AN EARLY JEWISH COLONY IN WESTERN GUIANA, 1658-1666:

AND ITS RELATION TO THE JEWS IN SURINAM, CAYENNE AND TOBAGO.

By Samuel Oppenheim.

Reprint from
Publications of the
American Jewish Historical Society,
No. 16 (1907), pp. 95-186.

AN EARLY JEWISH COLONY IN WESTERN GUIANA, 1658-1666:

AND ITS RELATION TO THE JEWS IN SURINAM, CAYENNE AND TOBAGO.

By Samuel Oppenheim, *of New York.*

The Jewish colony, of which this paper treats, settled in 1658 on the Pomeroon river, in the region of the Essequibo, in what is now British Guiana, then in the possession of the Dutch. It flourished until 1666 when it was dispersed. No reference to it appears in any account of the Jews in America. Even the celebrated *Essai historique,*[1] which is our principal source of information in regard to the Jews of Guiana, but is not full or exact in regard to their early history there, makes no mention of it.

A Dutch work published in 1888, treating of the history of Western Guiana,[2] gives some facts about this colony, as also an English publication of the same year, based partly on this Dutch work and partly on other sources.[3] Some interesting details in regard to it are also to be found in the volumes relating to the boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great

[1] *Essai historique sur la colonie de Surinam. . . . avec l'histoire de la nation Juive Portugaise et Allemande y etablie,* etc., Paramaribo, 1788; in Dutch, *Geschiedenis der kolonie van Suriname,* etc., Amsterdam, 1791; prepared by a society of learned Jews of Surinam. A copy of this rare work is to be found in the New York State Library, at Albany.

[2] Peter Marinus Netscher, *Geschiedenis van de Koloniën Essequebo, Demerary en Berbice,* 's Gravenhage, 1888.

[3] James Rodway and Thomas Watt, *Chronological History of the Discovery and Settlement of Guiana,* Georgetown, Demerara, 1888, usually referred to under its cover-title, *Annals of Guiana,* by which it will be designated herein.

Digitized by Project Zikaron
Touro University-NY Libraries
www.zikaron.tourolib.org
2026

Britain. But the most reliable data on the subject are to be found in the Dutch archives in Holland, extracts from which are printed in the Appendix hereto.[2a]

The history of this colony is important to us in connection with the history of the Jews in Brazil, Cayenne and Surinam, with which it was closely connected, and probably also with that of the Jews in what has since become part of the United States. Before giving an account of it, a brief sketch of surrounding conditions up to the beginning of its establishment and for a few years afterwards will first be given. Closely related to our colony and existing during the same period, as shown by the extracts from the Dutch archives, was a sister colony at Tobago, in the immediate neighborhood, north of

[2a] Thanks are due to Jongheer Dr. Th. H. F. van Riemsdijk, the archivist in chief at the Rijksarchief at The Hague, for his courtesy in examining the original records and furnishing extracts, and to Mr. W. O. Swaving, the archivist of the Oud-archief at Middelburg, for like courtesy, and also to Mr. P. V. Dommisse, the archivist of the municipality of Flushing, for examining his records, though with negative results. Many of the Flushing records, which contained much data about our colony, were destroyed by the British in the bombardment of 1809.

Some data from Vere appearing in printed publications are incorporated here. A special further search there, through Mr. J. W. Perrels, the archivist, yielded no results. From Leghorn, whence a number of Jews went to the Wild Coast, as indubitably appears by the Dutch extracts, word has been received from Prof. Pietro Vigo, the Director of the Archivio Storico Cittadino, of Leghorn, to whom thanks are due for his painstaking labors, that a most careful search of the archives of that city and of the neighboring cities, Pisa and Florence, and of the communal records of the proper Hebrew organizations of the two first named cities, fails to reveal any mention of the emigration. Some of the records, however, are stated to be missing. It is, of course, possible that the Leghorn Jews went by way of Flushing, and this may account for the lack of data showing an emigration from Leghorn to America. The kindly assistance of our Consul at Leghorn, Mr. James A. Smith, should also be remembered. For courtesies extended by Mr. Wilberforce Eames and Mr. V. H. Paltsits, of the Lenox Library, thanks are also due.

Trinidad, to which some of our colonists went, and to which reference will also be made.

Prior to 1623, Jews had settled in Brazil while that country was under Portuguese control, but until the Dutch captured a portion of it in that year they had not been permitted openly to practice their religion there. This permission, together with certain civil rights, having been accorded them by the conquerors, many Jews were attracted thither from Holland, Portugal, Italy, and other parts of Brazil. They became engaged in the cultivation of the soil and carried on also business as merchants and traders. In 1642 a large contingent under Rabbi Isaac Aboab and Rabbi Moses Raphael de Aguilar arrived from Holland. In the various internal wars and revolutions and in the events leading to the final reconquest by Portugal in 1654, the Jews suffered hardships in common with their fellow men of other faiths, and with them helped to resist the enemy. Though some Jews remained in Brazil after 1654, many are said to have left before that date, and on the capitulation of Recife, its Dutch capital, many returned to Holland, including Aboab and de Aguilar.[4] Many of the Dutch also returned to Holland at the same time.

During their occupation of Brazil the Dutch also had a settlement in Surinam, which is not far from the colony treated of herein. We have evidence from a Jewish record, dated at Surinam in 1643, that Jews resided there in that year and possibly earlier, but the length of their stay cannot be determined.[5]

[4] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, title *Brazil*, III, pp. 360-361, and authorities cited.

[5] *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 13, pp. 127-128, *The Jews in Surinam*, by Rev. J. J. Roos, Rabbi of the Jewish Congregation at Paramaribo. In support, he gives a copy of a marriage contract in Hebrew, dated at Surinam in 1643, which he found among the archives of the old Portuguese congregation there and which he is of opinion shows that the Jews were probably in Surinam before that date.

The statement has appeared in various publications that after the departure of Count Maurice of Nassau from Brazil in 1644 a band of Jews, led by David Nassy, with a large number of slaves, left that country in that year and settled in Surinam on what is known as the Jews' Savannah, some distance up the river from where Paramaribo now is, but this has been denied, and no authority therefor can be found.[6]

Jews are mentioned as at the Savannah in 1650 when Surinam was taken from the Dutch by the English. The change in the government, it is said, did not affect them, but that they experienced some difficulties about 1652 consequent upon the

[6] This statement appeared in Koenen's *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, in Van Sijpesteijn's *Beschryving van Suriname*, in Teenstra's *De Landbouw in de Kolonie Suriname*, in Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil*, in *Annals of Guiana, supra*, and in other works. The *Essai historique* was cited as the ultimate authority, but it fails to support the statement. Netscher, in his later work, *Geschiedenis van de Koloniën Essequebo*, etc., *supra*, says (p. 356) that the statement in his earlier work on Brazil with regard to such a settlement by Nassy in 1644 rests upon an error (berust op eene vergissing). The *Essai* (pp. 11-12) refers to the departure of Count Maurice of Nassau in 1644, and adds that then (which here means some time afterwards) the Jews under Aboab, the Nassys, and others, left Brazil with the 2000 troops who had been under the command of the Count, and that it was at this time (evidently meaning at the time of or after Aboab's departure, which we know was in 1654) that Nassy and his companions, accustomed to the climate of Brazil and agricultural work, decided to establish themselves in America, as the mania or furore for forming colonies in the New World was then general. It then gives an account of Nassy's colony at Cayenne, under the charter to him, dated September 12, 1659, the development of that colony and its final expulsion by the French in 1664, and his then going with his followers presumably to Surinam, but it nowhere refers to any settlement by him in Surinam in 1644. The error probably arose through a misapprehension in regard to the facts stated in that part of the *Essai* and through a confusion of the date of 1664 with that of 1644.

enforcement of the Navigation Act of 1651 and the war then raging between Great Britain and the Netherlands. Those who were there had been accustomed to ship their produce in Dutch vessels, and when these occasionally arrived at the Surinam river, the British commander, Rawson, in carrying out the provisions of the Act, caused considerable dissatisfaction.[7] There were probably not many Jews there then.[8]

We also hear of some Jews in Cayenne, not far from Surinam, about this time. A Jewish colony is said to have settled there in 1650,[9] though the authority for this statement does not appear. It is possible that some Jews from Surinam then went there when the French for a short time had been driven

[7] *Annals of Guiana, supra*, Vol. I, pp. 124, 131.

[8] It is said that Jews came from England with Lord Willoughby to Surinam in 1652. In a late Dutch annual (*Surinaamsche Almanak*, Paramaribo, 1899,) we read under date of April 12, 1652, that Lord Willoughby, of Parham, came to Surinam with eight well-manned ships and a considerable number of Jewish colonists from England and the islands in the Caribbean Sea, and took possession of the place which he had visited in 1650, and kept it for fifteen years, when it was recovered from him by the Zeelanders under Crynssen. This statement, in so far as the Jews are concerned, is given here as possibly having some basis, being a local account. The *Essai historique*, I, p. 12, also makes reference to Willoughby's arrival in 1652, with Jews, but cites no authority. Jews are said to have come from Europe to Surinam in 1662, when Willoughby received with Laurence Hyde a grant of that country from Charles II. No confirmation has been found of the statement in regard to Jewish arrivals with Willoughby, though it seems probable from what appears herein that a few English Jews went to Surinam before 1665. The charter to Willoughby and Hyde recites that Lord Willoughby sent several ship loads of colonists to Surinam in 1650 and subsequently, but does not speak of any Jews among them or whence they came. See copy in Jan Jacob Hartsinck's *Beschryving van Guiana of de Wilde Kust van Zuid America*, Amsterdam, 1770, Part 2, pp. 522-523.

[9] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, p. 494.

out of Cayenne by the Indians or had abandoned the place, or when the English arrived in Surinam. The French were then not friendly to the Jews in the colonies. du Tertre[10] speaks of the establishment of a French colony in Cayenne under Bretigny in 1643 and its dispersal by the Indians because of the cruel treatment of the savage tribes, and also of another French colony sought to be established there in 1653 and its abandonment, and adds:

A short time after the island of Cayenne was abandoned by the French, some Dutch and Jews, who had been driven out of Brazil by the Portuguese, arrived in Cayenne, and having found the gardens there all prepared, and a good fort, provided with cannon, they had no difficulty in establishing themselves there, and requested a charter from the Dutch West India Company. This was accorded to some of them, and in particular to Guerin Spranger, under whom the island soon obtained a very high reputation.

The date of the charter to Spranger was 1656.[11]

du Tertre's statement, with the addition that the Dutch introduced there the cultivation of the sugar cane and indigo, is quoted by a later writer,[12] who supplements it as follows:

This reputation attracted the attention of a great number of Jews who had just been driven out of Brazil, where they had been established during the dominion of the Dutch in that country, and one of them named David Nassy, high in favor with the Company formed at Amsterdam, obtained the title of Patroon-Master, and in 1659 went with a large number of his compatriots to Cayenne. In the following year these were joined by 152 persons of the same religion who had quitted Leghorn, and these likewise devoted themselves to the cultivation of the earth. The prosperity which this colony enjoyed during its short existence

---

[10] Jean Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Ant-Isles, habitées par les françois* (Paris, 1671), Vol. III, p. 12.

[11] Netscher, *Geschiedenis, supra*, p. 356.

[12] H. Ternaux-Compans, *Notice Historique sur la Guayana Française*, Paris, 1843, p. 66.

is proof that the Jews are not so unfitted, as has been believed, for agricultural enterprises.[13]

The relation of the Cayenne colony to the one now about to be treated of will be shown further on. The fact in regard to the presence of Jews there between 1656, when the charter to Spranger was made, and 1659, when Nassy received his charter, has not heretofore appeared.

In 1655 the Dutch, recognizing the hopelessness of attempting to recover Brazil, decided to throw open again the whole of Guiana to colonization. They had established many years before a post on the Essequibo river, at Fort Kykoveral, but had not been actively engaged in development work, their energies being devoted to the protection of their interests in Brazil. It is claimed that a large Jewish colony was formed on the Pomeroon and adjoining river Moruca in 1651. Reference to this claim will be made further on.

In 1656, the Zeeland Chamber of the Dutch West India Company, which had charge of the administration of this part of the Dutch colonies, as the Amsterdam Chamber had of the New Netherlands and Curaçao, drew up a prospectus inviting colonists, under tempting conditions, to go to the "Vaste Wilde Kust," or the Continental Wild Coast, of Guiana, or, as it was called in short, the "Wilde Cust," or the "Vaste Cust," which they described as lying between the Orinoco and the Amazon and the equator and ten degrees north. Some difficulty was encountered in inducing colonists to emigrate, and in 1657 the prospectus was followed up by a new body of liberties and exemptions for patroons and colonists.

[13] See also *Annals of Guiana, supra*, Vol. I, p. 132. The ship in which these 152 Jews sailed was the *Monte del Cisne*, which left Leghorn for Cayenne in July, 1660, according to the account of Daniel Levi de Barrios. See *Essai historique, supra*, Vol. I, p. 13. *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, p. 18, gives the month as August, 1660.

On March 22 of that year the first free colonists, to the number of twelve persons, some with and some without family, wife and children, and slaves, arrived at the newly organized colony in Essequibo, but of these, none, so far as can be judged from the names, were Jews.[14]

The colonization was then taken charge of by the three Walcheren cities, Middelburg, Flushing and Vere, acting through a Committee, composed of official representatives from each, in conjunction with a Committee of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company, and during the next year and in the few years following, further locations were established in the Essequibo and on the neighboring river Pomeroon, to which Jewish colonists came. An account of these will now be given.

At various meetings of the Colonization Committee, held between November, 1657, and March, 1658, plans for the establishment of the new colony on a firm basis were considered. The general name Nova Zeelandia was then given to the region around the Essequibo, the Dutch form of which is Essequebo, and the spelling of which was then Isekepe or Ysekepe, and is also sometimes found as Disekeebe and d'Esekebe.

It was decided to send out two ships, fully equipped, one to bring the colonists to Essequibo, and the other to purchase slaves in Africa to be brought to the new colony, and it was also resolved not to restrict the colonists to trading with the Indians for logwood, but also to grow sugar, for which negroes

[14] *Report of U. S. Commission* on Venezuela-British Guiana Boundary, Vol. I, p. 194; Vol. II, pp. 113-126; printed also as *Senate Document* No. 91, 55th Congress, 2d Session (1898). Cited herein as *Report, U. S. Com.* Vol. II of the *Report* is made up almost wholly of extracts from the Dutch archives, with a few from other sources, but contains none of those given in the Appendix hereto. The latter have not heretofore appeared in print.

would be necessary.[15] To provide for these, says the Dutch historian,[16] an offer was made by David Nassy, "an enterprising Jewish merchant, who, after the loss of Brazil, had left that country with hundreds of his coreligionists in order to seek freedom of religion under the Netherland flag," in pursuance of which an agreement was made with him on January 25, 1658, regarding the delivery of several hundred slaves in Nova Zeelandia, under certain conditions the substance of which will be referred to later.

The new colonists went thither in February, 1658. "Many were the applications," adds our authority, "made by Paulo Jacomo Pinto, Philipp de Fuentes and others, of the Hebrew or Jewish nation, who had fled from Brazil, to be permitted to go to Essequibo, and in 1658 and 1659, under like arrangements, four or five ships, with many Jews, went thither, and also several ships with slaves."[17]

These statements are confirmed in the Extracts from the Dutch archives given in the Appendix. Pinto, however, does not seem to have gone to Nova Zeelandia, but to have acted in Holland as the representative of the Jews in making the necessary arrangements to enable them to emigrate and also as bondsman for them when required. The Pintos are noted as millionaire financiers of Holland. They had also been prominent in Brazil. The first name of Paulo Jacomo Pinto does not appear in biographical sketches of the family and was probably an alias for that of Abraham or David Pinto noted as active about this time in the Jewish community of Rotterdam and Amsterdam.[18] de Fuentes, as will be seen later, actually went to the new colony, and was prominent there. According to the extracts from the archives he went in his

[15] Netscher, *Geschiedenis, supra*, p. 72; *Report, U. S. Com., supra*, Vol. II, pp. 125-129.

[16] Netscher, *supra*, p. 72.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[18] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. XI, p. 53.

own ship with colonists, but at a later date, and his letters to the Company after his arrival are printed herein. He is referred to several times in the Extracts. A further name given in the Extracts but not by Netscher is that of Francisco Medina, who appears as an applicant for passports for his friends of the Jewish nation. The Medina family is also noted as a very wealthy one.[19]

The ship sailing in February, 1658, was called the *Joannes,* and left Flushing on the second of that month for Nova Zeelandia.[20] The first Jewish colonists were undoubtedly on this vessel.[21] Though de Fuentes is spoken of by one writer as having gone on that ship,[22] the archives do not bear out that statement. As already mentioned, he is noted as having gone to the colony later, in 1660. The Extracts also show that in April, 1658, another ship called *d'Eendracht* was about to sail for Essequibo with many Jews.[23] About September 5, 1658, a ship called *Prins Willem* is noted as about to sail from Flushing for the Wild Coast, with colonists, and to bring some home from the islands, probably meaning Tobago among these.[24] That that ship also carried Jewish passengers may be gathered from the Extracts in the Appendix under date of September 18, 1658. These show that information was then requested by some Jews of the conditions under which they could go to the new colony and that they expressed themselves as satisfied therewith, and a ship is spoken of as being ready to sail thither. This was no doubt the *Prins Willem.* On the same day there is a reference to a ship from Salee to carry

[19] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 424.

[20] *Report, U. S. Com., supra,* Vol. II, p. 128.

[21] See Extracts, in *Appendix* I, under date of January, 1658.

[22] *Annals of Guiana, supra,* Vol. I, p. 137. It is there erroneously stated that Pinto was on board. The Extracts show him then and later to have been in Holland.

[23] See *Appendix* I.

[24] *Report, supra,* Vol. II, p. 130.

Jews to the new colony. Salee is in Morocco and had a large Jewish population. It is celebrated shortly after this time in connection with Sabbathi Zevi, the pseudo Messiah of the Jews.[25] In March and April, 1659, the Jews are again noted as asking for ships to carry some of their nation to the new colony.[26] de Fuentes sailed in 1660, his ship apparently being the *Argyn.*

The opening up of the Essequibo is summed up by the historian of British Guiana,[27] who says that every inducement was offered to intending settlers; that pamphlets were published, some of them being translated into German, giving exaggerated accounts of the wonderful fortunes to be made by the growing of sugar in Nova Zeelandia, and promising slaves on credit, and also depicting the advantages of Guiana over the New Netherlands; that many of the new settlers were Jews who had been in Brazil, and that under their tuition a number of small plantations were cleared and planted with canes, and that sugar from the colony soon appeared in Middelburg, in Zeeland.[28]

[25] See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IX, p. 22.

[26] See *Appendix* I.

[27] James Rodway, *History of British Guiana*, London, 1891, Vol. I, p. 5.

[28] Mr. N. Darnell Davis, in *Timehri*, an agricultural magazine of Demerara, Vol. 7, p. 138 (1893), in an article entitled "The Beginnings of British Guiana," reviewing Rodway's *History of British Guiana*, said: "It would appear that it was to the Jews that Essequibo owed the introduction of cane cultivation. After the Zeeland Company had leased Guiana from the West India Company they took steps to induce private persons to come and settle in Essequibo on their own account. Many of the newcomers were Jews who had been in Brazil. It was owing to these that small plantations were cleared and planted with canes."

Regarding the reference to German pamphlets, it is quite probable that some Jews from Hamburg, where a large Portuguese Jewish congregation existed, accompanied the Jews from Flush-

Complementary to the story of the beginning of this colonization and as a part of it, we find a contemporary English reference in a letter written by Charles Longland, the English agent at Leghorn, Italy, to John Thurloe, the Secretary of State under Cromwell, under date of March 8, 1657 (N. S.).[29] 1658 is the year in which the letter was written, as shown by the context and its place among other letters arranged in

---

ing. Dr. M. Grunwald, in his *Portuguesengräber auf deutscher Erde*, Hamburg, 1902, pp. 124-125, gives extracts from the *Hamburger Gemeindebuch* of the old Portuguese synagogue of Hamburg, under date of Nisan 25 (circa April 10), 1658, which makes a reference to a proposed emigration of Jews from Hamburg to a place called "Serepique," described as newly discovered by the Dutch, and gives the following names of some of the would-be colonists: Imanuel de Campos, Daniel f. de Abraham de Campos, David o'Liveria, David Nunes, and Jacob Senior. His suggestion that Sergipe in Brazil was meant is negatived by the fact that the Dutch in 1658 were no longer in Brazil, and, besides, that Sergipe, or Seregipe as it was then also spelled, had been settled by the Dutch in 1637 and had shortly afterwards been abandoned. See Neuhoff's *Brazil*, in Pinkerton's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. 14, pp. 704-706. It could not, therefore, have been newly discovered by the Dutch in 1658. Probably the reference should have been to a newly-opened Dutch settlement. The name Isekepe or Essequibo was spelled in a variety of ways, and could easily have been converted through misspelling into Serepique. It is often met with as Esequipe, Isequipe, Isequibe, Esquivo, and even distorted as Essequake and Sequiebes. But a close approximation to Serepique, in pronunciation, is to be found in the spelling of Essequibo as "Essebecke," met with in Lewes Roberts' *The Merchants' Map of Commerce*, London, 1671, containing a map of America made in 1668, facing page 49. A similar spelling, "Esebecke," is found in Louis Hennepin's map of America, dated 1698, to be seen in his *Nieuwe Ontdekking van America*, Amsterdam, 1702. The spelling "Essebeke" is also found, as early as 1626, in Speed's map. See *Report, U. S. Com., supra* (atlas), IV, p. 22.

The writer is indebted to Mr. Max J. Kohler for this reference to Dr. Grunwald's work.

[29] *State Papers of John Thurloe*, London, 1742, Vol. VI, p. 825.

chronological order, and the parenthetical note of "N. S.," for new style, inserted by the editor.

The part of the letter relating to the Jews reads as follows:

"It seems the States of Holland are making a plantation betwixt Surinam and Cartagena in the West Indyes, wherin they go very wysly and pollitickly to work aiming chiefly at a trade there with the Spanyard; for which purpose they hav sent hether to invyt many families of Jews and granted them many priviledges and immunitys, which they hav printed and sent hether. I intend your Honour a coppy thereof enclosed if I can get it translated in tym. Spainish is become now the Jews mother-tongue not only in thes parts but throhout al the Turks dominions; in which respect they wil be very usful to the Duch in theyr plantation; and many opportunityes may present for them to converse with the Spanyard by reason of their civility. If our planters at Surinam took the sam course it would be much to their advantage. About 25 famillyes of Jews go hence for the Holland plantation; som of them told me they nothing dout but to introduce a trade very speedily with the Spanyard there who ar in most extream want of all European commoditys." [30]

In other letters written by Longland about this time reference is made to the Dutch being in Leghorn and to their controlling the commerce in the Levant, and also to some Spanish Jews being in Leghorn, who had been in the West Indies and to some as being ready to be sent to Buenos Ayres and acquainted with the country around Potosi.[31]

[30] See, for a reference to this letter, Adam Anderson, *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, London, 1790, Vol. II, p. 585, and David Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, London, 1805, Vol. II, p. 472, suggesting Curaçao as the possible location. The language of the Longland letter, however, does not indicate that island. Curaçao then had a Jewish colony under a grant to David Nassy, dated in 1652, for which see *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 10, p. 148. Jews had been already there in 1650, and in 1656 are mentioned as active on that island. See Rev. Joseph Corcos, *A Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao*, Curaçao, 1891, pp. 7-10.

[31] *Thurloe State Papers, supra*, Vol. I, p. 376; Vol. VI, pp. 285, 846.

References to Jews from Leghorn in connection with the Essequibo colony appear in the Extracts in the Appendix. One of these, under date of May 21, 1660, indicates a settlement or location of some Jews at Tobago, north of Trinidad which was then in possession of the Spanish. This may explain the reference in the Longland letter to a trade with the Spanish. The Jews of Leghorn are also mentioned in the Extracts as destined for Essequibo or Nova Zeelandia.

A copy of the grant of privileges and immunities, referred to in the letter quoted from as to be enclosed, does not appear among the papers in the printed volume, and inquiry of the Bodleian Library, where the original letters of Longland to Thurloe are to be found, fails to discover it. It is believed, however, that its provisions can be identified in a grant whose origin has not heretofore been positively established, but which the present writer thinks he shows herein is a Dutch grant for the Jews going to the Nova Zeelandia colony, and possibly also for those in the colony at Tobago with which it had relations.

This grant, heretofore unidentified, is important to us as bearing upon the question of the connection of the American elements in the resettlement of the Jews in England, which has been raised by an English writer who will now be referred to. It contains important clauses relating to the granting of civil rights to the Jews, and being shown herein to be a Dutch grant disposes of the claim that to the English belongs the honor of first practicing Jewish emancipation in America.

We find in this grant of privileges, claimed to be dated about 1654, and running "To the People of the Hebrew nation that are to goe to the Wilde Cust,"—apparently, from that designation and other data, in or near Guiana,—a provision, among others, for sugar plantations. This is confirmatory of what is mentioned by Netscher and Rodway in refer-

ence to the sugar industry to be established at Nova Zeelandia. Other clauses provide for the free and untaxed mining for gold and silver and the precious stones; for hunting and fishing in certain woods, mountains, and waters; for the transportation of slaves from the coast of Guiny;[32] for allotments of land to the colonists, with all rights of ownership; for admission to rights of citizenship, and particularly for the election of representatives to advise in meetings concerning the welfare and commerce of the colony, and for various privileges and exemptions independently of those specially applicable to Jews. The Jews are granted the right to exercise their religion freely and to act judicially in disputes among themselves.

This grant appears in the Egerton MSS., in the British Museum, in a volume numbered 2,395, at f. 46, and was discovered by Mr. Lucien Wolf, of London, who gave a copy of it, with his views as to its origin.[33] That copy, with Mr. Wolf's views, was reprinted in an article by Mr. Max J. Kohler.[34] It is unsigned, undated, and of most curious orthography. Mr. Wolf thought it might be a British grant for a settlement in Surinam of Jewish refugees from Brazil in 1654, and assigned that date to it because it was found between documents dated in 1648 and 1653 and its contents indicated a later date than 1653. He was of the opinion that it was probably a draft of proposed privileges prepared for Cromwell by Martinez Dormido, alias David Abarbanel, a brother-in-law of Menasseh ben Israel, and also urged reasons

[32] By which Guinea in Africa is meant and which conforms to the reference, already given, to the sending of a ship to Africa to procure slaves.

[33] *American Elements in the Resettlement*, by Lucien Wolf. *Transactions, Jewish Hist. Soc. of Eng.* (1899), III, pp. 82-84.

[34] *Some Early American Zionist Projects*, by Max J. Kohler, *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, pp. 91-97. A copy of the grant is reprinted as Appendix II hereto.

to explain away several of its provisions which appeared to be inconsistent with the view of its being an English grant.[35]

Mr. Kohler very properly considered it more likely to be a Dutch grant because of the references in it to the enjoyment of rights commensurate with those enjoyed by the Jews in Zeeland and Amsterdam.

Other references to indicate a Dutch origin are the mention in it of "States ships," to carry the colonists, and the use of the words "Provinces," "Cust," and "guilders." "States" no doubt referred to the States of the Netherlands. The States or Estates of Zeeland, represented by the three Walcheren cities, were interested in the colonization of 1658, and probably also the States of Holland which then or before also had relations to the colonization of the Guiana coast. "Provinces" referred to the provinces of the Netherlands. The grant speaks of Amsterdam and the Province of Zeeland, and of freedom from law-suits "except for debts incurred in said Provinces or on the said Cust,"—indicating an emigration from abroad and particularly from the Provinces of the Netherlands. "Cust" was then peculiarly the Dutch spelling for Coast, the present form being "Kust."[36] An English document would not have used that spelling. The reference also

[35] In the Introduction to his *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, London, 1901, p. xxxvii, Mr. Wolf expresses his opinion more positively on this point, and assumes that the grant was made by Cromwell in 1654 to colonize Surinam, but does not explain why it is that we have no reference to any actual Jewish colonization there about that time. Under such privileges the Jews would have flocked there in 1654. In *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 10, p. 142, also, Mr. Wolf's view is assumed as correct.

[36] *Report, U. S. Com., supra*, Vol. II, pp. 112, 113, 126-130. The expression "Lords Commissioners" in paragraph 6, is also indicative of a translation of the Dutch form "Heeren Commissarissen," appearing in the Appendix, though there translated simply as "Committee."

to the payment for slaves in guilders indicates a Dutch grant. The third provision that the Hebrews shall be admitted as Burgesses in the same way as the People of the Province of Zeeland living in the Coast and that they shall enjoy with them the same privileges the latter enjoy is suggestive of a document emanating from Zeeland, though the first provision referring to the enjoyment by the Jews of the same religious freedom as is possessed by the Jews in Amsterdam may indicate privileges to Jews from that city and that these shall enjoy the civil rights possessed by Zeelanders on the coast, the latter being the principal Dutch inhabitants. Provisions analogous to those contained in this grant, except as to the mention of Jews, are contained in the grants to the colonists of 1657, already referred to.[37] There is nothing on the face of the grant to indicate an English origin or connection. Everything in it is suggestive of the Dutch.

The document reads more like a translation than an original composition, and in that view may be regarded as probably the one mentioned in the Thurloe letter which speaks of a translation to be made of the grant. The grammar and spelling are also such as might be used by a foreign translator possessing an imperfect knowledge of English and its orthography.

Its liberal provisions also indicate a Dutch origin. Other Dutch grants to intending colonists about this time also contain provisions offering freedom of conscience and liberty of religion in the manner customary in the States of the Netherlands, though not mentioning Jews.[38] Privileges like those mentioned in the grant under consideration were not being conferred by England on the Jews in the American colonies or elsewhere in 1654, although about ten years later, or in 1665, somewhat similar privileges, written in better English,

[37] *Ibid*, and *Counter Case for Great Britain*, Appendix, p. 27.
[38] *Ibid.*

but not of so liberal a character in regard to some details, were granted by the British authorities in Surinam to the Jews already there and to those who might thereafter go thither,[39] due no doubt to the standard of liberal treatment in the colonies set by the Dutch to the Jews, and to the fact that England recognized in 1665, as it had not in 1654, the Jews as part of its population and as desirable colonists. How the privileges of 1665 came to be granted will appear later.

The English grant of 1665 did not contain all the provisions of the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf. Of the later, the sixth and tenth clauses were in substance added to the English grant by the Dutch in 1669, two years after the surrender of Surinam in 1667. These additions were made on the petition of the leading Jews in the colony, many of whom had been under the protection of the Dutch in Guiana and had no doubt enjoyed the privileges asked for, and related to their right to cause the banishment of members of their race who had fallen into evil ways or were guilty of acts which might cause a scandal to the nation, and also to a special exemption from the consequences of the non-payment of debts due to losses through the inquisition or otherwise. In place of Brazil, as in the old grant, the inquisition was mentioned. The latter was then active at Cartagena, and confiscated the goods of Dutch traders on Spanish territory.[40]

[39] *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 9, p. 144. A copy is reprinted here as Appendix III.

[40] See H. J. Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1843, p. 468, which gives a copy of the four clauses of the supplement to the British grant. These are referred to in *Pubs.*, No. 3, p. 147, and *Pubs.*, No. 13, p. 136. A copy of the request of the Jews for its granting is to be found in Dutch in the *Essai historique*, Vol. II, pp. 131-134, and in translated form is printed as Appendix IV hereto. There are some variations in the verbiage of the supplemental clauses between the copy in the *Essai* and that in Koenen. As to the inquisition, see *Case for Great Britain*, in Venezuela-British Guiana Boundary Arbitration, Appendix 1, pp. 153, etc.

If the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf had been in existence as an English grant prior to 1665, it would no doubt have appeared officially, but no such record has been found. If it was merely a proposed grant prepared by Dormido for Cromwell, as suggested by Mr. Wolf, that fact does not explain how similar provisions were incorporated by the authorities in far off Surinam in the grant of 1665, after the Restoration, when Cromwell's favorites and grants were tabooed. No reference is made in the grant of 1665 to the existence of a previous grant or to the Jews having been governed in Surinam under a like previous grant, and the absence of such a reference in the grant, among the reasons given in it for its issue, indicates that no such prior grant existed in Surinam.

The more reasonable explanation of the similarity of the two grants is that the English copied from a Dutch grant then in existence, under which Jews were living in Guiana, and that many of the liberal provisions of the English grant were inserted, as stated in it, to "encourage" the Jews already there to "continue their residence" in Surinam, and "to invite others to come there," and that the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf was a Dutch grant. That the English grant was practically forced from the authorities by the Jews will be indicated further on.

Certainly the Dutch grant to Jews in Guiana was not copied from an English grant of the period. The Dutch had their own forms and it was not necessary for them to consult an English model. The Jews in Holland had many of the privileges appearing in the British grant, and, as shown herein, had been offered special immunities and exemptions to go to Guiana. The English during Cromwell's time, except in 1650 and 1652,[40a] and until after the grant of Charles II to Lord Willoughby of Surinam in 1662, were not making diligent

[40a] See Hartsinck's *Beschryving van Guiana, supra*, Part 2, pp. 522-523, and British *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W. I.*, 1574-1660; pp. 372-374.

efforts to colonize Guiana, and are not known to have solicited or encouraged Jewish colonists to go to that region. The Thurloe letter shows that the colony mentioned in it in 1658 was not to be at Surinam, but at some place west of it, as Surinam is spoken of as already having a colony which is not stated to be Jewish or as having Jews in it, and would no doubt have been so referred to in connection with the proposed Jewish emigration from Leghorn if the fact had been that Jews were noticeably then in Surinam; nor was it to be at Curaçao, as that place was well known and is not mentioned. Writers on Curaçao make no allusion to this colony, and we know that David Nassy already had a grant for a colony there in 1652.[41]

The grant discovered by Mr. Wolf gives, as an addendum, a provision for the delivery of slaves, on certain conditions, to the Wild Coast. For comparison this is copied here. It reads as follows:

"A Rulle In What Manner and Condition That the Negroes Shall Bee Delivered in the Wilde Cust.

1. That there shall be delivered in the said Cust soe many negroes as each shall have occasion for, The which shall be paide heere shewing the Receipt, in ready money at one hundred and fifty guilders for each man or whoman.

2. Children from eight to twelve years thei shall counte two for one piece, under the eight years three for one the breeding goeth with the mothers.

3. hee that shall advance the Paiment beefore the Receipt comes shall enjoy the discounte of Tenn £Cent.

4. To all them that shall Paye and buy for Ready mony if thei will thei shall have sutch number of negroes. Trusted to Pay within five years and after them shall Pay for each man, whoman or child as above the sume of two hundred and fifty and he that shall advanse the Paiment shall have discount of Tean Per Cent a yeare and them that shall buy for ready money shall bee ingaged for the Paiment of the others."

---

[41] *The Jews in Curaçao, Pubs.*, No. 10, pp. 141-157; Joseph Corcos, *A Synopsis of the History of Curaçao, supra.*

This corresponds with the reference by Netscher to the conditions of the Nassy contract with regard to slaves. Netscher's statement, translated from the Dutch, is as follows:[42]

"On January 25, 1658, an agreement was concluded with him" (Nassy), "in pursuance of which he was to deliver in Nova Zeelandia several hundred slaves, under the conditions prescribed by the directors.[43]

"In pursuance of the resolution of the directors of November 26, 1657, as many slaves were to be brought to Nova Zeelandia as the colonists should desire and were willing to pay for. Payment was to be regulated as follows: For each man or woman 150 guilders; children from eight to twelve years two for one should be reckoned; younger children three for one; unweaned children should follow the mother. On prepayment, a rebate of ten per cent, and those who should pay in ready money could have a like number of them (slaves) upon receipt, on a credit of five years but at 250 guilders per head."

These terms are also given elsewhere in English,[44] with the

[42] Netscher, *supra*, p. 73.

[43] The statement that Nassy was to deliver the slaves is not borne out by the Extracts from the archives, which also do not mention the number of slaves. Netscher's language following that statement contradicts his interpretation of the agreement. He there speaks of the resolution of the directors of November 26, 1657, or two months before the Nassy agreement, as fixing the conditions for delivery. The Extracts also show that in February and March, 1659, the committee in charge of the colonization were asked to accommodate the Jews with slaves, indicating that they and not Nassy supplied them. A similar agreement regarding the delivery of slaves seems, according to the Extracts, to have been made with other Netherlanders, on the same day that the agreement with the Jews was made, January 25, 1658. Under date of February 27, 1659, the city of Middelburg is shown to have considered the question of agreeing to the delivery of slaves to the Jews by the Colonization Committee, and to have asked to be relieved from connection with the trade.

[44] *Annals of Guiana, supra*, Vol. I, p. 135.

addition, as stated in the Wolf grant, that if any portion of the debt should be paid before the five years the discount should be allowed on the payment.

But probably the best proof, in the absence of a copy of the Nassy grant, that the grant found by Mr. Wolf was the 1658 grant to Nassy is to be found by a comparison of the terms of its addendum with the text of the conditions synopsized by Netscher, which text is found in the work of another writer of whom Netscher speaks as expatiating in 1659 on these very terms, which seem to have been the standard terms for the colony. A reference to that other writer discloses the text of the terms, in Dutch, and an examination of that text shows *that the language of the addendum in the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf is a literal translation of the terms given in the Dutch work referred to.*[45]

A copy of these terms in the Dutch, taken from that work, is given below, with a prefatory sentence.[46]

[45] O. K. (Otthoe Keye) *Het waere ondersheyt tusschen Koude en Warme Landen*, &c. 's Gravenhage, 1659, p. 166. To be found in the library of the N. Y. Historical Society. Other editions, to be found in the Lenox Library, are Otto Keye, *Beschryvinge van het . . . . Landt Guajana, waer inne gelegen is . . . . de Landstreke genaemt Serrenamme*, &c., 's Gravenhage (1659), p. 166; and Otto Keyen, *Kurtzer Entwurff von Neu Nederland und Guajana . . . . aus dem Hollandischen ins Hochteutsche versetzt*, Leipzig, 1672, p. 134.

"This work," says G. M. Asher, in his *Bibliographical and Historical Essay on Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherlands*, Amsterdam, &c., 1854-1867, p. 12, "possesses an interest connected with the New Netherlands, as it contributed its share to preventing the colonization of that colony, being written with that view, and with much ability."

[46] By het naeder Project dan over de Culture en populatie van de Wilde vaste Kuste door d'Heern Patroonen van de Colonije van Zeelandt Voornoemt ghemaekt op den 26. Novemb. 1657. Beloven die selve.

1. Dat op die selve kuste, onder die van haer Ed. Colonije, sullen worden Ghelevert, soo veele Negros als yeder van doen sal hebben,

We have, however, the exact terms of the contract with the Jews regarding the price and delivery of slaves. These are set out in the Extracts from the Dutch archives in the Appendix, under date of January 24, 1658, when they were spread upon the minutes, and are precisely the same as those quoted from the Dutch work just referred to. An agreement with Nassy seems by these same Extracts to have been executed on January 25, 1658, as stated by Netscher. Only a reference to it in connection with slaves appears in the proceedings of the Committee. Some grant prior in date to January 25, 1658, or at that time, is implied in the reference in those proceedings to the conditions under which the Jews were permitted to go to the new colony. These conditions, according to the Extracts, were regarded as satisfactory to the applicants and were probably the privileges offered to the Jews to induce them to go. The agreement relating to the slaves was no doubt the addendum thereto. The Zeeland Chamber Extracts, under date of June 24, 1660, also refer to conditions under which de Fuentes was to go to the colony, with a ship load of colonists.

---

ende die alhier op't vertoonen van Recepisse, door yemant daer toe gecommitteert, alsdan in contant voldaen worden ter somma van een hondert vijftigh guldens voor een Man ofte Vrouwe.

II. Twee Kinderen van acht tot twaelf Jaren voor een Man ofte Vrouwe te rekenen: beneden d'acht Iaeren drie voor een, mids sullen de Suygelingen de Moeders volgen.

III. Die by anticipatie willen betaelen, sullen rabat ghenieten van thien ten hondert.

IV. Aen een yeder die contant ghekocht heeft, sal, des begeerende, gelijk getal gecrediteert worden; ende sal dit credit dueren voor den tijd van vijf Jaeren, ende sal binnen de selve moeten betaelt worden, yeder Man, Vrouw, ofte Kinderen, als boven: te reeckenen ter somma van twee-hondert-vijftich guldens.

V. Des eerder betaelende, sal voor rabat yeder Jaer ghenieten tien ten hondert.

VI. Maer die voor contant gelevert sullen sijn, beneffens de gecre diteerde sullen te saemen voor dese betaelinghe verbonden blijven.

Having identified as of Dutch origin one important section of the "Privileges to the People of the Hebrew Nation that are to goe to the Wilde Cust" in the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf, namely, the part relating to the terms under which slaves could be acquired, we may, for the reasons given, and with all due respect, dismiss Mr. Wolf's theory that the grant discovered by him was an English grant, or even a proposed English grant, or that it had to do with a settlement of Jews in the English colony of Surinam in 1654 immediately after the close of the war for Brazil, or within a few years thereafter, and we are justified in concluding it to be of a date in or before 1658, at about which time the Dutch were actively engaged in forming colonies to settle in Guiana, or on the Wild Coast, and as a Dutch form used in different localities to induce Jewish emigration. A copy furnished to Thurloe's correspondent would very likely have been unsigned. The letter speaks of printed copies, which would naturally give merely the form of the grant, without signatures.[47]

[47] That the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf was probably the translation sent by Longland to Thurloe may be gathered from an endorsement on it which seems to have been overlooked or not noted by Mr. Wolf in his examination of the Egerton MS. The Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum has informed the present writer, in answer to an inquiry whether there was not some identifying mark on the document to indicate that it came from Italy, that the MS. in question contains an endorsement of the words "Snr. Fernando." Now, Thurloe was accustomed to have letters of intelligence sent to him under a pseudonym. The *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers*, III, p. 121, mentions a letter from Thurloe to Longland, dated January, 1657, requesting the latter in writing to him to address his letters to "Mr. Peyen, attending on the Dutch Ambassador in England," or to "Jacob Hemsted, in the Strand, London." Other pseudonyms may have been used at other dates. All of Longland and Thurloe's letters have not been preserved. Changes of names as pseudonyms in communications to and from the same persons, in the Thurloe correspondence, are noted in the *Calendar of Clarendon Papers*. One pseudonym used by Thurloe with other correspondents was Ferdinando Carnevall.

Netscher also refers to Nassy as not taking so much interest in the new colony of 1658, but directing his energies a little later to obtaining a grant for a new colony at Cayenne.[45] This is a mere opinion. The administration of the colony was not in Nassy's hands, but in that of the Dutch Committee and the officers appointed by them.

It may be here remarked that the grant for the Cayenne colony was made by the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch

---

Mr. Wolf, in his *Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers*, originally appearing in the *Jewish Chronicle*, London, for February 18, 1891, and later in the *Jewish Literary Annual*, London, 1904, was of the opinion that certain letters found among the *Thurloe Papers*, addressed to Ferdinando Carnevall and noted in the *Calendar of Clarendon Papers* as a pseudonym of Thurloe, were really written as original communications by some one to Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, a prominent Jew of London during Cromwell's time, and that the information was transmitted by Carvajal to Cromwell. This is merely an opinion founded upon the similarity of the two names and the fact that Carvajal is said to have had relations with Cromwell, Thurloe's chief. There was about this time also in London a Don Antonio Ferdinando. See British *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1649-1650, p. 255; and Thomas Violet's *Petition against the Jews*, London, 1661, p. 4, cited in Wolf and Jacobs, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, London, 1887, pp. 39, 45. The fact that we find, as shown above, that Thurloe directed letters for him to be sent under a false name, militates against the presumption that the letters addressed to Carnevall were originally intended for Carvajal, though, of course, it is possible that the latter acted as an intermediary to receive letters for Thurloe. The endorsement on the Egerton MS. of "Snr. Fernando" was probably made under the direction of Thurloe, to whom the letter enclosing it was no doubt sent under that pseudonym. Fernando is close enough to Ferdinando to indicate, in this case, a connection or identity with Don Antonio Ferdinando [Carnevall] and an enclosure for Thurloe, the name Carnevall, for some reason, being omitted in the endorsement of the document, though possibly being on the envelope or not always being used in correspondence.

[45] Netscher, *supra*, p. 74.

West India Company, which in 1658 and 1659 also claimed the right to send colonists to Guiana. This claim was disputed by the Zeeland Chamber and some friction ensued between the two on that account, which was adjusted on September 3, 1659, by permitting all the Chambers of the Company to send colonists to Guiana at places not preempted by the others.[49] Immediately afterwards, on September 12, 1659, we find that the grant to David Nassy for the Cayenne Colony was made by the Amsterdam Chamber.[50]

In the Thurloe letter, it will be noticed, reference is made to the colonists being sent out by the States of Holland in 1658, being another form of designating the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company. The Zeeland Chamber was the representative of the States or Estates of Zeeland. The form of grant used by one was readily obtainable and

[49] *Report, U. S. Com., supra,* Vol. II, pp. 130-131; Vol. I, p. 358. In the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber for September 23, 1658, printed in the *Report, supra,* Vol. II, p. 130, the statement appears that certain private individuals had addressed themselves to the Amsterdam Chamber for permission to erect a colony on the Wild Coast, without having asked the consent or authority of the Zeeland Chamber. Though these are not mentioned as Jews, the form of the statement, and surrounding considerations, indicate that they were members of that race.

[50] In Jost's *Geschichte der Israeliten,* Vol. VIII, p. 265, the Cayenne grant is referred to as made by the French West India Company. This error in designating the company was followed in *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.,* No. 3, pp. 104, 136, upon which the like statement was based in *Pubs.,* No. 8, p. 77. The grant itself gives the place of execution as at Amsterdam. In addition to the copies in Dutch, noted in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* article on Cayenne, Vol. III, p. 634, an earlier Dutch copy appears in Jan Jacob Hartsinck's *Beschryving van Guiana,* Amsterdam, 1770, part 2, p. 940. A copy in English, not heretofore noted, appears in the *Annals of Guiana, supra,* Vol. I, pp. 145 *et seq.,* and is set out as Appendix V hereto. The terms of the Cayenne grant are more elaborate than those of the one set out by Mr. Wolf, and contain many analogous provisions.

used, so far as necessary, by the other. That this was the case can be seen from the following reference to the Zeeland Chamber's Essequibo colony appearing in the Cayenne grant made by the Amsterdam Chamber:

"Sixteenth. The aforenamed colonists shall be allowed all the privileges of trading for slaves as may hereafter be decided by the Council of Nineteen. This accommodation to be the same as that allowed to the colony of Essequibo, under the Chamber of Zeeland."

We also find, according to the Extracts in the Appendix, that the Zeeland Chamber later made references to the conditions allowed by the Amsterdam Chamber.

The two sets of colonists in 1658, though possibly sent out under grants from different Chambers, probably went under the authority of grants to David Nassy, though the tenor of the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf would seem to indicate a grant to the Hebrews as colonists not dwelling apart from the rest of the community, but with special privileges because they were Hebrews, and it does not seem to have been to a patroon as head of a colony as in the case of the Cayenne grant under the authority of the Board of Nineteen at Amsterdam, under which the Jews were to establish themselves at a location apart from the Christians.

The use of the phrase "States ships," in the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf, where it speaks of the means of transportation to the Wilde Cust, is possibly an indication of a grant by the Board of Nineteen, the Supreme Council of the West India Company, which is said to have been engaged, in conjunction with the States-General, in promoting colonization in Guiana at about the same time that the Zeeland Chamber took hold of the matter. A body of liberties for founders is mentioned as having been made by this Board under date of August 30, 1655, in which colonists were forbidden to approach the colonists of the Zeeland Chamber nearer than fifteen Dutch miles along the coast or in the interior. The

minutes of the Board covering the period of colonization in question and for some years before are missing, as are also those of the Zeeland Chamber prior to 1657, when the three Walcheren cities took control, and hence much data on the subject of our colony is not available.[51]

In view of the suggested connection of the Board of Nineteen with the colonization it is possible that the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf was issued by the Amsterdam Chamber. This idea has already been indicated in referring to the first and third provisions of the grant. The form of the grant for the Jews was probably not changed from its first draft. The provision about slaves we know was in use as early as November, 1657, and was probably adopted by both Chambers some time before. According to the 17th clause of the Cayenne grant, the Board of Nineteen made the order and regulations for the supply of slaves.

Of the small colony at Essequibo, already mentioned, sent out in 1657, we have only a meagre account. It is said to have proved unsuccessful, but the principal place, Fort Kykoveral, was not abandoned. The statement is made in the argument on behalf of Venezuela, in the boundary dispute with Great Britain, that then the Dutch, disregarding Spanish rights, planned to make a settlement on the Pomeroon river, which is not far from the mouth of the Essequibo, and which is described as part of the Essequibo district.

On this Pomeroon river, it is added, "a few Portuguese Jew planters, driven from Brazil for their religion, were induced to settle."[52] This evidently refers to the colonists who went out from Flushing on February 2, 1658.

There are no data to show whether all the colonists leaving Flushing in February, 1658, for Nova Zeelandia, settled on the Essequibo river, or whether some started the colony further

[51] See *Report, U. S. Com.*, I, pp. 124, 194.

[52] *Case for Venezuela*, in Venezuela-British Guiana Boundary Arbitration, Vol. I, p. 77. Citing Netscher, *supra*, pp. 74-75.

north on the Pomeroon. That Dutch colonists settled at both places is shown by references to later events. No data appear as to the actual settlement of the colonists on their arrival. A report as to the Pomeroon colony, dated in June, 1658, was first received by the Colonization Committee in August of that year.[53] The name Isekepe or Ysekepe (Essequibo) is used in the records as a general name and as including the various locations on the Guiana Coast in the neighborhood of the Essequibo river.

The Extracts in the Appendix, under date of February and March, 1659, indicate that some of the Leghorn Jews went to Essequibo, as they speak of a report to the Board of Aldermen and Council of Middelburg in regard to their proposed departure for that place, and Pinto is seen later asking for passports for them from the Zeeland Committee. This implies that possibly the Leghorn Jews went under the auspices of another Chamber and that it was necessary for them to obtain from the Zeeland Chamber or the Colonization Committee passports to go to Essequibo if they first went to or were at Tobago, where they seem to have first stopped. The colonists of 1659 from Leghorn apparently had no relation to those from the same place leaving in the previous year.

There seems, according to the Extracts, to be some question whether all the Jews of Leghorn went to Essequibo or remained at Tobago. Some Jews of Antwerp are also noted as being interested in the colony, but whether in Antwerp or at Nova Zeelandia is not clear, though the latter is indicated. They are mentioned in the Extracts as willing to take away the slaves which were destined for the Jews of Leghorn for delivery at Essequibo, and which apparently the Leghorn Jews were not willing to accept, for some reason, not stated, but probably because they concluded not to go to Essequibo but to Cayenne where we know other Leghorn Jews went later.

[53] *Report, U. S. Com., supra,* Vol. II, p. 128.

The minutes do not show what became of the twenty-five families mentioned in the Longland letter as leaving Leghorn in the early part of 1658. It is quite possible that some of these on their arrival at Tobago departed or were compelled to leave the place, which was also occupied by Courlanders, as will be shown, and sought pastures new. There were then Jews in Curaçao, as already mentioned, and probably some few at Surinam, but more as a recognized body in Barbados and Jamaica.[53a] It is very probable that some of the twenty-five families went to Curaçao and that others drifted to other islands of the West Indies.[54]

It has been claimed that a Jewish colony was formed in the Essequibo in 1651. Major John Scott, who had command of the English forces from Barbados that captured the Dutch possessions in Pomeroon and Essequibo in the winter of 1665-6, writing about 1669 an account of the various colonies in Guiana and describing them chronologically by number, said:[55]

"The twelfth Collonie was of Dutch settled by the Zealanders in the Rivers Borowma [Pomeroon] Wacopow and Moroca, haveing been drawn of from Tobago, anno. 1650, and ye yeare following a great Collonie of Dutch and Jewes, draw of from Prazile, by the Portugaize settled there, and, being experienced planters, that soone grew a flourishing Collonie."[56]

[53a] *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 9, p. 82.

[54] In a further paper submitted to the American Jewish Historical Society, the present writer shows, as he believes, that some of these colonists went to Newport, R. I., via Jamaica, in 1658, and were the first Jewish settlers there.

[55] *An Account of Guiana*, believed to be by Major John Scott: British Museum, Sloane MSS., No. 3662, fol. 37 *verso*, not dated, but believed to be about 1669. Printed in *Case for Great Britain*, in Venezuela-British Guiana Boundary Case, Appendix I, p. 170. Referred to and quoted in *Report, U. S. Com., supra*, Vol. II, p. 137.

[56] The word "drawn" in "drawn of from Tobago" is given as "drave," in the *Report of the U. S. Com.*, Vol. II, p. 137. Pomeroon was spelled in a variety of ways, among others Borowma, Bourome, Baumeronne, Paroma, Pauroone, Pontmaron, Poumaron, etc.

This colony is referred to in a recent article in an historical magazine,[57] in which an ingenious argument is made in support of Scott's statement, in so far as the date is concerned, on the basis that it is entitled to consideration as being a contemporary account, though written about twenty years after the date claimed, and that nearly all of the Jews who were planters had left Brazil long before the capitulation of Recife in 1654, and had settled in Surinam and the neighboring country; that the Dutch were in Tobago in 1650 and had been driven off from there about that time, and that in other details the quoted statement apparently accords with known historical facts.

Scott's accuracy, however, has been questioned by General Netscher, and also by Prof. George L. Burr and Prof. J. Franklin Jameson, both of whom, in the Venezuela boundary case, made a painstaking and thorough examination, on behalf of the United States, of the history of colonization in the Essequibo, Pomeroon, and other parts of Western Guiana, and found no mention or trace of colonies of 1650 and 1651 such as Scott describes. Netscher states that Scott was in error in many of the details of his account of Guiana. Prof. Burr says Scott's reputation for accuracy of statement is not unimpeached,[58] while Prof. Jameson says he has not the highest reputation, and he is also referred to in a letter from Lord Willoughby, who knew him well, as telling some truth but not all Gospel.[59]

Scott mentioned as authority for many of his statements a Captain Gromweagle, who he says was Commandeur in Essequibo for forty-eight years, and who has been identified by Netscher and Prof. Burr as Aert Adrienszoon Groenewegel, or

[57] *English Historical Review* (1901), Vol. XVI, p. 640, *The Dutch in Western Guiana*, by Rev. George Edmundson.

To Mr. Max J. Kohler thanks are due for calling attention to this article.

[58] *Report, supra*, I, p. 175.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Groenewegen, and as Commandeur on the Essequibo from 1657 to 1664, though elsewhere [60] it is stated that he was Commandeur from 1650 to 1664 when he died.

Scott made no mention of the colonies of 1657, 1658, and 1659, referred to in this paper, the settlements of which correspond in their main respects with those detailed by him, of, first, a Dutch Colony of Zeelanders and then a great colony of Dutch and Jews who had been experienced planters in Brazil and who had been compelled to leave there by the Portuguese, and which colony became a flourishing one. No other writer that we know of makes reference to new settlements on the Pomeroon and surrounding country in 1650 and 1651, though it is known that some Dutch were in the Essequibo at that time and before. The first Dutch settlement on the Pomeroon is noted as in 1658.[61] That the colony became a flourishing one, and the most flourishing one the Dutch had had in America, appears herein. The writer of the magazine article does not produce any evidence to show any flourishing colony of Dutch and Jews in Pomeroon or its neighborhood in 1651 or within a few years afterwards, or any actual settlement of Dutch and Jews there about 1651. He contents himself by referring, in support of Scott's date, to the Jewish colony supposed to have gone with Nassy from Brazil to Surinam in 1644, speaking of it as settling there in 1644 and 1645, and to a like supposed departure of Jews from Brazil to Surinam after 1649 and some years before the final close of the war in 1654, but offers no proof on these points, citing only facts and authorities referring to earlier dates. That the Jews who went to Essequibo and Pomeroon in 1658 and subsequently, had been in Brazil, is apparent from their familiarity in the new colony with sugar growing, an industry practiced by them in Brazil.

His claim that the Dutch were driven from Tobago in 1650

[60] *Report, supra,* I, pp. 174-177; II, pp. 139-140.
[61] *Report, U. S. Com., supra,* I, p. 214.

is not supported by him by any satisfactory authority. No proof appears that these Dutch or Zeelanders so claimed to have been driven out went to the Pomeroon, though the writer of the magazine article referred to attempted to show this inferentially, but is not convincing or persuasive on that point.[62]

The reading of the word given in the quotation as "drawn" differs among those who have been considering it. The writer of the magazine article bases considerable of his argument upon the reading that the Dutch were "drove" off from Tobago about 1650, while in the case presented on behalf of Great Britain in the boundary dispute, the reading is that they were "drawn" off from Tobago. Some of the Dutch may have gone from Tobago with the first twelve families from Zeeland that went, as mentioned, to Guiana in 1657. These latter probably stopped at Tobago on their way to Essequibo, whence may have arisen the reference by Scott to Zeelanders drawn from Tobago. The facts appearing in the Extracts from the archives in the Appendix would support the theory that they were drawn from Tobago. We have an instance of a stoppage at Tobago, quite close to 1658 and 1659,

[62] J. Davis, *History of Barbados, St. Christophers*, &c., London, 1666, p. 6, which may have been Scott's authority for the statement about Tobago, for it speaks in 1666 of Zeelanders being driven out of Tobago "sixteen years since," is merely a translation from C. de Rochefort's *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Isles Antilles de l'Amerique*, Rotterdam, 1658, p. 8, of an account which makes the "sixteen years since" refer to the time when the French work was published. This would put the date back to 1642, which Scott also refers to as that when a colony of Zeelanders were driven out of Tobago. Rochefort's silence with regard to a driving out of Zeelanders from Tobago in 1650, writing, as he did, quite close to that period, is significant, especially as he also refers to the next Tobago settlement after the 1642 driving out as taking place about 1655 or three years before he wrote. He says that after 1642 the island was for a long time without inhabitants.

by Jews in 1660 who left Leghorn in that year, under Dutch auspices, for Cayenne. The wife of one of them, Daniel Levi de Barrios, who wrote about his voyage, died at Tobago before the party came to Cayenne,[63] indicating that a Dutch settlement was there then and for some time before. That such a settlement then existed at Tobago and that there was some travel between there and Essequibo is indicated in the Extracts in the Appendix. We have also the deposition of one Clement Gunter, a Pomeroon colonist and a native of Hamburg, who had been arrested while on a trading expedition on the Orinoco, and imprisoned in Cartagena by the Spaniards in 1665, who testified at his trial in 1666 that Tobago was divided into two parts and in possession partly of the Dutch and partly of Courlanders.[64] Such an occupation is shown by the writer of the magazine article as being known of in 1654 and subsequently, and he also shows that when occasion presented one sought to oust the other. The Zeeland colonists could thus have been driven out from Tobago in 1658. Scott, who is corroborated by another writer,[65] refers to the Dutch being there in 1665 when he captured the place.[66]

It seems most remarkable, if Scott, as he himself says, derived some of his information about the various colonies in Guiana from the Commandeur of Essequibo, who acted in that capacity, at least between 1657 and 1664, that the well-known larger emigrations of 1658 and 1659 should not also have been mentioned by the latter who knew all about them and have been noted by Scott. Scott's omission to refer by date to the later Dutch and Jewish emigrations and the emigration of the Zeelanders of 1657, can very well be accounted for by construing the reference to the "yeare following," as being intended to read "the years following," which would allow for

[63] *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, p. 18.

[64] *Case for Great Britain*, Appendix I, p. 163; *Case for Venezuela*, App. 3, pp. 9-13.

[65] Byam, *post.*

[66] *Report, U. S. Com.*, II, pp. 135, 137.

a reference by him to the colony of 1658; otherwise, a fair presumption arises, on the facts as known to us, that he has confounded his facts with his dates. Prof. Burr thought 1650 was clearly an error for 1658.[67] The facts outlined by Scott are peculiarly applicable to the colonists of 1657 and 1658. An instance of Scott's inexactness in regard to dates close to the period when he wrote appears in his reference to the grant of Charles II to Willoughby and Hyde, of the Surinam country. He speaks of this grant in connection with the year 1660 and as though it had been made in that year. The date of the grant was June 2, 1662.[68]

Passing to the further history of our colony we find, according to the Extracts from the archives, references to the unsatisfactory conditions there in May, 1660, when a Jew named Latorre, who had returned from the colony, appeared before the Committee and asked that forty of his coreligionists there, including women and children, be permitted to depart, and to return to the director the slaves they had contracted for, with a remission of one-half of the amount still due for them, the balance to be paid later, Pinto appearing willing to guarantee the payment of this balance. The question was also considered with regard to the possibility of the Jews at Tobago, who had come from Leghorn, refusing to receive the slaves they had contracted for. This implies that these Jews were also dissatisfied with conditions there and were preparing to leave.

The Extracts from the archives also show that in September, 1660, a Moses Netto appeared before the Committee in charge of the colonization, saying he had received a letter from his brother-in-law, whose name is not given, who asked in the name of the Jewish nation in the Nova Zeelandia colony, whether the Committee proposed to keep up the colony, threat-

[67] *Report, supra,* Vol. II, p. 137; Vol. II, p. 176.

[68] See copy in Hartsinck's *Beschryving van Guiana, supra,* Part 2, p. 522.

ening, if otherwise, to depart and abandon it.[69] The Committee, according to the Extracts, seem to have considered the request. That the Jews did not abandon the place appears from certain letters which will now be given, showing their activity there. de Fuentes in the meantime, as already appears, had fitted out his own ship and had gone with colonists and goods to relieve the situation. The complaint from Netto's brother-in-law must have been sent out before his arrival. Netto is again mentioned in June, 1660, in connection with de Fuentes' departure and with indications of French-Jewish colonists.

The name Nieuw Middelburg was given to the principal location on the Pomeroon, indicating that most of the colonists had come from Middelburg, in Zeeland, where many Jews resided. The meetings of the Colonization Committee and Zeeland Chamber were held in that city.

The following letter from de Fuentes, in which he pathetically refers to his inability to dispose of some of the goods he took along with him, was printed among the documents produced by Great Britain in the Venezuela boundary case. In the general index he is designated as "a Jew planter in the Pomeroon." He is further on spoken of in 1663 as the leading Jew there.[70]

NIEUW MIDDELBURGH, NOVEMBER 29, 1660.

I consider this land better than Brazil, but in order to become acquainted with its virtue one has need of a quantity of negroes and particularly a Governor with twenty-five soldiers in order to keep the land quiet, etc.

The country yields abundance of all kinds of fish, so that I having brought here about 2,000 pounds of provisions have been compelled to send the same to the islands, regarding that as fairly lost.

---

[69] Appendix I. Netscher, *supra*, p. 74, also refers to this and erroneously speaks of Netto as himself writing from the colony.

[70] *Counter case for Great Britain*, Appendix, pp. 32-33. Original letter in *Stadsarchief in Veere.*

The crops are getting on very well, but the smith here is a drunkard, so that it is very necessary that a good smith and carpenter be sent hither in order to repair the aforesaid mills and to make others, for without them no sugar can be made. My vessel drawing ten feet of water was the first that came up to the factory here with its full cargo, so that a vessel of 300 tons made in Dutch fashion will be able to come into the river without unloading. It is believed that there are hereabouts some gold and silver mines, but I have not yet had an opportunity of ascertaining the truth of this.

PHILIPPE DE FUENTES.

A further letter in the following year from de Fuentes and a Willem Sommermans, who has not been identified as a Jew and may have been a German Jew, is also printed following the one just quoted. It shows the progress of the colony and refers to the unfulfilled request for a Governor, and also throws an interesting light on the situation of the colonists at this time. This letter reads as follows:[71]

NIEUW MIDDELBURGH, April 25, 1661.

At present everything is in very good condition. Everything is progressing favorably; provisions are in abundance; the grounds not only promise but yield richly; there is also very much fish here and meat as well, but meat and fish have mostly to be obtained through trading wares. The country is at present full of sugar cane, so that we have very great need of sugar boilers. Negroes are required here. Cattle are received daily from the Orinoco, but one thing is highly necessary, and that is that you be pleased to send us or to appoint a Regent as we have frequently requested. Do not regard this otherwise than it is writen or as anything but the honest truth, without exaggeration or hypocrisy and upon which you may rely.

WILLEM SOMMERMANS,
PHILIPPE DE FUENTES.

We have no record of conditions during the succeeding two years, but the following extract from a letter from J. de Fijn,

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 33, and *Veere Stadsarchief*. In the copy the name Ffalloo appears before the name of Philippe de Fuentes. This is, no doubt, the signature of another colonist, whose name appears elsewhere as Jannes Falloo. It is omitted in the copy given here.

Commandeur in Pomeroon, to the West India Company, dated at Nieuw Middelburg March 3, 1663, shows that the request for an executive had been complied with in the shape of a King Stork, and also gives us an idea of what was going on in the colony at the time.[72]

The boilers of the Jew Isaac Nanes Netto, alias Corsocrie, have been put down, but he is still in want of some ironwork for the mill; this he is expecting very soon, when he will also begin. We are therefore beginning to get some sugar, and please God things will in the future do well and more produce is to be expected. . . . .

I am here in the midst of a heap of unruly, wanton and reckless people, excepting always the pious who are very few in number, both among the Christians and Jews, and I am importuned by them all from morning until night so that I cannot remain at table in peace.

The step-father of a Jew named Isaac de Fonseca came to me weeping and complaining that he had been beaten by him and that he had called his mother a whore, which I could not allow to pass before God and the law, wherefore I had the aforementioned Jew Fonseca summoned to render an account of what he had done and if the mother were guilty to duly punish her and to deal with him as a Godless man who had despised his parents.

The fellow being wanton and insolent and unwilling to admit his fault, I had him placed in irons. The Jews took this amiss, and Isaac Henriques Morao, alias Spijcker Veth, putting himself somewhat forward I had him placed with the other because he wished to leave the country at once, and by this means I was obliged to make sure of his person and the debt he owed your honors, since I was compelled to quiet the people here.

The somewhat tumultuous Hebrew nation having become aware that the two Jews would be kept in prison until my return from Moruka began to cast sour looks at me again, and the principal one among them, Philippe de Fuentes, began to say that the planters would rise, thinking, perhaps, to feel my pulse and to intimidate me by such threats. But as he had to deal with one who would rather die than allow himself to be threatened by a crowd of giddy birds, I called the soldiers to arms in order to have the prisoner executed, not only for the crime of having beaten his father and called his mother opprobious names, but

[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 32 *et seq.*, and *Veere Stadsarchief.*

partly by reason of two charges that had been brought against him sometime ago, and wholly proved, but concerning which I had deferred sentence until then, and principally because the others were beginning to treat me with menaces, and I wished to show them that their threats only made me more resolute than timid in meting out punishment. They immediately began to beg for mercy, and the threateners were in such despair that I pardoned him and set off for Moruka. On my return from thence I examined the matter and being influenced by much entreaty and prayer I liberated him, together with the other, out of regard for the following reasons:

Here the Commandeur gives reasons which are inconclusive. Further on he writes:

Through the want of provisions, for the cassava is rotting in the ground through the heavy rain which has now been falling for some time and through the want of salt, I cannot send for either meat or fish, for the small quantity that there is still amongst the Jews and which the one has let the other have through friendship has had to be paid for at the rate of 10d per pint.

In the same letter the following references occur, apparently relating to Jews:

A negro belonging to Moses Petaete. . . . . For instance, by making narrow inquiries I got out of David Attia £100, for the piece of land that had been conveyed to him underhand; from Cardoso Lead and Abraham da Costa I also managed to get £70, less 2 shillings. . . . Received from Jacob Rodriges de Veth £133, 6s, 8d, Flemish.[73]

[73] Referring to the name David Attia, the translator in a note states that this is really a wrong transcription for Nassy. Cardoso Lead he thought meant Cornelis Goliath. To this it may be said that there was a family of the name of Atias, noted in *Pubs.*, No. 10, p. 157, as residing in Curaçao in 1705, and one named Arias, who was a member of the Jewish community in Surinam in 1669. See *Pubs.*, No. 4, p. 3. *Essai historique*, II, p. 132. Goliath was the commissary general and engineer, and was probably not a Jew. In the same letter he is mentioned as being dead. Isaac Henriques Morao can be identified with Isaac Henriquez Morao, buried in Curaçao in 1673. See *Pubs.*, No. 10, p. 156. Isaac Nanes Netto was probably the Isaac Netto

Information as to the population of Pomeroon and the neighboring colony at Moruca or Moruka, derived from Spanish sources, shows that about the year 1663 there were more than 1000 Dutch colonists and 400 wealthy Indians who had been expelled from Brazil, and also a greater number of negro slaves, "founding a new Brazil." Essequibo is referred to as having a fort. Among the Dutch in this estimate, which is probably below the true figures, must have been included many Jews who came from the Netherlands and Italy.[74]

---

until lately supposed to have been the first Rabbi in Surinam, about 1674 (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, p. 494; *Pubs.*, No. 3, p. 18, No. 7, p. 132), but who is said to have been preceded by one Meatob in 1643. Cf. *Pubs.*, No. 13, p. 128. Nanes was no doubt intended for Nunes. An Isaac da Costa and a Bento da Costa appear as members of the Surinam community in 1669, as also David Nassy and an Alans de Fonseca, Nassy being also known as Joseph Nunes de Fonseca. These last two may be the same as the David Nassy and Alonzo de Fonseca noted as Dutch with English connections. See Mr. Lucien Wolf's *Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers*, in *The Jewish Literary Annual*, London, 1904, pp. 99, 100. Bento de Costa is also noted as an English Jew, in British *Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Ser.*, 1655, p. 47. *Pubs.*, No. 5, p. 132 mentions an Abraham da Costa as an owner of a plantation in Surinam. The Isaac de Fonseca mentioned in de Fijn's letter may have been the one of that name appearing in Barbados and Curaçao in 1656. See *Pubs.*, No. 10, pp. 153 *et seq.* Moses Petaete is probably an error for Moses Peraira or Pereira.

[74] *Case for Great Britain*, Appendix I, p. 159, 152. See also *The Guiana Boundary*, by Prof. George L. Burr, 6 *Am. Hist. Rev.* (October, 1900), p. 57.

In the report as to this estimate appears a statement that the Spanish scout sent to reconnoitre the territory occupied by the Dutch reported that on his return he met a small vessel, apparently from the settlement on the Pomeroon, with two men in it as prisoners, who spoke Spanish, one of whom gave him to understand that he had been born in Madrid and had been an Augustinian Priest and had gone to Amsterdam where he had allowed himself to be circumcised, and on that account was sent to the inquisition at Cartagena. *Case for Great Britain*, App. 1, p. 159.

We find no mention of our colony until the following year. Apparently from a reference to it under the date of 1664, some of the Jews had left previously and gone to Cayenne,[75] to which additional colonists from Amsterdam had been sent in 1663.[76] The reference to these new settlers in Cayenne from Amsterdam is made just after speaking of the Jewish colonists of 1659 from Amsterdam, and of 1660 from Leghorn. Though not mentioning Jews, these were no doubt among the new arrivals. After the capture of Cayenne by the French under de la Barre, in 1664, it seems that the captors, who came from Rochelle, did not comply with the conditions under which the fort there was surrendered by Guerin Spranger, which included several provisions for the benefit of the Jews.[77] They seized a number of Dutch vessels which had come to trade, plundered the inhabitants, and finally shipped both Jews and Christians to Rochelle, leaving them to find their way to Holland as best they could.[78]

[75] *Annals of Guiana, supra*, I, p. 166.

[76] Netscher, *supra*, p. 356.

[77] *Annals, supra*, I, p. 164; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, title *Cayenne*, III, p. 634.

[78] Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana* (1770), p. 163; *Essai historique* (1788), p. 13, and *Annals, supra* (1888), I, p. 164. The *Essai*, citing Hartsinck who supports the text, apparently misreads its authority and states that the French brought a great number of Jews and Christians from Rochelle.

Hartsinck cites a contemporary authority which fully supports his statements. This is deemed important and is given in the original Dutch and in translated form:

Hollandtze Mercurius, July, 1664, p. 127 (Haerlem, 1665).

"In America hadden de Neerlanders Cajane/ een Provintie aen de Reviere d'Amasones/ en daer wat Catoen/ Indigo/ en Suycker valt/ langhen tijt deugdelijk beseten/ en door 't af-senden van veele Huysgesinnen/ daer onder oock Joden/ een tamelijcke Colonie ofte Inwooninge/ gehouden als met d'Indianen daer wel over een komende/ benijt: De Fransen sonden een Vloot onder Sr. Barre derwaert/ die den 20 Maert van Madera/ daerse

Some of the Dutch settlers, say the English historians,[79] "returned to Essequibo and the Pomeroon. Having been accustomed to sugar planting they were unfitted for any other business and therefore most of them came back to Guiana in the first Dutch vessels."

In 1665, continue our authorities,[80] "the Pomeroon colony was far more important than that of Essequibo. From the time of the accession of the Portuguese Jews who were well acquainted with the sugar manufacture, a number of plantations were laid out and sugar buildings erected, so that the settlement was apparently in a fair way to become prosperous. Sugar from Nova Zeelandia was already being sold at Mid-

---

hun ververst hadden van water/ dat in Vranckrijk op lange reysen niet en deugt/ af staken/ hebbende sich oock voorsien van partije Cabricien/ om Cajane/ dat sy gemackelijk overvielen/ te populeren: Zy namen met gewelt 't Fortje Ceperoux, en noemden 't St. Louijs. De Françosen kregen noch 6 Schepen daer toe, en ruyneerden d'Ingeseten. Zy voerden de Joden en Christenen van hun welvaren berooft en seer pover gestelt na Rochel/ om van daer te mogen voeteeren nae hun Vaderlandt."

"In America the Dutch possessed and had for a long time worthily occupied Cayenne, a province on the Amazon river where cotten, indigo, and sugar grows, and by sending out many families, among them also Jews, had established there a fair colony or abode, and had also come to a satisfactory understanding with the Indians. The French sent thither a fleet under Sieur Barre. On March 22d they left Madeira where they had refreshed themselves with water of good quality which they could not stock themselves with in France for the purposes of a long journey, having also provided themselves with a party of Cabricians in order to populate Cayenne which they easily captured. They took by force Fort Ceperou which they called St. Louis, and in addition seized six ships and ruined the inhabitants. They carried the Jews and Christians, bereft of their property and in deep poverty, to Rochelle whence they were permitted to go afoot to their Fatherland."

[79] *Annals, supra*, Vol. I, pp. 164, 166.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

delburg, and there was every probability of a large increase in cane cultivation, as the soil in Pomeroon was more suitable than any of the upper districts where the other colonies were situated."

The colony at this time was described by a contemporary writer qualified to judge, as the most flourishing one the Dutch ever had in America.[80a]

The prospects of the colonists, however, were suddenly brought to an end by the invasion, in the winter of 1665-6, of the English from Barbados, under the command of Major John Scott, acting under orders from Lord Willoughby who, taking advantage of the war then in progress between England, France and Holland, planned the expedition. Scott, after first seizing Tobago in October, 1665, then occupied by the Dutch, captured all the Dutch establishments in Guiana west of Berbice, and after destroying the plantations in Pomeroon which he had taken in January, 1665-6, and leaving a garrison there and also at the fort in Essequibo, returned to Barbados in April, 1666.[81]

Speaking of the situation of the Dutch colonies in Guiana at this time and the effect of the English invasion which he describes, William Byam, then Governor of Surinam, writing afterwards, about 1669, says:[82]

"Many [of] the Dutch, French and Jews were soone upon ye

[80a] Gov. Byam's *Journal*, cited below, quoted in *Report, U. S. Com.*, II, p. 137. "But there greatest of all they ever had in America was Bowroom [Pomeroon] and Moroco [Moruka] alias New Zeeland, a most flourishing coloney 16 Leagues Leeward of Discecabe [Essequibo]."

[81] *Report, U. S. Com., supra*, I, p. 197; II, p. 135, and note, p. 137; Rodway, *Hist. of British Guiana*, I, p. 6; Scott, in *Sloane MS.*, No. 2662, f. 37 verso *supra; Case for Great Britain*, Appendix I, p. 171.

[82] *Lieut.-Gen. Byam's Journal of Guiana, from 1665 to 1667: "An Exact Narrative of the State of Guiana, as it stood Anno. 1665, particularly of ye English Collony in Surynam,"* &c., British

Wing to the French islands Martinico and St. Christophers, &c., and those that remained grew discontent."

Not all the colonists, apparently from the foregoing passage, departed. But soon the few that remained were plundered by the French who originally were allies of the Dutch in the fight against the English. The English troops were almost starved out by the Indians refusing them supplies, and later were glad to surrender to a Dutch force sent against them.[83]

We shall now consider what became of the Jews in Pomeroon and Tobago, and also, as related to that subject, the state of the Jews in Surinam about this time, and how the British grant to them of 1665 came to be made.

We have seen that the Jews in Pomeroon and neighboring settlements, in what was known as Nova Zeelandia, had been accorded full religious liberty under the Dutch and a certain amount of civil rights. How many of them, after the destruction of their plantations went to Surinam we can only surmise, but, from various considerations, we may conclude that most of them went thither. Before the destruction of Pomeroon in January, 1666, the colony must have received accessions from Cayenne after that place had been captured by the French in 1664. This seems more likely than that all the Jews from Cayenne immediately went to Surinam for a permanent location, as the Dutch were then in Pomeroon and in Tobago and Essequibo. The Dutch in Cayenne would naturally have gravitated thither and with the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the Jews in these Dutch locations and not yet in Surinam, the probabilities point to the Jews accom-

---

Museum, Sloane MS., No. 3,662, fol. 27. Printed in full in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van de Historisch Genootschap, gevestigd te Utrecht*, 's-Gravenhage, 1898, Vol. 19, pp. 232, etc., and edited by Rev. George Emundson; and in part in *Report, U. S. Com., supra*, II, pp. 137, *et seq.*, and *Case for Great Britain*, Appendix I, pp. 167 *et seq.*

[83] *Ibid.*

panying them and hastening to the Pomeroon which was then a growing colony, or to Tobago, and to their not going in numbers to Surinam which was an English possession and not then offering them the freedom granted by the Dutch. This will be referred to again further on. It is, however, likely that those who had previously left Surinam to join their Cayenne brethren returned to Surinam after the expulsion and that these were accompanied by a few others. The reason why past accounts have spoken of the Cayenne colonists as going after the expulsion to Surinam is no doubt because that was the nearest place known to us, until recently, where Jews settled shortly after that time and also for a further reason shortly to be stated. The existence of a Jewish colony at Pomeroon between 1658 and 1666 has not heretofore been noted, nor one at Tobago, and the probability that the Jews went to these two places has not been considered. The writers of the *Essai historique,* one hundred and thirty years after the event, and without access to some of the data mentioned in this account, do not seem to have been aware of the Pomeroon colony as containing Jews or even as in existence at the time, and do not mention Tobago. Shortly before they wrote in 1788, there had been considerable discussion as to whether Jews should be permitted, under the Dutch, to reside and trade in Essequibo and Demerara, and their book is said to have been written as an answer to another work which devoted a chapter to a protest against such permission.[84] Even the occupation of Surinam by the Dutch before 1650 seems to have been unknown to them. They may have thought Jews had not been in Essequibo before their time. Netscher, seem-

[84] *Brieven over het Bestuur van Essequebo en Demerary, gewisseld tusschen Aristodemus en Sincerus,* Amsterdam, 1785-1788, III, bijlage G, pp. 70-83. A copy is to be found in Harvard University Library. Cf. Netscher, *Geschiedenis van de Koloniën Essequebo,* etc., *supra,* p. 386, and *Essai historique, supra,* Vol. I, pp. 141-142.

ingly following the *Essai historique,* makes the statement[85] that the Jews took the road to Surinam, and there established themselves on the Savannah. He adds that with their knowledge of agriculture they gave an impetus to the sugar industry in Surinam where forty to fifty plantations were to be found flourishing by 1665. The number of these belonging to the Jews are, however, not distinguished.[85a] The state of the Surinam colony in 1665 will be given further on.

Other writers speak of the Jews as going to Jamaica and Barbados, as well as to Surinam,[86] while the historian of the Jews in Curaçao speaks of them as going to Curaçao.[87]

The *Essai historique,* though stating that in 1652 Willoughby sent three vessels to Surinam with several families of English and Jews, together with ammunition, merchandise and everything necessary for a settlement, does not seem to

[85] Netscher, *supra,* p. 356.

[85a] In 1668, two years after the Pomeroon plantations were destroyed, it seems the Jews had a number of plantations at a distance from Paramaribo where they were not likely to be affected by an attack on that city which was planned by the English in Europe after Byam's surrender of Surinam in 1667. This is mentioned in the *British Cal. of State Papers, Col. Ser., Am. and W. I.,* 1661-1668, p. 552.

[86] *Pubs.,* No. 2, p. 95.

[87] Rev. Joseph Corcos, *Synopsis of the History of the Jews in Curaçao,* Curaçao, 1897, pp. 18, 19. He refers to them as Italian Jews, and adds, that in 1693 some left Curaçao for Tucacas, Venezuela, which is a small island nearly opposite and southeast of Curaçao, and also for Newport, R. I., with, among others, Judah Touro's father, Abraham de Touro, who became their Hazan there. He cites no authority, and follows his statement with a reference to the Tucacas congregation in 1720, leaving the inference that his previous remark about the Cayenne Jews going finally to Tucacas was a mere opinion derived from the existence of a Jewish congregation at that place in 1720, with Italian members, and the fact, as also mentioned by him, that Italian Jews went to Cayenne under the grant to David Nassy of 1659. Jost, in his *Geschichte der Israeliten,* VIII, p. 242, speaks of a colony

regard that settlement, so far as the Jews are concerned, as of importance in their history there, but speaks of numbers arriving there after the capture of Cayenne by the French in 1664, saying that this made a considerable increase in the population of Surinam, composed principally of Jews, and that the new arrivals of Jews united with the Jews who had come from England with Willoughby in 1662.[88] There is some probability that the reference in the *Essai* to the year 1652 was an error for 1662 when the charter to Willoughby and Hyde was made. As already mentioned, that charter refers to Willoughby's sending colonists to Surinam in 1650 and afterwards, but does not mention Jews. In 1650 and 1652 Jews are not known as being openly in England while in 1662 when the charter was granted they had become recognized as part of the population of that country. Many who had been in Brazil had gone to England from Holland after their return to the latter country and their suffered permission to reside in England. The *Essai* does not, as already mentioned, refer in any way to the Pomeroon or Essequibo settlements, though speaking of the mania or furore in Holland for forming colonies in the New World, probably having in mind, as among these, only the Jewish colony that went to Cayenne.

In support of the opinion that the Jews from Cayenne went to Surinam it cites a work published in 1767.[88a] This

---

of Jews from Brazil settling in 1639 at Lucayo. This may be an error for Tucoyo, in Venezuela, in the immediate vicinity of Tucacas, or Tobago may have been meant, though one of the Bahama islands was then known as Lucayo. The date 1639 is probably an error for 1659, as Jost makes a similar error in date in regard to the Cayenne colony, which he speaks of as of 1639, instead of 1659. He cites Robertson's *History of America* without giving the page, and his reference cannot be found.

[88] *Essai*, pp. 12, 20, 22.

[88a] *Hedendaagsche Historie of Tegenwoordige Staat van Amerika*, Tweede Deel (Amsterdam, 1767), p. 450.

states, referring to the settlement in Cayenne, that "many Jews had settled there, but when the Netherlanders were driven from Cayenne they went with them to Surinam."[88b] No authority, however, is given in that work in support. It is unlikely that the Dutch in 1664 would have gone to Surinam, seeing that the English then were in possession and the Dutch had flourishing colonies at Essequibo and Pomeroon and also at Curaçao and Tobago. The Jews went with the Dutch, and if the latter did not settle in Surinam in 1664 after being driven out of Cayenne, the Cayenne Jews also did not then settle there. Writers of the seventeenth century do not mention Surinam as the destination of the Jews or Dutch after the capture of Cayenne in 1664. du Tertre, in particular, who has already been cited herein and who wrote in 1671 about the Jews and Dutch being in Cayenne, and about the capture of that place by the French in 1664, fails to make any reference to either of them going to Surinam after the capture, or to Martinique, a French possession where some Jews already were.

The *Hollandtze Mercurius,* of July, 1664, p. 127, already cited, which gives a contemporary account of the capture, also does not mention Surinam in this connection.

Hartsinck, who, as stated, describes the capture of Cayenne by the French, likewise makes no mention of Dutch or Jews going then to Surinam. This he would naturally have done if such were the case, writing as he did, the best account of the Dutch in Guiana.

A possible further explanation of why the Jews are mentioned as going from Cayenne to Surinam in 1664 and why Pomeroon is not designated by name, even if known, may be found in the fact that after the capture by the English, under

[88b] "Veele Jooden hadden sig aldaar nedergezet, doch toen de Nederlanders van Cayenne verdreeven werden, gingen zy mede over naar Suriname."

Willoughby's orders, of the Pomeroon and surrounding colonies, the new territory became known as part of Willoughby Land or Surinam and lost its identity as an independent territory, being all then under one government, and also because in later years when the Dutch occupied the greater part of Guiana, including the Essequibo and neighboring settlements, the whole of their possessions was generally known as Surinam, and writers on the subject of the Jews there made no distinction as to what part of Surinam the Jews from Cayenne first went to. An English map of 1733 shows Surinam as including the Essequibo and Pomeroon.[89] Even the Dutch work already referred to in a note, by Otto Keye, published in 1659 and which has been described as a larger prospectus to induce colonization in Guiana, speaks in its title page of the land to be colonized as the "Landstrekke Serrinamme," or the Surinam country, although at that very time what is now known as Surinam was occupied by the English.

To this it may be added that after the destruction of Pomeroon many of the Jews who had probably gone there from Cayenne no doubt went with other Jews from Pomeroon to the Savannah at Surinam, and the designation of Cayenne Jews remained with them when they settled at the Savannah. They were all found at Surinam at the time of the treaty of Breda in 1667 and none as a colony in Pomeroon whence they had fled after the invasion of the English early in 1666. Hence the Jews were considered all as of Surinam when Crynssen recovered that place from the English in 1667 and when the treaty of Breda was made in that year. Thus the Jews from Cayenne who had gone to Pomeroon or Tobago and then afterwards to Surinam were, by later writers, considered as having come from Cayenne to Surinam and not from Pomeroon or Tobago.

That there were not many Jews in Surinam at the time

[89] See *Report, U. S. Com.*, Vol. IV (*Atlas*), p. 34, Popple's Map.

when the grant of that country was made by Charles II to Willoughby and Hyde on June 2, 1662, may be gathered from the petition of Benjamin and Henry de Caseres and Jacob Fraso, Jews, to the King of England, in April, 1661, for permission to reside and trade in Surinam and Barbados, and from the recommendation of the Council for Foreign Plantations on June 5, 1662, to grant such permission, from which it appears that at this time Jews were not permitted to trade in the English colonies without a special license.[90] One of these men can be identified as a Jew in Surinam in 1669, under the name of Henriques de Caseres.[91]

The English records show no further applications of Jews for permission to go to Surinam about the time of the Willoughby grant, and, notwithstanding the unsupported statement in the *Essai* and in the *Surinaamsche Almanak* for 1899, it may be doubted whether many English Jews went to Surinam before 1665.

In a work published in 1671, but apparently limited to events up to between 1660 and 1665, we find a significant reference to the small number of Jews in Surinam under the English. The statement there reads: "Some few Jews live here and trade also as merchants, they having obtained a license from the King so to do."[91a]

[90] *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 5, pp. 63-64.

[91] *Pubs.*, No. 4, p. 3; *Essai historique*, II, p. 134. Also Appendix IV.

[91a] Lewes Roberts, *The Merchants' Map of Commerce*, London, 1671, p. 60, 2nd Edition. See p. 62 for reference to date of 1660. The same statement appears in the 3d Edition, 1677, p. 60; and in the 4th Edition, 1700, p. 58, when the English no longer were in Surinam. The 1st Edition, 1638, contains no reference to Surinam. All these Editions are at Lenox Library.

On the subject of religion we read in the same work, p. 61, that no power is given to priest or prelate "to exercise authority over the conscience of others though different in opinion: So that the Jews and others of different judgments (they yielding obedience to the civil laws) are protected and live peaceably and quietly in this place."

Elsewhere also we can find even before 1662 allusions indicating that there were very few Jews in Surinam. In a work published in that year [92] we find a reference to disputes in the latter part of 1661 between some of the English colonists and the authorities with reference to the disregard of the rights of the former under Magna Charta. To test the right of William Byam to act as Governor, a shallop belonging to one Cryn Jacobson, described as a Dutchman who had been in Surinam in 1650 when the place was taken by the English and had been allowed to continue to reside there since, was seized as a prize under the Navigation Act of 1660. It was expected that Byam, on a trial before the Admiralty Court at Jamaica, would thus be compelled to define his authority to act as Governor. Speaking of the contention between him and the malcontents, the statement is made by the writer of the work referred to, who was one of the colonists disciplined for his recalcitrancy, that Byam and another official were "wrought upon by the tears of a Jew who had great prevalencies on them" (possibly referring to Jacobson's prayers for relief), and also that a certain Captain Crook, a coadjutor of our informant, had made the declaration that "neither Dutch or Jew should live here" (in Surinam).[93]

Early in 1665 we find also a reference to two Jews sailing from Rotterdam in February, 1664-5, for Surinam being held up on their way on the Thames. That they reached Surinam may be judged from the fact that the name of the family of one of them, Meza, appears as Mera as a member of the Jewish community in Surinam in 1669, and that of Mera and Baruh as among the Jews claiming to be English subjects in 1677.[94]

[92] Robert Sanford, *Surinam Justice*, London, 1662, At Lenox Library.

[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 37.

[94] *Pubs.*, No. 4, p. 3; *Pubs.*, No. 6, pp. 17-19; *Essai historique*, II, p. 134; Appendix IV; See British *Calendar of State Papers, Domes-*

The reference in Byam's *Journal,* quoted above, to the Jews, French and Dutch being, after Scott's invasion, soon on the wing for the French Islands of Martinico and St. Christophers, etc., did not specifically mention by name the destination of the Jews and Dutch but indicated only that of the French. du Tertre refers to the capture of Tobago and speaks of the English, after garrisoning the island, removing the French to Martinique, but does not mention the Jews or Dutch.[94a] The Jews at that time would not have gone in any

---

tic Series, 1664-1665, p. 229: "Petition of Abraham Meza and David Baruh and their families to the King for permission to come on shore, being all in perfect health. Came from Rotterdam and are on their way to Surinam, but were stopped at Tollhaven in the Thames by his order."

We also find a reference, under date of June 22, 1663, to a David de Mercato, as the inventor of a sugar mill and as one who "by his long residence in the West Indies, with much study, charge and expense hath attained to the perfection of making and framing of sugar mills after a new manner." This reference is in connection with a warrant to Francis, Lord Willoughby, and Lawrence Hyde, of the sole right to use this invention in the Barbadoes and Caribby Islands. Willoughby and Hyde were the joint proprietors of Surinam and not of Barbados, and the presumption is that this invention was primarily intended for use in Surinam. David de Mercato was no doubt the same as David Raphael de Mercado, a Hebrew, noted as having received, in 1655, a pass from Cromwell to go to the Barbadoes, where Willoughby was then Governor. *Pubs.*, No. 6, p. 160. The name also appears among the list of Jews in Barbados in 1680 as David Ralph deMereado. *Pubs.*, No. 1, p. 105. He was probably for a time in Surinam. A further reference to this invention appears under date of January 2, 1664, where the statement is that the warrant is issued for a grant to Willoughby and Hyde, "of the sole making and framing of sugar mills after the new manner invented by David de Mercato, who is desirous for the said grant to be made to them, they giving him all due encouragement." See British *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies,* 1661-1668, p. 144; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series,* 1663-1664, p. 427.

[94a] du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Ant-Isles, supra,* III, p. 245.

numbers to Martinique or to St. Christopher, as those islands then belonged to the French who were not friendly to Jews. At Martinique those already there were only tolerated, and restricted in their occupations, and any new accessions would not have been likely to be received.[94b] The only refuge of the Jews eastward of Pomeroon was at Surinam or at Jamaica or Barbados. Westward they might have gone to the Dutch island of Curaçao, but as that was about a thousand miles away they probably did not go there in numbers, though a few must have found their way thither, judging from the references noted to some being there some years later. We have no indication, in the literature of Curaçao, of any accession of Jews from Pomeroon or Essequibo at this time or at any time. Conditions at Barbados, as will be indicated, were not then conducive to attracting them thither, while if they had gone to Jamaica to stay they would have had some difficulty in being received there, as they were not English denizens. Surinam was only about one hundred miles away, and was then on the lookout for Jewish colonists and had not long before made a special invitation to Jews in the grant of August, 1665. This invitation, before the Pomeroon plantations were destroyed and Tobago captured, they had not had occasion to avail themselves of. There was then no reason why they should leave for a colony under a different form of government. The one of which they formed an important part appears, as already stated, as then the most flourishing the Dutch ever had in America.

The probabilities all point to their having gone after the loss of their plantations to Surinam. The occurrence of the family names of deFonseca, daCosta, Nunes, and Attias or Arrias in both places is significant on this point. Being without a home the locality in which they could have religious freedom and civil rights such as they enjoyed in Pomeroon or

[94b] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 71, 313, 315. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, title ***Martinique***, Vol. VIII, p. 353.

Tobago, would naturally have attracted them.[94c] Whatever Jewish colony may have been in Surinam early in 1665 had not, according to the English historians of Guiana, been in a flourishing condition.[95] The Jews that may have gone there in 1664 from Cayenne to join the few already there had probably located temporarily on the Savannah, where the few who may have settled there resided, and remained there until definite arrangements could be made for a permanent settlement. It is not likely that all the Jews in Cayenne went there. Some must have gravitated elsewhere. If we can credit the statement in Hartsinck's *Beschryving van Guiana,* already cited, and he is considered a good authority, most of the Cayenne

[94c] The attack on the Pomeroon colony was made by the English from Barbados, who do not appear, according to Byam's *Journal* and Scott's account, to have been assisted by the English from Surinam, though after the capture of Pomeroon, Byam sent some of his men, on Willoughby's orders, to take a Dutch colony near Cayenne. The English in Surinam cannot be regarded as having been so inimical to the Jews of Pomeroon as to preclude the latter flying to Surinam in order to re-establish themselves there after the destruction of their plantations, particularly in view of the grant of privileges made in the preceding year and the fact that there were a few Jews already there and the English apparently had obtained control of nearly all the Dutch settlements in Guiana. That Byam's *Journal* does not speak of the Jews from Pomeroon going to Surinam does not militate against the probabilities of their having gone thither in 1666. He also makes no specific mention of the grant of 1665 to the Jews, nor of any accession of Jews from Cayenne in 1664 and afterwards, nor even of any Jews as among the population except in 1667 when speaking of a visit made by him with some of them to Crynssen in regard to the terms of his surrender to the Dutch in that year. A reference to this visit will be made further on. His account being intended as a defence of his conduct in surrendering Surinam to the Dutch is devoted mainly to detailing the circumstances leading to and justifying his surrender, and nothing in it is inconsistent with the conclusions drawn herein regarding the accession from Pomeroon.

[95] *Annals of Guiana, supra,* Vol. I, p. 174.

Jews were transported by the French to Rochelle, and from there found their way to Holland, but this being so, it is probable that some few had escaped from Cayenne and these may have been considered as the nucleus of the Cayenne Jews settling in Surinam. Until the grant of 1665 the refugees had no assurance of safety in Surinam. They were aliens and subject to being treated as such. A special license, as already indicated, was necessary for Jews going thither from Europe, and the Navigation Act of 1660 affected Jews trading or doing business in Surinam, if aliens, or not made denizens. The Cayenne Jews came under the prohibition of the Act. The grant of 1665 makes no reference to any late accession of Jews from Cayenne, but speaks only of Jews who were already resident there.

What led to the grant of 1665 we may gather from a knowledge of the state of the colony of Surinam at that time, and from a consideration of how far the authorities were influenced to make the grant by the conditions then existing.

Willoughby Land became the official designation of Surinam after the charter of Charles II to Willoughby and Hyde of June 2, 1662. William Byam, its Governor, makes the statement in his *Journal* of the state of the colony between 1665 and 1667,[96] that in May, 1665, the colony of Willoughby Land was " in its meridian, and after this month had its declination and went ever retrograde." Lord Willoughby, one of the proprietors, he adds, was then there on a visit, and on the 9th of that month sailed for Barbados of which he was Governor. Shortly afterwards, about 200 able men departed from the colony and left it insufficiently armed. A sickness broke out at the town of Tarorica, the old capital of British Guiana, and spread itself to the plantations adjoining and swept many away.

[96] *Bijdragen van de Historisch Genootschap, te Utrecht, supra,* Vol. 19, p. 233.

Upon Willoughby's departure, says Byam, "some jealousies possessed the inhabitants, which broke out into great discontent. The colony employed one Captain John Parker to Barbados to his Excellency, whose so prudent and judicious management returned him with a satisfactory declaration which stopped many then upon ye wing ready to desert the colony to some place where they might not be tenants at will." [97]

This "satisfactory declaration," we may judge, related to the Jews as well as to the Christians in Surinam, and as to the Jews was probably none other than authority for the grant of privileges to them. They had probably met with difficulties in Surinam at the time, and demanded protection or threatened to leave for the colony on the Pomeroon, being probably treated as in Surinam merely on sufferance. As tenants at will they were liable to lose their lands at any time the authorities chose to demand possession. If from Cayenne they were not long enough in Surinam to be regarded as other than temporarily located there, and felt themselves at liberty to threaten to move. Governor Byam must have had reference to them, among others, in speaking of the great discontent of some of the inhabitants and their threatening to leave for a place where they might not be treated as tenants at will. Even a few Jews there with their plantations for sugar were of importance to the colony. A threat to leave would be most likely to be made by people who were not there long, or who were not satisfactorily treated. Such other place, so far as the Jews were concerned, undoubtedly meant Pomeroon, Tobago, and the surrounding Dutch possessions. We have seen, under other conditions, how that the Jews on the Pomeroon, in 1660, had threatened to leave that place on the failure of the Dutch authorities abroad to give them proper consideration.[98] They would not have then gone to Barbados

[97] *Ibid.* See also *Sloane*, MSS., 3662, fol. 37 *verso*, by Major John Scott, *supra*, *Case for Great Britain*, Appendix I, p. 171.

[98] See Extracts in the *Appendix*.

of which Lord Willoughby, one of the Surinam proprietors, was then Governor, for the reason that similar complaints of being tenants at will had been made about that time by planters in Barbados and discontent had arisen there from that cause.[99] The Surinam authorities must have felt the desirability of having the Jews as residents, in view of the loss of a considerable number of their able-bodied men and the commencing decline of the colony's prosperity. The Jews had means and were acquainted with the cultivation of the sugar cane, and were apparently desirable colonists. Wealth was then largely reckoned in sugar.

The grant of 1665, through its recitals and liberal terms, indicates the anxiety of the authorities to retain the Jews already in Surinam and to induce others to go there. It speaks of the desire to "encourage" the Jews who had "proved themselves useful and beneficial" to the colony, "to continue their residence and trade" in Surinam, and offers liberties to them or "members of the Hebrew nation now resident here or who may hereafter come to reside and trade here," and speaks of it being "good and sound policy" to "invite persons of whatsoever country and religion to come and reside here and traffic with us." These recitals imply that such of the Jews as were at Surinam needed encouragement to remain and that they had felt discouraged at conditions there and had thought of leaving and also that a bid was thereby made to induce emigration from Pomeroon and the other Dutch possessions. The various provisions of the grant were made liberal enough to accomplish the object of the authorities. The reference in it to the Jews to "receiving them under the protection and safeguard of our government, with all the property they now hold or shall hereafter possess and import from any foreign place or kingdom abroad," indicates a people that were or had been subjects of another power, and a desire to induce others

[99] John Poyer, *History of Barbados*, London, 1808, p. 78.

under a foreign jurisdiction to take up their residence under the English flag. It also implies that a doubt had existed in the minds of the old or intending colonists with regard to the security of their possessions while in Surinam. The promise also made that "nothing of what they now possess or shall hereafter acquire shall be taken from them or be appropriated among ourselves by any person of whatever rank," and that they shall have "full liberty to plant and trade and do whatever they might consider to their advantage and profit" indicates also that the Jews were foreigners in Surinam and had not definitely settled there and that their property had been or was likely to be subject to seizure as such foreigners, and as coming within the prohibition of the Navigation Act of 1660 directed against aliens trading in the colonies, under which their goods were subject to forfeiture, one-third going to the Governor, one-third to the informer, and one-third to the crown.[100] That prohibition alone would have been sufficient, as being enforceable against them at any time, to have caused the Jews as a body to refrain from then settling in Surinam. The reference to their property not being "taken or appropriated among ourselves by any person of whatever rank," apparently refers to a seizure which had been made under the Navigation Act, on the complaint of some officer of rank,—possibly to a repetition of the Cryn Jacobson case, already referred to, or to that case. Without the exemption of the forfeiture of their goods for trading as aliens there, or for carrying on the business of merchant or factor, as stated in the Act, and without the assurance from the authorities that their goods would not be seized, the Cayenne Jews or those looking about for a new location certainly would not have taken up a permanent residence under the English in Surinam. This assurance and exemption they could only get, under the Act, by being made free denizens or citizens. The grant therefore declared that they should be regarded as Eng-

[100] 12 *Carl.* c. 18, sec. 2, *Statutes of the Realm*, V, 246-250.

lish born and entitled to all the rights of other English citizens in the colony. The requirement that they should be "true subjects to the King of England and obey all orders already issued by him" was immediately qualified by the following sentence that "none of these orders shall be contrary to what is herein contained." This, with the provisions of the grant, relieved them from the operation of the provision of the Navigation Act alluded to.

The lapse of time between the expulsion of the Jews from Cayenne in 1664 and the issuing of the grant is, in view of the Navigation Act, significant of the fact that the Jews of Cayenne were not, during that interval, engaged in business in Surinam if they were in numbers there at all. If there in the interval, the issuing of the grant indicates that at the date of its execution some necessity or demand for it arose, and that similar privileges had not theretofore been enjoyed by the Jews in Surinam.

A reference in the petition of 1669 to the Dutch Governor for additional privileges indicates that the Jews desired to be protected in their rights. The copy in the Appendix shows that information was asked of the Jews in Surinam by their brethren in various quarters, who desired to settle in the colony, as to the condition of affairs there and how the Jews were treated. It may also be pointed out that this petition refers to the English grant of 1665 as that under which privileges had been granted to the Jews, and makes no mention of a prior English grant to them. Had such a prior grant existed it would undoubtedly have been mentioned in connection with their application for additional privileges, which was made to the Dutch and not to the English, any reason for avoiding a reference to the Cromwellian government, as suggested by Mr. Lucien Wolf, not being then applicable. Some of the additional privileges asked for were, as already stated, among those in the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf and claimed by him to be an English grant but shown herein to be of Dutch origin.

The grant of 1665 was an extraordinarily sweeping one to have been made, and, so far as we know, is the first of its kind granted by the English to Jews anywhere. Its terms read almost, in view of the situation at the time and its liberality, as if it were forced from the authorities who feared for the life of their colony. The Dutch, however, as indicated herein, had preceded the English some years before in even more liberal treatment of the Jews, in the grant of religious freedom and civil rights to them in the neighboring colonies on their emigration from the Netherlands. The tolerance of the Dutch may be said to have reacted upon the English in Surinam, for without the Dutch in the neighborhood and the example of the effect of their liberal treatment in the growing prosperity of the Pomeroon colony, it is exceedingly doubtful whether the English would have made the grant of 1665 to induce the Jews to reside and trade in Surinam. The copying of many of the provisions of the Dutch grant indicates that the Jews required these similar provisions before consenting to settle permanently under the English, or at least that the English felt that the Jews would not settle or remain with them unless they were granted privileges similar to those their coreligionists were enjoying under the Dutch.

That the Jews were powerful enough to dictate terms is also indicated by the fact that shortly after the Dutch regained possession of Surinam in 1667 the latter yielded to the petition of the Jews in 1669 for the additional privileges already referred to, which they had intended to ask immediately after the English had surrendered in 1667, but which the troubles in the following two years prevented. This petition was signed by the leading members of the Jewish community, and set out a copy of the grant of 1665 and added the further provisions which they desired. The signers stated that their coreligionists in various quarters awaited a confirmation of the old privileges and the granting of the proposed additions before deciding to settle in Surinam. The terms of two of

these further provisions have already been indicated. The two others related to the control of church matters by the Jews themselves, with recourse to the Governor for enforcement if necessary, and permission to labor with their slaves on Sunday.[100a] Surinam having been taken from the English by the Dutch, the Jewish inhabitants there, though many of them from Holland and under the Dutch in Pomeroon having enjoyed similar privileges, naturally could not be regarded by the conquerors as entitled, as a matter of course, and without governmental action, having been English subjects, to the identical privileges which they had enjoyed in Pomeroon, and it was therefore necessary for them to have the English grant confirmed by the Dutch. It was also expedient for the Dutch then to grant the petition because of the large number of Jews in Surinam and their usefulness as colonists acquainted with the cultivation of the sugar cane and other agricultural products.

The grant of 1665 is often spoken of as having been made by Charles II or by the British Government. It does not seem to have emanated from England. On its face it is a grant from the Governor, his Council and Assembly, and is signed by John Parry, as secretary. Parry, according to tables in the *Essai historique* was Secretary in Surinam from 1662 to 1665. The proprietors, under their charter, had the right, through the form of government established by them, to pass such laws as they thought proper for the administration of their colony. The date of the grant was August 17, 1665, and not August 7, as heretofore noted in the *Publications*.[101] This correction has been made in the recent article on *The Jews in Surinam*, by Rev. J. S. Roos.[102]

The dominion of the English in Surinam after this grant was, however, quite shortlived. It ceased in about a year after

[100a] See *Appendix* IV.

[101] *Pubs.*, No. 3, p. 147; No. 9, p. 146.

[102] *Pubs.*, No. 13, p. 130. See also copy in *Essai historique*, II.

the Pomeroon colony was destroyed. Byam, in his *Journal,* describes the deplorable condition of his colony for defence at the time of its surrender to the Dutch Admiral Crynssen in 1667, and shows why he was compelled to yield. He also mentions a visit he made to the Dutch Admiral with the view of treating for terms, and says he advanced towards the Admiral's ship with a fleet of small vessels containing Christians and Jews, 168 in number, and that he was well received. Probably Jews predominated, and many of them having come from Holland and the Dutch colony of Pomeroon, Cayenne, and possibly Tobago, the Dutch were inclined to lend a willing ear to their request for favorable terms. Under the capitulation dated March 6, 1667, provision was made for the benefit of the Jews resident in Surinam. A list of the Jewish and Christian inhabitants was also agreed, by the sixteenth clause, to be furnished to the Dutch commander.[103] A copy of this list in all probability exists in the archives at Surinam. In the archives at The Hague it cannot be found. The names of the Jewish inhabitants then in Surinam would probably be substantially the names of the colonists in Pomeroon and Cayenne.[104]

[103] See Byam's *Journal* in *Bijdragen, supra.*

[104] As many of the Jewish planters of Surinam were no doubt partly from the Pomeroon it may be well here to note a map, not dated, discovered by the present writer, containing the name of Jewish owners of plantations in Surinam before 1718. With a few exceptions all the names on this map appear also on two maps of 1750, and later, made by other designers and engravers, a copy of which has been reproduced in the article by Prof. Richard Gottheil, in *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.,* No. 9, pp. 128-133. The map in question is probably a reproduction of a map much earlier in date than 1718, and is to be found in the Lenox Library in a work entitled *Beschryvinge van de Volk-Plantinge Zuriname,* by J. D. HL., Leeuwarden, 1718, XX, 263 pp. It is entitled *Land Kaart van de Land Streeken Cottica, Comowini en Suriname, Alles naukerig afgetekent Door A. Maars.* Starting from the mouth of the Surinam and going south, we find the following

The subsequent changes in the government of Surinam under the treaty of Breda are matters of history and need not be dilated upon here. Surinam became again a recognized Dutch possession, and New York, captured by the English in 1664, was relinquished to England.

Returning again to the colonies in Nova Zeelandia we find that the colony at Essequibo was, after some years, re-established but that few Jews are known to have gone there or to their former location on the Pomeroon. There is, however, a reference to a Jew as travelling in Pomeroon and as having died some months before March, 1684, and as the only one then knowing how to prepare the vanilla bean for trade. This appears in a letter of Abraham Beekman, the Commandeur at Essequibo, addressed to the West India Company, under date of March 31, 1684, reading as follows:[105]

---

names in the order given. On the right bank, looking south, occur the names of dePina, d'Ariab, deFonseca, David, Drago, Duivelaar, Marik de Britta, Serfatyn, Nunes de Costa, Parade, Barug de Costa, Joods Doorp en Sinagoge, Nansa, deSilva, Abraham de Pina, Jacques da Costa, Benjamin daCosta, Joseph Nassy, Samuel Nassy. Opposite the Joods Doorp en Sinagoge we find the names Nunes, and Moses I. de Pona. On the Cottica river is found the name of Abraham de Jood. On a branch of the Comowini appears the name of Aron de Silva.

Of these names we find that in the list of some of the members of the Jewish community in Surinam in 1669, mentioned in the *Essai historique*, in the petition for the additional privileges in that year, and in Appendix IV hereto, the following appear in the surname, Nassy, da Costa, deFonseca, Nunes, deSilva, Parada under the name of Pardo and Ariab under the name of Arias. Duivelaar appears later, in 1735, as Davilar. See *Pubs.*, No. 13, p. 132. The appearance of the name "Joods Doorp en Sinagoge" indicates a date after 1685, when the synagogue was built, but the plantations were undoubtedly there before that time.

[105] *Case for Great Britain, supra*, Appendix I, p. 186; *Report, U. S. Com., supra*, Vol. II, pp. 161-162.

The Jew Salomon de la Roche having died some 8 or 9 months ago, the trade in vanilla has come to an end, since no one here knows how to prepare it so as to develop the proper aroma and keep it from spoiling. I have not heard of any this whole year. Little is found here; the most of it is to be had in Pomeroon and Barima, whither this Jew frequently traveled, and he used sometimes to make me a present of a little. In navigating along the river, too, I have sometimes seen some on the trees and picked it with my own hands, and it was prepared by the Jew, although I was never before acquainted with the virtues and value of this fruit, which grows wild and after the fashion of the banana. I have, indeed, sometimes used it in chocolate. The Jew has without my knowledge secretly sent a deal home; however, I shall do my best to obtain for the Company, in Pomeroon or elsewhere, as much as shall be feasible, but I am afraid it will spoil, since I do not know how to prepare it. I shall take care that no private business be carried on it.

To this, a letter of reproof was sent by the West India Company. Under date of August 24, 1684, they wrote:[106]

Concerning the trade to Orinoco, we find it advisable that you stop it, and neither trade thither yourself, nor permit trade thither, directly or indirectly, until further orders; since we are of opinion that the Company bears all the expenses and burdens, and that others help themselves to the profits.

And we hold the same opinion as to the Berbice trade,[107] which we recommended you to carry on for the Company, whereupon you answer us, saying, that this trade has come to an end through the death, 8 months ago, of a Jew named Salomon la Roche, and that he had sent a great deal home, but without your knowledge—truly a meagre and poor excuse. How is it possible that such a thing can occur without your knowledge, and likewise without the knowledge of skipper Isaac Keuvel? That won't do: we are astonished, not only that you venture to write such transparent excuses to your lords and masters, but even more that you are not ashamed of wheedling them with lies, in order quietly to keep this trade for your own private profit—your own and that of the said skipper Steven Keuvel.

---

[106] *Report, supra,* Vol. II, p. 168.

[107] Note by Editor: Apparently a clerical error for "the vanilla trade."

Of this we think we are reliably informed; as also that this Jew (whose name is used only as a pretext to mislead) has not monopolized the vanilla, but that the Indians have furnished you with a goodly quantity.[108]

---

[108] In 1744 we find a further reference to a Jew in Essequibo named Moses Isaac de Vries. This was in connection with the desertion of a number of slaves, which threatened great danger to the colony. The Commandeur writing about this time to the West India Company, under date of April 3, 1744,[109] spoke of "the Jew Moses Isaacke de Vries" as being in successful command of the Indian forces proceeding against the deserters, and in a further letter dated December 7, 1746,[110] announces the death of de Vries and refers to his good qualities, as follows:

"I have frequently felt the want of a good sworn interpreter of the Indian languages, such as there is in Surinam, and this want has often been to our loss. I have frequently been assisted by the Jew Moses Isackse deVries, but he being now dead there is not a good faithful one to be got, and I am afraid to trust to the negroes or creoles, who say or conceal whatever they wish."

DeVries is also mentioned as having, in the middle of the eighteenth century, attempted a sugar plantation on the Essequibo as far up as the first great rapid, the Aretaka.[111] The statement in regard to this was made in 1764, and is as follows:

"Above the first fall in Essequibo, a Jew named Moses Isaac deVries, who is now dead, some years ago commenced a sugar plantation, and the cane which was grown there called forth the admiration and astonishment of all the inhabitants."[112]

It may be well also to preserve here another name in connection with the Jews in Guiana. Although appearing in connection with Surinam it relates to the region around Essequibo. In the *Report of the U. S. Commission, supra*, pp. 210, 212, are given extracts from a document dated in 1707 relating to a secret expedition from Surinam to the Orinoco in search of a certain treasure. All connected with the expedition were sworn to secrecy, and instructions were issued to give no one any knowledge of it except "Isak Israel Lorenzo, otherwise Isaac the Jew," who was in the service of the Society of Surinam as an interpreter and understood the Carib language.

A further reference to Jews in this region appears in a Spanish document in which the suggestion is made to the Spanish authorities in 1743 to keep in check "the Jews who were swarming

The following is a summary of what has been principally shown herein, not heretofore appearing in relation to the Jews in South America:

1. The establishment in 1658 by the Dutch, probably under an agreement with David Nassy, dated January 25, 1658, of a colony of Jews on the Pomeroon river, in the region of the Essequibo, in British Guiana, then in the possession of the Dutch, and known as Nova Zeelandia, and the development of that colony until January, 1666, when their plantations were destroyed during an incursion by the English from Barbados under Major John Scott. Extracts from the Dutch archives indicating the activity of the Jews in the colony, and appearing here for the first time in print, are appended.

2. An emigration of twenty-five families of Jews from Leghorn, Italy, in the spring of 1658, sent out by Holland under a grant of privileges and immunities to them, to form a colony in the region between Surinam and Cartagena, identified herein as at Pomeroon in the Essequibo district, and the probability of part of them having become dispersed to the islands in the neighborhood; and also further emigrations of Jews from Leghorn to Nova Zeelandia in 1659 and 1660.

3. The identity of the grant of privileges discovered by Mr. Lucien Wolf in the British Museum, in the Egerton MSS., No. 2,395, set out by him in the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England,* Volume 3, and reprinted in an article by Mr. Max J. Kohler in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 8, and claimed by Mr. Wolf to be an English grant of 1654 for a Jewish colony in Surinam,

---

between the banks of the Amazon and those of the River Oro [noquo]." See *Case for Venezuela,* Reply to British Blue Book Documents and Correspondence, p. 59.

[109] *Case for Geat Britain, supra,* Appendix II, p. 42.

[110] *Ibid.,* p. 48.

[111] *Report, supra,* Vol. I, p. 202.

[112] *Case for Great Britain,* Appendix III, p. 111.

with the Dutch grant to David Nassy, dated January 25, 1658, above referred to, for a Jewish colony in the Essequibo, which settled on the Pomeroon, in what is now British Guiana, then belonging to the Dutch, and for the benefit also of the colonists from Leghorn who probably first went to Tobago before proceeding to the Essequibo region.

4. The genesis of the British grant of privileges to the Jews of Surinam, of August 17, 1665, and that it was modelled, probably at the instance of the Jews, upon the grant discovered by Mr. Wolf, but as a Dutch grant and not as an English grant or draft English grant, as claimed by him, and that in 1669, two years after the capture of Surinam by the Dutch, two of the four further provisions that were added to the British grant of 1665 by the Dutch, at the request of the Jews, were taken from the very grant discovered by Mr. Wolf, indicating that that grant was then known to the Jews of Surinam of whom many had been in the colony at Pomeroon and at Tobago from which they had undoubtedly gone after the capture and destruction of their plantations in 1665-6.

5. Some additional data as to the Jewish colony in Cayenne under the Dutch grant to David Nassy, of September 12, 1659, of which a copy in English is given, and the relation of that colony to the colonies at Pomeroon, Essequibo and Surinam, and reasons for believing that after the capture of Cayenne by the French in 1664 the Jews did not at once go to Surinam, as is generally supposed, but that they went to Pomeroon and Essequibo, and that it was only after their plantations in Pomeroon had been destroyed by the English from Barbados in 1666 that they went to Surinam, which had just previously issued a special invitation to Jews to settle there, granting for the first time in English history full religious liberty and citizenship to them.

APPENDIX.

I.

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE GOVERNING FOR THE THREE WALCHEREN CITIES, MIDDELBURG, FLUSHING, AND VERE, THE COLONY OF NOVA-ZEELANDIA, 1658-1663.

(Hague, Rijksarchief, West India Papers, cover-title, *Resolutien rakende de nieuwe Collonie in Isekepe* [Essequibo], *1 Nov. 1657* [-19 Nov. 1663].)

THURSDAY, JANUARY 3, 1658.

There appeared various people of the Hebrew nation requesting to be allowed to ship their baggage to Essequibo. Whereupon it was resolved to answer them that this would be allowed; that every family or individual should hand in a detailed list of their baggage and necessities for agriculture, and according to this to give them passports which would describe the baggage they are allowed to take. This to serve as a memorandum for the skipper and to facilitate the keeping of an account of the costs.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1658.

Read several proposals from members of the Jewish nation. After deliberation, it was resolved to request the members for Flushing to order that the goods and baggage of the emigrating colonists be shipped and also that Jews, as well as Christians, be properly accommodated.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1658.

CONTRACT MADE WITH THE JEWS REGARDING THE SUPPLYING AND THE PRICE OF SLAVES.

That on the aforesaid coast there shall be delivered as many negroes as every one shall need, which shall be paid for on the production of the receipts, through some one thereunto commissioned, the sum of 150 guilders in ready money for a man or woman; two children from eight to twelve years to be counted as a man or woman; below eight years three for one; unweaned children to follow the mother.

Those paying in advance shall enjoy a discount of ten per cent.

APPENDIX.

I.

(Hague, Rijksarchief, West India Papers, cover-title, *Resolutien rakende de Nieuwe Collonie in Isekepe, 1 Nov. 1657* [-19 Nov. 1663].)

Jovis den 3n. Januario 1658.

Sijn binnen gestaen diveerse vande hebreeuse natie versoeckende te mogen hare bagagie te scheepen naer Isekepe, Waerop goet gevonden is haer te gemoet te voeren om dit met ordere toe te laten dat yder huysgesin offte een ygellijk int particulier sijn bagaige ende behouften tot den landtbouw bij een lijste sal opgeven omme dienvolgende aen haer passeporten te verleennen met insertie vande geconsenteerde bagagie tot der schippers memorie ende naerrichtinge int houden van de rekeninge der costgelden.

Luna den 21n. Ditto.

Gehoort eennige voorstellingen van die van de Joodtsche natie. Is nae deliberatie goet gevonden, d'heeren van Vlissingen te versoecken dat se ordre willen stellen dat de goederen ende bagaige van de overgaende Coloniers worden ingescheept als mede de Jooden beneffens de Christenen wel werden geaccommodeert.

Jovis 24 Januario 1658.

Contract met de Jooden gemaect over de leverantie ende prijs der slaven.

Dat op de voors. cust sullen gelevert werden, soo veel negros als yeder een sal van doenne hebben, ende die alhier op het vertoogh van de recepisse, door iemant daertoe gecommitteert, als dan in contant voldoen werden ter somme van 150 guldens voor een man ofte vrouwe. twee kinderen van 8 tot 12 jaren voor een man ofte vrouwe te rekenen. Beneden de 8 jaren dry voor een, mits sullen de suygelingen de moeder volgen.

Die bij anticipatie willen betalen sullen rabat genieten van 10 p. cto.

To all who have bought for ready money an equal number, if wanted, shall be credited, which credit shall be for the period of five years, within which there shall be paid for each man and woman, or children to be reckoned as above, the sum of f250, but those paying before that period will be given a discount for each year at the rate of ten per cent, but those that have been delivered for ready money shall, with those on credit, be together liable for payment.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1658.

Engaged to-day in passing ordinances regarding slaves. This relates to the Jews under the contract made with them as well as to other Netherlanders. Among others, closed the contract made between the committee and David Nassy, and one on his order upon the surety of Dr. Paulo Jacomo Pinto, as may be seen in the dispatch book of ordinances relating to slaves.

APRIL 8, 1658.

Paulo Jacomo Pinto delivers a memorandum or list of persons who wish to depart for Essequibo and go on the ship *d'Eendracht*, which list is received to be properly booked.

Francisco Medina appears requesting passports for various persons of the Hebrew nation who wish to go to Essequibo with the above-named ship *d'Eendracht*. After consultation he was told to come to-morrow and that he would be accommodated and the required passports given to him.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1658.

There also appeared three of the Jewish nation requesting to know the conditions under which they could go to Nova Zeelandia, which were laid before them, and with which they expressed themselves satisfied.

A request of the Jewish nation was read, regarding which Dr. Paulo Jacomo Pinto, together with two others of his nation, appeared. They were told that a ship is at present lying here and if there are any people who feel like departing in it they can do so, and as relates to sending a ship from Salee with folk and provisions they are at liberty to do so, but we are not disposed to restitute anything, and concerning the request the Committee will decide the matter.

Aen een yder die voor contant gecocht heeft, sal des begeerende gelijk getal gecrediteert werden ende sal dat credit duuren *voor den tijt van 5. jaren ende binnen deselve tijt betaelt moeten werden* yder man ende vrouwe ofte kinderen, als vooren te rekenen ter somme van 250 guldens doch eerder betalende sal voor rabat van yder jaer genieten. 10. ten hondert, maer die voor contant gelevert sullen sijn blyven neffens de gecrediteerde t samen voor de betalinge verbonden.

VENERIS 25 JANUARIO 1658.

Gevaceert desen dach met het uytgeven van ordonnantein van slaven. Soo aen de jooden op de contracten met haer gemaeckt als andere nederlanders, onder anderen voltrocken het contract tusschen commissarissen ende Dauid Nassy gemaect ende dat op sijn ordere ende onder borchtochte van dr. Paulo Jacomo Pinto, als te sien is in het depesche boeck van ordonnantie der slaven.

DEN 8EN. APRIL 1658.

Paulo Jacomo Pinto levert eene memorie ofte lijste der persoonen die geernne souden vertrecken ende naer Isekepe overvaren met het schip d'eendracht, welcke lijste aengenomen is omme naer behoooren te boecken.

Francisco Medina binnen staende versockt paspoorten voor diverrse persoonen van de hebreeusche natie die gerrnne naer Isekepe souden varen met het bovengenoemde schip d'eendracht, naer omvrage is hen aengeseght dat sij morgen soude commen ende dat men hen accommodeeren ende de versochte passeporten geven sal.

ADI 19 SEPTEMBER 1658.

Staen mede binnen drie van de Jootse natie versouckende te weten de conditie om naer Nova Zeelandia te gaen, het welcke haer voorgedragen is, waer in sij contentement nemen.

Is gelesen een req'ste van de Jootse natie waerop is binnen gestaen dr. Paulo Jacommo Pinto mitsgaders twee van hare natie ende is haer voorgedraegen, als dat men hier tegenwoordich een schip is aen leggende ende sooder eennige sijn die nu daermede gelieuen te vertrecken dat se het selue connen doen ende wat aengaet een schip van Salee met volck ende viures te senden, connen het selue vrydoen, maer en sijnnen niet genegen om iets te restitueeren ende belangende de requeste sullen commissarissen daer naer resolueren.

TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1659.

There appeared Dr. Paulo Jacommo Pinto with five of his nation from Amsterdam and requested to be accommodated with slaves, and that an executive be sent, and thirdly, that a ship may be made ready to transport folk, also with regard to those from Leghorn. Whereupon, after consultation, it was resolved to give the following answer,—that the Committee will notify them in writing later.

MARH 31, 1659.

The minutes were submitted, and the Committee was also authorized to provide Pinto with passports for those from Leghorn, and also regarding slaves.

APRIL 21, 1659.

Paul Jacommo Pinto appeared with several of his nation and requested that the Committee allow a ship to be chartered to carry passengers paying their fare and the freight for their goods.

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1660.

It is considered by those present whether the Jew named Latorre, who has come from the colony, leaving his wife and children there, shall, together with others of his nation, consisting of 40 souls, including women and children, be permitted to depart from there and return to the Director the slaves received by them, and that they be not required to take more and further that of what they remain indebted one-half be remitted to them and the other half be paid here, for which said Pinto agrees to become surety. With regard to this, a decision was postponed until the arrival of the first letters.

Likewise considered what shall be done in case the Jews arriving at Tobago from Leghorn remain there and refuse the . . . . slaves contracted to be received from us in our colony, to be used there for agricultural purposes. It was resolved if those people do not readily receive the slaves contracted for, that, through Director Goliath, a bill be presented and in case of non-acceptance the same be protested for non-payment instead of making delivery.

ADI 5 MEERTE 1659.

Is binnen gestaen dr. Paulo Jacommo Pinto neuens vijff van haere natie van Amsterdam ende versoucken accommodatie van slaven als mede datter een hoofd soude mogen gesonden werden, ten derden datter een schip soude mogen aengelecht werden om volck te transporteren, als mede die van Livorne.

Waerop naer omvrage goet gevonden is haer tot antwoorde te geven het naervolgende dat commissarissen haer naerder per billetten sullen bekent maecken.

31 MAERT ANNO 1659.

De notulen geresummt. ende wert commissarissen geauthorisst. omme Pinto mede paspoorten te geven aen die van Livorne als mede wegens de slaven.

DEN 21 APRIL ANNO 1659.

Paul Jacommo Pinto staet binnen met eenige van haere natie ende versouckt dat d'heeren commissarissen souden gelieven een schip aen te leggen om passagiers over te voeren mits betaelende passagie gelt als mede vracht van haere goederen.

DONDERDAG 21 MAY 1660.

Wesende in deliberatie gelecht of men den Jode Latorre genaempt uit de colonye afgecomen sijn vrouw met kinderen daer gelaeten, sal op sijn versouch, nevens noch andere van de Natie, bestaende in 40 zielen so als vrouwen ende kinderen van daer laeten vertrecken mitsgaders dat sij hunne ontfangene slaven souden aen der directeur restituteeren ende voorts vant gene bevonden worden als dan schuldich te blijven de helft hun werde geremitteert ende de weder helft hier te lande betaelt, waer voors. Pinto presenteert borge te blyven waerover de resolutie is uit gestelt tot de compste van de eerste brieven.

Van gelijcke wat middel behoorde bij d hant te nemen in cas de joden van Livorne op tobago aengecommen haer daer blyven onthouden hebbende met ons . . . . slaven gecontracteert om in onse colonie te ontfangen, ooch daer tot den bouw vant lant te gebruicken, is geresolveert indien syluyden de contracteerde slaven niet quaemen ontfangen dat door den directeur Goliat sal werden des voorschreve presentatie gedaen ende bij non acceptatie te protesteren van de te houden betalinge gedaen in plaetse van de leveringe.

THURSDAY, MAY 27, 1660.

By Mr. Morthamer were read certain articles, drawn up by don Philipe de Fuentes, for the peopling of the colony of Nova Zeelandia. Their examination was committed to Messrs. Morthamer and Van der Heyden, together with the examination of the articles presented by . . . . in the French language.

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1660.

Regarding the articles submitted to the Committee last Thursday by don Philippe de Fuentes, which articles and the answer are here inserted verbatim, it was, after the same were considered, resolved to communicate further with don Philipe de Fuentes regarding the said answer and clauses and to review them with him. Whereupon the said don Philipe de Fuentes appeared and the said considerations and answers being proposed to him in substance, he expressed himself satisfied therewith, and it was ordered to draw up the same and that of Netto and to give said Fuentes a copy, translated, so as to be signed by both sides.

It was also resolved to use this opportunity to send in the ship which Philipe de Fuentes is getting ready, 3000 lbs meat, 3000 lbs lard, with some flour, and 3 vats of oil and a chest of old linnen and some medicines, for the use of the new colony.

AUGUST 20, 1660.

Mr. Nicholas Clement reports that the two deputies from Nova Zeelandia are sent to their principals and are ready to depart with don Philipe de Fuentes' ship. Also that for account of the said colony there are laden in the said ship, 4 hogsheads of oil, 1 firkin lard, 1 ditto meat. With them also are given to the director Aert Adriensen, such letters, as are to be found in the copy book. Besides there is delivered a list by the departing committee mentioning what provisions are greatly needed for a whole year. Wherupon it was resolved to examine the same in order to determine what shall be necessary in order to send along with the ship *Argyn* going thither.

DONDERDACH DEN 27 MEIJ.

Bij dheer Morthamer gelesen seeckere articulen, ingestelt door don Philipe de Fuentes om de Colonie van N(ov)a Zeelandia te gaen bewoonen, tot examinatie desselfs sijn gecommittert dheeren Morthamer ende vander Heijden, als mede tot de exãminatie vande articulen overhandicht bij . . . . in de fransche taele.

DONDERDACH DEN 10 JUNI 1660.

Op darticulen bij don Philippe dFuentes aen Commissarissen voorleden donderdach overgelevert, welcke articulen ende antwoorde hier van woorde tot woorde geinserreert, waerop gedelibreert sijnde is geresolveert de voors. antwoorde ende clausulen met don Philipe de Fuentes naerder te comuniceeren ende met hem toversien. Waerop den voors. don Philipe de Fuentes is binnen gestaen ende hem de voors. consideratien ende de antwoorde hem in substantie voorgehouden sijnde, heeft bethoont contentement daer mede te nemen ende is geordonneert deselve ende het netto . . . . (sic!) te doen stellen ende om dito Fuentes een copije te geven om die, getranslatteert sijnde, van wedersijden geteekent te worden.

Is bij dese gelegentheit geresolveert, dat in het schip, dat Philipe dFuentes gereet maeckt, ten behoeve vande nieuwe colonie te senden ontrent 3000 lbs. vlees, 3000 lbs. speck met eenige meelen ende 3 vatiens olije met een kiste ouds linwaet ende eenige medicamenten.

AUGUST 20, 1660.

De hr. Nicholaes Clem(en)t doet rapp(or)t, dat de 2 geputt'e (?) van Nova Z(eelandi)a sijn gedespecheert naer hun principaelen ende staen te vertrecken met het schip van don Philipe de Fuentes, item dat voor rek(ening)e vande voorschreve Colonie is geladen int gemelte schip: 4 amen olije. 1 verken speck. 1 ditto vlees. Alsmede dat hun sijn mede gegeven aen den directeur Aert Adriensen soodaeninge brieven als inde copiebouck te vinden sijn. Levert bovendien eene lijste bij de vertrockene commissaerissen, gewaecht wat voor provisie sij voor een geheel jaer hooch noodich van doen hebben, waerop is geresolv(eer)t deselve te examineeren om als dan te resolveren wat men dienstich sal oirdeelen om met het schip Argijn dewaerts te vertrecken hun toetesenden.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1660.

There appeared Moses Netto, saying he had received letters from his brother-in-law who, in the name of the Jewish nation, asks whether the Committee is willing to keep up the colony, otherwise they are inclined to depart from there and abandon it.

The burgomaster, in the name and for account of the members from Vere states that through the Committee the work of the colony will be more closely examined from the letters and accounts and written memoranda of matters requiring decision. This work to be undertaken by Mr. de Hase, Van der Poorte, in conjunction with Mr. Mortamer.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1661.

Report being made that 60,000 to 70,000 pounds of sugar have arrived at Amsterdam for account of . . . . from Nova Zeelandia, considering that Noteboom's owners, not having the freight paid, might go and have the said sugar attached, it was resolved to confer with the said owners and also with the Jews regarding their claims, and to see about agreeing with them and the others as to how much each shall get of the said sugar. This is referred to Mess. van der Heyden and Duvelaer.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1661.

By Mr. van der Heyden it is reported that skipper Noteboom has taken along, in his Brazilian ship *d'Eendracht*, various goods belonging to the Committee. It is resolved to make no absolute payment to his owners before all here receive satisfaction.

MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1663.

There appeared Abraham Levy showing that he received orders and advice from a Jewish broker in Amsterdam named . . . . offering to contract for the furnishing of 500 slaves every six months in the river Essequibo for 100 pieces of eight each, or as many more as may be engaged, payment to be made here and for such number and such period as may be agreed with the others in an offer to be made later on, provided that there are proper vessels ready for convenient transportation of the said slaves to Cartagena or Cape Debero [de Verd], it being understood

DEN 9 SEPTEMBER ANNO 1660.

Is binnen gestaen Moses Netto seggende schryven te hebben van sijn swager die uit den naem van de Jootsche Natie versocht op eninge of de commissarissen genegen sijn de hant aende Colonie te houden ofte niet ofte dat andersints genegen sijn van daer te vertrecken ende de Colonie te abandonneren.

d'hr. borgemeester uit den naem ende van wegen de heeren van der Vene * dat door Commissarissen t werck van de Colonie naerder werde geexamineert uit de brieven ende documenten, eennige agenda opt pampier te stellen om naerder te connen resolveren, t welck door de heeren de Hase, van der Poorte, neuens d'heer Mortamer aen nemen te doen.

DONDERDACH DEN 27 JANUARIJ 1661.

Gerapporteert werdende datter tot amsterdam 60 a 70,000 lb. wegens suycker gearrveert is voor [requireeren] van nova Zeelandia ende geconsider[eer]t dat de reeders van nooteboom van hare vrachte noch niet voldoen sijnde lichtelijk ditto suyker soude doen arresteren, is gersolveert met de voors. reeders te sprecken, als mede met de joden wegens haere pretencien, ende te sien met deen end'andere t'accorderen hoe voel dat een ider uyt de voors. suycker sullen trecken, daer toe gecommitteert de heeren van der Heyden en Duvelaer.

DONDERDACH DEN 3 FEBRUARY 1661.

Door dhr. van der Heyden sijnde gerapporteert dat schipr. noteboom met sijn schip den brasilschen Eendracht dyversche goedern commissarissen toecomende heeft mede genomen, is goet gevonden aen sijne Reeders geen absoluyte betalinge te doen voer aleer hier over contentement ontfangen.

MAENDACH 12 MEERT 1663.

Is binnen gestaen Abraham Levy, vertoonende advies en last te hebben van een joots maeckelaer van Amsterdam met name . . . . presenteert te contracteeren over de leverantie van 500 slaven alle 6 maenden in de river van Isekepe ende dat voor 100 stuck en van achten het stuck, of te soo veel meer als men sal connen bedingen, de betalinge alhier te lande te doen ende dat voor soodanighen getal en soo lang het tijt als men met den anderen overeen sal

* Should be Vere. See *Report, U. S. Com., supra,* II, p. 179, line 1.

that for each head there shall be paid on the clearance four to five pieces of eight or as much more as shall be stipulated. Request was made by all the Committee to confer with his aforesaid principal, whereupon it was resolved to request Messrs. van der Hecke, van der Heyden and Morthamer to act as a Committee therefor, to which Mr. Levy is asked to summon his principal.

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ZEELAND CHAMBER OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY, 1660–1661.

(Hague, Rijksarchief, West India papers, cover-title, *Resolutien van de Camer van Zeelandt, 3 Jan., 1658-31 May, 1663.*)

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1660.

Messrs. Morthamer and van der Heyden were designated to confer with a certain Jew regarding a private trade in slaves, on the same terms as those made in Amsterdam.

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1660.

Whereas, Mr. Morthamer reports that some Jews of Antwerp are ready to take away the slaves contracted for, and now at Tobago, which Dingman Cats agreed to bring to Essequibo for the Jews of Leghorn, and as the Director has no provisions for them, and, has, in order to carry out the contract for account of the aforesaid Jews of Leghorn, offered f12,000 to the crew of another slave carrying ship, if [transportation is made] from Tobago to Essequibo, Resolved to provisionally authorize the members of the Committee to draft a contract with the said Jews expressive of the intent and approval of this meeting.

APRIL 22, 1660.

Neeltie de Corte, with two soldiers who have come from the islands of New Zeelandia, asks payment for services rendered to the new colony, as per three accounts handed in, amounting together to £103, 13: 10. Whereupon it was resolved to have the accounts audited and in order to balance the same with what is still to be received from Pinto and others for the said colony the Committee of the city of Middelburg are requested to do their utmost to raise money, either through a bank draft or, upon refusal, to solicit the same from the members for Middelburg.

connen comen met een naerder presentacie soo aldaer bequaem vaerthuygh tot transport van deselve slaven nar Cartagena ofte Caep Debero soude connen werden verstaen dat voor yder hooft op de uitclaeringe soude werden betaelt voor 4 a 5 stuck en van achten ofte soo veel meer als men soude connen bedyngen. Versoeckende op aller commissarissen om met sijn voorn.-meester daer over naerder te confereren, waer op goet gevonden is te versoecken d'heeren van Hecke, van de Heyden, ende Noortamer daer toe te committeren twelck hem Levy alsoo is aengeseght ende versocht sijn meester doer op te ontbieden.

(Hague, Rijksarchief, West India papers, cover-title, *Resolutien van de Camer van Zeelandt 3 Jan. 1658-31 May 1663.*)

DONDERDAGH DEN 15 JANUARY 1660.

De heeren Morthamer en van der Heyden worden gecommitteert om met seecker jode in conferentie te coomen over particuliere handelinge van slaven, in conformitie op gelijcke conditie als die van Amsterdam gedaen hebben.

DONDERDAGH DEN 18 MEERT 1660.

Alsoo d'Hr. Moorthamer rapporteert, dat eenige jooden van Antwerpen wel genegen souden zijn aff'e te haelen de slaeven, die Dingman Cats op Ysekebe staet te brengen voor de jooden van Lyvorne—nu op Tobago sijnde, gecontracteert, ende wijle de directeur voor deselve geen vijvres en heeft, presenteerende tot d'equipagie van een ander schip om slaven te haelen f 12 000 om het contract van de boven voors.-jooden van Livorne, indien van Tobago naer Ysekebe . . . . te connen voldoen, is goet gevonden d'H'ren Commissarissen bij provysie te authoriseeren met deselve jooden een contract te consipieren ter intentie ende approbatie van dese vergaderinge.

APRIL 27, 1660.

Neeltie de Corte met 2 soldaeten gecoomen over d'eylenden van Nova Zeelandia versoeckende over gedaene dienst aen de nieuwe colonie volgens drij overgeleeverde reeckeningen saemen monteerende £103, 13: 10, ende haer betaelinge, waerop is geresolveert de reeckeningen te laeten opmaecken ende tgene de gemelde colonie noch te buijten staet van Pinto en andre te ontvangen, werden de commissarissen wegens der stadt Middelburg versocht devoir te doen penninghen machtich te werden, tsij door een bankbriefhen ofte bij refues aen de heeren van Middelburg tselve te soliciteren.

JUNE 17, 1660.

The Nova Zeelandia Committee communicate to this meeting the conditions made with Don Philippe de Fuentes and those also concerning the license for his departure with his own ship and goods and colonists for Nova Zeelandia; which, on behalf of this meeting, are approved and the Committee is authorized to sign the same and are thanked therefor.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1661.

Mr. van der Heyden reports that he has spoken with Sr. Pinto and other Jews and Sr. Schonck with regard to the care and benefit of the Nova Zeelandia colony and the purchase of a number of slaves upon compliance with certain conditions. He and Mr. Morthamer were authorized to approve a provisional contract with them and to have the same, after having been examined in the meeting, either approved or changed, and that provisionally the presidial chambers be notified in order to receive their approval.

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN AND COUNCIL, WET EN RAD, OF MIDDELBURG.

(*Stadsnotulen of besluiten van Wet en Rad van Middelburg*, in Oud-Archief, Gemeente Middelburg.)

FEBRUARY 27, 1659.

By Mr. Burgomaster Westdorp report was made how that Paulo Jacomo Pinto had informed His Honor that several Jewish families were ready to go from Leghorn to Essequibo, if opportunity offered, and that they therefore wish to contract with the Committee in regard to their transportation as well as in regard to the slaves which are to be brought from Guinea and sold in Essequibo to the Jews.

It was decided and resolved not to oppose the slave trade, but yet not to engage the city in it, and on that account to ask the committee to think of another expedient.

JUNE 17, 1660.

Commissarissen van Nova Zeelandia communiceeren dese vergaderinge de conditien met don Philippo de Fuentes gemaeckt, ende dat over de licentie van sijn vertreck met sijn eijgen schip en goed en coloniers naar Nova Zeelandia die van wegen dese vergaderinge werden geapprobeert ende commissarissen geauthorijseert deselve te teijckenen en werden daerover bedanct.

DONDERDACH 27 JANUARI 1661.

De hr. van der Heyden doende rapport dat hy gesproken heeft met Sr. Pinto en andere joden ende Sr. Schonck wegen het bezorgen ende beneficieeren van de colonie van Nova Zeel'a ende handelen van eenige slaven waer van eenige van conditien gedaen sijnde, wert hij neffens d'hr Moortamer geauthoriseert een provisioneele contract met haer te maken om het tselve in de vergaderinge geexamineert synde dat te approbeeren of te veranderinge daer in te maken en dat bij provisie sulen aen de presidiale cameren sal genotificeert werden om haere approbatie te becomen.

(*Stadsnotulen of besluiten van Wet en Rad van Middelburg*, in Oud-Archief, Gemeente Middelburg.)

27 FEBR. 1659.

Door de Heer Burgem'r Westdorp voorgedragen sijnde, Hoe dat Paulo jacomo pinto syn E. hadde bekent gemaeckt dat eenige Joodsche Famillien, wel genegen souden sijn indien daer gelegentheit waere, haer van Livorne te transporteeren naer Ysiquebe, derhalven wel soude begeeren met de Heeren Commissarissen over het transporteeren der selfde, alsmede over slaven die uijt Guinea souden werden gehaelt en tot Ysiquebe aen de Joden vercoght, te contracteeren is goetgevonden ende geresolveert den slavenhandel niet tegen te gaen, maer noghtans de Stadt daerinne niet te engageren, ende dienhalven d'Heeren Commissarissen te versoucken op een ander expedient te willen dencken.

II.

GRANT OF PRIVILEGES TO THE JEWS. IN EGERTON MS., No. 2,395, FOL. 46, IN BRITISH MUSEUM.*

PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO THE PEOPLE OF THE HEBREW NATION THAT ARE TO GOE TO THE WILDE CUST.

1. That thei shall have Libertie of Conscience with exercise of their laws and writes and ceremonies according to the doctrine of their Ancients without anny Prohibition, and that they shall have a place apointed for the Building of their Sinagoga or Sinagogas and Schooles, as allso sutch ground as thei shall make choice for their Burring in a separattes places according to their fashion, all according to the use and Fashion thei doe Possesse in Amsterdam.

2. That on the day of their Sabbath and the Rest of their festivicall dayes thei shall not be obliged to apeare in the court upon anny sutte at lawe or cause, and that what deligence or Acts that shall bee made against them or Past, on the said dayes shall bee given voide, and without force, and thei shall be excused of going to the Garde, except if (which God forbid) should bee urgent necessitie.

3. That all The Hebrews shall bee admitted for Burgezes as The People of the Province of Zeeland that shall live in the said Corte and that they shall with them enjoy, all the Previledges which thei shall enjoy.

4. That thei may make choice among themselves of sutch number of Persons as thei shall think convenient to Governe their Sinagogues, and to Administave the Causes of their nation, butt it is to bee understood that the execution shall be made of the officers of the Justice.

5. An whereas the intension of the said Hebrews is to Preserve themselves Peasibly, it shall be granted to them that if their should be among them anny Person or Persons of badd Proceedings and that should give them anny scandall, giving his or their names to the governour or to the justice whom it shall apartaine, with knowledgement of the cause, shall imburgue sutch Person or Persons for those Provinces, or for sutch Place as the Deputies of the said nation shall apointe.

---

* This grant was discovered by Mr. Lucien Wolf, of London, and is reprinted from the copy first published by him in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, III, pp. 82-84.

6. That at all the generall meetings concerning the generall and comerse the said Lords commissiones shall be pleased to order that 2 of the Hebrews be called to Represent the body of their Nation that with the rest of the Burges, thei may allsoe serve the Rublick with their advise.

7. Granting to anny Persons of anny Nation anny Previlledges the Hebrews shall enjoy them allsoe.

8. That what constitutions and Customes that the Hebrew nation shall make among themselves, them that shall goe to live there, of their nation, shall be oblidged to observe them.

9. That not one may be opressed nor putt to Lawe for debts caused in Brazil or in other Kingdomes and States, except for them that shall bee caused in the said Provinces or on the said Cust.

10. That sutch as shall bee willing to goe shall have free Passage, as well in the States ships as in them that shall be fraighted for the Purpose, with their Bagage and their Provisions, as allsoe of their matterialls for their land and building of a house for his famillie and thei all shall carrie sword and moskett.

11. That as soone as anny bee aRived at the said Cust shall appeare beefore the Governour or Commissioner, whome shall apoint each one soe mutch Land as thei cann Command and Purchase.

12. That each one shall Possesse as their owne the lands which shall bee appointed and given to them, and that thei may dispose of them that shall succede them, for ever, as well by will as by contract, or obligation, or other wayes, in the same manner as each one may dispose of their owne goods in those Parts.

13. That every one shall have Libertie to goe hunting and fishing each one in their Lands and Rivers, for even as allsoe in the Mountains that are not subjected and in woods and open sea.

14. That every one shall bee, for the time of Seaven yeares, free from all taxes, and customes, and duties, or anny other charges that cann bee named, hee that shall make a Plantation of Sugar with 50 negroes shall enjoy 12 years of the same Libertie, hee that shall make a Plantation of Oxen, with 30 negroes, 9 yeares, and if it be less—accordingly, butt after the said time thei shall Pay the tenth of thei fruttes.

15. Each one shall injoy for the time of five years the same Liberties of the Mines of Gould and Silver and Precious Stones allsoe of the fishing of perles and Corall, butt after the 3rd yeares —thei shall Pay the fift Parte of what thei shall gett, or the

Pallen of it, at allsoe it shall bee Lawfull to Trade with the Indians.

16. That each one may freely goe with anny ships as well Their owne as fraighted from those Parts with sutch goods as thei shall thinke good, as allso to the Cust of Guiny to Transport negroes to the said Coste, and transport them where thei shall think fit.

17. That each one shall be provided of the wherehouse (which shall bee lett at the said Cust) in the first six months of all Provisions, Clothes and instruments for their lands, at a Rasconable Ratte and thei shall make the Paiment of the first fruttes of the Coutrii.—

18. Also it is Granted to anny Person to have there in their service all kinds of shipping which thei shall neede.

A Rulle In What Manner and Condition That the Negroes Shall Bee Delivered in the Wilde Cust.

1. That there shall bee delivered in the said Cust soe many negroes as each shall have occasion for, The which shall be Paide heere shewing the Receipt, in ready money at one hundred and fifty guilders for each man or whoman.

2. Children from eight to twelve years thei shall counte, two for one piece, under the eight yeares three for one the breeding goeth with the mothers.

3. Hee that shall advance the Paiment before the Reeceipt comes shall enjoy the discounnte of Tenn £Cent.

4. To all them that shall Paye and buy for Ready mony if thei will thei shall have sutch number of negroes. Trusted to pay within five years and after them shall Pay for each man, whoman or child as above the sume of two hundred and fifty and he that shall advanse the Paiment shall have discount of Tean Per Cent a yeare and them that shall buy for ready money shall bee ingaged for the Paiment of the others.

III.

GRANT OF PRIVILEGES BY THE GOVERNOR, COUNCIL, AND ASSEMBLY OF SURINAM, TO THE JEWS IN SURINAM, DATED AUGUST 17, 1665.*

Whereas it is good and sound policy to encourage as much as possible whatever may tend to the increase of a new colony, and to invite persons of whatsoever country and religion, to come and reside here and traffic with us: and whereas we have found that the Hebrew nation, now already resident here, have, with their persons and property, proved themselves useful and beneficial to this colony; and being desirous further to encourage them to continue their residence and trade here: we have, with the authority of the governor, his council, and assembly, passed the following act:—

Every person belonging to the Hebrew nation now resident here, or who may hereafter come to reside and trade here, or in any place or district within the limits of this colony, shall possess and enjoy every privilege and liberty possessed by and granted to the citizens and inhabitants of this colony, and shall be considered as English-born; and they and their heirs shall in this manner possess their property, whether real or personal.

It is also hereby declared, that they shall not be compelled to serve any public office in this colony, and that we receive them under the protection and safeguard of our government, with all the property they now hold, or shall hereafter possess or import from any foreign place or kingdom abroad. We also grant them every privilege and liberty which we ourselves enjoy, whether derived from laws, acts, or customs, either regarding our lands, our persons, or other property, promising them that nothing of what they now possess, or shall hereafter acquire, shall be taken from them or be appropriated among ourselves, by any person of whatsoever rank: but that, on the contrary, they shall have full liberty to plant, trade, and do whatsoever they may consider conducive to their advantage, and profit, on condition that they shall be true subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King

---

* Reprinted from E. H. Lindo's *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal*, London, 1848, pp. 381-383. The date of the grant is corrected according to the copy in Dutch in the *Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam*, etc., Paramaribo, 1788, and *Pubs., Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 13, p. 130.

of England, and shall obey all orders already issued by him, or which he may hereafter promulgate. It is, however, to be well understood, that none of these orders shall be contrary to what is herein contained.

It is also hereby granted and permitted, in the most ample manner possible, to the Hebrew nation, to practice and perform all ceremonies and customs of their religion, according to their usages; also those relating to their marriages and last wills or testaments; and that the acts of marriage made according to their rites and customs shall be held valid in every respect. It is also hereby declared that they shall not suffer any let or hindrance in the observance of their sabbath or festivals, and those who shall trouble them on that account shall be considered disturbers of the public peace, and shall be punished accordingly. Also that they shall not be bound to appear, on the said days, before any court or magistrate; and that all summonses and citations for the said days shall be null and void. Neither shall their refusal of payment of any claim made against them on these days prejudice them in any way, or diminish any right they may have.

The possession of ten acres of land at Thoxarica is also hereby granted to them, that they may build thereon places of worship and schools; also for the burial of their dead. They shall, moreover, not be compelled to do personal duty, but shall be permitted to send a substitute, except in case of war, when they also shall be bound to come forward with the other inhabitants. Permission is also hereby granted them to have a tribunal of their own; and that in cases so litigated, the deputies of their nation may pronounce sentence in all cases not exceeding the value of ten thousand pounds of sugar. Upon which sentence, pronounced by the said deputies, the judge of our court shall grant execution to issue; and they shall keep registers and records of the same according to custom. When an oath shall be required, it shall be administered in conformity with the customs of the Hebrew nation, and such oath shall be deemed valid, and have all the force and effect of a judicial oath, notwithstanding any law to the contrary.

That all this may be fully known, I have, by order of his excellency the governor, his council and assembly, signed the present on the seventeenth of August, 1665.

(Signed) JOHN PARRY, Secretary.

IV.

PETITION FOR AND GRANT OF ADDITIONAL PRIVILEGES TO THE JEWS OF SURINAM, DATED PARAMARIBO, OCTOBER 1, 1669.*

To His Excellency, Philippe Julius Lichtenberg, Sovereign of the Provinces, Rivers, and Districts of Surinam.

With due reverence, the Jewish nation residing here in Surinam show how that at the time of the English government, by a special Act in our favor granted by the Governor, his Council and Assembly on August 17th, 1665, we enjoyed, without molestation, certain privileges, more fully specified and mentioned in the Act set out below, by virtue of which and without the least infraction thereof we resided continuously under the aforesaid government, secure in our persons and possessions, and also how that owing to the manifold troubles that occurred during the last two years we have hitherto had no opportunity to petition the Governor for the time being about the same, and that we are being daily requested in letters received from various quarters from many of our nation who are inclined to come to settle here to inform them of our status here and how we are treated here; and desiring moreover for ourselves and our descendants, our people and our property, further favorable privileges which we look forward to have secured to us through your Lordship by a special Act of the Noble and Mighty Lords of the States of Zeeland, as was heretofore done by the English government;

We therefore humbly request your Excellency to take into consideration this our petition of the . . . . and several other small points tending to nobody's prejudice but only to the maintenance of peace and quiet, and to propose the same, with your Lordship's favorable intercession, to Their Noble and Mighty Lordships, and to explain the same to them in a detailed document relating thereto and confirmed with your hand and seal, and that in the meantime, while you are awaiting the decision of Their Noble and Mighty Lordships, we may be provisionally allowed, by a gracious note, under your hand and seal, to enjoy the benefit of the said privileges hereunder specified:

This done, we remain dutifully Their Noble Lordships obedient subjects and your Excellency's humble servants.

---

* Translated from the Dutch in *Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam*, &c., Paramaribo, 1788, II, pp. 131 *et seq.*

(Here follows a copy of the Surinam Grant of August 17, 1665.*)

Additional points that we ask:

1. That all church matters which shall be ordered by persons elected from among them for the preservation of unity among them shall be effective, and that those who fail to obey the same shall be complained of to the Governor in order to be punished.

2. In case it should happen that among them there shall be found a person or persons leading an evil life, from which it may be feared that at some time or another, they may fall into the hands of justice and thus cause a scandal to the nation, then the Governor, on complaint being made to him against such person or perons by the deputies of the nation giving sufficient reasons, shall, in order that there may be no difficulty in preventing a scandal to the nation, require the said person or persons to leave the colony.

3. In case some of the nation should come to settle here, whose property has been confiscated, perhaps through the inquisition or otherwise, so that they have thereby fallen into debt, they shall not be unexpectedly seized for the debt but shall be convenienced by the department of justice, according to the custom in all the colonies, and only obliged to pay something now and then so that they may be able to exist in the meantime.

4. That we may be permitted on Sunday, on which we as well as our slaves are allowed to work, to have the privilege to visit each other, and that the Marshall meeting us while on the river for that purpose and finding us laden with goods which would lead to the presumption that work was being done, shall be obliged to let us pass and repass unmolested.

That all the above mentioned may in good faith be confirmed to the nation. And if in the future it should appear desirable, for the benefit and advantage of the nation, that the same be annulled, that a request therefor in due form, with good reasons, be granted.

(Subscribed)

David Nassy, Isaak Pareyra, Isaac Arrias, Henrique de Caseres, Raphael Aboab, Samuel Nassy, Isaac R. de Prado, Aron de Silva, Alans d'Fonseca, Isaak Mezo, Daniel Messiach, Jacob Nunes, Isaac Gabay Cid, Isaak da Costa, Isaac Drago, Bento da Costa.

---

* See *Appendix* III.

In view of the request of the Jewish nation, I provisionally accord to them by this the enjoyment of all that they ask therein and I will on the first occasion, so far as lies in my power, try to persuade Their Noble and Mighty Lordships to pass an Act to that effect, confirmed by their hands and seals, so that the same may thus be assured.

Done at Paramaribo, October 1, 1669.

(Signed) J. LICHTENBERG, with his seal affixed.

Conformed, after collation, with the authentic copy shown me, and registered May 28, 1734.

To which I certify,

(Signed) ABRAHAM BOLS, Secretary.

V.

GRANT BY THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY (AMSTERDAM CHAMBER) TO DAVID NASSY AND PARTNERS FOR A JEWISH COLONY AT CAYENNE, DATED SEPTEMBER 12, 1659.*

Liberty and Exemptions by which the Council of Nineteen and the Shareholders of the Chartered West India Company agree and settle with David Nassy and his Partners, as Patroon and Patroons of a Colony to be established by them on the Island of Cayenne, or other Places on the Wild Coast of the West Indies:

1. The aforesaid David Nassy and his Partners are permitted to establish a Colony to the extent of four or five miles of land on the Island or Rivers of Cayenne, consisting of so much land as can be cultivated by the Colonists, provided they do not extend so far from the Colony of Cayenne as to interfere with the other settlers; and they shall be bound to settle in the aforesaid colony within the period of four years, commencing not later than the first of September, 1660, on pain that if after the said period they

---

* Reprinted from *Annals of Guiana*, by James Rodway and Thomas Watt, Georgetown, Demerara, 1888, I, pp. 145 *et seq.* Translated from the Dutch in Jan Jacob Hartsinck's *Beschryving van Guiana*, Amsterdam, 1770, Part 2, pp. 940 *et seq.; Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam*, Paramaribo, 1788, II, pp. 113-122; H. J. Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1843, pp. 460-466, and other works.

should fail to do so, all the uncultivated, uninhabited, or unoccupied lands shall revert to the Company, to be disposed of as they shall think fit.

2. The said David Nassy and his Partners shall be allowed Jurisdiction over the Bays which may be found in the Colony which is to be established and to half of the rivers situated at either side of the said Colony, of which assignation will be made hereafter, always provided that the Company reserve to themselves or their assigns, the right of free navigation and trade in those Bays and up and down the said rivers.

3. The said David Nassy and his Partners shall be granted free and assured possession of that part of the aforesaid Colony, with it belongings and dependencies, that may be colonized, governed, worked, assigned, and cultivated within the period of four years, of which they may dispose by testament, contract, engagement or otherwise, so that they may be free to dispose of their property at their own pleasure, provided that nothing in the testament or contract shall be held binding if the Colony should be cut off from these States and this Company and captured by another nation.

4. The said Colony shall be allowed to establish high, middle and low jurisdiction, which shall be carried out in accordance with Article XIV.

5. The aforesaid Colony shall be held by the said David Nassy in manner of a fief, and to provide for the security thereof, one or more responsible persons shall be provided, on whom the fief may be conferred, on payment of certain manorial fees to the amount of 60 guilders.

6. The Sovereignty and Supreme Control, and everything connected therewith, are reserved to their High Mightinesses and the Company as far as the Company are qualified thereto under their Charter.

7. It shall be permitted to the Jews to have freedom of conscience with public worship, and a synagogue and school, in the same manner as is allowed in the City of Amsterdam, in accordance with the doctrines of their elders, without hindrance as well in the district of this Colony, as in other places of our Dominions, and that they shall enjoy all Liberties and Exemptions of our other colonists as long as they remain there; but the aforesaid Patroon and his partners shall be bound to preserve the said freedom of conscience to all the other colonists of any nation whatever, and that with the worship and public rites of the

Reformed Religion, or any other that may happen to be in the country.

8. The Company grants to the before-named David Nassy and his partners, freedom of tithes (tenths) for the period of twenty years, in which privileges he may allow his Colonists to participate for as many years as he shall consider advisable, also freedom of head tax and other duties, any of which may be received from the expiration of the tenth year until the twentieth, shall be applied to defray the expenses of public works and fortifications, and at the expiration of the twentieth year this and all other tenths and head taxes shall devolve on the Company.

9. If any of these Colonists, or any other persons shall discover any mines of gold, silver, precious stones, marble, saltpetre, or pearl fisheries of any nature whatever, they shall be considered as the property of the Colonists for the period of ten years without charge, after which time a tax of a tenth part of the net proceeds shall be paid to the Company.

10. The Colonists shall be exempted for the period of ten successive years from all the Company's taxes on materials exported for agricultural purposes, working of minerals and provisions, for the erection of houses, logies, fisheries, and the like articles of necessity appertaining thereto.

11. During the term of five years these persons shall be free from the Company's taxes on gums, dyes, balsams, plants, and other merchandize found in the Colony, or raised by their industry, which shall be imported into this Country from that land, after which time the same duties shall be claimed as are paid by the other settlers on the possessions of the Company.

12. The Colonists will be permitted to transport their goods from this land by their own ships, as well as by the Company's vessels if any should be available, but they shall be bound to give an exact account of the size, number of men, equipment, and lading of these vessels, either here or at any place where there is a Chamber of the Company, also before sailing to provide themselves with a Commission from the Company, in conformity with the custom of all others within the limits of the Company's charter. Permission is fully granted that they may keep for their own trade what vessels they shall consider necessary.

13. The Colonists shall be permitted for the benefit of the Colony, all the rights of establishing fisheries for the drying and salting of fish of all descriptions, and shall be allowed for the period of twenty years to transport the same to the West India

Islands, Spain, the Straits and elsewhere, provided they do not under that pretense carry away any minerals, plants or anything prohibited, on pain of the exporters forfeiting for the benefit of the Company whatever goods may be found besides those that are prohibited.

14. The Company shall appoint in the aforesaid Colony a "Schout," for the maintenance of Justice and Police, provided the state of the Colony be such as shall justify the appointment of a Governing Council in which case the patroon or patroons shall nominate two of the most able persons living in the Colony being Dutch Christians of the Reformed Religion, through whom the Schout, as representative of the Company, may have supreme control in the country.

15. All the affairs, differences and litigations shall be decided by the aforesaid rulers and the sentences executed, provided the sentence shall not exceed the sum of five hundred guilders. In case this sum should be exceeded appeal may be made to such Courts as their High Mightinesses and the Company may commission for the purpose.

16. The aforenamed Colonists shall be allowed all the privileges of trading for slaves as may be hereafter decided by the Council of Nineteen. This accommodation to be the same as that allowed to the Colony of Essequibo under the Chamber of Zeeland.

17. They shall also be provided by the Company with such numbers of slaves as may be required from time to time, in accordance with the orders and regulations made or to be made by the Council of Nineteen, but all the slaves which may be captured at sea by the Colonists shall be allowed to be brought to the Colony for further transportation on payment of a tax to the Company at the rate of ten guilders for each slave, with the understanding that a fourth part of the slaves thus captured shall remain in that country for the benefit of the Colony on the Wild Coast.

18. After the expiration of the first ten years the Company shall be entitled to there appoint a receiver of the Company's taxes which the chiefs and rulers of the Colony shall help in maintaining to the furtherance of the Company's authority.

This done and enacted by the Shareholders of the Chamber of Amsterdam on the 12th of September, 1659.

This index covers the whole of Volume 16 of the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. For the index to the foregoing paper, consult references to titles bearing numbers between 95 and 186.

SAMUEL OPPENHEIM,
141 East 111th St.,
New York.

INDEX.

Abarbanel, David, *pseu.*, *see* Dormido, Martinez.
Abbot, Rev. Henry, intolerance of, 43 (and note).
Abbott, Mr., 27.
Aboab, Rabbi Isaac, 97.
Abrahams, Edmund H., 187.
Adams, Prof. Herbert B., 3.
Advertisement of Jacob Philadelphia, 80-83.
Aguilar, Rabbi Moses Raphael de, 97.
American Jewish Historical Society, collections of, 5.
executive committee, 4.
executive council, 3.
foundation of, 5.
future usefulness, 5-6.
American Jewish History, foundation of, 5.
American Jewish Year-Book (5663), 3.
"American Orator," 49.
Amsterdam Chamber, West India Co., 119-122.
"Andre" (Sargent), 27.
Annals of Guiana (Rodway and Watt), 95 (note), 98 (note).
Anti-Semitic question, 33.
Archives, Dutch-Portuguese, 9-11, 12.
Arnold, Benedict, 26.
Argyn (ship), 105, 168.
Asher, G. M., quoted, 116 (note).
Attia, David, 133 (and note).
Augusta Sentinel, quoted, 67 (note).
Authors, Jewish, 8.

Bamberger, Arnold, 78.
Barnett, Dr. George E., 3.
Barlow, Joel, 26.
Barre, Sieur, 136 (note).
Baruh, David, petition of, 146 (note).
Beekman, Abraham, 157, quoted, 158, 159 (note).
Beginnings of British Guiana (Davis), 105 (note).
Berkeley, Lord, 38.
Bernard (English actor), quoted, 25.
Beschryvinge van de Volk-Plantinge Zuriname, 156 (note), 157 (note).
Beschryving van Guiana (Hartsinck), 148.
Bibaz, S. B., 8.
Biggs, Asa, amendment offered, 66 (and note).
Bissell, Gov. W. H., 198.
Brentano, Lorenz, 198.
Brentano, Judge Theodore, 198.
Brewster, Benjamin Harris, 193.
Burning the Ships (Phillips), 197.
Board of Nineteen, West India Co., 121-122.
Bock, C. W. (artist), 73.
Bodleian Library, 108.
Boesch, Dr. Hans, 74.

Brackenridge, Hon. H. M., speech of, 51, 52.
Branch, Gov., 59.
plea for the jews, 60-61.
Brazil (Neuhoff), 106 (note).
Brazil, immigration to, 97.
Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of William Penn (Quarry), 78-79.
Byam, Wm., quoted, 137 (and note), 145, 149, quoted, 150.

Cabbala, the, 75.
Caldwell, Rev. David, 40, 41 (note), quoted, 45.
Calendar of Clarendon Papers, 118 (note).
Campos, Daniel f. de Abraham de, 106 (note).
Campos, Imanuel de, 106 (note).
Carnevall, Ferdinando, *pseu.*, *see* Thurloe, John.
Carson, Mr., quoted, 61.
Carvajal, Antonio Fernandez, 119 (note).
Cayenne, colony of, 99-101, 135 (and note).
Century Magazine (1882), 32.
Charles II, grant of North Carolina, 38 (note).
of Surinam, 99 (note).
Chicago Inter-Ocean (1899), 25, 33.
Christopher Columbus and the participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries (Kayserling), 206-207.
"Chronostichon," 80.
Cincinnati Historical and Philosophical Society, collections of, 27.
Clark, George Rodgers, 35.
Clay, Henry, 31, 32.
Clay, Mrs. Henry, 30, 31.
Clement, Nicholas, 168.
Clinton, British Gen., 191.
Cohen family, 2.
Cohen, Mendes, 2-3.
Collection of Voyages (Pinkerton), 106 (note).
Colonization Committee, 102, 123, 129-130, 170.
Committee for the three Walcheren cities, Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere, 102.
proceedings of, 162-172.
Congress of North Carolina, 39.
Conscience, liberty of, 27-28.
Cooper, Jesse, 57 (and note).
Corcos, Rev. Joseph, 140 (note).
Corte, Neeltie de, 172.
Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers (Wolf), 119 (note).
Crynssen, Admiral, 156.

Daniel, Judge, 60 (and note).
Davis, N. Darnell, quoted, 105 (note).
de Aguilar, Rabbi Moses Raphael, 97.
de Campos, Daniel f. de Abraham, 106 (note).
de Campos, Imanuel, 106 (note).
de Corte, Neeltie, 172.
d'Endracht (ship), 104, 164, 170.
de Fijn, J. (commander in Pomeron), letter to the West India Co., 131, 132-133.
de Fonseca, Isaac, 132.
Deform Judaism and the Study of the Hebrew (Dropsie), 194.

de Fuentes, Philippe, 103-105, 117, 130-131, 132, 168.
de Hase, Mr., 170.
de la Foirey, Mons., 190.
de la Luzern, Chevalier, 190.
de la Parra, S. H., 8 (note).
de la Roche, Salomon, 158.
de Marbois, Barbie, 190.
Dembitz, Lewis N., 30.
de Mercato, David, 146 (note).
de Mesquita, Bueno, 8.
de Rendon, don Franciscos, 190.
de Sola, Clarence, 27.
de Veth, Jacob Rodriges, 133.
de Vries, Moses Isaac, 159 (note).
Diploma, oldest American medical, 75-76.
Dissenters in North Carolina, 38-39, 44 (note).
Dormido, Martinez, 109.
Dropsie, Moses Aaron, 5.
  sketch of life, 193-195.
Duer manuscripts, 27.
Duer, Col. Wm., 26.
Duke of Cumberland, *see* Frederick, Lord Henry.
Dutch New York, Jewish settlers in, 24.
Dutch-Portuguese congregation, catalogue, 12-22.
du Tertre, Jean Baptiste, 100, 146.

Early Chicago and Illinois (Mason), 29.
Eames, Wilberforce, 96 (note).
Edwards, Gov., 29.
Edwards Papers (Washburne, editor), 29.
Edwards, Weldon N., quoted, 56 (and note).
  amendment offered, 59.
Egerton MS., 118 (note), 119 (note), 160, 176.
"*Elliot's Debates*," 42.
Elzas, Dr. Barnett A., 5.
Emden, E. v., 8.
Emigrants, French, in Ohio, 26.
Essai Historique sur la Colonie de Surinam, 7, 8 (and note), 95 (and note), 98 (note), 99 (note), 135 (note), 139-140, 141, 155, 179.
Etting, Solomon, 2.
Evening Journal, 65.
Expulsion Edict of Louis XIII, 33-35.

Fijn, J. de (commander in Pomeron), letter to the West India Co., 131, 132-133.
Flushing Records, 96 (note).
Foirey, Mons. de la, 190.
Fonseca, Isaac de, 132.
Fort Ceperon, 135 (note).
Fort Kykoveral, 101.
Fort Pitt, 26.
Franks, David, 25-26.
  will of, 189.
Franks, David S., 25-27.
Franks, Jacob, father of David, 25.
Frankstown, 26.
Frederick II, 93.
Frederick the Great, 85-94.
Frederick, Lord Henry, 76.
French Code Noir, violation of, 25.
Fuentes, Philippe de, 103-105, 117, 130-131 (and note), 132, 168.

Gaston, Wm., quoted, 39 (note), 48 (and note), 49, quoted, 58.

interpretation of constitution, 53 (and note), 54 (and note).
speech of, 59, 63 (and note).
Gedenkblätter (Kayserling), 205.
"General Committee" (democratic), 191.
Georgia Gazette, 187.
German pietists, 75.
Germanic National Museum, 74.
Geschichte der Israelitin (Jost), 120 (note), 140 (note).
Geschiedenis van de Koloniën Essequebo (Netscher), 98.
Geschiedenis van Surinam (Wolbers), 7.
Gist, Maria Cecil, wife of Benjamin Gratz, 32.
Glazer, Rabbi Simon, 5.
Goliath, Cornelis, 133 (note).
Gotha, Herzog Ernst von, 91.
Gottheil, Prof. Richard, 156 (note).
Grant by Dutch West India Co. to David Nassy for a Jewish Colony at Cayenne, 120 (note), 121-122, 161, 183-186.
Grant of privileges by the Governor, Council and Assembly to the Jews in Surinam, August 17, 1665, 179-180.
Grant of privileges to the Jews (Egerton MS.), 108-110 (and note), 111-114, 116, 118 (and note), 121-122, 176, 178.
Gratz, Benjamin, 31, 32.
Gratz, Bernard, 2.
Gratz, Jacob, *see* Henry, Jacob.
Gratz, Michael, father of Rebecca, 32, 47.
Gratz, Rebecca, 31-32.
Groenewegel (or Groenewegen), Aert Adrienszoon, 125-126.
Grunwald, Dr. Max, quoted, 93, 106 (note), 188.
Guiana, immigration to, 101-103.
data relating to early Jewish colony, 95-96 (and note).
first Jewish colonists, 104.
Gunter, Clement, 128.

Hamburger Gemeindebuch, 106 (note).
Hart, Lucretia, *see* Clay, Mrs. Henry.
Hart, Nathaniel, G. S., 30-31.
Hart, Col. Thomas, father of Lucretia, 31.
Hartsinck, Jan Jacob, 142.
Hase, Mr. de, 170.
Hays, Baruch, father of John, 27.
Hays, John, settler in Illinois, 27-29, 30.
Hemstead, Jacob, *pseu. see* Thurloe, John, 118.
Hennepin, Louis, 106 (note).
Henry, Jacob, contest for seat in Legislature, 46, 47 (and note), 48-49.
speech of, 49-51, 68-71.
Heyden, Van der, 168, 170, 172, 174.
Hirsch, Dr. Emil G., 200, 203.
Historical Proeve, see Essai Historique.
Historical Sketch of Kentucky (Collin), 31.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 73.

History of New Jersey (Smith), 187.
Hollander, Prof. Jacob H., 3.
Hollandtze Mercurius (1664), 142.
Holmes, Mr., resolution offered, 60 (and note), 61 (note).
Hopkins, Wm. A., 198.
Hühner, Leon, 5.
Hunt, Randall, 201.
Hyde, Laurence, 99 (note).

Immigration, Jewish, to the West, 23.
Invasion, English, from Barbados, 137-138.
Iredell, James, champion of religious liberty, 41 (and note), 42 (note).
address of, 43-44 (and note).
Israel, Menasses ben, 205.

Jacocks, Mr., 60.
Jahresberichte (Kayserling), 206.
Jewish Chronicle, 187.
Jewish Beginnings in Kentucky Dembitz), 30.
Jewish Beginnings in Michigan, (Heineman), 27 (note).
Jewish Pioneers of the Ohio Valley, (Philipson), 30.
Jewish Population of Maryland (Barnett), 3.
Jewish population, study of, in Maryland, 3.
Jews, attitude of the colonies towards, 37.
as traders, 24, 33-34, 93.
massacre of, 34.
Jews in England, re-settlement of, 108-109.
Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States (Adler), 6.
Jews of Ferdinand and Isabella's Court, 206.
Jews of Georgia, 187.
Jews of Iowa (Glazer), 5.
Jews of Philadelphia (Morais), 32.
Jews of South Carolina (Elzas), 5.
Jews of the Confederacy, 67 (note).
Jews' Savannah, 98.
Joannes, the (ship), 104.
John Marshall Centennial, 202.
Johns Hopkins University, 3.
Johnston, Gov. Samuel, revolutionary patriot, 41 (and note), quoted, 45 (and note).
Journal of Guiana (Byam), 137 (note), 148 (note), quoted, 149, 156.

Kayserling, Dr. Meyer, 5.
sketch of life, 205-207.
Kennedy, Henry H., 202.
Kerr, John, 65 (note).
Kohler, Max J., 9, 106 (note), 110, 125, 160.
Kuh, Ephraim, 205.

Lancaster, Mr., quoted, 42 (note), 45 (note).
Latorre, 129, 166.
Lead, Cardoso, 133 (and note).
Leeser, Isaac, 63, 64 (and note), 65, quoted, 66 (note), 68.
Lettre Politico-Theologico-Morale sur les Juifs (Soulage), 8.
Levy, Abraham, 170.

Levy, Benjamin, 187.
Lichtenberg, Georg Christoph, 80.
Life and Times of Henry Clay (Colton), 31.
Life of Jesus (Dropsie), 194.
Locke, John, 38 (and note).
Longland letter, 106, 107 (and note), 108, 118 (note).
London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 78.
Louis XIII, edict of, 33-35.
Louis XV, treatment of Jews in French territory, 34-35.
attitude on slavery, 35.
Lumbrozo, Dr. Jacob, 1-2.
Luzern, Chevalier de la, 190.

Macoo, Nathaniel, defense of religious liberty, 57 (and note), 58 (and note).
Madison, President James, 30, 190.
"Mammoth Cave" (Kentucky), 32.
Marbois, Barbie de, 190.
Maryland Jew Bill, 51.
Maryland, religious toleration in, 1-2.
Mason, Edward G., 29.
Matthäi, Conrad, Rosicrucian mystic, 75.
Maurice of Nassau, Count, 98 (and note).
McCaleb, Judge, 201.
Medina, Francisco, 104, 164.
Melon Schooner, The (Phillips), 197.
Mennasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell (Wolf), 110 (note).
Mercato, David de, 146 (note).
Merchants' Map of Commerce (Roberts), 144 (note).
Mesquita, Bueno de, 8.
Messiah of the Jews, *see* Zevi, Sabbathi.
Method of Determining Jewish Population of Large Cities of the United States (Barnett), 3.
Meza, Abraham, 146 (note).
Minutes of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania (1790), 26.
Mitchell, Dr. S. Weir, 196.
Moller, George, 80.
Monte del Cisne (ship), 101 (note).
Morais, Henry S., 5, 32.
Morao, Isaac Henriques, 132, 133 (note).
Morpurgo, J., 8.
Morthamer, Mr., 168, 170, 172, 174.
Moses, Adolph, 5.
sketch of life, 200-203.
Moses and Newman, 202.
Moses, Hamilton, 202, 203.
Moses, Irma, daughter of Adolph, 200.
Moses, Mrs. J. W., daughter of Adolph, 203.
Moses, Joseph M., 197.
Moses, Joseph W., son of Adolph, 200, 202, 203.
Moses, Julius, 202, 203.
Moses, Paul A., son of Adolph, 200.
Moses, Rosenthal and Kennedy, 202.
Moss, John, 195.
Myers, Josephine, 196.
Mystics, Rosicrucian, 75.

Nassy, David J. C., 8 (and note), 9, 98 (and note), 100, 101, 103, 114, 116 (and note), 117, 119, 160, 161.
National Corporation Reporter, 202.
Navigation Act of 1660, 149, 152, 153.
of 1651, 99.
Netscher (historian), 98(note), 108, quoted, 115 (and note), 116, 119, 139, 140.
Netto, Moses, 128, 170.
Neuhoff (historian), 106 (note).
New Amsterdam, early Jewish immigration to, 23.
New Hampshire, religious bigotry in, 37 (and note), 65 (and note).
New Jersey Archives, 187.
Newman, Jacob, 202.
New York Historical Society, collections, 27.
New Zeeland Chamber, West India Co., 120 (and note), 121, 123.
proceedings of, 172-175.
Nones, Joseph B., 32.
North Carolina, struggle for religious liberty, 37-71.
Church of England, 38 (and note).
constitution, 39-40 (and note), 41.
constitutional convention, 65-67.
declaration of rights, 40 (note), 45.
dissenters, 38-39.
federal constitution, 42.
Noteboom (skipper), 170.
Nunes, David, 106 (note).
Nourse, Mr., 191.

Objects of the American Jewish Historical Society, v.
Occident, the, 64, 65 (and note), quoted, 67.
o'Liveria, David, 106 (note).
Original of Rebecca in Ivanhoe (Van Rensselaer), 32.

Palpa, Abraham della, 188.
Paltsits, V. H., 96 (note).
Panegyric on the life of Isaac Leeser (Dropsie), 194.
Parra, S. H. de la, 8 (note).
Parry, John, 155.
Peale, Charles W., 27.
Pence, A. M., 198, 199, 202.
Penn, Wm., 78-79.
Pennypacker, Samuel W., 75.
Perrels, J. W., 96 (note).
Perry's Historical Collections, 79.
Petaete, Moses, 133.
Peyen, Mr., *pseu.*, *see* Thurloe, John.
Philadelphia, Jacob, 73-84.
advertisement of, 80-83.
as lecturer, 76-77.
portrait of, 73-74.
preceptor, 74-75.
and Frederick the Great, 85-94.
Philippson, Ludwig, 205.
Phillips, Barnet, 5.
sketch of life, 195-197.
Phillips, Barnet, Jr., 197.
Phillips, Frank, son of Barnet, 197.
Phillips, Henry, son of Barnet, 197.
Phillips, Isaac, father of Barnet, 195.
Phillips, Sallie, wife of Barnet, 197.

Phillips, Sarah, wife of Isaac, 195.
Philipson, Dr. David, 30-31.
Pilgrims of Mass., 39 (and note).
Pinto, Paul Jacomo, 103, 104 (note), 164, 166, 172, 174.
Pintos, the, 103.
Pioneer History of Illinois (Reynolds), quoted, 28.
Pioneer settlers, Jewish, in the West, 23-32.
Pomeroon colony, attack upon, 148 (note).
Poorte, Van der, 170.
Portugiesen Gräber auf deutscher Erde (Grünwald), quoted, 93, 94, 106.
Praag, Gebrs. v., 8.
Prins Willem (ship), 104.
Prisoners, Spanish, 134 (note).
Proceedings of Board of Aldermen and Council, West en Rad, of Middelburg, 174-175.
Proceedings of the Committee governing for the three Walcheren cities, Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere, 162-172.
Proceedings of the Zeeland Chamber, West India Co., 172-174.

Quarry, Col. Robert, 78-79.

Randolph, John, 57 (note), 58 (note).
Ranke, Leopold von, 206.
Rawson, British commander, 99.
Rayner, Kenneth, 58 (and note).
"Real Citizen," a, 187.
Religious toleration in Maryland, 1-2.
Rendon, don Franciscos de, 190.
Rensselaer, Gratz Van, 32.
Report of U. S. Commission on Venezuela-British Guiana Boundary, 102 (note), 159.
Retrospections of America (Bernard), 25.
Reynolds, Gov. John, quoted, 28.
Rochambaud, 191.
Roche, Salomon de la, 158.
Rodway, James, 95 (note), quoted, 105 (note), 108.
Roman Catholics, political exclusion of, in North Carolina, 39, 41 (and note), 42 (note), 43 (and note), 46, 52-63.
Roos, Rabbi J. S., 97 (note), 155, 188.
Roselius, Christian, 201.
Rosenthal, Julius, 5, 202.
sketch of life, 198-200.
Rosenthal, Moritz, 202.
Rosenthal, Lessing, son of Julius, 199.
Rosenthal, Pence and Moses, 202.
Ruffin, Thomas, 66 (and note).
Riemsdijk, Dr., Th. H. F. van, 96 (note).

Salomon, Haym, revolutionary patriot, 190-192.
Salomon, Haym M., letters to President Madison, 190-192.
Scherphuisen, Gov. V., 188-189.
Schulpforte, records of, 77.
Scioto Co., 26-27.

Scott, Major John, quoted, 124, 125-127 (note), 128-129, 137, 146, 148 (note), 160.
Seelig, Johann Gottfried, Rosicrucian mystic, 75.
Senior, Jacob, 106 (note).
"Serepique," 106 (note).
Settlement of Jews in the U. S., celebration of, 4.
Shaftesbury, Earl of, 38.
Sheftall, Mordecai, 187.
Shelby, Anna Maria, second wife of Benjamin Gratz, 32.
Shober, Mr., 56 (note).
Smith, James A., U. S. consul at Leghorn, 96 (note).
Smith, James S., 57 (and note).
Sola, Clarence de, 27.
Sommermans, Willem, 131.
Speeches on the Jew Bill (Brackenridge), 48 (note).
Spranger, Guerin, charter to, 100, 101, 135.
"States ships," 121.
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, 30.
Stern, David, 203.
Stern, Edward, 203.
Stern, Harry, 203.
Stern, Rabbi J. L., 3.
Stern, Simon Adler, 5.
sketch of life, 203-205.
Stiles, Capt. Joseph, 26.
Stone, Dr. Frederick D., 73-74.
Struggle, The (Phillips), 198.
Stuyvesant, Gov. Peter, 23.
Sulzberger, Hon. Mayer, 47 (and note).
Surinaamsche Almanakken, see Surinam Calendars.
Surinam Calendars, 8.
Surinam, Jews in, 7-22, 138-145, 147-157.
historical sources, 8-9.
government archives, 9-12.
grant of privileges, 108-112, 179-183.
Swaving, W. O., 96 (note).
"Sweet singer of Israel," 79.
Swift, quoted, 59.
Swift, R. K., 198.

Taylor, Judge John Louis, 48 (and note), 49.
Tertre, Jean Baptiste du, 100, 146.
Thompson, Prof. Robert Ellis, 204.
Thurloe, John, secretary of state under Cromwell, 106, 118 (note), 119 (note).
Thurloe letter, 107, 114, 120.
"Timehri," 105 (note).
Toomer, Judge, 46 (note), quoted, 61 (note).
"Tyroffschen," 73.
Tryon, Gov., quoted, 39.

University of Göttinger, 80.

Van der Poorte, 170.
Van der Hyden, 168, 170, 172, 174.
Van Rensselaer, Gratz, 32.
Van Riemsdijk, Dr. Th. H. F., 96 (note).
Veth, Jacob Rodriges de, 133.
Vigo, Pietro, 96 (note).
Vries, Moses Isaac de, 159 (note).

Watt, Thomas, 95 (note).
Weeks, Stephen Beauregard, quoted, 38 (note).
Wescott, quoted, 78.
Westdorp, Burgomaster, 174.

"Western convention," 52.
"Western exchange," the, 25.
West India Co., 132.
  Amsterdam Chamber, 119-122.
  vanilla trade, 157-159.
Wheeler, Gen. "Joe," 196.
Wheeler, John H., 46 (note), 47.
Wieland, quoted, 188.
"Wild Coast," delivery of slaves, 114-115 (and note), 117, 162, 164.
Williams, Roger, 59.
Willoughby land, 149.
Willoughby, Lord, 99 (note), 113, 137, 140-141, 143, 146 (note), 149-150.
Wilmington Journal, quoted, 64, 65.
Wilson, Gen. Louis Dicken, 61-63 (and notes).
Winnemore, Mrs. A. E., daughter of Barnet Philips, 197.
Witt, Dr. Christopher, Rosicrucian mystic, 75-76.
Wolf, Lucien, grant discovered by, 109-110 (note), 113, 114, 116, 118 (and note), 153, 160-161.
Wolf, Mathilda, wife of Adolph Moses, 203.
"Woman in the Wilderness," 75.
Worthington, Col. J. W. D., 52.

Yancy, Mr., 52-53.

Zeeland Chamber, Dutch West India Co., prospectus, 101-102, 105.
  proceedings, 172-174.
Zeeland Chamber Extracts, 117.
Zevi, Sabbathi, 105.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE.

Since the final proof of this paper was returned, additional data relating to the colony described in it have been obtained from the archives at The Hague, and are to appear in a later volume of the *Publications*. Among these is the Dutch version of the grant of privileges to the Jews going to the Wild Coast, corresponding with the English copy of the unidentified grant discovered among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum, and set out here as Appendix II. See pp. 108-122, and p. 176.

According to the additional extracts from the minutes of the colonization committee, the grant was issued to the Jews in the latter part of 1657 or early in 1658, and is spoken of in those minutes as being printed and sent out for the information of those interested. This agrees with the statement in the letter of Longland to Thurloe, which makes reference to a printed copy and that the same is to be translated. See p. 107. There is no doubt, therefore, that the copy in the British Museum is the one mentioned by Longland. See p. 111.

The conclusion arrived at also in this paper that the later English grant of privileges of 1665 to the Jews of Surinam was founded on this Dutch grant and was practically forced from the authorities in Surinam, appears to be strengthened, in addition to the reasons already given, by the positive determination of the origin and time of issue of the grant in the British Museum. See pp. 149-157.

Regarding also the twelfth colony mentioned by John Scott as settling on the Pomeroon in 1650 and 1651, it may further be said, in addition to what has already been urged, pp. 124-129, and in view of the fixing of the time of issue of the grant to the Jews, that the colony is unlikely to have been estab-

lished in those years, because the emigration of a great colony of Dutch and Jews from Brazil that he speaks of, would not have taken place without grants of privileges, and if such grants had then been made there would have been no occasion to make new grants to induce a later emigration between 1656 and 1658, to the same place, of a like large colony of Dutch and Jews who had been in Brazil. The Jews certainly would not have gone in 1651 without a grant, and if then in Pomeroon there would have been no occasion later, in 1657 or 1658, to make a new grant to them to go to the same region. The year 1650 may easily have been miswritten or misread in the Scott MS. for 1656, which would approximate the date of the beginning of the emigration as known to us from the extant records.