez Alvarez in London in February 1656 (Appendix VII) (17r), testified on 20 September 1656: '... Duarte Enríquez Alvarez auia dado mala quenta de si porque era judio declarado.' Duarte was nicknamed 'perro judio'. Juan Rodriguez Rivero, a notary (12r) testified on 29 July 1656 that he asked Duarte whether he was a Jew and he answered: 'Si, señor, por la Gracia de Dios' (*ibid.*).

and derision. See, for instance, testimony of Antonio de Ponte, who testified on 23 January 1657 (62r). The witness was well acquainted with Robles, Duarte Enríquez Alvarez, and Antonio Fernández Carvajal and saw their petition for the synagogue which they presented to Cromwell. This witness told the court about Robles's detention in London and the confiscation of some pipes of wine which were later returned to him. From some Englishmen he heard about Carvajal being a Jew (see above, note 94). See testimony of Juan Ferreira de Andrada (16v), testified on 19 September 1656. On Robles's circumcision see his declaration made on 1 April 1656 (not 1655, as erroneously thought by Wolf) that he is not circumcised. This clearly indicates that he was circumcised after that date. See Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews,' p. 83. Duarte Enríquez wanted to persuade a mulatto slave of his to be circumcised. The slave refused and fled. He was arrested and detained in Carvajal's house and later sent to Barbados. See testimonies of Alonso de Molina (11r), Francisco Díaz (13r), Ascencio de Araujo Mederos (11v).

¹¹⁸ Marcos de Herrera y Leyva testified on 23 January 1658 that she came from the Abrabanel family (74v). This witness spent 14 months in Amsterdam and London and was acquainted with many Jews there.

¹¹⁹ According to the witness Juan Rodriguez Rivero (12r), he received as a dowry 20,000 florins from the father of Leila Henriquez. This is the person whom Thomás de Rojas gave as his stepmother (Wolf, p. 210).

¹²⁰ Unfortunately we cannot compare the record of Duarte Enríquez Alvarez's civil marriage with his *Ketubah* or religious marriage certificate, which would have given us both his and her 'Hebrew' name, as the Amsterdam *Ketubot* are not preserved before 1673. See DTB Amsterdam, No. 683, p. 64.

with his head covered with a *Talith*.¹²⁵ Another witness heard him recite the *Shema*; this witness visited the synagogue five or six times, till he was thrown out by the Jews.¹²⁶

From Amsterdam the couple went to live in London. This happened at the latest in 1657. Duarte Enriquez bought a house from an Englishman and paid £500 for the right to make some alterations to it and make it a comfortable dwelling-place. In 1660 he lived in Duke's Place.¹²⁷ He became a prominent member of the Jewish community and abstained from going to the Stock Exchange on the Sabbath. He was party to passing a *hascamah* obliging the young Portuguese Jews to participate in Sabbath prayers; it was forbidden to be absent from them.¹²⁸ His wife tried to persuade his children to undergo circumcision and become full-fledged Jews. Here a family crisis occurred. Duarte's son, Tomás de Rojas, left London and returned to Tenerife and presented himself before the Inquisition,¹²⁹ most probably being influenced by a Jesuit priest who was at that time in London and convinced him to act in this way.¹³⁰

Duarte Enriquez Alvarez's file was closed on 27 February 1659, with his being condemned to be burnt in effigy. If and when arrested, this sentence was to be carried out on him in person. The details of how the burning in effigy was carried out survive. In order to round up his life story we should like to add some additional information on his first days

in London. As already pointed out, he frequented Mass,¹³¹ held at the residence of the Spanish Ambassador, Alonso de Cardenas, and at that of his Venetian colleague.¹³² Like Diego Rodríguez Arias, when he became a Jew, he stopped giving alms to poor Christians. Many witnesses stress this, especially those of them who came in distress to Amsterdam and London. This refusal was considered by them a very un-Christian deed,¹³³ especially since in Tenerife he had been famous for his generosity, though the Jews in those places were reputed among Christians to be non-givers of alms.¹³⁴

Duarte Enriquez Alvarez expressed himself openly about the Inquisition and spoke bitterly of its ways and deeds.¹³⁵ Nevertheless he was very eager to know what people said of him in the Islands. When told that he was considered there a very great Jew, he smiled happily.¹³⁶ No doubt he was happy to hear this, having thus gained there the highest appreciation he could ever have dreamt of.

But from the material found in the files of the Inquisition in Mexico¹³⁷ we learn the sad end of his story. Duarte Enriquez Alvarez

¹³¹ Wolf, pp. 180–1.

¹³² There were witnesses who testified how he abstained from going to Mass. See his trial (Appendix VII), testimony of Juan Rodríguez Rivero (12r), testified on 29 July 1656.

¹³³ The Spanish Ambassador would advise to whom alms should be given. See Duarte Enriquez Alvarez's trial (Appendix VII), testimony of Juan López de Miranda (14r), testified on 29 July 1656. Cf. testimony of Francisco Díaz, a sailor, who came to London in 1655 (13r), testified on 29 July 1656 in Tenerife.

¹³⁴ Testimony of Antonio González (27r), testified on 9 December 1656. See also note 100, above.

¹³⁵ Testimony of Juan Correa Amado (64v), testified on 17 October 1657: '... Aquella perra Inquisicion de las Islas de Canaria.' See also testimony of Francisco Tomás de Franchi Alfaro, who told how badly Duarte Enriquez Alvarez spoke of the Inquisition of the Canary Islands for having confiscated his property (71v); testified on 29 December 1657.

¹³⁶ Testimony of Antonio de Lima (69v), testified on 5 December 1657. The witness was in London in February 1657. According to him he was: '... que era grandísimo judío'.

¹³⁷ I wish to thank Dr. E. A. Uchmany for the material forwarded by her to me.

¹²⁵ See, for instance: Testimonies of Pedro del Píru, a merchant who knew Duarte Enriquez personally (21v, testified on 15 October 1656) and of Nicolás Ginovez (26r, testified on 3 December 1656). On the prayer, see testimony of Antonio González, a mulatto who served with the Spanish army in Flanders (27r–27v; testified on 9 December 1656).

¹²⁶ Testimony of Antonio González (27v).

¹²⁷ See Wolf, p. 181, note 1.

¹²⁸ The prosecutor in his prosecution (89r). He recounted all the Jewish deeds done by Duarte Enriquez Alvarez. [No such *hascamah* as that described is recorded in the London community's first book of *hascamot*, L. D. Barnett, *El Libro de los Acuerdos* (1931)—R.D.B.].

¹²⁹ Testimony found in file of the brothers Rodríguez Francia (1823 No. 10 fol. 14r) (Appendix VIII) testified on 20 November 1665.

¹³⁰ Wolf, pp. xxxvi, 210–211.

had on 20 August 1653, writing from London, ordered his correspondent in San Christobal de Havana, Captain Pedro Valdespino, to collect for him the money for merchandise that Antonio Rosel y Lugo owed him in Vera Cruz.¹³⁸ Although this letter was written so long before, the court of Mexico acted on it only on 9 June 1660, when Nicolas Esteves Borges, the representative of the Inquisition in Havana, informed the Inquisition in Mexico about it. There he describes Duarte Enríquez as a *relaxado*, meaning that he was caught and burnt by the Inquisition.¹³⁹

* * *

To this group of London settlers tried by the Canariote Inquisition we have to add the family of Rodríguez Francia,¹⁴⁰ a Portuguese *converso* family, who at an unknown date settled in Málaga, where Domingo and Jorge Rodríguez Francia were born. We can presume in all probability that their leaving of Portugal occurred while Spain and Portugal were united under one sceptre, *i.e.*, before 1640, but nothing can be said exactly. The family

fled Málaga in 1655¹⁴¹ and went directly to London, thus bypassing the Canary Islands. The reason why they were tried in *absentia* by the Canariote Inquisition is perhaps that most of the witnesses for the prosecution testified there and the Rodríguez Francia brothers had there their most important business correspondents.¹⁴² But there still remains the question why they were not tried in their birthplace, Málaga, where they were well-known wine merchants. Málaga remained in their memory as a beautiful and pleasant place to live.¹⁴³ We may suppose that the family left Málaga intact and successfully settled down in London, where they became known in the City as:

George and Domingo Francia
Spanish and East (and West) India Merchants
and Shipowners
Leadenhall Street.¹⁴⁴

Naturally such a business demanded correspondents and the list of their names is to be found in the Rodríguez Francia *proceso*.¹⁴⁵ Their most important correspondent in the Canary Islands was Don Simón de Herrera y

¹³⁸ Already referred to. See above, Note 105.

¹³⁹ He does not state where he was burnt. See fol. 162r. (below, Appendix VI). His fate explains why his name is not to be found among those buried in the Velho Cemetery of London.

¹⁴⁰ On the family see Wolf, pp. 199–205ff; 210–213. Their file is to be found in Madrid AHN Leg. 1823 No. 10 (it holds 21 folios). See here, Appendix VII. Wolf published some summaries of witnesses' testimonies and he did not see that he had before him notes of the 'Book of Testimonies'. This can only partially be compared to the file. On the family, see M. Lipton, 'Francis Francia—the Jacobite Jew,' *Trans. JHSE*, XI 1924–1927, pp. 190–202, especially Wolf's postscript, *ibid.* pp. 203–205 (which see for the differences in the genealogy). See also L. D. Barnett, *El Libro de los Acuerdos*, Oxford, 1931, index *s.v.* Francia. Wolf, p. 200, note 3, gives Villareal in Portugal as the birthplace of the family. See *Boletim de Academia de Ciências de Lisboa* IX, pp. 461–467. But Maurice Woolf, *Trans. JHSE*, XXIV, p. 48, gives their birthplace as Almeida in Portugal. Domingo (Isaac) Rodríguez Francia died on 11 Adar 5448 (1688); See R. Barnett, *Burial Register*, No. 115, Jorge (Abraham) Rodríguez Francia died on 13 Ab 5439 (1679); See R. Barnett, *Burial Register*, No. 74. Both brothers lived till quite old. Wolf (*op. cit.*) says they were 'in their early forties' in 1655.

¹⁴¹ Testimony of Salvador Martínez (Appendix VIII; 1823 No. 10 fol. 12v): '... que los dichos Francías abian venido huyendo de Malaga por miedo del Santo Tribunal de la Ynquisicion'; testified on 15 October 1665.

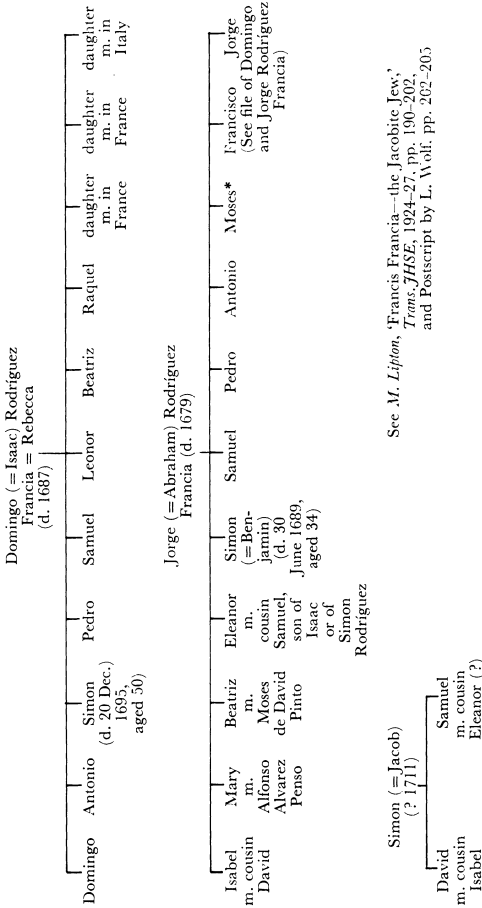
¹⁴² On the extent of their trade with the Canaries and elsewhere see Wolf *op. cit.*

¹⁴³ Testimony of Ignacio de Landasola (15r–15v), testified on 11 November 1665; 'que España era buena tierra y Malaga era muy linda, ciudad y que solamente vna cosa avia en España mala ... el tribunal de la Ynquisicion.' See further below.

¹⁴⁴ See Wolf, p. 198, note 1. With Domingo and Jorge worked their three brothers: Rodrigo, Simon, and Francisco (Francis).

¹⁴⁵ Fol. 2r (see Appendix VIII). This list was made out on 17 March 1666. The banking accounts found at Alderman Backwell (today in Child's Bank) from 1663 show that for a period of six months in 1663 the entries of the Rodríguez Francías amounted to £35,739. This amount stands immediately after that of Duarte da Silva (£41,441), and before Fernando Mendes da Costa (£30,490). The other sums entered by other merchants run between £13,000 and £18,000. In this list only eight merchants are listed. See I. Wolf, 'The Jewry of the Restoration 1660–1664,' *Trans. JHSE*, 1902–1905, p. 19.

GENEALOGY OF FIRST GENERATION OF THE RODRIGUEZ FRANCIA BROTHERS



* Freeman of the City of London; Citizen and Grocer by redemption 29 July 1697.

Leyba, inhabitant of La Laguna,¹⁴⁶ Tenerife. Their business connections began in 1662. Other correspondents in the Islands were Don Tomás de Nava y Grimón, *Maestre de Campo* of the Spanish Army in the Canary Islands;¹⁴⁷ and Lorenzo Rodríguez Lindo,¹⁴⁸ founder of a family which survived in the London community till our own time—both of them inhabitants of Orotava in Tenerife; the latter was Antonio Fernández Carvajal's nephew. Other correspondents who were suspected of having business dealings with the Rodríguez Francias were Balthazar de Vergara, *regidor* and familiar of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands, owner of the village of Asnalcazar and knight of the Order of Santiago; and last, Don Benito Viña y Vergara, *regidor*, nephew of the above-named Balthazar.¹⁴⁹ The brothers Francia would sign their business

letters with the assumed English names of Thomas and George Hupar, or Hooper or Horper,¹⁵⁰ to avoid the prying eyes of the Inquisition. The brothers were merchants in wines, marshmallows, and general merchandise, which they sent to the West and East Indies and to the New World.¹⁵¹

The Rodríguez Francias went to London with the intention of living there openly as Jews. They arrived there around the time of Antonio Rodríguez Robles's trial and the semi-legalisation of the Jewish settlement there.¹⁵² They had no transition period of a crypto-Jewish life in London, since all the witnesses who testified against them expressly said that they were never seen at Mass.¹⁵³ Upon their arrival they were circumcised, but their children postponed this ritual. In 1660 the Rodríguez Francias lived in Gravel Lane and shortly afterwards they bought a house in Leadenhall Street. This house remained in the family's possession for three generations.¹⁵⁵

The *proceso* of the Rodríguez Francias records their Jewish way of life: Friday afternoon they would cease working, make their

¹⁴⁶ He worked with Duarte Enriquez Alvarez. See trial of the Rodríguez Francias (Appendix VIII; 1823 No. 10 fol. 2r.) Simon was a ship's captain and came from Castile. His son Marcos Herrera, aged 19, testified against Duarte Enriquez Alvarez (Appendix VII; 1823 No. 14 fol. 74) on 23 January 1658. On their business connections see testimony of Francisco Bautista, who learned this from R. Shelomo Dormido (Appendix VIII; 1823 No. 10 fol. 8r–8v); testified on 27 October 1662. The ship's captain, Juan Ramón (*ibid.* 9r; testified on 2 September 1665), told the court that the Rodríguez Francias sent merchandise from Hamburg on the name of Simon Herrera in the ship of Don Tomás de Nava y Grimón. See testimony of Pedro Manzano (*ibid.*, fol. 10r–10v; testified on 3 October 1665), who heard about this from Joseph Contrera, who lived then in London.

¹⁴⁷ He was a *regidor* (magistrate) in Tenerife and was raised to the rank of Marquess by the King. He was a very rich man and had widespread connections in the Islands. See testimony of Juan Ramón in the trial of the Rodríguez Francias (*ibid.* 8v–9r); testified on 2 Sept. 1665.

¹⁴⁸ Brother of Manuel Rodríguez Lindo. See Wolf, pp. xxxv, 200. The court held on 23 Oct. 1656 in his and his wife's case a *Consulta-de-fe*. His wife's name was Perpetua López. See trial of Francisca López (Appendix III; 1824 No. 7, fol. 11r). His uncle (mother's brother) was Juan López de Chillón, who lived openly as a Jew in Amsterdam. See testimony of Joseph Franco in the trial of Duarte Enriquez Alvarez (Appendix VII, 1823 No. 14, fol. 40v). Manuel Rodríguez Lindo and his wife settled in London in 1670, where he called himself Isaac Lindo. See Wolf, p. xxxv.

¹⁴⁹ Testimony of Gasper de Acosta (Appendix VIII; 1823 No. 10 fol. 6v).

¹⁵⁰ See letter sent by the Inquisitors of the Canary Islands, Francisco Porteros de la Vega and Francisco Massia de Frias Salazar, to the *Suprema* in Madrid on 17 March 1666 (Appendix VIII; 1823 No. 10 fol. 1r).

¹⁵¹ The Canary Islands were a centre of trade in marshmallows. On the extent of their trade, see above, note 142.

¹⁵² Testimony of Bartolomé de Molina (17r–17v); testified on 12 December 1663. '... porque alli podrian vivir en sus profesiones sin ser reprehendidos ni castigados por ello.' Domingo signed as witness confirming that Robles was a Jew. See Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews,' pp. 68, 69, 79. Wolf gives his Jewish name as Israel Roiz Francia, but he erred (p. 69). See R. D. Barnett, *Burial Register*, No. 116.

¹⁵³ See above, trial of Duarte Enriquez Alvarez (Appendix VIII). In the trial of the Rodríguez Francias (Appendix VIII) see, for instance; testimony of Pedro Manzano (10r–10v), testified on 3 October 1665; testimony of Captain Gabriel Francisco (11r), also testified on 3 October 1665.

¹⁵⁴ Testimony of Tomás de Rojas (*ibid.* 14r–15r), testified on 20 November 1665. He gave the date of his circumcision as 1654 or 1655, but he was not right, since he only arrived in London in 1655.

¹⁵⁵ On the family, see Wolf, p. 198f.

beards and dress up;¹⁵⁶ the Sabbath was spent in the synagogue and later they would promenade fully dressed in new shoes and white stockings. The witnesses said that their Sabbath was as scrupulously kept as the Christians keep their Sunday.¹⁵⁷ They never went to the Stock Exchange on Sabbath.¹⁵⁸ The meat they ate came only from the hands of a *Shohet*, and they were renowned among Jews and Spaniards,¹⁵⁹ most of them ships' captains, as devout Jews.¹⁶⁰ Domingo Rodríguez Francia even tried to force a Christian slave of his household to eat meat on a meatless day.¹⁶¹ He spoke badly of the Christians and praised the Jews, 'who don't beg for alms and don't go from door to door'.¹⁶² He also said: 'When the Messiah comes, all the Christians will have to

be killed.'¹⁶³ No wonder he came to a fist-fight with a witness, who later testified against him.¹⁶⁴ The brothers Domingo and Jorge (*i.e.*, Isaac and Abraham) were renowned as Jews by 'blood and belief'.¹⁶⁵ They found their proper place and standing in the Jewish community of London; Domingo (= Isaac Rodríguez Francia) signed in 1677 the Mahamad's *Hascamoth*. Both brothers lived out their full span of years: Jorge Abraham was buried on 13 Ab 5439 (1679) and Domingo Isaac on 1 Adar 5448 (1688) in the Velho Cemetery.¹⁶⁶

* * *

We have tried to re-evaluate Lucien Wolf's work on the Canary Islands, in which he was a pioneer, and to compare the journals that he published with what we can learn about the Canariote *conversos* from the extant *procesos* of that court of the Inquisition. In fact, we have made more concrete his foundations. For the first period, we were able to compare his material with the *proceso* of Alvar González. This gave us an opportunity to see how life appeared in the early days of colonization in the Canary Islands, when first-generation *conversos* were among the settlers. Alvar González was a unique personality. He did not live in a vacuum or isolated in an ivory tower. He was a moving spirit in this small and clandestine *converso* community, which it took the Inquisition some time to discover and

¹⁶³ Testimony of Gaspar de Acosta (*ibid.*, 6r): '... que quando el Mesia viniera avia de matar a todos los cristianos.'

¹⁶⁴ Testimony of Ignacio de Landasola (*ibid.*, 15r, testified on 11 November 1665). This witness testified against Duarte Enriquez Alvarez as well (see above). This witness was annoyed by Domingo's words about the Inquisition (see above, note 143) and said to Domingo that he was sorry that the Inquisition did not burn all his line (linaje). They were separated in this quarrel by some Englishmen.

¹⁶⁵ Testimony of Francisco Tomás de Franchi Alfaro (*ibid.*, 19v), testified on 15 November 1665: '... son judios de sangre y profesion.' See his testimony against Duarte Enriquez Alvarez (Appendix VII; 1823 No. 14 fol. 16v). Cf. as well testimony of Pedro de Bate, a Flemish settler in the Canary Islands, who testified on 16 November 1665 (Appendix VIII; 15v).

¹⁶⁶ See R. D. Barnett, *Burial Register*, Nos. 74, 116.

¹⁵⁶ Testimony of Gabriel Francisco (*ibid.*), testified on 3 October 1656. This witness saw them during his stay in London for a period of about six months. See also testimony of Captain Alonso de Molina (*ibid.* 13r), testified on 16 October 1665. The witness Bartolomé de Molina expressed this so: '... con mas asejo y limpieça en sus personas que los demas dias de entresemana' (16v-17v); testified on 12 December 1665.

¹⁵⁷ Testimony of Bartolomé de Molina (*ibid.*). Wolf, p. 212, note 1, says that in 1655 the Jews prayed in private homes (that of Carvajal); but from the beginning of 1657 in the synagogue in Creechurch Lane (see above, note 94).

¹⁵⁸ Testimony of Francisco de Molina y Lugo, who met them in 1658 in London. As is well known, it was very common among the Jewish merchants to meet at the Stock Exchange in Amsterdam and London. The testimony is *ibid.* fol. 18r, testified on 14 November 1665.

¹⁵⁹ This was told by Abraham Peregrino to the Captain, Francisco Machado, while serving as his interpreter (*ibid.* 9r-9v); Machado testified on 2 October 1665.

¹⁶⁰ They were: Alonso de Molina; Juan Ramón; Ignacio de Landasola (with whom Domingo quarrelled), and others.

¹⁶¹ Testimony of Gaspar de Acosta, a Negro slave from Recife (Brazil), who served in his house (*ibid.*, 4r). Gaspar applied for advice to a certain priest, who told him to abstain from eating. Domingo Rodríguez obtained the detention of this slave and his transfer to the Islands; he was considered (in Lanzarote) as war booty (4r-5r). Gaspar testified on 9 July 1664 and claimed that he was born free as a son of free parents.

¹⁶² Gaspar de Acosta (*ibid.* 6r): '... que mejor era ser judio que critiano porque los judios no pedian limosna ni andaban por los puertos.'

to uproot. But the seventeenth-century *conversos* described above were of a different character. Their files bring to light their life stories and tell us about their deeds, exposing their innermost thoughts and releasing their beliefs. Diego Rodríguez Arias and his wife Francisca López,¹⁶⁷ Duarte Enríquez Álvarez, and the brothers Domingo and Jorge Rodríguez Francia were four personalities who were among the first Jewish settlers in London and later among its leading Jews. All of them were people of great courage who with real enterprise took part in the international trade of those days and had their share in shaking the Spanish overseas trade, and they thus aided England to gain a strong grip over the Seven Seas. This is certainly one of the reasons why these newcomers were tolerated at all and officially acknowledged in Cromwellian England. They knew Spain and Portugal well and had a lot to offer England through their contacts in various places in the world of those days. No doubt both Oliver Cromwell and

¹⁶⁷ Officially it was her *proceso*, but, as pointed out, almost all witnesses testified against him.

John Thurloe, his Secretary of State, knew how to appreciate their value as persons and how to put what they had to offer at England's disposal. This may perhaps explain why they were preferred as the recognised London Jewish community and why Menasseh ben Israel's proposal was put aside.

But above all they were Jews for whom nothing stood higher than their being such. For their Jewishness they were ready to endanger themselves in the days when the Inquisition had all its power and strength, unshaken in their faith either through torture or by threats of burning alive or in effigy, or of having their bones exhumed wherever found and burned posthumously. They were hardcore fighters for their place in society and their rights to live according to their beliefs. Wherever they came and went they never forgot the mission they voluntarily took upon themselves of carrying the banner of the struggle against organised religious tyranny: that of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions.

[See PLATE XI]

APPENDIX I

The trials of the members of Alvar González's family

[AHN Leg. 1823 No. 13]

1. Trial of Alvar González

A. Composition of the Court and Witnesses:

We do not know who sat in judgment in this trial. No doubt one of the judges was Martín Jiménez, who was appointed Inquisitor in the Islands not long before Alvar González's trial opened. Another name known is that of Diego de Avila, who was the gaoler (he served as witness for the prosecution).

Witnesses for the Prosecution (in order of testification):

- (1) Juan, a Negro (also called Berber) slave
- (2) Pedro Pinto (see Wolf, p. 15)
- (3) Inés, a Moorish slave girl
- (4) Juan González, a Negro slave
- (5) Juan Delgado (see Wolf, p. 44)
- (6) Alonso López de Talavera (see Wolf, p. 44)

- (7) Juan Fernández
- (8) Francisco García de Mesa
- (9) Pedro de Belmonte
- (10) Francisco de Baeza, a *converso*
- (11) Alonso de la Zarza, a *converso*
- (12) Alonso Yáñez, a *converso*
- (13) Diego de Avila
- (14) Fernando, a Negro slave
- (15) Fernando de Noya
- (16) Juan Franco

Additional List of Witnesses as published by Wolf, pp. 43-46

- (17) Alonso de Luxan
- (18) A slave, not named
- (19) Juan de Zamora
- (20) Juan de Villalpando
- (21) Mencía Vázquez, wife of Alvar González
- (22) Diego Frances

- (23) Pascuala, a Moorish slave
 (24) Pedro Hernández, son-in-law of Alvar González
 (25) Alvar González, son of Alvar González
 To this we must add the confessions of Silvestre and Duarte González, Alvar González's sons.
- B. Procedure of Trial:
- 1519
 20 March
 Testimony given against the González family (Wolf, p. 54)
- 1524
 22 October
 Testimony of Juan de Zamora (Wolf, p. 43)
 23 October
 Testimony of Alonso de Luxan (Wolf, p. 43)
 2 November
 Testimony of Diego Frances (Wolf, p. 43)
 9 November
 Alvar González is examined (Wolf, p. 46)
 21 December
 Testimony of Juan Delgado (fol. 3r; Wolf, p. 44)
 24 December
 Testimony of Juan de Villalpando (Wolf, p. 44)
- 1525
 3 January
 Testimony of Alonso López de Talavera (Wolf, p. 44)
 9 January
 Testimony of Francisco García de Mesa (Wolf, p. 44)
 10 January
 Alvar González is examined (Wolf, p. 47)
 20 February
 Testimony of Inés, Moorish slave girl (fol. 2v)
 20 April
 Testimony of Antonio González, son of Alvar González, (Wolf, p. 46)
 11 July
 Alvar González is examined (Wolf, p. 48)
 3 August
 Alvar González is examined (Wolf, p. 48);
 Arraignment served on him and defence appointed; Alvar González hands in his defence.
- 18 August
 Testimony of Mencia Váez (Wolf, p. 43)
 No date probably 19 August
 Testimony of Pascuala, a Moorish slave girl (Wolf, p. 46)
 20 October
 Testimony of Pedro Hernández, Alvar González's son-in-law (Wolf, p. 46)
- 26 November
 Second confirmation of the testimony of Juan, a Negro slave (1v)
 28 November
 Confirmation of testimony of Inés, a Moorish slave girl (2v)
 No date
 Testimony of Pedro Pinto (2r)
 Testimony of Juan González, Negro slave (2r)
 Testimony of Juan Fernández (3v-4r)
 Testimony of Pedro de Belmonte (4v)
 Testimony of Francisco de Baeza (4v-6r; he is listed in file as witness No. XIX)
 Testimony of Alonso de la Zarza (6r-7r)
 Testimony of Alonso Yáñez (7v-8r)
 Testimony of Diego de Avila (8r)
 Testimony of Fernando, Negro slave (9v)
 Testimony of Fernando de Noya (9v)
 Testimony of Juan Franco (9v)
- 1526
 10 January
 Alvar González is brought before the court and examined (Wolf, p. 49)
 No date
Consulta-de-fe; sentenced to be burnt and his property confiscated
 24 February
 Sentence carried out at *auto-de-fe* (Wolf, p. 50)
2. *Trial of Silvestre González*
 (Wolf, p. 50)
- 1525
 10 January
 Trial opens
 No date
 Silvestre writes to the court and asks for his release, cause: illness
 Presents his defence; denies knowledge of Hebrew and keeping of *Mitzvot*
 No details and dates
 Witnesses for the prosecution testify on Silvestre and his parents
 26 June
 Silvestre confesses and is sentenced to pass through town riding on a donkey as a penance. The same sentence is passed against Duarte González
 (?) 2 September
 Silvestre claims that his guilt was not proven; the witnesses for the prosecution are his enemies
- 1526
 20 January

- Silvestre admits having slept with the Moorish slave girl before her conversion and after it
 23 January
 Sentence to put Silvestre to torture, confesses how his father persuaded him to be a Jew
 25 January
 Retracts his confession and is tortured anew.
 Confesses that there are many Jews in the Islands
 26 January
 Retracts again, denying all he confessed
 31 January
 Sentence passed to hand him over to the Secular Arm
 24 February
Auto-de-fe; sentence carried out
3. *Trial of Ana González*
 (Wolf, pp. 54f.)
- 1519
 20 March
 Testimony given against her and her family
- 1524
 3 July
 Testimony of Juan Fernández
 21 December
 Testimony of Juan Delgado
- 1526
 14 January
 Confession of Antonio González; tells the court that Ana spoke to him in Hebrew
 26 February
 Duarte González confesses
 28 February
 Testimony of Mencia Vázquez, Ana's mother,
- entered; the mother said that Ana took no part in *Mitzvat* kept at their home
 5 May
 Ana is admonished by court to tell the truth; tells the court about her marriage
 9 May
 Ana continues her confession
 12 May
 Ana continues her confession
 19 May
 Sentenced to be imprisoned; is forbidden to leave the island
 6 June
 Examined anew about her family
 29 December
 Part of her confession is received by court
- 1528
 20 May
 Presents new declaration to the court
- 1530
 13 January
 Confirms anew her confessions
 12 May
 Examined about her baptism; Ana tells the court that she was baptised anew in Tenerife
 4 June
 Sentence passed for her return to the fold; her property is confiscated
 13 June
 Her house in La Breña is to be her prison
 1532
 22 July
 Petitions the court to be set free
- 1533
 10 January
 The court agrees to set her free

APPENDIX II

Trial of Diego Rodríguez Arias 1646–1648

[Mexico, vol. 427, fol. 139ff; 227ff]

A. Composition of the Court:

Judges:

Dr. Domingo Vélez de Asas y Argos
 Dr. Francisco de Estrada y Escobedo
 Dr. Juan Saenz de Manosca
 Lic. Bernabe de la Higuera y Amarilla

Receiver of confiscated property:

Martín de Aeta y Aguirre

Notary:

Miguel de Almonacir
 Notary of confiscated property:
 Diego Ortiz de Vargas

B. Procedure:

1646
 23 November

Diego Arias's Mulatto slave is sold to Martín Saenz de Goyas
 26 November
 Sale confirmed by receiver of confiscated property, Martín de Aeta y Aguirre
 1648
 6 February
 Inventory of Diego Rodríguez Arias's property is made
 Diego Rodríguez Arias is in prison
 30 March
 Diego Rodríguez Arias returns to the fold in an *auto-particular*
 16 April
Auto-particular: Pedro de Espinosa returned to the fold
 1649
 11 April

Diego Rodríguez Arias's mother, Blanca Henríquez, is burnt in effigy at an *auto-de-fe* held in Mexico. In that *auto-de-fe* the following sentences were carried out (presumably a partial list):
 Isabel de Silva, wife of Pedro de Espinosa, Diego Rodríguez Arias's aunt, burnt in effigy
 Catalina Henríquez, burnt in person
 Diego Tinoco, Catalina's husband, burnt in effigy
 Antonio Rodríguez Arias, Diego Rodríguez Arias's father, burnt in effigy
 Blanca Xuarez, daughter of Rafael Henríquez, and Blanca's husband Jorge Jacinto returned to the fold; their property confiscated. Francisco López de Fonseca returned to the fold; his property confiscated

APPENDIX III

Trial of Francisca López, wife of Diego Rodríguez Arias

[AHN Leg. 1824 No. 7]

A. Composition of the Court and Witnesses:

(12) Tomás Clerque

(13) Salvador Martínez

Judges:

Francisco Massia de Frias Salazar

Joseph Badarán de Osinalde

Examiners of witnesses:

Juan de San Francisco (his official title: *Consultor calificador del Santo Oficio en San Cristóbal*)

Cristóbal Calvo de Osorio

Juan García del Castillo (title: *Calificador y comisario*)

Notaries:

Miguel de Collado Samartín

Diego Benítez de Lugo

Miguel Alvarez de Miranda

Mathias Oranias Villarreal

Witnesses for the Prosecution:

(1) Lorenza Díaz de Amizqueta

(2) Martín de Navera Romero

(3) Antonio García del Castillo

(4) Pedro de Arechava

(5) Alonso de Molina

(6) Cristóbal de Alvarado Bracamonte

(7) Guillermo Clerque

(8) Benito Suplicio Talarico

(9) Pedro Ribete

(10) Leonardo Petit

(11) Juan López de Miranda

B. Procedure:

1654

2 October

Letter from the Sevillian court to start procedure against Francisca López

1655

15 February

The above-mentioned letter arrived in La Laguna

4 April

Testimony of Martín de Navedo Romero (4v)

29 November

Testimonies against Diego Rodríguez Arias (4r)

Testimony of Lorenza Díaz de Amizqueta (4v)

1656

8 April

Testimony of Antonio García del Castillo (5r)

29 April

Testimony of Pedro de Arechava (5v)

30 April

Testimony of Alonso de Molina (6r)

15 May	24 October
Testimony of Cristóbal de Alvarado Bracamonte (6v)	Sentence to confiscate Francisca López's and Diego Rodríguez Arias's property
17 May	8 November
Testimony of Guillermo Clerque (7r)	Order given for confiscation and detention (10v)
20 May	11 December
Testimony of Benito Suplicio Talarico (7v-8r)	Juan de San Francisco writes to the <i>Suprema</i> for information on the tried (11r)
28 May	27 December
Testimony of Pedro Ribete (8r-8v)	Letter arrives in Madrid
19 June	1657
Testimony of Leonardo Petit (8r-9v)	24 January
29 July	Letter to the <i>Relator</i> of the <i>Suprema</i> about the correspondents of Diego Rodríguez Arias
Testimony of Juan López de Miranda (9v-10r)	23 May
16 October	<i>Relator</i> receives letter
Testimony of Tomás Clerque (10r-10v)	
23 October	
<i>Consulta-de-fe</i>	

APPENDIX IV

The list of Property Confiscated from Diego Rodríguez Arias
Mexico 1648

Inquisición de México, vol. 427:

fol. 139

Mexico
de la venta de Diego Arias,
mulatillo perteneciente a los
bienes confiscados a Diego Rodríguez Arias. Reconciliado en 30 de marzo de 1648.

Noviembre 26 de 1646

Cobrolos el receptor
general el licenciado Don
Martin de Aeta y Aguirre

Martin Saenz de Goyas
vezino de esta ciudad de Mexico
sobre

fenecido

que se le mandase dar por el tribunal testimonio authorizado en manera que hiciese fee de haversele rematado en almoneda un mulatillo llamado Diego Arias en 195 ps, que tenia satisfechos, como constaba de la carta de pago que presentaba el receptor general de esta Inquisicion licenciado Don Martin de Aeta y Aguirre, y pertenecia a los bienes confiscados a Diego Rodríguez Arias, reconciliado en el Auto particular de la fee de 30 de marzo de 1648.

Mandosele dar para que sirviese titulo y pareçe se le dio en 26 de noviembre de 1646.

Receptor Aetta Cobro 195 ps
del remitente de un mulatillo de
este reo

fol. 140r

Muy Ilustrisimo señor

En 26 de noviembre de 1646 años

Martin Saenz de Goyas digo que a mi se me remato en el moneda de este Santo Oficio por bienes del un mulatillo llamado Diego Arias en çiento y nouenta y çinco ps en Rs que tengo pagados al liçençiado don

Martin de Aetta y Aguirre, receptor general, del como consta de la carta de pago de que hago presentacion.

A Vs pido y suplico mande que para titulo del dicho mulatillo se me de testimonio autorizado en manera que haga fee que en ello reziuiese merced VA.

(—) Martin Saenz de Goyas.

En la ciudad de Mexico a veynte y seis dias del mes de nouiembre de mil y seisçientos y quarenta y seis años, estando en su audiencia de la tarde los señores ynquisidores doctores Domingo Belez de Assas y Argos y don Francisco de Estrada y Escobedo y don Juan Saenz de Manozca y liçenciado don Bernabe de la Higuera y Amarilla se leyo esta petición que presente el contenido. Y vista dijeron que auian y vbieron por presentada la carta de pago que refiere, y se le de el testimonio que pide para que le servia de titulo del mulatillo, que se le remato, y asi lo mandaron y señalaron.

Ante mi

(—) Miguel de Almonaçir.

fol. 140v

En la ciudad de Mexico a veynte y seis dias de el mes de noviembre de mil y seisçientos y quarenta y seis años en cumplimiento de lo probheido y mandado en el auto desta otra parte se dio el testimonio al dicho Martin Saenz de Goyas, para que le sirua de titulo del mulatillo Diego Arias que compro en almoneda publica.

(—) Miguel de Almonaçir.

fol. 141r

Recivido del señor don Martin Saenz de Goyas çiento y nouenta y çinco ps la Rs por el preçio en que se le remato en almoneda publica un esclabo mulatillo llamado Diego Arias perteneciente a los bienes de Diego Rodrigues Arias, y por verdad los firme en Mexico a beinte y tres de noviembre de seisçientos y quarenta y seis años son 195 ps.

(—) Martin de Aeta y Aguirre.

[141v blank page]

fol. 227r

Vezino de Colima reyna de la Nueva Galicia, residente en Mexico

Soltero reconciliado

Audiencia de hacienda que se tubo de ofiçio

puesto en relacion con los pleitos fenecidos

Diego Rodríguez Arias estando preso en la carceles secretas de esta Inquisicion en 6 de Febrero de 1648.—y fue reconciliado con confiscacion de bienes en el auto particular de la Fee, que se celebro a los 30 de março de 1648.—

notese

Que para ajustar esta parte de herencia es menester buscar entre los papeles de este reo. Al inventario que declara se hallaría entre ellos

Caudal que declaro tener

La herencia que le havia cabido de su madre doña Blanca Henriquez (fue relajada en estatua en el auto general de la fee de 11 de abril 1649).

1V pesos poco mas o menos en plata labrada, deudas, algunas halajas de sillas y mulas

4 esclauos, que le cupieron de dicha herencia, los 2 vendio Gaspar Vaez Seuilla albacea. Los 2 tenia en su casa quando le prendieron, no diçe los nombres de ellos, ni las tierras.—

35 o 36 marcos de plata labrada expresando algunas de las pieças de ella.—

Algunas joyuelas sin decir las que fuesen con otras cosas que menciono.—

Unas casas en la calle de Tacuba que eran de su herencia.—

Doña Isauel de Sylba fue relajada en estatua en el auto general de 11 abril de 1649. Pedro de Espinosa su marido fue reconciliado en el particular del 6 de abril de 1646. Doña Catalina Henriquez fue relajada en persona.—Diego Tinoro su marido en estatua en dicho Auto General

Lo que dieron para que lo ocultase su tia doña Isauel de Sylba, mujer de Pedro de Espinosa.

Y su hermana doña Catalina Henriquez viuda de Diego Tinoro. Algunas joyas en una bolça de falniquera.—Un escritorio de Flandes con todas las joyas de dicha su hermana dicha doña Catalina, La Tinora.

Deudas que debian a el Francisco López de Fonseca (que fue reconciliado en dicho auto general de 11 abril de 1649).

d[*stain*]o, 900 ps de la dicha herencia Diego de Gamboa, vecino de la provincia de Xalapa, 400 ps poco mas o menos de resto de escritura.—

Contra este Gamboa se siguio pleito por debido que este Diego Rodriguez Arias debia a Simon Vaez Seuilla

Las deudas de algunos bales, que pertenecian a su pariente Antonio Rodriguez Arias y paraban en poder de Simon Lopez de Aguarda, residente que fue de Çacatecas.

[227v]

Algunas ditas perdidas de pocas cantidades sin especificarlas.—

Declaró no deber a nadie cantidad alguna.—

Declaró que la carta de dote de doña Blanca Xuarez su sobrina quando casó con Jorge Jacinto se hauia echo en su cabeça como si el la dotase, siendo quien la dotó su madre doña Rafaela Henriquez./

[228r]

En la ciudad de Mexico, jueues, seis de febrero de seiscientos y quarenta y ocho años, estando en la audiencia de la tarde el señor inquisidor licenciado don Bernaue de la Higuera y Amarilla mando traer a ella a Diego Rodriguez de Arias de las carceles, y siendo presente fue del receuido juramento en forma de derecho, so cargo del qual prometio decir verdad.

[1] de hazienda de Diego Rodriguez Arias

Preguntado quanto valdria su caudal al tiempo que fue preso por este Santo Oficio y en que generos le tenia, y si tiene casas o haciendas proprias o en arrendamiento.

caudal que tenia quando fue preso, la parte de la herencia que le cupo de su madre doña Blanca Henriquez, fue relajada en estatua en el auto general de 11 abril de [16]49

Dixo que por el inventario que Gaspar Vaez su sobrino le entrego como alvaça de doña Blanca Enriquez su madre que se hallara entre sus papeles consta la parte de herencia que le cupo de la dicha su madre y mil pesos poco mas o menos que tenia de caudal quando le prendieron en plata labrada y deudas y algunas alajas de sillas y mulas que tenia.

IV pesos poco mas o menos en plata labrada

Preguntado si tiene algunos esclavos como se llaman y si tiene algunos esclavos como se llaman [*sic*] y si tiene algunos en empeño o ipoteca.—

Esclabos

4 que le cupieron de dicha herencia

Los 2 vendió el albacea Gaspar Vaez Seuilla

Los 2 tenía el en su casa quando le prendieron, no los nombra.

Notese

que es menester por el inventario de su madre de este reo, que el dice tener entre sus papeles ajustar esta parte de su herencia.

Plata labrada 35 o 36 marcos de plata labrada

Joyuelas

12 escudillas de china guarnecidas de plata/

[228v]

Paños de manos y otras cosillas todo en un escritorio joyas que le dieron para que las ocultase doña Isauel de Sylba su tia, mujer de Pedro de Espinosa, ella fue relajada en estatua en el auto general y el reconciliado en el particular de 16 de abril de 1646 Doña Catalina Henriquez su hermana de este reo, muger de Diego Tinoro, ella relajada en persona, y el en estatua en dicho auto general.

Casas

Las que heredo de dicha su madre doña Blanca Henriquez en Mexico

Deudas que le debian a él. Francisco Lopez de Fonseca casado con doña Ana Xuarez, sobrina de este reo, marido y mujer reconciliados. 800 o 900 ps de dicha herencia materna.—

Los bales que paraban en poder de Simon Lopez de Aguarda, tocantes a Antonio Rodriguez Arias, padre de este reo, que fue relajado en estatua en dicho auto general.

Dixo que por el inventario le cauián quatro esclauos, tres barones y una hembra que alli se verán sus nombres, de los quales avia vendido dos el dicho Gaspar Vaez y los otros dos tenía en su casa quando le prendieron y ninguno dellos estava en empeño ni ipotecado.—

Preguntado que plata labrada, joyas, oro, perlas y reales tenía al tiempo de su prision, así en su casa como fuera della, y si tenía algunas empeñados en poder de otras personas y en que cantidades, y si en su poder avia algunas joyas empeñadas de otras personas en que cantidades.

Dixo que tenía treinta y cinco o treinta y seis marcos de plata labrada diferentes piezas, como son platillos, escudillas, cucharas y quatro candeleros que no se acuerda las piezas que eran. Y en un escritorio tenía algunas joyuelas, que no se acuerda cuantas, y una dozena de escudillas de cozino/guarneçadas de plata, y paños de manos y otras casillas, así de lo contenido en dicho inventario como fuera del. Y que tenía no perlas ni reales quando le prendian. Y no tenía empeñada prenda ninguna suia ni agena.— Y que en dicho escritorio estava una bolça de faltriquera atada con algunas joyas que le entrego doña Isauel la de Pedro de Espinosa su tio que le guardara, que no saue los que son.— Y que su hermana doña Catalina la Tinoca le enuio vn escritorillo de Flandes en que la dicha doña Catalina le dixo estauan todos sus joyas, para que se las guardase. Y el dicho escritorio quedo en su casa en una caxa grande de china que este declarante tenía.—

Preguntado si a heredado alguna cosa o por via de donaçion en que cantidades y de que personas.—

Dixo que no a heredado mas de lo que dicha doña Blanca su madre le dexo contenido en dicho inventario a que se remite, en que estan tanuién vnas casas que su madre le dexo en la calle de Tacuba, pared en medio de las del alguaçil mayor deste Santo Oficio.

Preguntado, si le deuen alguna hazienda o el la deue por que instancia y de que prozede.

Dixo que Francisco Lopez de Fonseca su sobrino le deue ochientos pesos o nouçientos conthenidos en la herencia de dicho inuentario, y que no le deuen otra cosa sino algunas dittas perdidas de pocas cantidades que como era vianda no por estançias alli le deuián.— Y que algunos vales de deudas que le deuián al dicho Antonio Rodriguez Arias su padre pertenecen a este declarante en la ciudad de Cacatecas, y estan dichos vales en poder de Simon Lopez de Aguarda.—

Diego de Gamboa, vezino de Xalapa 400 ps. Esta cantidad y lo mas que fue se cobro por deuda de este reo a Simon Vaez Seuilla, de que ay pleito algunas ditas perdidas de pequeños cantidades

Y que Diego de Gamboa, vezino de la prouincia de Xalapa que esta en un ingenio que posee le deua de resto de escritorio de maior cuantia quatrocientos pesos poco mas a menos y que no deue este declarante deuda ninguna/

[229r]

Preguntado cuantos libros borradores tenia donde asentaua sus tratos y contratos y si tiene algunas cuentas pendientes ajustadas o por ajustar.

No debía a nadie

Cuentas de su libro de hacienda pertenesciente a Juan Baptista de Caraca

Dixo que dos libros borradores dexo en su casa donde asentaua sus tratos y contratos, los quales eran de hazienda pertenesciente a Juan Baptista de Caraca que era alcalde maior de Colima. Y algunas cuentas hauia tocantes a este declarante con algunos indios y otras personas de poca monta.—

Algunas de este reo de poca monta

Preguntado si tenia tienda de mercaderías a donde y si tiene compañía con algunas personas, quienes, en que cantidades, y a que partidos, y ante que escriuanos haçia sus escrituras de tratos y contratos y si a hecho algunas en caueça ageno o otros en caueça deste declarante.—

Declaracion de la carta de dote de su sobrina doña Blanca Xuarez quando caso con Jorge Jacinto. Todo cayo en el fisco pues fueron reconciliados

Dixo que no tenia tienda de mercaderías ni compañía con persona alguna en matheria de hazienda.—Y que sus escrituras las haçia en Çacatecas quando alli asistia ante codina Pedro Alonso Bayo y Diego Arias, escriuanos publicos de haçienda.—

Y que la escritura de dote de doña Blanca Xuarez su sobrina casada con Jorge Jacinto la otorgo este declarante como el que el le daua el dicho dote. Pero la verdad es que se lo dio doña Rafaela Enriquez madre de dicha doña Blanca Xuarez. Y que por aora no se acuerda de otra cosa en matheria de su hazienda, que si se acordara la declarara, y lo que tiene dicho es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho y lo firmo—

(—) Diego Rodrigues Arias

Ante un

Diego Ortiz de Bargas

[229v blank page]

[230r]

Audiencia de hazienda de Diego Rodriguez Arias

[230v blank page; end of file]

APPENDIX V*

Will of Diego Rodrigues Aires [*sic*]; P.R.O., Hale, 70

In the name of God Amen. I Diego Rodrigues Aires, of Hackney in the Countie of Middlesex merchant stranger being weak in Bodie but of sound & perfect mynd & memorie, praised be God,
* My thanks are due to Dr. A. S. Diamond for this material.

doe make & declare this my last Will & Testament in manner & forme following. After my debts & funeral charges shall be payd and discharged I give & dispose of all my goods & chattels plate readie moneys debts and personal estate whatsoever both here & beyond the seas to Elianor da Costa

who hath been helpful and assistant to mee for many years and in consideration of certain summes of money goods & merchandise heretofore received in trust for her . . . [and of the ?] trust and confidence in her the said Elianor da Costa by mee reposed that she the said Elianor da Costa shall provide and give to my wife Frances Lopes good and sufficient meet drink and apparell lodging and other necessities meet for one of her condition soe long as she shall think fit to dwell & continue with her in a quiet & peacable manner. And in case the said Elianor da Costa shall marrie or dye or decease during the life of the said Frances Lopes then I give & bequeath unto the said Francis the sum of fiftie pounds to be paid to her by the said Elianor for the maintenance of the said Frances

from & after the death or marriage of the said Elianor & in full satisfaction of all that the said Francis may clayme out of my Estate. And I make & ordaine the said Elianor da Costa full and sole executrix of this my last Will & Testament [revoking?] all former wills by mee made & constituting this my last Will & Testament. In witness whereof . . . the 13th day of June 1675 and in the seven & 20th year of the reign of [Chas II] Diego Ruiz Aries [signature] signed subscribed and published & declared by the said Diego Rodriguez Aires for and as his last Will & Testament in the presence of Edw. Bushell. John Rolfe

Probate 12 July 1677 by oath Elianor da Costa Executrix etc.

APPENDIX VI

Duarte Enríquez Álvarez's Letter

[Source: Mexico Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo Inquisición,
Tomo 376, exp. 25]

[162r]

Reciuida a Siete dias del mes de septiembre de mill y seiscientos e sesenta años estando en audiencia de la mañana los señores Inquisidores don Francisco de Estrada y Escouedo e don Juan Saenz de Manosca¹ Muy Reuerendos Señores [by another scribe] que se entregue el señor fiscal

Por ordenes que tengo del tribunal del Santo oficio de la Inquisicion de Cartagena y papeles remitidos por el de la Yslas de Canaria estoy haciendo diligencias para cobrar los bienes que parecieren ser de Duarte Enríquez Alvarez, relaxado.² Y entre otros papeles halle una carta del suso dicho en que parece tenia trato con don Antonio Rosel y Lugo, vecino de la Vera Cruz, y me parecio dar quenta a V.S. dello para que se sirba mandar hacer las diligencias que conuengan. = De todo lo que boy [sic] obrando boy [sic] dando quenta al Supremo Consejo, a las inquisiciones de Cartagena y Canaria porque asi se me a ordenado. Y asimismo para todo lo que V.S. fuere servido ordenarme me hallara con la misma puntualidad. Guarde Dios a V.S. para aumento y defensa de nuestra Santa Fe Chatolica [sic]. Hauana, Junio 9 de 1660 [sic]

(—) Nicolas Esteves Borges

[162v blank page]

[163r]

En la ciudad de San Christoual de la Hauana en ocho dias del mes de junio de mil y seiscientos y sesenta años el señor don Nicolas Esteves Borges comisario propietario de la Inquisicion del Santo Tribunal de la ciudad de Cartagena, beneficiado cura rector desta dicha ciudad, dixo que por quanto en virtud de las ordenes de los tribunales del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion de Cartagena, e Islas de Canaria. Su merced esta solicitando cobrar los bienes que en esta ciudad ay pertenecientes a Duarte Enríquez Alvarez, relaxado, y auiedo mandado al Capitan don Pedro

¹ Both of them were connected with the trial of Diego Rodríguez Arias. Libro 427 fol. 174.

² This indicates that Duarte Enríquez Alvarez was arrested by the Inquisition and handed over to the Secular Arm for execution. Otherwise the notary could have written *condenado*.

Baldespino,³ persona con quien tubo comunicaci3n y trato que entregase todos los papeles y cartas pertenecientes a dicho Duarte Enriquez Alvarez, entre otros que entrego fue una carta que esta en estos autos a foxas ochenta y quatro del dicho Duarte Enriquez Alvarez, su fecha Londres a veinte de agosto del a1o de cinquenta y tres, en la qual da a entender tubo trato y contrato con don Antonio Rosel y Lugo, vecino de la ciudad de la Vera Cruz, y encarga se le remitan el dinero que en su poder parase [*sic*], como mas largamente de dicha carta consta. Y para que se hagan las diligencias necesarias mandaba y mando se saque testimonio de dicha carta y en primer lugar deste auto y del testimonio que esta en estos autos a foxas dos, por el qual consta la resoluci3n que se tomo en el tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisici3n de Canaria, y todo se remita a los muy ilustres se1ores inquisidores apostolicos de la ciudad de Mexico, para que su se1oria mande al comisario de la Vera Cruz, donde es vecino el dicho don Antonio Rosel y Lugo haga las diligencias que conuinieren para recoger los bienes que en su poder estubieren pertenecientes al dicho Duarte Enriquez Alvarez, y por este su auto as1 lo proueyo y mando y firmo.

D. Nicolas Esteves Borges.

Ante mi D. Antonio Graecano, notario.

Carta
[163v]

A don Pedro Baldespino = Londres a 20 Agosto 1653 a1os

Luego que llegue a esta ciudad de Londres escribi a V.M. y desde que estoy en ella no e visto carta suya de que me marauillo mucho y quedo con cuydado el ver que V.M. se aya descuydado de escribirme pus [*sic*] an venido tantos nauios de ese lugar a Tenerife, como el nauio en que vino Francisco Bustin,⁴ y despues vino don Fernando Monteser, personas tan ciertas y conocidas, pues son de casa, y ninguno dellos me trujo cartas, de que lo e sentido en estremo, pues me lo importaba tanto como V.M. sabe el darme respuesta a la que le escribi con el dicho don Fernando Monteser. Y tambien hacerme a saber si se auia bendido los vinos y las demas mercaderias que llebo el dicho mi quenta para entregar a V.M. Y tambien si auia remitido don Antonio Rosel y Lugo alguna partida de dinero de mi quenta de que me dara V.M. auiso en auiendo pasaque [*sic*] para Espania [*sic*] o para las Islas de Canaria, remitiendo las cartas a don Luis de Vitoria a la Isla de Thenerife, en la ciudad de La Laguna y a Espania [*sic*] a Juan Flaniel en Sevilla, y le pido y ruego que luego que llegue a manos de V.M. esta me escriba largo dandome quenta de todos los particulares que en esta escribo y enuiandome quenta de todos los cargazones que e embiado a V.M., y tambien todo el dinero que me ubiere remitido a Espania [*sic*] y de todos los demas particularidades que V.M. tubiere que darme auiso estimare mucho me lo aga a saber. V.M. me a de hacer fabor de remitir la que ba con esta a manos de don Antonio Rosel y Lugo porque en ella le ordeno que todo el dinero que vbiere en su poder de mi quenta remita a V.M. Y me ara fabor de escribir al dicho se1or que lo que parare en su poder de mi quenta lo remita a V.M. Y esto sea pidiendoselo muy encarecidamente lo haga el remitiendo todo lo que parare en su poder porque pretendo augstar y poner una buena pila de dinero en Madrid para tomar otra vez las rentas de las Islas de Canaria/por quanto el Consejo de la Hacienda me esta rogando con ellas por el tanto que la tiene Diego Perera. Y asi necesito para entrar otra vez en la renta me lo corra V.M. con todo lo que parare en su poder de mi quenta y de don Antonio de Lugo. =

[164r]

Estimare esta alla a V.M. con la salud que desea en compa1ia de todo lo que vien quiere. Yo quedo bueno, a Dios gracias para serbirle en todo lo que me quisiere mandar. En no auer yo hecho viage asta el dia oy para Madrid y estar tanto tiempo

³ Inhabitant of Havana. He was his correspondent, who would send over merchandise, received from Duarte Enriquez Alvarez, to Mexico. Was in his service in 1657. See AHN Inq. Canarias Leg. 1823 No. 14 fol. 3r, 6r. The merchandise was confiscated in Havana.

⁴ He handed over merchandise which belonged to Duarte Enriquez Alvarez in the Canary Islands to the Inquisition. See AHN, Inq. Canarias Leg. 1823 No. 14 fol. 4r.

en esta ciudad de Londres que a diez meses que estoy en ella,⁵ lo causan algunas quantas que tenia que agustar con mis correspondientes y bender algunas mercadurias que aqui tenia para llebar por delante todo lo que tengo en este reyno porque es cosa trauajosa el dexar atras quantas abiertas y efectos. Por quanto pueda yo conseguir mi pretension que es el tomar las rentas de las dichas Islas, pido a V.M. que en todo lo que me pudiere ayudar, ademas de lo que para en su poder de mi quenta lo haga que yo le serbire y satisfare con mucha puntualidad. Quedo con fiado en todo V.M. me ayudara y me ara fabor. Lo que en esto pido como tan buen amigo y señor mio. Y sabre serbir y ratificar lo que V.M. hiciere en esto, con que no se ofreca otra. Nuestro Señor guarde a V.M. felices años en compañía de esa mi señora su esposa, a quien beso las manos con los señores hijos a quien vea V.M. en el estado que desea.

Duarte Enriquez Alvarez.—

Testimonio
[164v]

Yo don Miguel Alvarez de Miranda, secretario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion destas Islas de Gran Canaria certifico y doy fe que por un proceso que / esta en la camara del secreto del dicho Santo Oficio que el fiscal de el a seguido contra Duarte Enriquez Alvarez, recaudador mayor que fue de las rentas reales y almoxarifasgos de estas Islas diciendo esta notado y testificado del crimen de la heregia y apostasia de judaismo, y siendo ademitida su querella en doce de octubre de mil y seiscientos y cinquenta y seis.⁶ Y hecha su causa como contra ausente y conclusa definitivamente parece se vio en consulta en once deste presente mes de marzo de mil y seiscientos y cinquenta y ocho años,⁷ por los señores inquisidores y licenciados don Francisco Masia de Frias Salazar, don Joseph Badaran de Osinalde juntamente con el ordinario y consultores, el dicho dia unanimes y conformes, condenaron al dicho Duarte Enriquez Alvarez en la pena que en dicho consulta se expreso y en confiscacion de todos sus bienes como mas largamente consta y parece del dicho proceso, a que me remito, y por mandado de dichos señores inquisidores di el presente, firmado de mi nombre y sellado con el sello deste Santo Oficio, en la ciudad de Las Palmas de esta Isla de Canaria, en veinte y un dias del mes de marzo de mil y seiscientos y cinquenta ocho años, Prior Miguel Alvarez de Miranda, secretario.—

Segun consta y parece del traslado original remitido de la Inquisicion de Canarias que queda en la camara del secreto deste Santo Oficio, a que me refiero. Dado en Cartagena en treinta dias del mes de Octubre de mil seiscientos y cinquenta y ocho años. Don Anuflo de Camargo.—

[165r]

Concuerta con dicho auto, carta y testimonio/de donde saque este traslado y con quien lo corriji que estan en los autos y diligencias que sobre la aueriguacion de los bienes pertenecientes a Duarte Enriquez Alvarez se an fecho que entregue al señor licenciado don Nicolas Esteves Borges, comisario del Santo Oficio y de mandado de su merced doy el presente en la Hauana, en nuebe de junio de mil seiscientos y sesenta años. En fe de lo qual firme de mi nombre y en testimonio de verdad.—

(—) Antonio Graecano
Notario publico

Muy Ilustrisimo Señor

Uisto la carta de el licenciado don Nicolas Esteues, comisario de el Santo Oficio de la ciudad de Cartagena, y los demas autos que con ella se me an entregado y parece que el tribunal de las Islas de Canaria despues que por el señor fiscal de el se siguio causa criminal contra Duarte Enriquez Alvarez en uista y consultada de ella, despues de otras penas conuenga a dicho Duarte Enriquez Alvarez en confiscacion de todos sus bienes. Y por pareçer que el dicho tiene algunos en la ciudad de nuestra Vera Cruz en poder de don Antonio Rosel y Lugo, y que con el suso dicho como consta

⁵ Thus he arrived in London in November 1652.

⁶ On that day he was summoned to appear before the court and a term of a year was given to him. On that day the arraignment was presented. AHN, Inq. Canarias Leg. 1823 No. 10 fol. 5v, 9r, 25v–26r, 78r.

⁷ This is the date of the *consulta-de-fe*. See synopsis of dates in Appendix VII.

[165v]

de la carta que desde Londres escriuio el dicho Duarte en beinte de agosto de el año pasado de cinquenta y tres a don Pedro Valdespino que parece ser vecino de la ciudad de San Christoual de la Hauana, y cuiu copia remite a VS dicho licenciado don Nicolas Esteues a quien por los tribunales de dichas Islas y de Cartagena se le esta encargado el cobro de los bienes de el dicho Duarte Enriquez, y para que su cuidado tenia buen efecto en lo que se le encarga, hauiendo uisto la dicha carta y las quantas y dineros que por ella pareçe tener en dicha ciudad de la nuestra Vera Cruz el dicho Duarte Enriquez con don Antonio / Rosel de Lugo para que se auerigue que bienes tiene el dicho de Duarte Enriquez, y para que los que tubiere se conbiene y entreguen al dicho comisario licenciado don Nicolas Esteues Borjes en conformidad de las ordenes que pareçe tener para ello, pide y suplique a V.S. se sirua de dar comision y orden al comisario de la ciudad de Nuestra Vera Cruz para que en raçon de la notiçia que Duarte Enriquez da en su carta haga las diligencias de sauer y aueriguar los bienes y hacienda que dicho don Antonio Rosel tiene de el dicho Duarte Enriquez y las quantas que con el tubiere y auia tenido, y que todo lo que constare tener de dicho Duarte lo cobre el dicho comisario y ponga en persona segura que lo guarde hasta que por V.S. se le mande otra cosa. Y ser cosa tan conueniente al seruiçio de el Santo Tribunal de Canaria, y que no se oculten los bienes de semexantes personas reos y penitençiadados y castigados por el Santo Oficio, siendo V.S. seruido podra mandar conforme lo suplicada y ruega el dicho comisario d. Nicolas Esteues y despacha para todo la comision necesaria al doctor don Bernardo de Aguilera, comisario deste Santo Oficio en la dicha ciudad de la Nuestra Vera Cruz, encargandole el cuidado y diligencia y que con todo que avise a V.S. de lo que obrare para que como aora con justa procuralo a ella mas conforme.

Mexico, Mayo 14 de 1661 años en esta secreta de el Santo Oficio. No vale lo provado = enmiendo cinquento.

(—) Licenciado Juan de Onega Montanes.

APPENDIX VII

Trial of Duarte Enriquez Alvarez

[AHN Leg. 1823 No. 14]

A. Composition of Court:

Judges:

Francisco Massia de Frias Salazar
Joseph Badarán de Osinalde
Juan de San Francisco, *calificador y comisario*

Prosecutor:

Joseph Espinola Caniño (also *Alguazil* mayor)
Miguel Alvarez de Miranda (replaced the prosecutor on 3 July 1657)

Examiner of Witnesses:

Juan García del Castillo

Notaries:

Mathias Oranias Villarreal
Diego Benítez de Lugo
Miguel Alvarez de Miranda
Bartolomé Estacio
Miguel Collado Samartín
Martín de Navedo Romero

Gonzalo García de Leon

Salvador de Mesa

Francisco Jorge Chavez

Participants in Consulta-de-fe:

Francisco Massia de Frias Salvador
Joseph Badarán de Osinalde
Mathias Andrés González
Manuel de Angulo Estúñiga
Marcos de León y Amarís

Witnesses for the Prosecution:

- (1) Pedro de Arechava
- (2) Alonso de Molina
- (3) Asencio de Araujo Mederos
- (4) Juan Rodríguez Rivero
- (5) Francisco Díaz
- (6) Juan López de Miranda
- (7) Joseph Franco

- (8) Juan Ferrera de Andrada
 - (9) Mathias Sosa
 - (10) Diego García
 - (11) Francisco Pérez
 - (12) Lazaro González Cabrera
 - (13) Gaspar Abreu
 - (14) Pedro del Piru
 - (15) Antonio Tasarte
 - (16) Tomás Clerque
 - (17) Marcos Hernández Barroco
 - (18) Nicolás Ginovez
 - (19) Antonio González
 - (20) Salvador Martínez
 - (21) Antonio de Ponte
 - (22) Melchor de Aranguren
 - (23) Juan Correa Amado
 - (24) Andrés Barba
 - (25) Antonio de Lima
 - (26) Francisco Tomás de Franchi Alfaro
 - (27) César de Bandier
 - (28) Marcos de Herrera y Leyva
 - (29) Juan Ros
- B. Procedure:
- 1652
- 26 March
Luis Beltrán signs contract with Duarte Enríquez Alvarez about transfer of merchandise to the New World (4v)
Second contract signed on transfer of wine (5r)
- 28 June
Duarte Enríquez Alvarez's merchandise confiscated in Havana
- 1656
- 29 April
Pedro de Arechava testifies before the court of the Canary Islands (9v). Testimony confirmed on 4 January 1658 (31r)
- 30 April
Testimony of Alonso de Molina (10r); confirmed on 3 January 1658 (32v)
- 14 May
Testimony of Asencio de Araujo Mederos (11r-11v); confirmed 4 January 1658 (33v)
- 29 July
Testimony of Juan Rodríguez de Rivero (12r); Testimony not confirmed because the witness is in captivity in the Moorish lands (34v)
Testimony of Francisco Díaz (13r); confirmed 18 Febr. 1658 (36r)
Testimony of Juan López de Miranda (14r); not confirmed because witness is in the North (36v)
- 20 August
Joseph Franco writes to Canary Islands and informs of Duarte Enríquez Alvarez's circumcision (16r), see below 2 December 1657 (39v)
- 19 September
Testimony of Juan Ferrera de Andrada (16v); not confirmed because witness not to be found (41v)
- 20 September
Testimony of Mathias de Sosa (17r); confirmed on 24 Jan. 1658 (43v)
- 25 September
Juan García writes from Orotava to the court in La Laguna (15r)
- 2 October
Letter reaches court (14v-15r)
- 10 October
Testimony of Diego García (18v); confirmed 19 December 1657 (45r)
- 11 October
Testimony of Francisco Pérez (19r); confirmed 6 January 1658 (46v)
- 12 October
Duarte Enríquez Alvarez is summoned before the court; a year's term is given him to appear (5v; 25v-26r; 78r)
Presentation of first arraignment (9r)
- 14 October
Testimony of Lázaro González Cabrera (19v); confirmed 30 January 1658 (48r)
Testimony of Gaspar de Abreu (20v); confirmed 19 December 1657 (49v)
Duarte Enríquez Alvarez is ordered to appear before court; Order published in La Laguna and Canaria (79r-79v; 84r-84v)
- 15 October
Testimony of Pedro del Piru (21v); confirmed 25 January 1658 (50v)
- 16 October
Testimony of Antonio Tasarte (22r); Not confirmed, because witness not in the Islands (52v)
Testimony of Tomás Clerque (10r); confirmed 19 January 1658 (54r)
- 20 October
Testimony of Marcos Hernández Barroco (24r-25v); confirmed 7 January 1658 (56r)
- 1 November
Summons of Duarte Enríquez proclaimed in San Cristóbal (Tenerife; 84r)
- 17 November
Summons proclaimed in front of the house of his dwelling in La Laguna (84r)

- 3 December
Testimony of Nicolás Ginovez (26r–27r); confirmed 5 January 1658 (58r)
- 7 December
Testimony of Salvador Martínez (58v)
- 9 December
Testimony of Antonio González (27r–27v); confirmed 5 January 1658 (61r–61v)
- 1657
- 22 January
Summons read in front of Duarte Enríquez's dwelling-place in La Laguna (78v)
- 23 January
Testimony of Antonio de Ponte (62r)
- 24 January
Summary of testimonies sent to *Suprema* (78r). The Inquisitors write to the *Suprema* about the confiscation of Duarte Enríquez's property (8r)
- 5 February
Testimony of Melchor de Aranguren (64r)
- 7 February
Information sent to the court that the summons was read in front of Duarte's house (78v)
Summons taken off church post in the Church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (84r)
- 15 February
Information arrives in the court (78v)
- 2 March
Duarte Enríquez Alvarez pronounced rebel (for the first time; 86r)
- 23 May
Letter sent by the Inquisitors to the *Suprema* arrives in Madrid (8r; see 24 January)
- 24 May
The *Suprema* confirms one-year term given to Duarte Enríquez to appear (5v)
Suprema's answer sent to La Laguna (78r)
- 3 July
Duarte Enríquez Alvarez pronounced rebel (second time; 86v)
- 17 September
The Inquisitors Francisco Massia and Joseph Badarán appeal to the *Suprema* about the merchandise which the *Consejo de Hacienda* confiscated (7r–7v)
- 21 September
The *Suprema's* order to Duarte Enríquez arrives in the Islands (5v); answer to letters sent on 24 January 1657 from the Canaries
- 17 October
Testimony of Juan Correa Amado (65v); confirmed 29 December 1657 (66v)
- 20 October
Testimony of Andrés Barba (67v); confirmed 5 January 1658 (68r)
- 21 October
The *Suprema's* answer arrives in the Canaries; Orders how to proceed in trial (78r)
- 13 November
Duarte Enríquez Alvarez pronounced rebel (for third time, 86v)
- 14 November
Letter of the Inquisitors Massia and Badarán arrives in Madrid (7r–7v; see above, 17 September)
- 5 December
Testimony of Antonio de Lima (68v); confirmed 20 January 1658 (69v)
- 10 December
The Prosecutor asks the court to try Duarte Enríquez *in absentia* and to pronounce him rebel (87r)
- 11 December
Arraignment presented to judges (88r); Francisco Tomás's testimony confirmed (72r); see below 29 December 1657
- 15 December
The court applies to the *Suprema* to act in Havana and Cartagena de las Indias against Duarte Enríquez Alvarez's correspondents (3r)
The Inquisitors of the Canary Islands inform the *Suprema* that they have written to Cartagena on the above-mentioned matter. The correspondent is named: Pedro Valdespino (6r).
The court in Canary Islands orders the confirmation of procedure according to the request of the Prosecutor (90v)
- 19 December
Testimony of Gaspar de Abreu confirmed (49r); testified on 14 October 1656 (see above)
- 24 December
The *Suprema* agrees on form of procedure (27v); [in Madrid]
- 28 December
Testimony of friar Joseph Franco (39v)
- 29 December
Confirmation of Joseph Franco's testimony (41r)
Testimony of Francisco Tomás de Franchi Alfaro (70v). See above, 11 December 1657.
Testimony of Juan Correa confirmed
- 30 December
List of merchandise confiscated in Havana confirmed (4r)

- 1658
 3 January
 Confirmation of Don Alonso de Molina's testimony (32r); see above 30 April 1656
- 4 January
 Confirmation of Asencio Araujo's testimony (33r); see above 14 May 1656
 Confirmation of Pedro de Arechava's testimony (31r); see above 29 April 1656
- 5 January
 Confirmation of Andrés Barba's testimony (68r); see above 29 October 1657
- 6 January
 Confirmation of Francisco Pérez's testimony (46v); see above 11 October 1656
- 7 January
 Confirmation of Marcos Hernández Barroco's testimony (56r); see above 13 April 1656
- 9 January
 Reminder sent to Suprema about the petition made on 15 December 1657
- 19 January
 Confirmation of Diego García's testimony (45r); see above 10 October 1656
 Confirmation of Tomás Clerque's testimony (54r); see above 10 October 1656
 Dr César de Bandier testifies (72v)
- 20 January
 Confirmation of Antonio de Lima's testimony (69v); see above 5 December 1657
 Confirmation of César de Bandier's testimony (73v)
- 23 January
 Testimony of don Marcos Herrera y Leyva (74r)
 Confirmation of Juan Rodríguez Rivero's copied testimony. The witness is a captive in Berbery (34v); see above 29 July 1656
 Confirmation of Juan López de Miranda's copied testimony. The witness is in the North (34v); see above 29 July 1656
 Confirmation of Antonio Tasarte's captivity in Berbery (52v)
- 24 January
 Confirmation of Marcos Herrera's testimony (75r)
 Confirmation of Mathias de Sosa's testimony (43v); see above 20 September 1656
- 25 January
 Confirmation of Pedro del Piru's testimony (50v); see above 15 October 1656
- 27 January
 Marginal note made on Salvador Martínez's testimony that he went in May-June 1657 to the Indies (58v)
- Confirmation of Antonio de Ponte's testimony (63r); see above 23 January 1657
- 31 January
 Confirmation of Lázaro González Cabrera's testimony (48r); see above, 14 October 1656
- 2 February
 Confirmation of Melchor de Aranguren's testimony (64r); see above, 5 February 1657
- 4 February
 Testimony of Juan Ros, an Englishman (76r)
- 5 February
 Confirmation of testimony (77r)
- 12 February
 The *Suprema* receives the letter of the Canary Islands' Inquisitors to act in Cartagena de las Indias (6r).
- 18 February
 Confirmation of Francisco Díaz's testimony (36r); see above, 29 July 1656
- 20 February
 The *Suprema* receives the letter of the Canary Islands' Inquisitors to act in Cartagena against the correspondents of Duarte Enriquez (2r)
- 23 February
 The *Suprema* orders transfer of application to Cartagena (3r)
- 27 February
 The Prosecutor asks for publication of witnesses' testimonies. Petition approved (91r)
- 7 March
 Second copy of letter to the *Suprema* arrives in Madrid (6v); see above 12 February 1658
- 8 March
 The Prosecutor asks for passing of sentence against Duarte Enriquez Alvarez (100r)
- 11 March
Consulta-de-fe; sentence passed of burning in effigy (100v)
- 21 March
 Miguel Alvarez de Miranda sends copy of sentence to Cartagena (Inq. Mexico, Tomo 376, Exp. 25, fol. 164)
- 30 October
 Copy of above sent to Mexico (i6)
- 1659
- 17 February
 The *Suprema* writes to the court of the Canary Islands to carry out sentence (2r)
- 27 February
 Sentence approved by *Suprema* (101v)
- 29 May
 The letter sent from Madrid on 17 February 1659 arrives in the Canaries (2r)

- 9 June
The court answers the *Suprema's* letter (2r)
- 8 August
The court's answer arrives in Madrid (2r)
- 1660
- 8 June
Pedro Valdespino, Captain, hands over to the Inquisition in San Cristóbal de la Havana a bundle of letters, among them Duarte Enríquez Alvarez's letter; see above 20 August 1653
- 9 June
Nicolás Esteves Borges writes from San Cristóbal to Mexico on the confiscation of Duarte Enríquez Alvarez's property (Inq. Mexico, fol. 162r; 165r)
- 7 September
Letter arrives in Mexico (fol. 162v)
- 1661
- 14 May
Inquisition in Mexico informed about order to act against Duarte Enríquez Alvarez's property in Vera Cruz (*ibidem* 165v)

APPENDIX VIII

Trial of the Rodriguez Francia Brothers

[AHN Leg. 1823 No. 10]

- A. Composition of Court:
- Judges:
Francisco Massia de Frias Salazar
Francisco Porteros de la Vega
- Examiner of Witnesses:
Juan García de Castillo
- Prosecutor:
Bartolomé Estacio
- Notaries:
Miguel Collado Samartín
Lucas Esteves
Francisco Jorge Suárez
Nicolás Martín
Miguel Alvarez de Miranda
Jorge Fernández Rodríguez
- Witnesses for the Prosecution:
- (1) Gaspar de Acosta
 - (2) Francisco Bautista
 - (3) Juan Ramón
 - (4) Francisco Machado
 - (5) Gabriel Francisco
 - (6) Salvador Martínez
 - (7) Alonso de Molina
 - (8) Tomás de Rojas
 - (9) Ignacio de Landasola
 - (10) Bartolomé de Molina
 - (11) Francisco de Molina
 - (12) Francisco Tomás
 - (13) Pedro de Bate
- B. Procedure:
- 1662
- 27 October
Testimony of Francisco Bautista (8r)
- 1664
- 7 May
Testimony of Gaspar de Acosta (4r)
- 16 June
Examination of Gaspar de Acosta (5v)
- 9 July
The Prosecutor presents Gaspar de Acosta's testimony and asks the court to accept it.
The court concedes (4r)
- 6 August
Confirmation of Gaspar de Acosta's testimony (7v)
- 1665
- 2 September
Testimony of Juan Ramon (8v)
- 2 October
Testimony of Francisco Machado (9r)
- 3 October
Testimony of Pedro Manzano (10r)
Testimony of Gabriel Francisco (11r)
- 15 October
Testimony of Salvador Martínez (12r)
- 16 October
Testimony of Captain Alonso de Molina (13r)

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|--|---|
| 11 November | and asks for order of arrest for the Rodríguez Francias (3r) |
| Testimony of Ignacio de Landasola (15r) | |
| 14 November | 12 December |
| Testimony of Francisco de Molina (18r) | Testimony of Bartolomé de Molina |
| 15 November | |
| Testimony of Francisco Tomás de Franchi Alfaro (19r) | 1666 |
| 16 November | 17 March |
| Testimony of Pedro de Bate (15v) | Letter of the Canary Islands Inquisitors to the <i>Suprema</i> |
| 5 December | A second letter of the Inquisitors on the same subject |
| Order to arrest the defendants and to sequestrate their property; the property of the correspondents as well is ordered to be sequestrated (20r) | 25 August |
| | The letters arrived in Madrid |
| 11 December | 10 September |
| Bartolomé Estacio presents his arraignment | Sentence passed in Madrid to burn the effigy of the two brothers in Granada (21r) |

[See 'Jews in the Canary Islands']

1656 24 Aug 1656
 Comparendy als voorsz. Mente Bedrickus Alvares
 de fondez is portigale. coopman oyl 43 jaar
 wordend op de Christenheit. Dona Beatrice de
vega duy lifzona oyl 23 jaar wordend als
 voorsz. groot met dona Philippa de lifzona van
 Versoekende hare dege Soudaeghe uytroeping, omme naer de selve de voorsz. trouwen in oorde
 te solenniseren ende ny alles te voltrecken, so wote daer anders gine vettige Coehndes
 ringe Coep en Daer. Ende mer die sy by waerheit Coehndes datse Coep Daer
ney waer ende maekandich ny blo
 waer door een Christelijck huwelijck mochte Coehndes wordend, niet ny sefsondey,
 zijn huy hare gebeden Coehndes.
 Duarte Enriq[ue]z Alvares
 Beatrice de Vega

Fig. 1. Marriage record, 24 August 1656, of Duarte Enriquez Alvares to Beatrice de Vega (Reproduced by kind permission of the Gemeente-Archief van Amsterdam)



Fig. 2. Part of the tombstone of Benjamin alias Simon Francia, died 22 Tammuz 5449/30 June 1689, aged 54, showing the Francia arms