

THE JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND

A Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbados
in the Year 1680

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Foreword.

Hitherto the Jewish Historical Society of England in the thirty odd years of its existence has not concerned itself much with the history of our Colonial Jewries. In 1898 Mr. Lucien Wolf touched very lightly on the subject in his paper, "The American Causes of the Resettlement,"¹ whilst two more recent essays—on the Jews of South Africa² and on those of India³—complete the list of the Society's contributions to this aspect of Anglo-Jewish history. Yet the subject in addition to being an extremely interesting one is not without importance, for it is impossible to answer adequately the momentous question, "What have her Jews done for England?" without analysing the history of those early Jewish pioneers whose activities were a factor—and in some instances, perhaps, a vital one—in the development of the trade, communications and civilization of the British Colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unfortunately that history still remains to be written.

1 *Transactions*, iii. 76. 2 *Ibid.*, vii. 180.

3 "Notes on Jews in India," by H. Loewe (read before the Society, Dec. 10, 1923).

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I have formed the impression that our Colonial Jews rendered more pronounced services to the realm in the British West Indies than in any other part. Moreover, some knowledge of British "West Indian matters seems to me to be absolutely essential for a proper understanding of the seventeenth and eighteenth century history of the London Sephardi community, since its members appear to have derived so much of their social prestige—and so much of their revenue—from their Caribbean connections. The publications of the American Jewish Historical Society contain a very large number of scattered references to the West Indian Jewries. Mr. Frank Cundall, the late G. F. Judah, and the late N. Darnell Davis, all well-known local historians of Jamaica and Barbados, have contributed to the printed *Transactions* of our sister Society much useful data regarding the Jews of their respective Islands. Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, one of the Secretaries of that Society, was the first to draw attention to the importance of the West Indies to the Jewish historian. As far back as 1897 he compiled a series of extracts from the printed *Calendars of British State Papers (Colonial Series)*, thereby setting out most of the West Indian documents relating obviously to Jews which had been catalogued by the Public Record Office for the period 1661 to 1676. Dr. Friedenwald also extracted a number of ordinances relating to the Jews from the Laws enacted on the Islands of Barbados and Jamaica during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He augmented this material subsequently by his contributions to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. The Jewish Historical Society of England has thus every reason to be grateful to the American Society for its work in a field which has been neglected over here, in spite of the fact that,

strictly speaking, it concerns British rather than American historical workers.

The work which I myself have attempted to do is indicated by the title of my Paper, "A Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbados in the Year 1680." One of the reasons that led me to select Barbados as a field for my researches is that this Island has always been British—ever since its discovery three hundred years ago—and in this respect it differs from certain other West-Indian Jewish centres which have at varying times been subject to Portuguese, Spanish, French, Danish or Dutch rule. Moreover, the connexion between the *Sahar Asamaim* review of the Jewish colonists in Barbados.

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congregation in London and the *Nidhé Israel* congregation in Barbados has always been a close one. Although, as will be seen, the first Haham of Barbados came from Amsterdam, nevertheless London subsequently assumed a tutelary position in regard to the small distant community. It has continued this guardianship to this day, and in 1924, when, alas, there are only two male Jews on the Island—Mr. Edmund Baeza and his brother, Mr. Joshua Baeza—these two act jointly with certain Elders of the Bevis Marks Synagogue as trustees of the ancient burial ground in Swan Street, Bridgetown, and of the rebuilt Synagogue which it surrounds, and if it should please Providence entirely to extinguish the Jewish element in Barbados, then the melancholy duty will devolve upon the London Sephardi Jews of administering the property of the defunct congregation and of caring for the graves of its founders.

I have taken as a basis for my Essay the records of the 1679-80 Census of Barbados which are available at the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane. My task of picking out the Jews from a list of 20,000 names has been enormously facilitated by a splendid manuscript copy of the census returns compiled by Mr. Elijah Williams, and by him furnished with a full alphabetical index. This admirable piece of work (in two large volumes) has been presented by the compiler to the Guildhall Library, where it is catalogued as MS. 2202. Mr. Williams also had the kindness to introduce me to two lists of "Wills in the Registrar's Office at Barbados" which formerly were his property. One is now in the British Museum as Add. MS. 38650D., whilst the other is in the possession of Messrs. Hardy & Reckitt, Record Agents, of Lincoln's Inn. I have extracted from them all apparent Jewish names. Mr. Williams did me a further service by introducing me to the publications of Dr. V. L. Oliver, the historian of Antigua and the Editor for several years of *Caribbeana*, a quarterly which unfortunately ceased publication in 1919, and was devoted to the genealogy and antiquities of the British West Indies. Its pages enabled me to supplement my list of the Jewish wills at Barbados, and also provided me with a good deal of information of a general character as to the conditions of life on the Island towards the close of the seventeenth century. Dr. V. L. Oliver is also the author of *Monumental Inscriptions of Barbados* (London, 1915) and ten pages of this important work

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are devoted to "The Jewish burial-ground in Bridge Town." With praiseworthy zeal this painstaking historian has copied on the spot and printed over one hundred Jewish epitaphs (Portuguese, Spanish or English texts—the Hebrew being omitted) and he has very kindly waived all questions of copyright and has given the Society full permission to utilise these in the appendix to my Paper. Dr. Oliver has also presented this Society with a transcript of the monumental inscriptions copied by him in the Jewish burial ground on the Island of Nevis and not hitherto printed.⁴

The American Jewish Historical Society has printed two lists of the contributors to two compulsory levies imposed on the Bridgetown Jews in the year 1680. One was transcribed by the late Mr. N. Darnell Davis ("Towards ye repairing the highwayes"), and by the courtesy of the Bridgetown Cathedral authorities I have been able to inspect and to photograph the original document in London. The other list was printed in a local pamphlet of 1899 by the late Mr. E. S. Daniels, the last (honorary) Hazan (reader) of the Barbados congregation. This latter levy was "Towards defraying the Charges of this Parish," and the Secretary of our sister Society has been so good as to obtain for me a full typescript of this rare pamphlet since only a fragment of this list of taxpayers' names was reprinted in its Publications No. 26. I lay particular stress on these two lists of Jewish taxpayers because they frequently give the Jewish names of individuals as distinct from the commercial or social aliases under which these self-same people figure in the official census lists. This fact has enabled me to secure a full identification of many of our Barbadian Jewish worthies after comparison of the two last-mentioned sources with the tombstone epitaphs, endenization entries, wills, etc. Moreover, since Jewish assessors had distributed the burden of taxation a valuable guide has been obtained as to the circumstances of the various members of the Jewish community. Although imposed by the parochial

4 To Dr. Oliver the Jewish community is also indebted for having drawn attention to the neglected state of the Jewish cemetery at Charles Town, Nevis. On the initiative of the London Board of Deputies arrangements have now been made for the proper maintenance of the ground, whilst the legislative Council of the Island—realising the historical importance of this cemetery—has made a generous grant (in November, 1923) towards the cost of re-enclosing it. See also pp. 97-108.

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authorities of St. Michael's—the parish in which Bridgetown, the capital, is situated—these imposts also fell on other Jews in the Island, and some of the Speightstown Israelites (in St. Peter's Parish) also figure in the lists.

The archives of the Barbados Congregation appear to have been destroyed with the Synagogue in the hurricane of 1831. Included among the Barbados census returns at the Public Record Office are the Militia Muster Rolls for 1680. I have consequently been able to provide myself with a full list of the Jews in the train-bands, arranged under the localities in which they resided, for the Barbados Militia was raised on a territorial basis. As might have been expected the Jews of importance were cavalymen, whilst those of more moderate means "trailed a pike" and proceeded afoot.

The Record Office has also yielded up a passenger list of the sailings from Barbados during the year 1679. This was published with other material by J. C. Hotten in 1878, and also reprinted in the first number of the American Jewish Historical Society's publications. Not all the Jewish names were, however, extracted.

The wills of the Barbadian Jews, of which I have collected a large number—some registered in Bridgetown, others in London—have furnished a mass of information about the communal and family life of the Jews on the Island; they have disclosed, moreover, for the first time, the complete cadre of the religious organisation—right down to the beadle. 5

It will be gathered from the foregoing observations that a certain degree of completeness can be claimed for "A Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbados in the Year 1680." At least the names are now known of most, if not all, of the Jews then on the Island, and in the cases of a great many individuals considerably more than a mere

name has been secured. The story that has emerged constitutes a somewhat intricate piece of “jig-saw,” and in certain instances a reasonable measure of conjecture has been thought permissible. It is evident that when one studies exhaustively the doings of a small

5 The Portuguese and Spanish texts have, incidentally, become badly “mangled” through repeated copying by West Indian clerks ignorant of these languages. They are, however, still intelligible. See pp. 53-54, 56-57, 71-81, 83, 92-93.

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population in a limited area over a brief space of time—then by processes of elimination and of deduction one can legitimately arrive at conclusions that are not necessarily apparent on the surface. That this Essay will in the course of time be shewn to contain many errors is, I fear, inevitable, having regard to the fact that it is to some extent a pioneer attempt, and bearing in mind the mass of detail that has had to be handled. As it is intended primarily as a stimulus to further study by other historical students I was anxious not to delay its issue unduly—and in a work of this special type there appears to be no end to the additions and corrections which the author—and his friends—seem able to make! Therefore I crave indulgence for this first effort to describe one phase of Anglo-Jewish West-Indian history by a co-ordination of some of the many scraps of information available about Barbados and its Jews in Stuart times. It has been my modest endeavour not only to supplement these clues, but also to gather them together in such a way as to present an intimate and fairly complete picture of the seventeenth century Community—this being something which I believe has not previously been essayed. Now that I have, as it were, set the scenery and placed the characters on the stage I sincerely trust that I may look to other historical workers for further contributions towards the social and economic history of British West-Indian Jewry. It is not the material which is lacking, but the workers, and whilst the present compilation is only put forward as minor history, the ultimate goal—the Full Story of the Jews in the English Colonies—is surely a subject which merits a higher historical rating.

“Go now . . . and number ye the people that I may know the number of the people “—II Samuel xxiv. 2.

H. H. Eliahu Lopez, spiritual head of the Barbadian Jews, may well have quoted to himself this verse one Sunday morning in December, 1679, on learning from some kindly neighbour just back from church of His Excellency the Governor’s order that an immediate census was to be taken of the Barbados population. On the following Saturday the Reader, Hazan Moses D’Azevedo, would repeat Sir Jonathan Atkins’ order to the assembled Jews in the Synagogue of Bridgetown near by, whilst word would have to be sent to the little “Minyan” in

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St. Peter’s—twelve miles away in the north of the island—for a similar proclamation to be made. Sir Jonathan Atkins’ enquiries as to the size of their households, as to their land, and as to the number of their negroes, would raise a hundred apprehensions as to increased taxation—not only among the Jews, who were already heavily burdened, but among all the planters and merchants of the Island, and it may well be that here and there an attempt would be made by an anxious taxpayer to underrate the importance of his

possessions. Certain of Haham Lopez' congregants would have been prone to such an offence, for some of them, not being planters, owned more than the stipulated number of slaves and hired them out to the planters as and when required—a convenient arrangement, doubtless, but in breach of the law. So far as he personally was concerned, Haham Bliahu Lopez could contemplate with equanimity the forthcoming inquisition. Harsh though they might be towards the Jews, the parochial authorities of St. Michael's conceded something to the position which he filled and he would certainly continue in enjoyment of his own two negro attendants. Nor was his own contribution to the white population figure of Barbados an inconsiderable one. Not many years had elapsed since his arrival at Bridgetown, and already his household numbered "5 Jewes" indicating that his spouse Kachel had presented him with three sons, whilst later the arrival of a fourth—followed by twins (Moses and Aaron)—was to gladden their parents' hearts! In connexion with the census formalities there was to be a muster of the militia, and, with the exception of Government servants and slave-overseers, and the very aged, every white man on the Island would have to turn out. Out of respect for his calling Haham Lopez was excused this military duty, and sensitive eyes on Barbados were thus spared the incongruous spectacle of a bearded Amsterdam Rabbi in a scarlet tunic parading with firelock—or else trailing a pike—in the tropical sunshine. If there was one Jew on the Island for whom king Charles' uniform had no terrors it would have been Isaac Naar, for he was *Samas* (beadle) of the congregation *Nidhé Israel*, and doubtless shared the taste in dress of the parish beadles of his day—and of all time. *Nidhé Israel*, "the scattered of Israel," well described Haham Lopez' flock, for they were a heterogeneous and adventurous crew,

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and, although mainly Portuguese, they had come together from all parts of the world, and many of them were to disperse again in the years that succeeded the close of 1679. Although still of modest dimensions the congregation had been steadily growing, and it was high time when Mr. Lewis Dias, its honoured founder, had requested his Amsterdam correspondents to select and engage a learned and a godly Haham.⁶ Rabbi Lopez, the young Principal of the Academy *Temimé Derech*, was willing to accept the call, for had not Isaac Neto, his distinguished predecessor in that office, also forsaken his home on the Amstel to assume a more important position as Haham at Surinam on the Guinea Coast? Twelve years later H. H. Lopez was to quit his Barbados congregants and to become Haham of a brand new Synagogue at Curaçao; nor were his six sons (David, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the twins), although born under the British flag, destined ever to bear arms for an English king since they all accompanied the Amsterdam Rabbi to the flourishing Dutch island-colony. At the close of 1679, however, H. H. Lopez had no occasion to be dissatisfied with his outlook on life. He was still quite young—indeed, some of the Amsterdammers had criticised his elevation to Haham on that ground alone⁷—and there was plenty of scope in Barbados for his youth and enthusiasm.

In Bridgetown itself, out of a total of 404 householders, no less than 54 were Jews. Many, indeed most of them, were very poor, but a spirit of religion and true piety prevailed, and the richer Jews assisted in bearing the burdens of their poorer brothers.^{7a} Indeed, apart from their natural gregariousness, the laws and social habits of their Christian neighbours combined to make the Jews of Bridge-

town a compact and self-contained unit of the population of St. Michael's Parish, for the dominant English residents disliked and

6 An unexpected conclusion to which this study has led is that the Barbados congregation was only smaller by twenty or twenty-five per cent than the contemporary London congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews.

7 Daniel Levi de Barrios (Amst.), *Árbol de las Vidas*, p. 90; "*Temimé Darex*," 7th (unnumbered) page.

7a In spite of this the Grand Jury was to call the Governor's attention (on the 16th August, 1681), to the evil done to the Island by vagrant and poor Jews and to the want of a state-house and common gaol. C.S.P., Col. 1681-85, p. 102.

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distrusted the Jews, 7b although all agreed that they were less pestilential than the troublesome Quakers. Nevertheless, a Quaker was taxed in the same way and on the same scale as a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian, whereas the Jews were taxed as Jews with a lump sum by each Parish authority. Reluctant Jewish notables were made responsible for distributing the liability and collecting the impost, and when, thirteen years previously, Mr. Lewis Dias had refused to act in that capacity, the gentlemen of St. Michael's Vestry sardonically transferred his office to Robert Rich (surnamed Mordecai), the wealthy and eccentric Quaker. Moreover, the Jews were not allowed to employ Christian servants, and this—combined with the limitation as to the number of negroes to be owned—proved obviously a real hardship in a Colony where plentiful white labour was actually available, thanks to the transportation thither of numerous felons, rebels and paupers. Thus the Barbados Jews of the employer class when in need of indentured white servants had to make use exclusively of poor Jews. If these came to Barbados of their own accord, well and good; if not, they had to be brought to the Island at their prospective masters' expense and by them clothed and employed for five years. A Jewish immigrant of this type after he had served his time might expect to find difficulty in making any considerable headway on the Island. 8 Those who stayed on would engage in petty trade at one of the sea-ports, strengthening their position if possible by marrying into one of the well-established Jewish families.

The Barbados Jewry of 1680 comprised very few planters, and its landed-proprietor class principally owned freehold and leasehold house property in Bridgetown, but then it must be borne in mind that agricultural holdings in the Island were highly prized and changed hands but seldom. For many years over two-thirds of its area of 166 square miles had been under cultivation, and already in 1650 cultivated land, when it could be bought, was fetching nearly £30 an acre. Another disability under which many Barbadian Jews laboured was that

7b They set down in a petition of the 9th June, 1681, that "the presence of Jews is inconsistent with the safety of Barbados." C.S.P., Col., 1681-85, p. 69.

8 In his 1693 will (*q.v.* p. 76) Aaron Louzada writing of the year 1685 says: "I did not sign (*a family balance-sheet from Amsterdam*) owing to my then serving my 26 (? years of) Slavery."

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unless they were naturalized or endenized they could not with security import goods, nor could they pursue their debtors in the Courts. Since the process of endenization cost some £60 and frequently

called for influence at Court, it was clearly a privilege which the average poor Jew had to deny himself. There were other drawbacks to Colonial life which Barbadian Jews shared with their Christian neighbours, as, for instance, the horrors of negro risings—there had been an outbreak in May, 1675—and the losses and alarms caused by the destructive hurricanes—one of which had taken place on the 31st August, 1675. There were many deaths, too, from disease. They knew the scourge of leprosy. They suffered from elephantiasis, to them known as “Barbados Leg,” whilst the yellow fever claimed its victims by the score. Governor Atkins had indeed to remind Whitehall that “it has pleased Providence to send a great mortality among us these two years past which has swept away many of our people and our slaves.” Haham Lopez’ flock had suffered with the rest, as is attested by the stones in the little Swan Street burial ground, and by the many women’s names among the Jewish heads of families in the 1679-80 Census lists. A poor Jewish stranger who came to the Colony, who found no relatives there and was disappointed at his welcome by the well-settled Jews on the Island, might be forgiven if he shipped himself hence at the earliest convenient opportunity and sought fortune in a likelier spot. There had, however, been Jews in the Island almost from its discovery in 1625, and the foundations of the *Nidhé Israel* Congregation were in 1680 already at least thirty years old. Many of the Jews had undoubtedly become deeply attached to the Island, and some had amassed comfortable fortunes there. Certain of these betook themselves to London, jealous, no doubt, of the profits which their English agents were securing to themselves from the West Indian trade. In London, too, there was more scope for the employment of capital, and socially life was a great deal more pleasant. But others of these Sephardi Jews, as I have hinted, were content to remain in Barbados, and some, having seemingly become immune from the local illnesses, died there at a very great age. To men and women reared near the sunny banks of the Tagus or the Guadalquivir, London or Amsterdam must have seemed dank and dreary spots—and for such Barbados must have held many

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compensations. “The place is fruitfull and pleasant, the ground producing yearly two crops of Corn gathered in October and April, and ye heat being generally moderated with a fresh gale of wind in ye daytime and ye cold never so great as to require a fire.” To a Jewish merchant holding letters of endenization and possessed of capital and good business connexions, the trading possibilities of Barbados were attractive. The demand for Barbados sugar was large and the export trade, afforded scope for middlemen, in fact, the raw brown sugar or muscovado—the word is Portuguese in origin—was the petty currency of the Island—200 lbs. of sugar being equivalent to £1 of Island money. There was export business to be done also in the clayed or refined sugar, in fact, in a few years’ time (viz., 1689) the English sugar refining industry was to express its alarm at the vigorous competition.⁹ The by-products of the sugar, rum and molasses, were of ready sale. Then Barbados could supply the clothworkers of England with all essential dyes and the Island cultivated and shipped red logwood, green and yellow fustick, and the fruit of the indigo shrub. The cotton plant was also grown. There had been many attempts, in which Jews had shared, to grow the spices of the Eastern Indies, but the vanilla and pimento had proved a failure. The English housewife of 1680, ignoring the virtues of green vegetables, was much dependent on exotic seasonings, and she could, at least, look to Barbados for white, black and green ginger.

At the Feast of Tabernacles each autumn the Jews of Barbados were able to perambulate round their Synagogues bearing *Lulabim*¹⁰ (Palms), and *Etrogim* (Citrons) of local growth. The Jewish merchant of Barbados towards the close of Charles II.'s reign was well adapted, too, to cope with the import trade. There was, for example, a heavy importation of wines, Portuguese, Spanish, French and Madeira, but principally the last-named, and this was a business which the Jews well understood. The wealthy English planters lived well, in fact, a contemporary writer says that "no people in the World have been more remarkable for a luxuriant way of living," hence there was a demand for articles of luxury, not only jewels, plate and costly woven

9 Edward Littleton, *The Groans of the Plantations* (1689).

10 The cabbage tree of Barbados described by a 1685 writer was actually a palm with a budded top.

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materials, but also for imported food-stuffs, which latter came not only from England and Ireland, but also from the American plantations. Then Holland sent fine linen and crockery ("Hollands" and "Delph"), and England its indispensable woollen and hardware goods. There was business to be done in provisioning the ships that rode in the Caribbean harbours. There was business to be done, too, in selling merchandise at retail in the ports and in the market places. In 1669 . . . a solicitous observer had informed king Charles that "this noble Island wants a money trade." By the close of 1679—ten years later—the Jews of Bridgetown had done something towards meeting that need and certain of them had funds "out at interest" and sometimes yielding ten per cent. As for their unpopularity socially, they could afford to be philosophic and to reflect how preferable was the aloofness of the English Colonial families to the friendly advances which some of them had experienced earlier in their careers from agents—secret agents—of the Holy Inquisition! Finally, they had the solace of religion—their own religion—and they were able to share freely and without restraint in a congregational life that was enthusiastic and intense. An important branch of their activities was philanthropic and the time-honoured Jewish practices were followed. Thus, in addition to the congregational *Sedaca* (charity fund), alms were distributed at funerals, and the "Meritorious Brotherhood of *Gemiluth Hasadim*" ("the bestowal of loving kindness") was active in its good works.

The 1679-80 Jewish population of Barbados was drawn from three sources. In 1654 the Portuguese armies in Brazil had retaken Pernambuco from the Dutch and the huge Jewish congregation of Recife had dissolved, fleeing from the grisly Inquisition which was promptly re-instituted by the conquerors. A number of Jews found their way to Barbados, some by very divergent routes. In 1664 the Jewish settlement at Cayenne was dispersed, and its members added a few more heads to the Hebrew population of Barbados. Again ten years later there was a fresh influx, for England had surrendered Surinam to the Dutch, and thereupon many, but not all, of the English settlers withdrew, and there were a number of Jews, too, who expressed their preference for life under the British flag. A tussle between the English and the Dutch authorities ensued, and after negotiations lasting many

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months the withdrawal of these Jews was effected, their ostensible destination being Jamaica, although, as will appear, several found

their way to Barbados. Governor Atkins writing in 1676 wound up with the following statement a long official complaint about absentee landlords and the financial abuses from which the sugar industry was then suffering:¹¹ “For these reasons the merchants are now very few not above thirty Jew families of Dutch extraction from Brazil; many are very poor but the better sort have been made denizens; they are very quiet and submit to the Government, religion excepted.” There were, however, probably more Jews than that in the Island at the time Sir Jonathan was writing. There certainly were a great many more three and a half years later when the 1679-80 census was taken.^{11a} Moreover, all had not come from Brazil, for—apart from a common origin in Portugal and Spain—these Colonists had come from England and the United Provinces, from Denmark and the Hanse Towns, from New Amsterdam, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, from Guyenne in France and from Guadeloupe, also French—perhaps, too, from Italy. The Jews of Barbados numbered three hundred souls at the close of 1679, of whom 240 were of “ye Towne of S. Michael or ye Bridge Town,” whilst apart from three lonely Jewish outposts in the parishes of Christchurch and St. Thomas the remaining Hebrews congregated at Little Bristol, formerly Speights Bay, and later called Speightstown, in the Parish of St. Peter Allsaints in the north-western corner of the Island.

Barbados is equal in size to the Isle of Wight, and Bridgetown and Speightstown are as far apart as Freshwater from Newport. In 1679-80 the entire population of Barbados including “free and unfree servants and slaves” was just half the present-day population of the Isle of Wight.

Hard by St. Thomas’ Church in the centre of the Island was the important plantation of MR. DAVID DE ACOSTA, a gentleman of Spain. It was, in fact, one of the three Jewish outposts already

11 Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series (America and West Indies), C.S.P., Col., 1675-76, p. 422, para. 973.

11a Sir Richard Dutton, the new Governor, reported on 11th June, 1681: “There are about 260 Jews, men women and children either born on the Island or made denizens by royal letters patent.” C.S.P., Col., 1681-85, p. 72.

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referred to. The property comprised a house, a windmill (for grinding cane), and covered forty-one acres of land. The plantation was worked by sixty-one black slaves. The claim of agriculture had been allowed to overcome the anti-Jewish prejudice, and de Acosta had seven white servants and three bought ones (felons), apparently all Christians.

In Christchurch Parish at the southern end of the Island were two Jewish residents, one, MR. DAVID NAMIAS,¹² being a planter with a dozen negroes and twenty acres of land. He, too, had a house and windmill, the property being situated near the coast, some two and a third miles east of Needhams Point, and not far from the boundary line separating Christchurch from St. Michael’s Parish. Mr. Namias also had a residence “in and about the towne of S. Michaells” with a household of nine persons (Jews) and five further slaves. It is a regrettable fact that his son and heir, Manuel, grew up illiterate, and it is to be supposed that his father kept him on the Christchurch plantation and somewhat remote from the Jewish educational facilities at Bridgetown.

The other Christchurch Hebrew was MR. BENJAMIN BUENO, who was living there on the 22nd December, 1679, with no white servants, but with one negro. Four years later he died in New York,

where he was buried, and where his tombstone is still shewn as the oldest in the New Bowery Cemetery of the *Shearith Israel* Congregation. His son MR. JOSEPH BUENO (obit 1708) formerly of Barbados, but subsequently a New York merchant of great prominence, had purchased this burial ground in 1681. His other son, ABRAHAM BUENO DE MESQUITA, lived on in Barbados until the close of the seventeenth century, when he settled with his children as a planter on the Island of Nevis. The father, Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita, had left Barbados for a time for Jamaica, from which place he petitioned king Charles II. to “be graciously pleased to Grant him yor Lres Pattents, for the making of him yor Mate Free Denizen.”

12 The Hamburg brothers Jacob and (Er.) Baruch Namias de Castro (1600-99 and 1597-1694) had interests in Barbados—as had many other Jewish families of Hamburg, Altona and Glueckstadt (see American Jewish Historical Society Publications (A.J.H.S.P.), No. 23, p. 183, and the writings of I. Cassuto, A. Feilchenfeld and Max Gruenwald). It is by no means unlikely that David Namias of Barbados was of this stock.



ii (ii) JOHN SELLER'S MAP (1680)



ii (ii) S.W. CORNER OF SELLER AND MORGAN'S MAP (1885) SHOWING THE PLANTATIONS OF NAMIAS AND ALTONA

pp. 13-14, 90-91.

[British Museum]

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The plea was granted on the 5th July, 1664, and a patent of endenization was entered on the Great Roll in the name of Benjamin de Bueno under date of 24th October, 1664 (part 3, 17). Subsequently Mesquita and both his two sons were denounced together with three other Jamaican Jews, by Sir William Davidson, a Scottish supporter of the king who lived in the Low Countries, in connexion with a dispute, and a threat of expulsion was uttered but not carried out.

The fourth and last Jewish planter of Barbados in 1679-80 was DANIEL BUENO ENRIQUES, a gentleman of Seville, who had married the only child of his fellow Spaniard, David de Acosta.¹³ “Mr. Daniell Boyna,” as he was called, owned ten acres in St. Michael’s Parish and worked it with fourteen negroes and a white overseer. At his father-in-law’s death, fourteen years later (in December, 1684), he had to take over in addition the management of the St. Thomas plantation, which was four times the size of his own. Daniel Bueno Enriques and his wife Sarah had no children. He had Amsterdam kinsfolk who were men of importance in the Dutch congregation, and the family had links as well with the City of Bayonne. “Mr. Boyna’s” recollections of Europe were somewhat faint, for half his life had been spent on Barbados. He was then (1680) in his forty-third year.

Mention has been made of MR. LEWIS DIAS who had founded the *Nidhé Israel* congregation. At the close of 1679 he was a man of sixty-three, and one of the five leading Jewish merchants of St. Michael’s. Of Portuguese birth, he had long resided on Barbados, and only three and a half years previously he had laid to rest there his venerable father, who had passed his ninetieth year. Lewis Dias himself lived to the ripe age of eighty-three, but he and his wife Jael (a French Jewess) were sorely afflicted by the deaths through illness

13 Daniel Bueno Henriques is described in his endenization petition of 1661 as being “of Seville,” and in that of 1662 as “Portuguese.” He was probably one of the four sons of Pedro Henriques of Medina del Rio Seco, Castille, and brother to Diogo Henriques, alias Abraham Bueno of Recife (born in 1622) who was penanced by the Lisbon Inquisition on 15 December, 1647, having been taken in Northern Brazil fighting for the Dutch. (Case No. 1770, Inquisition of Lisbon). Daniel Bueno’s father-in-law also may well have originated from Seville; a 1655 Inquisition-List of suspect New Christians includes the name of one Manuel Gomes Dacosta of Seville. (*Transactions J.H.S.*, iv. 228.)

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of many of their children. When Mr. Dias died in 1698 he was survived only by his widow and by two sons, Isaac and David—the latter a minor. Four sons and one daughter were already lying with their grandfather in the Barbadian Jews’ last resting place. Hence Lewis Dias’ request “when God pleases to take me home let my body be buried in the Jewish manner as neare my father and children as possible.” At the close of 1679 his daughter and three of these sons were still living, whilst the young boy David had not yet come into the world. At the Restoration Lewis Dias was one of the first Colonial Jews to seek—and to be accorded—English citizenship, and his certificate of endenization is dated 2nd August, 1661. The warrant in Latin is issued to Ludovico Dias Gutturres, but a clause provides that the grant is to cover each and every name or cognomen which the grantee may have borne or may hereafter bear at any time during his life. In point of fact, the true name of Mr. Lewis Dias was Joseph Jessurun Mendes, but like many of his Jewish contemporaries he had assumed a commercial alias to enable him to trade freely with merchants in the Spanish and Portuguese Dominions, being no doubt related to Jacob Mendes Gutterres, a contemporary Jamaican Jew.—For on reversion to Judaism the baptismal name would usually be exchanged for a patriarchal one, and often, too, the Iberian patronymic would be discarded in favour of some name (e.g., Abarbanel, Aboab) having Jewish associations and believed to have been borne by the family in pre-Inquisition times. (Cf. *Transactions J. H. S.*, iv. 228 and x. 83 n.)—Lewis Dias was clearly a man of worth. In his Portuguese

epitaph he is called “Godfearing” (“Temerozo de Dios”) whilst its English counterpart states that he “was beloved. . . . Respected by all men in his time.” In his will is a touching appeal to his two surviving children, and this, even when translated from the original Portuguese, has about it a pathetic ring of sincerity: “I desire my sons to walk in good wayes, to be obedient to their mother and deale justly with all men. And they shall thereupon have God’s blessing and mine and they shall be honoured before God and my soul shall be glad.” This is clearly no scrivener’s formula but a message from the man himself. In 1673 Lewis Dias had owned Quomoka plantation in Surinam, and in that colony his sister Ester was married to Gabriel Antunes. The Antunes had left Surinam with the British in September,

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1675, and had come to Barbados. Gabriel had failed to make any position for himself. Ester Antunes died in 1703 at the age of eighty-four, having inherited an income of £20 a year from her wealthy brother. Lewis Dias was clearly the friend and protector of every Jew on the Island. When Abraham Gomes, a poor Hamburg Jew, sickened and died in May, 1676, it was Lewis Dias who was sent for to receive his dying wishes. Similarly, when Jacob Pacheco, who was well-to-do, felt that his last hour was nigh he “nominated and appointed and humbly desired that Lewis Dias Marcht: should take his whole Estate unto his care and management for the benefitt and advantage of his children putting the trust of his Estate in his hand without any other person to bee concerned with him therein. . . .”

Of greater wealth and perhaps even of longer residence in Barbados was DAVID RAPHAEL DE MERCADO, for he had come to the Island with his father, Dr. Abraham de Mercado, in 1655. As far back as 1640 the Doctor had been a *Parnas* (Elder) of the Recife Congregation, and when the general exodus from Brazil occurred he sought leave to practise as a physician in Barbados. A stepbrother of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, one Ephraim Sueiro, had also belonged to the Recife community, whilst another of the Rabbi’s kinsmen, David Abarbanel (alias Manuel Martinez Dormido), had sons settled in the port and was conducting a large Brazilian business from Amsterdam. Fortunately for the fulfilment of Dr. de Mercado’s wish, Señor Dormido was in favour with Oliver Cromwell, for whom he had done some intelligence work prior to his arrival in London in September, 1654, accompanied by Rabbi Menasseh’s son. Another Sephardi Jew who had the ear of General Cromwell was Simon Henrique de Caceres of Glueckstadt in Denmark, who had also established himself in London before the close of the Protectorate, and who with his brother Benjamin had occupied freehold property in Bridgetown, Barbados, since 1652 or earlier.^{13a} These were the influences which doubtless brought it about

13a Interesting confirmation of this, hitherto unnoticed in the Public Records through defective calendaring and indexing, is the petition submitted in London early in 1654 by “Simon Henrico de Casres (Merchant).”

“Being an Inhabitant and ffreeholder of the Island of Barbados from whence he has lately returned” he solicits a **Pass to Barbados** for his ship “the Proffett Samuell now at Hamborough of which ship the petitioner and his brother are

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that the Commonwealth authorities were moved to issue on the 27th April, 1655 “a pass for Abr. de Mercado, M.D., Hebrew, and David Raphael de Mercado, his son to the Barbadoes where he has an order from His Highness to exercise his profession.”¹⁴ The presence of a

Jewish physician in their midst must have been a great comfort to the Jews of Barbados in view of the treacherous nature of the climate, and later Dr. Abraham Henriques Florez was there to tend them in sickness, but he had died towards the end of 1673. His place was taken by another of Dr. Abraham de Mercado's sons. The newcomer was DR. MOSES HISKIA DE MERCADO, a widower from Hamburg, who duly became *Gabay* (Treasurer) of the *Nidhé Israel* Congregation. Albeit endenized in 1680, he nevertheless returned to Hamburg to end his days and he received burial in 1692 in the Altona Burial Ground, in which—twenty-five years previously—his first wife Rachel had been interred.¹⁵ A second brother, Isaac de Mercado, also came to Barbados, seemingly from Amsterdam.¹⁶ These Mercados were surely immigrants of a very acceptable type, coming as some of them did, to Barbados—on which there had been settlers for less than thirty years—from the prosperous and developed plantations of Recife, which had been settled for over a century and a quarter.

As early as the 12th July, 1661, David Raphael de Mercado received letters of denization, together with two other Barbados Jewish notables.¹⁷ He had clearly acquired some of his father's scientific

the true and lawful owners." Annexed is a certificate "by the Governour" dated Barbados 17th October, 1653, setting out that the two De Caeeres "are Inhabitants of this Island of Barbadoes and have a plantation, as also a Storehouse at the Indian bridge towne of freehold wCh is recorded in the Secretary's Office of this Island and do enjoy here the same priviledges as other freeholders" Col. Papers LXVI. 3. 1.

14 *Transactions J.H.S.*, i. 44.

15 *Portugiesengraeber auf deutscher Erde*, M. Gruenwald (Hamburg, 1902), p. 107. 27 Tebet, 5427. Rahel, wife of

(=1667) Mose Hisk. De Mercado.

2 Tisri, 5452. Dr. Mose Hisk. De
(=1692) Mercado.

16 In 1675 he still figured in a list of married members of the Amsterdam Sephardi congregation.

17 Aaron de Silva and Antonio Rodrigues Rezio. A fresh grant was made to Mercado on the 11th July, 1678, (*Patent Roll*, 30 Car. II, pt. 1.)

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knowledge, and later "by his long residence in the West Indies with much study charge and expense," he invented a new type of sugar mill. In accordance with the practice of the time he secured the patronage of the Governor of Barbados, Lord Francis Willoughby of Parham, who was co-proprietor too of Surinam. He in his turn associated himself with Lawrence Hyde, Lord Clarendon's second son and the London Court favourite, who afterwards became Lord Rochester. Jointly they petitioned the king for a patent of monopoly. A warrant of the 22nd June, 1663, grants these parties the sole right to employ the invention not only in Barbados but in all the Caribbean Islands. The making and erecting of this sugar plant was also to be monopolised by My Lords Willoughby and Rochester, and on the 2nd January, 1664, they secured a patent for "the sole making and framing of sugar mills after a 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."¹⁸ **David Raphael de Mercado was married to Gracia, sister of Aaron Baruch Louzada.** The Mercados all lived in the Parish of St. Michael's, and when the Militia muster was held on the 6th January, 1679-80, they all "fell in" with their respective companies in Col. Bates' regiment (The Governor's Guards). David Raphael de Mercado had to parade with four other Jews under Lt.-Col. John Codrington. David de Isaac de Mercado, his nephew and heir,

“stood to attention” under Capt. Morris, whilst Aaron Haim de Mercado and “Isaack Mercado, Chirugion” were among the two dozen Jews who belonged to Major Paul Lyte’s Company. It may well be that Isaac de Mercado’s appointment as medical officer to his fellow militiamen was simply based on a recollection that he was his father’s son, for when in after years he settled in London (where he died in 1712) he does not seem to have been known as a medical practitioner. In 1680 on Barbados, David Raphael was already esteemed a man of property, whereas his brothers remained poor; his wife, Grace, a woman of capacity, seems to have carried on his affairs for six or seven years after his death (on the 14th August, 1685), and even to have acquired a plantation. Perhaps David Raphael de Mercado’s end was hastened by a grave charge of uttering base coin which was

18 C.S.P., Col., 1661-68, p. 144, para. 498 and C.S.P., Domestic, 1663-64, p. 427.

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levelled against him by a certain Capt. Samuel W. Wiltshire. The matter was brought up at a meeting of “The Council and Assembly of Barbados” on the 27th April, 1682, and it is thus recorded in the “Minutes of Council.”¹⁹ “Information being given to this Board of Mr. Raphaell de Mercado importing and vending extraordinary light Spanish, which may in time prove a thing of evil consequence by means thereof; and for that it appeared to this Board the information had matter of truth in it; It is therefore ordered, that the said Raphaell de Mercado stand forthwith bound to the Grand Sessions, there to answer the same, himself in £500 sterling; and two sureties in £250 sterling, each. . . .” When David Raphael de Mercado died three years later his estate comprised *inter alia* three houses, which passed to his nephew David, son of Isaac de Mercado,²⁰ who was also to inherit a fourth house on the death of his aunt. Another nephew, a lad also named David de Mercado, benefited, too, under the will. He was a son of Dr. Moses Hiskia de Mercado and the godson of David Raphael, who had no children of his own. The first Jewish burial on the Island had been that of Aaron de Mercado, whose death occurred early in 1660. Perhaps this is what prompted David Raphael de Mercado to direct his executors in 1685 to provide not only a £50 marble tombstone for his own grave, but also to cause to be erected a stone wall round the entire burying place (“*nosso Bet Ahaim*”—“our House of Life”). He also was possessed of what was surely the oldest “Sepher Torah” (Scroll of the Law) on the Island, and this he directed his wife to hand over “with all ornaments thereof” to his nephew, David do Isaac de Mercado.

19 The passage was on p. 459 of the Minute-book and it is cited in Dr. Nathan Lucas’ MS. notes on the Jews of Barbados, and reprinted in A.J.H.S.P., No. 18, p. 138. See also C.S.P., Col., 1681-85, p. 225, para. 487.

20 A David de Mercado died intestate in New York on the 21st December, 1731, and a brother named Moses took out letters of administration. This may well have been David de Isaac de Mercado, of Barbados, who would certainly by then have passed his seventieth year. Barbados records say nothing about a brother, Moses de Mercado, and he may, of course, at an early age have left the Island or else have been born after “the 1680’s.” David de Ishae Mercado was in 1675 an unmarried *Yahid* (seatholder) of the Amsterdam congregation, so that it would hardly seem that he could have been very long in Barbados in 1680.

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Another Jewish magnate of Bridgetown at this time was DAVID ISRAEL, a Portuguese Jew with relatives in Amsterdam. David Israel also had been a Jewish settler in Brazil but he had come to Barbados

by way of New York (or New Amsterdam, as it was then still sometimes called), having landed there in poor circumstances with twenty-two fellow Jews in 1654. He was one of David Raphael de Mercado's comrades in Col. Codrington's Company. He, too, had been endenized on the 27th December, 1662.²¹ In 1680 David Israel had an adult son Isaac and two daughters, Esther and Rachel, the latter of whom was to marry David Judah Rodrigues and to become the mother of Jacob and Esther Rodrigues. David Israel owned and occupied a house of stone in Broad Street, where he had Aaron Baruch Louzada as his next door neighbour. He had also invested in other property in Bridgetown jointly with Aaron Navarro. His kinsman, Solomon Israel, was an early settler on the adjacent Island of Nevis, where he became a very prominent planter indeed. At his death in 1689 David Israel did not forget his brother Jews ("meos yrmaōs judeos") and not only did the *Sedaca* benefit to the extent of £6, but legacies were also left to the brotherhood of *Gemiluth Hasadim*, to Haham Eliau Lopez, to Hazan Moseh de Azevedo, and even to the *Samas*, Isaac Nahar. Munificent bequests were also showered by David Israel on his Amsterdam relatives. A legacy of 600 florins which had come to him from his brother Samuel was made over to his brothers Abraham and Jacob Israel, and to Samuel Israel's heirs, whilst a sum of 1,255 florins, being his share of his mother's *Ketubah* (marriage portion) was to be similarly divided.

Yet another outstanding Bridgetown Jew was ANTONIO RODRIGUES-REZIO, better known on the Island as Mr. Anthony Rodrigues—among his brethren, however, he was called Aaron Levi Rezio. Letters of endenization had been issued to him on the 12th July, 1661, jointly with David Raphael de Mercado and another Barbados Jew. In December, 1665, he had been in Jamaica, where he owned a house and land at St. Jago de la Vega, but subsequently he returned to Barbados. On the 29th October, 1669, he joined with other Bar-

21 Jointly with four other Barbados Jews, Moses Israel Paehecho, David Namias, Pagdiel Abudiente and Paul Jansen de Vrede.

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badian co-religionists in petitioning for the admissibility of Jewish evidence when tendered on oath in the Island's Courts of Law—and this effort was crowned with success. On February 10th, 1671-72, he was appointed with Lewis Dias, David Raphael de Mercado and Aaron Navarro to act as assessors in connexion with a levy of 7,000 lbs. of sugar imposed on the Jews of St. Michael's by its vestry. By the end of 1679 his small household of three was served by no less than ten slaves. Shortly afterwards he transferred himself to London, and so well was he regarded that already in the year 1684 he was serving the Creechurch Lane Synagogue as one of its two *Parnasim* (wardens).²² Other members of the Levi Rezio family had left their mark on Barbadian Jewish history, notably Jeronimo Rodrigues Rezio, who became a British citizen on the 18th March, 1662—simultaneously with Moses Harm's (Gago), who, like him, was then "living in Barbados." He it was who in the late summer of 1666 had been appointed with Mr. Lewis Dias as assessors of an inconvenient burden—35,000 lbs. of sugar—to be laid on the unhappy Jews of St. Michael's, and he it was who stubbornly refused to act. Jeronimo Rodrigues was also concerned with Anthony in the petition of October, 1669, as to testimony in the Law Courts, and on this occasion he wrote his name Abraham Levi Rezio. There repose in the Jews' burial ground at Bridgetown Jacob Abraham Levi Rezio who died in 1661, and Isaac Levi Rezio, who followed him some six years later, whilst two ladies of the family

—Rachel and Rebecca Levi Rezio—were laid to rest on the Isle of Nevis in 1684 and 1688 respectively.

The last of the Bridgetown Jewish magnates of 1680 was AARON BARUCH LOUZADA, a member of a distinguished and enterprising family, closely identified with London and Barbados. Of his brothers, two, David and Abraham, were intimately associated with Barbados, whilst one, Anthony Louzada (otherwise Moses Barrow), had just been appointed (1679) a broker of the City of London, where he

22 His name figures in that capacity on a mural tablet dated 27th June, 1684, which is fixed on the northern wall of the Cromwellian burial ground in the rear of 234, Mile End Road, London, E. The Levi Rezios were cousins of that interesting character Manuel Lopes (Isaac Raphael) Pereira, alias Vandepere, alias Manoel Velasquez, of Lisbon, Dublin and London.

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was to attain great prominence, and to spend forty years of his life. He had settled in London towards the close of the Commonwealth.

Aaron Baruch Louzada and Rachel, sister of Isaac Gomez Henriques, of Barbados, were married to one another rather late in life. When the husband died in 1693 his widow, who survived him by thirteen years, was left with four boys and two girls—all of them under age.²³ Aaron Baruch Louzada seems to have carried on the tradition of service to the interests of the Jewish community created by his brother David Baruch Louzada, who had transferred himself to England shortly before the year with which this narrative deals. David had become a British citizen on the 18th April, 1664. In October, 1669, he had taken part in the agitation by the Barbados Jews as to the admissibility of their evidence. Some time after his brother Aaron's death he returned from London to the Island, this time accompanied by his son.²⁴ Aaron's nephew, Jacob Baruch Louzada, lived at Speights-town with his spouse Rebecca, and before another ten years had elapsed the grief was to be theirs of having to bring their two small sons, Isaac and Elishu, down to the Bridgetown burial ground. Aaron Baruch Louzada²⁵ took out letters of denization in 1676,²⁶ four years later than his brother Abraham. As has been seen, he lived with his family in Broad Street, Bridgetown, attended by five slaves. He kept a saddle horse, but, when summoned to parade mounted on the 6th January, 1680, with Lt. Maxwell's Troop he failed to put in an appearance and his name duly figured on "A list of ye defaulters of ye same Troops on yt day." On the 9th August, 1681, Aaron Baruch Louzada headed a petition to the Council of Barbados on behalf of the Jews

23 A boy had died in infancy, see p. 77.

24 His pass from London to Barbados is dated 17th April, 1696, and he was also accompanied by Rebecca Baruch Louzada—evidently a relative, albeit not his wife. *Miscellanies*, J.H.S., i. xxxiii.

25 His grandson and namesake (1703-62) was also a Barbados Jew, and from him (so Sir Thos. Colyer-Fergusson, the genealogist, states) are descended all the English Louzadas, including that Isaac Louzada in whose favour the Spanish dukedom "do Losada y Lousada" was revived in 1848.

26 One of the official entries in connexion with the denization formalities is signed "Windsor." Baron Windsor of Stanwell was Governor of Jamaica from 1661 to 1664.

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of the Island,²⁷ whose rights to trade and to use the Courts had again been called into question and as an outcome the favourable order of 1675 was re-enforced.

At Speightstown in St. Peter's Parish in the north of the Island there lived a group of Jewish families. These ultimately built a small Synagogue²⁸ ("*Semah David*" or the Offshoot of David) but without constituting themselves a separate congregation, for they maintained close touch on religious matters with the Bridgetown Jews, whose cemetery they had shared from the start. The principal Jewish families in Speightstown, the Mendes, Dellyons, De Silvas, Massiahs, also had their "Magnates"; moreover, owing to their smaller numbers they achieved a certain degree of social intercourse with their Christian fellow townsmen. The leading Speightstown Jew was JOSEPH MENDES,²⁹ and his brother and partner was MENASSEH MENDES. Under their partnership agreement the brothers Mendes pooled their respective fortunes, Joseph being entitled to five-eighths and Menasseh to three-eighths. Unfortunately a bitter family feud raged between Joseph and Menasseh of the one part and another brother SOLOMON MENDES also of Speightstown, in which SIMON MENDES of that town was perhaps also embroiled. Shortly after 1680 Menasseh Mendes proceeded to London, and in a very few years he had become one of the rulers of the Creechurch Lane Synagogue. He married his sons Abraham and Benjamin to their cousins Sarah and Luna, the daughters of Joseph Mendes. The last mentioned, equally anxious to observe the articles of the partnership agreement in the spirit as well as to the letter, married off his son Jacob to Menasseh's daughter Sarah. When Joseph died in 1715 he had already made all arrangements for his widow and remaining children to leave Barbados for good and to join the rest of the family in the Metropolis. Solomon

27 C.S.P., Col., 1681-85, p. 99, para. 198.

28 In the transcript of Joseph Mendes' will, the name of the Synagogue is spelt "*Snead David*," clearly a mistake. It has been suggested that the correct form may have been "*Sahad David*" or the Help of David. It seems more likely that this offshoot of the "*Nidhé Israel*" (the Scattered of Israel) was designated "*Semah*," the Offshoot. See p. 57.

29 Joseph Mendes of Speightstown is, of course, quite distinct from Joseph Jessurun Mendes, alias Lewis Dias, of Bridgetown.

Most of landers Hemp ted Cernard of Samuel Aldson of the 11th: 1697 B (333)

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Andrew Britnall	Nataniell Bufsiels	Hugh John field
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Archur Sarah	Nead: Samuell	John Glover
John Smith magie	Roger Biggins	
Tho: Mackawter		
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Joseph Richards	Wm. Calwsne
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Edward Welpth Juhr. Barsade	Wm. Cursing Ham
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John: Dickenson	George Rciffe: Jnr
Tho: Martin	Tho: Hill
Thomas fisher	Tho: Dearing
Symon Josee	Denis. Murfains
Abraham: Do hihra	Wm. Collins
Pawsson Lelion jew	John Bock
Re st. Pardey	Thomas Sawrey
Tho: Das	John: Henderson
The: Allon	Jacob: Barrow
Benja. Featt	Isaac: Sawtherland
Phill Reawnont	Ephman: Elrick jew
Samuell Haedaker	Thomas Whit said
Darrick Robeson quaker	Johns And son
John: Rider wayper	Philip: Aldmond
Tho: Clarke	John: Waite
Tho: Sill	John Humas
Evans Rice	Thomas Warner
Symon Mondes four	Henerey Meale at Heniks
George Chock	Gilles Whitefost
Malises, Macey paryie	Samuell Onynard

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iii. militia muster roll, shewing several squads of jews
pp. 5 and 52. (*Public Record Office*)

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Mendes also³⁰—and his sons Jacob and Moses as well—had transferred themselves to London some years later than Menasseh Mendes, and they, too, prospered there exceedingly. When Bevis Marks Synagogue was opened and the Creechurch Lane Meeting House again became a City merchant's mansion, Solomon and Jacob Mendes were successively its tenants, whilst Moses Mendes made his home in Fenchurch Street, where he died a widower in 1717, still owning land in Barbados and still remembering, incidentally, his poor relations there. His unapproachable uncle, Joseph Mendes, of Speights, had also been a landed proprietor and he had ruffled it with some of the most considerable landowners in St. Peter's and St. Lucy's Parishes. Col. Joseph Pickering, of Pickerings, and his cousin Mr. John Sober, were among Joseph Mendes' intimates, and so, too, were the Hon. Michael Terrill and the Hon. Thomas Merrick. Joseph Mendes owned a third part of the Speightstown Synagogue, of which he was doubtless the founder. When he died, he left this to the poor. He departed this life in 1707, and knew nothing of the painful anti-Jewish outbreak which occurred thirty years later, and which led to the demolition of the Speightstown Synagogue.³¹ It is to be hoped that

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the Mendes brothers composed their differences on the 7th January, 1680, when all three rode out for the Militia Muster as members of Col. Lambert's troop, what time "Symon Mendes, Jew" trudged on foot under Lt.-Col. Tidcom!

This SIMON MENDES was one of a little group of Speightstown Jews who early became identified with the congregation of Newport, Rhode Island—the oldest congregation of Jews in America. Its burial ground (to be celebrated two centuries later by Longfellow) had in February, 1678, been acquired by MORDECAICAMPERNELL and one

30 One of his last acts on the Island seems to have been his petition of the 27th April, 1680, jointly with "Kiauh de Mercado" (presumably Moses Hiskia de Mercado) for liberty to emigrate to "The Plantations" (? Georgia and Carolina) and that their Letters of Denization should be interpreted to cover a sojourn in those parts.

31 This took place in July, 1779, at the wedding of one of the Lopez family, and seems, curiously enough, to have been an outcome indirectly of the friendly footing on which the Speightstown Jews stood with the Gentile population (see A.J.H.S.P., No. 22, pp. 197 and 198).

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other Jew. A few months later Mordecai Campernell landed on the Island of Barbados and no doubt made his temporary home in St. Peter's Parish with "DANIEL CAMPERNELL, Jew" another of Lt.-Col. Tidcom's militiamen. Mordecai Campernell was a Colonist of some experience who had formerly lived in Brazil, and he seems to have employed his time while visiting his kinsmen and friends on Barbados Island in persuading them of the far greater possibilities which were held out to settlers by Rhode Island. His colleague of the previous year in the purchase of the Newport burial ground had been³² MOSES ISRAEL PACHECHO of Hamburg but also well known on Barbados, where he had settled at the Restoration, and whence he had successfully petitioned king Charles in the year 1662 for denization. Pachecho and Campernell's desire to secure recruits for the Jewish nucleus at Newport, R.I., was largely satisfied by Mordecai Campernell's mission to Barbados in 1678-79. On the 1st April, 1679, he shipped himself back to New England; ten days later he was followed by Abraham Burgos and Jacob Tinoco, both of Speights.³³ On the 18th September Daniel Nasy (probably one of the Speightstown FONSECAS) sailed away in the ship *Hope* for New England—Newport being perhaps his ultimate destination. Subsequently Simon Mendes, with his wife, as well as the entire Campernell family, left Barbados for Newport. And so it came about that when on the 31st March, 1685,—six years later—the Surveyor for Newport, R.I., commenced an action at law against the representative local Jews (in connexion with the burial ground) the eight defendants included the bearers of these familiar names: Abraham Burgos, Rachell, widow of Simon Mendes, Mordecai Campernell, David Campernell, Daniel Campernell and Abraham Campernell. ³⁴

32 Dr. M. Gruenwald in his *Portugiesengraeber auf deutscher Erde* (Hamburg, 1902) shows Moses Israel Pachecho to have been "Parnas do Hebra" in the autumn of 1654 (p. 120, footnote 3); he affixed his signature to the Hamburg Congregation's Minute-book in the spring of 1660 (p. 150, photographic reproduction). Pachecho died at Hamburg in 1688 (1st Tamuz, 5448) but his estate was still in Newport, Rhode Island, where Letters of Administration were taken out by a Gentile friend named Caleb Carr (see A.J.H.S.P., No. 19, p. 17).

33 The first named died in 1732 in New York at the great age of 101. (*Ibid.*, No. 18, p. 97.)

34 It was not until 1693 that the Newport, R.I., Jewish community received an influx of new settlers, but these came from Curaçao. (*Ibid.*, No. 10, pp. 151-57.)

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Another interesting and important Jew of Speightstown was MOSES PEREIRA DE LEON, a Flanders warrior sometime of Recife (Northern Brazil), who had come to Barbados from Guadeloupe, and had secured endenization on the 17th February, 1671. He died four years later, and he was followed to the grave in 1678 by his widow, Sarah Esther De Leon, but in 1680 there were still at Speightstown many representatives of the family. A namesake was a householder owning three negroes in St. Peter's Parish and was a militiaman in Lt.-Col. Tidcom's Company, where he had as comrades "Sampson Delleon, Jew" and "David Delyon, Jew." Of a younger generation were Daniel Joshua De Leon and Benjamin Pereira De Leon and Matthias³⁵ Delleon. The Leon name was well known in the West Indies, for one Solomon Delleon was at this period—the sixteen-eighties—a man of prominence in Jamaica.³⁶ The Judah Leão (Leon) family of Amsterdam are, of course, famous in Jewish annals as Rabbis, Publicists and Printers, and in 1674 Rabbi Jacob Judah De Leon, who was surnamed "Templo," was in London for the purpose of exhibiting to king Charles II. his celebrated model of the Temple of Jerusalem.^{36a} He was the father of Moses of Barbados.³⁷ At Speightstown the Delleons intermarried with the De Silvas. The head of the latter family was ABRAHAM DE SILVA, a householder in December, 1679, of St. Peter's Parish and the owner of five slaves. Perhaps he was the son of Aaron De Silva, a Barbadian Jew of 1661 who had been endenized on the 12th July of that year, jointly with David Raphael De Mercado and Anthony Rodrigues. This Aaron De Silva settled subsequently in the British Colony of Surinam, whence he withdrew to Jamaica in 1675 (when the place was handed over to the Dutch) taking with him fifteen slaves and other property.³⁸ A very interesting character, too, was Mijnheer PAUL JANSEN

35 He was an ancestor of the well known Gomez family of Philadelphia and New York, many of whose members have borne the name "Matthias"—right down to recent times.

36 C.S.P., Col., 1681-83, p. 300, and Jamaican Wills, Libro 8, Fol. 255.

36a *Transactions*, J. H. S. ii, 156.

37 Case No. 11575, Inquisition of Lisbon (Joaõ Nunes Velho, born in 1613).

38 C.S.P., Col., 1675-76, pp. 284-85 and 352, paras. 675, iii., v., and vii. and 818.

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DE VREDA who had moved from St. Michael's into St. Peter's Parish at the commencement of 1680. In that very year, 1678, which saw the godly Christaen De Breda appointed a Deacon of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars, London, this other scion of that well known Flemish family was to be found living in Barbados among the Jews—and as a Jew! In the congregation he was naturally known as Abraham Devreda. It is not difficult to picture the angry mutterings and the looks of shocked surprise with which Mijnheer Francis Vanderwarfe and the other Hollanders of St. Peter's must have greeted "Mr. Paule Dawrade's" daily passages through the streets of Speights. On the 27th September, 1662, he had become an English subject—jointly with David Namias and one of the Gideon-Abudientes, and doubtless Gideon Dovrede who flourished on the Island of Nevis about 1753 was his son.³⁹ Paul Devreda kept four negroes and one white servant at Speights. He also owned a horse, a convenient possession for any resident of St. Peter's Parish who desired to keep in touch with Bridgetown.

One of the lesser lights among the Jews of St. Peter's was JACOB MASSIAH, whose descendants—no longer Jews, alas!—are still to

be found on the Island. In the year 1680 his son SIMEON MASSIAH was only six years old. When he grew up he became closely bound to the Mendes and Delleon families. During his early manhood he acted as business manager and book-keeper to Joseph Mendes. On the death in 1707 of this important merchant Simeon Massiah became his "trusty steward," having been given ample powers to deal with the deceased's affairs and to look to the welfare of the widow and children. He acted in a similar capacity for other Barbados Jews, not only when they left the world, but also when they migrated from Barbados to London. In St. Peter's Parish lived also JACOB DE FONSECA. He was a man of some consequence for his possessions included six negroes and a saddle horse. Following the example of his Jewish neighbours he had shipped off his son to London and ABRAHAM DE FONSECA was a familiar figure during the second decade of the Bevis Marks Synagogue's existence. In Commonwealth times an enterprising Jew,

39 "Mr. Deverade" of Nevis in *The London Magazine* for August, 1753 (quoted in *Caribbeana*, vol. vi., p. 36).

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Isaac de Fonseca, had made the Island his headquarters—there is a record of his having sailed thence to Curaçao on the 18th February, 1656, to trade six vats of beer, a pipe of brandy, and 4,000 lbs. of unbolted flour.⁴⁰ It may well be that Jacob and Abraham Fonseca were respectively the son and grandson of this pioneer. Jacob De Fonseca *Senior* (as the first-named was called) was not the only Jew of Barbados whom the inhabitants addressed as "Mr. Defonsequa." In Bridgetown there was also JACOB DE FONSECA MEZA, a young man who had sought to better his position by espousing a daughter of MANUEL ISRAEL DIAS, a merchant of some small position, but subsequently Jacob de Fonseca Meza found life difficult and made small headway, no doubt dispirited and discouraged by the death of his beloved Abigail who had been carried off in 1696 leaving him a childless widower. In the course of time he was consoled by the faithful ministrations of his dusky housekeeper, the slave-woman Isobel—to the great grief and scandal of that prim maiden lady, his sister-in-law, Senorita SARA ISRAEL DIAS. When Jacob De Fonseca Meza died in 1701, he gave the devoted Isobel her freedom, having little else to bequeath to anybody.

A third "Mr. Jacob Ffonsegoe" was JACOB DE FONSECA VALLE, the Bridgetown "Mohel" (circumciser).

Another well-to-do Speightstown Jew was SOLOMON CHAVES, who employed an indentured white servant in addition to five slaves. His state of fortune stands out in contrast with that of SAMUEL DE CHAVES, a far less affluent Bridgetown Jew. Both are likely to have come out from London after an earlier residence in Bordeaux and to be kinsmen of that notable Inquisition victim Manoel Nunes Chaves (1639-1703) a Londoner, burned alive at Lisbon "for Judaism."^{40a} in the presence of Queen Catherine of England, widow of Charles II. Next in importance in St. Peter's Parish came the members of the Burgos family. ABRAHAM BURGOS, who emigrated to Newport,

40 A.J.H.S.P., No. 10, p. 155.

40a A.J.H.S.P., No. 29, pp. 10-12, and Case No. 2383 and 138, Inquisition of Lisbon. At the time of his martyrdom [Sept., 1703,] he had three married sisters living in Barbados and a brother, Diogo Fernandes Chaves, probably the Solomon named above. His parents, former prisoners of the Inquisition, had died in London, where his son, José (penanced at the 1703 Auto) had been born.

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was blest with more than one Barbadian namesake and one of these was called ABRAHAM DE AARON BURGOS to avoid confusion. Then there was JEREMIAH EMANUEL BURGOS (1635-1715) who lived in Speightstown with his wife Ester, serving under Col. Tidcom and owning one slave. There was his neighbour, MRS. DEBORAH BURGOS, who had a similar household. In Bridgetown were other Jews of the poorer sort bearing the Burgos name, MRS. REBECCA and MRS. RACHEL BURGOS, each a householder in her own right, the latter with a family of six, which perhaps included ABRAHAM, ELIAU and MOSES BURGOS; then there was a third ABRAHAM BURGOS, a Jew of no estate, who was on the 6th January, 1680, one of "His Majesty's Regiment of Guards for His Excellency." The two remaining Jewish householders of Speights were DAVID CHILLAÕ and DAVID VELLOA (ULLOA). Thirty years earlier, the latter—a native of Oporto—had been living in Pernambuco with his wife, Rebecca, and an infant son, Isaac. They were fugitives from the Inquisition, as appears from statements extracted by the Lisbon Inquisitors in 1647 from a brother Samuel Velho⁴¹ captured during some of the early fighting round Recife. David's father, Francisco Velho, alias Fernandes, had died in the prisons of the Coimbra Inquisition, by whom his mother (Esther or Maria Luiz) had been penanced (1631), whilst his mother's father (Luiz Nunes) had been a victim of the Oporto Inquisition. Mistress Rebecca Ulloa, widow of David Ulloa, lived to a great age at Barbados, dying on the 11th April, 1709, and her epitaph terms her "a blessed and venerable old lady." Each of them was the proprietor of two negroes. One or two further names of Speightstown Jews—evidently not those of householders, are still to be found in "a list of soldiers names under the Comand of Lt Coll Samuell Tidcom 9ber ye 11th 1679." One of them, "ABRAM TENOCK, Jew," was no doubt a brother of Jacob Tinoco who had sailed for New England in 1679,⁴² and perhaps a son of Solomon

41 See footnote³⁷ supra.

42 A Jacob Enoch or Enosh with his family was discovered in 1651 by an English expedition to Guiana to be living alone for two years among the Caribs—and without being molested. (Oxenbridge, *A Seasonable Proposition of propagating the Gospel . . . in . . . Guiana*, 1670.) Allowing for misspelling, he may have been this Jew. Compare p. 93.

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Tinoco who died in 1688 and was a protégé of David De Acosta. "Ephraim Elrick, Jew" proves to be none other than DON EPHRAIM YESURUN HENRIQUES that "illustrious man, honoured and sublime," as his Bridgetown monument of 1689 terms him. "Jacob Barrow" was, of course, the Jacob Baruch Louzada who has already been referred to, whilst "Abraham Burrough" of Col. Lambert's Horse was very probably his father or uncle, ABRAHAM BARUCH LOUZADA, who had been endenized in Barbados in 1675, and who was buried forty-two years later in the London *Bet Ahaim*. On the 17th April, 1696, he had passed from England to Holland in company with ISAAC PEREYRA COUTINHO, also a well known Barbados Jew.^{42a} Coutinho had secured British nationality in 1666 and had consequently been able to put his name to the important Petition of the 29th October, 1669, which was signed only by endenized Hebrews of Barbados. Coutinho, or Isaac Pereyra as he was more often called, was a well-to-do Bridgetown Jew, owning three or four slaves.⁴³

Another Coutinho of Barbados was MOSES HENRIQUES COUTINHO, who on the 3rd November, 1679, had emigrated to Jamaica in the "Barq Adventure." He seems, however, to have been back in Barbados the following year for "Moses Coutino" is set down for a minimum contribution towards the Jews' Levy of the 13th February, 1679-80. This "wandering Jew" eventually settled, so it would seem, in Surinam, where he assisted at three Jewish weddings in 1706, two of them being those of his own children.⁴⁴

The island of Jamaica had long been a Cinderella among her English sister Colonies. Captured from the Spaniards by General Venables' Expedition in 1655, Jamaica bore for twenty years or longer a sinister reputation, and all settlers there seemed to be pursued by ill-health or ill-luck. All manner of schemes were evolved in Cromwellian and Stuart times for providing Jamaica with fresh immigrants, and large numbers did sail thither from Nevis, from Barbados and from Surinam. At least land was obtainable there readily and in large tracts, which was far from being the case on Barbados. By 1680

42a *Miscellanies*, J.H.S., i. xxxiii.

43 There was, however, a second Bridgetown Jew of similar position known also as Isaac Pereyra.

44 See A.J.H.S.P., No. 18, pp. 193 and 206.

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Jamaica had already begun to lose its evil reputation, and the Colonists had learnt to distinguish the salubrious settlements from the danger-spots. The Buccaneers on the Coast and the Maroons (run-away slaves) in the Interior did not, however, make for security of trade. In the course of time, Jamaica completely out-shone in population and commercial importance that earlier British possession, Barbados, which was, in any case, only about one-twenty-fifth its size. Thus it came about that already in 1680 many Barbados Jews had brothers and sisters living in Jamaica or else had for a time been there themselves, whilst others ultimately quitted Barbados and ended their careers on Jamaica.

A recent arrival at Bridgetown was ABRAHAM BARUCH HENRIQUES ("Mr. Abraham Baruck . . . of Lt. Thomas Maxwells . . . Troop of Horse"). In 1675 his name stood on the list of "*Bahurim*" (bachelors) of the Amsterdam Sephardi Congregation. Three years later he was married in that City to Moses Bueno Henriques' only daughter, Sarah. Moses himself had long lusted for an active life in the Colonies—he had kinsmen both in Barbados and in Jamaica—and as far back as 1661 he had planned to settle on the latter Island, but his wife Rachel had kept him tied fast to her apron strings at Amsterdam. She was not allowed, however, to retain there her eighteen-year-old daughter, and Sarah Baruch Henriques (as she had just become) sailed with her groom shortly after her wedding for Barbados, where she was to enjoy twenty-three years of married life. Her two relatives Daniel and Abraham Bueno Henriques—both of them childless—were at Bridgetown to receive the young couple. They must have been of considerable use to Abraham Baruch Henriques and his wife—particularly Uncle Daniel, who farmed two important plantations and had married a local heiress, only child of the late David de Acosta.⁴⁵ Three years after the arrival of the Baruch Henriques couple at Bridgetown their first child Rachel was born; she was so named after her maternal grandmother who had died at Amsterdam during the same year (1682). Other children followed, two girls and a boy, but Rachel, their first-born, remained on Barbados

45 A similar stroke of good fortune had not fallen to the lot of Abraham Bueno Henriques who was a man of small possessions.

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and died there a spinster at the age of sixty. At Census-time in 1680 "Abraham Baruch's" household at Bridgetown consisted of three Jews and three slaves, and he was classed among the well-to-do Jews for the purpose of the two levies made on the community during that year. At that time he seemingly owned no land, but he is mentioned [c. 1690] in a list of nine Jews "in Barbados whose names here have houses and plantations with severall others not here mentioned." He had previously sold his Bridgetown house to Aaron Navarro. In 1685 one of his negroes was concerned in a native rebellion and was executed by the Island authorities, whereupon a sympathetic legislature voted his master a sum of £17 10s. *Od.* by way of compensation! Abraham Baruch Henriques died on the Island in 1701, and his widow Sarah survived him there by thirty-four years. There were twelve Companies of Militia for St. Michael's Parish under the command of Col. William Bates, and in 1680 there were Jews serving in six out of these twelve Companies. Moreover, the Muster Sergeants usually grouped the Jewish names together on the Roll. In the Colonel's own Company there were but three, viz., "Abraham Sarrah," "Samuel Dechavis" and "Jacob ffonceco, Chirugion."

ABRAHAM SARRAH (who was seemingly also mustered in Capt. Burrow's Company) was no doubt connected with MORDECAI SARAH, a Bridgetown Jew of the period who had a household of four and possibly owned one negro. He may, too, have been related to JOSEPH SENIOR SARAIVA, a well-to-do Bridgetown Jew usually called Joseph Senior for short, and endenized in 1671.⁴⁶ Senior's age or infirmities had apparently prevented him from parading with the militia; he died on the Island in 1694. His kinsman, JACOB SENIOR, had emigrated from Barbados to Nevis on the 29th October, 1679 ("in the Barque Dove") and there he died and was buried at Charlestown on the 9th February, 1710.

"Jacob ffonceco, Chirugion" was none other than Jacob Fonseca Valle. His only surgical qualification appears to have

46 On the other hand Abraham and Mordecai Sarrah may have been connected with the other contemporaneous Gomez Serra or Nunez-Sierra families of London—but this is less probable.

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been that he acted as the "Mohel" of the *Nidhé Israel* Congregation, but this—combined, one may guess, with a thoroughly unmilitary appearance—seems to have satisfied the militia authorities as to his fitness to be a medical officer in His Excellency the Governor's Guards.⁴⁷ Fonseca Valle kept a register of the operations he had performed, and this was appealed to at times by the Jews of the Island for the determination of testamentary issues. Although a very poor man in 1680, he was able fourteen years later to furnish his daughter Sarah with a respectable marriage portion ("a house and land in St. Michael's Town") and to marry her to ISAAC HENRIQUES MELHADO, a Bridgetown Jew of some standing, and a man many years her senior. Jacob De Fonseca Valle was looked up to on the Island as a good Jew, albeit his estate may not have been large. "When Moses Hamias (Gago) died in 1680 and left no son he asked his friend Fonseca Valle to care for his grave and to say "Kaddish" for him, and when that wealthy merchant, Aaron Navarro, died in 1685, he appointed the Bridgetown "Mohel" to act with Haham Lopez and another as guardians of his three small children. Jacob Fonseca Valle had many grandchildren for his daughter Sarah bore four sons and six daughters

to Isaac Melhado in the nineteen years of their married life. The good old "Mohel" would have been distressed beyond words had he lived to learn how in 1737 his scapegrace grandson, Aaron Melhado, allowed himself to be baptised by the Prison Chaplain at St. Thomas', St. Kitts, in order that he might four days later marry a fellow-convict who was a Christian.^{47a}

Among the many Jews who had come to Bridgetown from Brazil were Aaron Navarro and his nephew, ABRAHAM VALVERDE, alias "Mr. Greene"—the latter a son of Jacob Valverde who had been a

47 Under a statute of Henry VIII. "an approved Doctor in Physicke" could be (and was on 9 Jan., 1671.) "exempted from ye common dutyes & charges of watching warding & ye like." (C. W. Barraud, "The Records of Barbados," in *The Month*, for Jan., 1904, p. 32.)

47a V. L. Oliver "The Registers of St. Thomas . . . St. Kitts." (London, 1915. Suppl. to *Caribbeana*, vol. iv.).

Baptisms: 21 August, 1737. Aaron Malado, a Jew in prison.

Marriages: 25 August, 1737. Aaron Melhado, a Jew, and Morton Ashby, a spinster, in prison.

7 March, 1772. John Henniss and Mortong Melhado.

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colleague of Dr. Abraham De Mercado on the Warden's "Banco" at the Recife Synagogue. The Valverdes were an extraordinarily prolific family, and in later years the numerous descendants of Abraham and Jael Valverde were to puzzle the genealogist by reason of the recurring duplication of names. They had, for instance, three grandsons all called Abraham Valverde, all of whom grew up to manhood and raised families on the Island, whilst the matriarchal Mistress Valverde was the First Cause of the name "Jael" being borne during the eighteenth century by quite thirty Barbadian Jewesses. This couple's eldest surviving son, Jacob, did not come into the world until 1685, and when he died at the age of forty-four, he left a typically "Valverdian" family consisting of no less than five sons and six daughters, whilst his brother, Elias, had precisely the same assortment of children. Jacob Valverde and his other brother David had each of them married daughters of Mr. Jacob Franco Nunes, many years before that doughty octogenarian developed into the important Jewish magnate whom he afterwards became. That Jacob Valverde possessed much good Jewish feeling is indicated by the fact that having left to his son Abraham "my Pentateuchus or five books of Moses which I have in our said Synagogue as also the sylver ornaments or bells thereto belonging" he then proceeded to bequeath to another son, Moses, "the negro boy called Purim"!⁴⁸ The Barbadians were extremely litigious, and a writer of 1689 complains that "this place swarms with lawyers," but Jacob Valverde did not even once resort to the law, and he reminds his heirs of that fact with considerable satisfaction in his last will and testament.

On the 6th January, 1680, Abraham Valverde was not able to parade with the militia, but "Jacob Franckoe" turned out and figures with four other Jews in Lt.-Col. Codrington's Parade State. JACOB FRANCO NUNES was then a young man of thirty-four, with a household of four and only one negro slave. In later years his family comprised three sons, Isaac, Abraham and Moses, besides the two daughters (Simcha and Rachel) who had married the Valverde

48 See p. 61. Purim is the festival which commemorates Queen Esther. Slave names in other wills include Cain, Hagar and Ishmael!

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brothers. The family tended to drop the name "Nunes" and to be known simply as "Franco." When old Jacob Franco Nunes died at Bridgetown in 1726 he was extremely wealthy. Apart from negroes, chattels and real estate he left over £14,000 in the Funds to be paid out in cash legacies to some thirteen beneficiaries, including, incidentally, £20 for the "use of the Synagogue in the Towne of St. Michaelis." He had then already been a widower for twenty years, and his second son, Abraham Franco Nunes, was in charge of his counting-house in London. His Barbados executor was his third son, Moses Franco, who, true to the family tradition, had married Rachel, a daughter of Abraham Valverde, but she died in childbirth at the age of sixteen.⁴⁹

For the furtherance of their business interests the Jews of Barbados had perforce to travel a great deal. Whenever any Islanders left Barbados "security" (surety) had to be deposited at the Secretary's Office to ensure that they would duly return to satisfy their creditors and to provide for their dependants, if any.⁵⁰ A settler who quitted Barbados without intending to return would be granted a ticket marked "time out," because in most cases—although not invariably—he would be an indentured white servant whose period of service had expired. Twelve Jews figure in the list of departures from Barbados for the year 1679. Their destinations indicate to some extent how widespread were their connexions. Four sailed for New England (one for New York and three probably for Newport, Rhode Island), one each for Nevis, and for Surinam, two for London, two for Jamaica and two for Antigua. The last two gave "security" against their return; they were both members of the Gideon-Abudiente family whose business interests were not confined to Antigua, but also extended to the Island of Nevis further westward. The elder of these travellers, ABRAHAM ABUDIENTE (or Obediente, as it was often spelt), was then a well-to-do Jew, some

49 The sorrowing widower died thirteen years later, and in his will directed his daughter Rachel—sole product of his marriage—to marry her first cousin Abraham Valverde as soon as she attained her fifteenth year.

50 "An Act (216) July, 1665, concerning persons intending to depart the Island and the taking of their names in the Secretary's Office." See also Appendix IV, a, pp, 93-4.

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sixty-six years of age. He was back again in Barbados from Antigua in time to act as one of the three assessors of the 1680 "Leavy . . . towards ye repairing the Highwayes."⁵¹ Abraham Abudiente died at Barbados on the 3rd July, 1697, in his eighty-fifth year, having been pre-deceased two years earlier by his wife Rachel. A contemporary—perhaps his brother—who had died on the Island in 1691 bore the typically Roundhead name of PAGDIEL (Trust-in-the-Lord) ABUDIENTE; he, too, was a well-to-do Barbados trader who had been over thirty years on the Island, and he had been endenized at the Restoration (27th December, 1661,) jointly with Paul de Vreda and David Namias. The younger of the two passengers in the "Ketch Phoenix for Antegoa" in November, 1679, was Rehiel Abudiente, an able and extremely Anglicized Jew, who preferred to be known as ROWLAND GIDEON. In 1674-75,⁵² before he had made much headway in the world, he had found himself in Boston, Mass. ("being In Debt to others and to bee gone hence") and when he was forced into the Courts to collect the balance of a £100 debt, (for tobacco) he entered his plea in the following curious terms: "And as to his supplement to Inforce my Books they are Ready as well In this' as the Last Court though new Euidence is as needless as unusuall In the practice of this

Court where, as God Command our Fathers that the Same Law should bee for the Stranger & Sowjourner—as for the Israellits, I may Expect equall Justice—this Comitinge my Case to the honnd. Court and Gentlemen of the Jurye praing for the prosperity of your Gouvermt and that you may bee further fathers of this scatered Nation

51 Abraham Abudiente seems not to have been endenized, unless he was identical with the Abraham Gideon who secured civic rights in the fourth year of king James II.'s reign, viz., in 1688. Incidentally, many Barbadian Jews were re-endenized during the period 1685 to 1688 for they deemed their endenizations to have lapsed at the death of king Charles. Whereas naturalization proceeded by Act of Parliament, the issue of Letters of Endenization had always been regarded as a personal act of the monarch.

52 First Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, 1876. List No. 1. Second Part. City Documents.

"No. 1, 1674. For Constable Greenwood."	Towne.			Country.
Rowland Gideon, ye Jew. (143)	£	s.	d.	
		18	0	

38 review of the jewish colonists in barbados and Soe Remaine—Yor Honnrs Humble Servant Rowland Gidyon."53 In the year that he made his journey to Antigua, Rowland Gideon became an Englishman by endenization—having been born probably at Glueckstadt in Denmark (close to Hamburg) where his father Moses Gideon Abudiente, a native of Lisbon and a man of letters, had settled. His first wife, Bathsheba, died five years later while they were living on the Island of Nevis, and subsequently "Roel Gideon" is shewn on a list of Barbadian Jewish planters. In due course he established himself permanently in London, and he was married to his second wife, Esther do Porto, at the Creechurch Lane Synagogue by Haham Aylion on 26th December, 1693.54 On the 17th February, 1698, Rowland Gideon was admitted to the Painters-Stainers Company, and was probably the first Jewish Freeman of the City of London.54a It is not improbable that he owed his admission to being known as a Barbados merchant concerned in the importation of essential dye-stuffs as well as to the good offices of Samuel Swynock, a West Indian merchant, who at the time was one of the Wardens of the Company; many years previously Swynock had been an intimate of Antonio Ferdinando Carvajal, a founder of the Creechurch Lane Congregation, and he was himself generally accounted a proselyte to Judaism. Rowland Gideon was the *Gabay* (Treasurer) of Bevis Marks during the first year of the new Synagogue, 1702, and, judging by his contributions, he must by then have been a wealthy man. He had, moreover, acquired some commercial training, and his balance sheets which have been preserved are models of penmanship and accountancy. He died in the Parish of All Saints, London Wall, in April, 1722, and was buried in the old Mile End *Bet Ahaim*; he was mourned by his dutiful son

53 A.J.H.S.P., No. 23, p. 80, but the foregoing is a revised version from an attested copy of the actual document obtained in July, 1924.

54 M. Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue in Bevis Markes*, pp. 24 and 25.

54a Freemen's Book of the Company. Its Minute Book contains the following entries:—" 17th February, 1697-98. Rowland Gideon admitted a Freeman by redemption paid 12s. to be excused all offices and to pay Quarteridge." "17th April, 1698. Mr. Rowland Gideon having purchased his freedom of the City of London by Redemption was admitted into the freedom of this Company having paid to the Warden for the use of the Company the sum of 12s. It was ordered that the sd. Rowland Gideon be admitted a Livery Man non attendant

and that he be excused from serving all other offices and from all other duties (Quarteridge only excepted)."

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Sampson Gideon, Junr., then residing in St. Katherine Creechurch, (a Painter-Stainer "by inheritance" since 1721), and who in a few years' time was to become the financial colossus of England. His fortune swelled from £25,000 in 1729 (in which year he had become a sworn Broker) until it reached the gigantic sum of £580,000, which was the amount inherited by his children. Rowland Gideon's wealthy son Sampson was a Jew, but the children were brought up as Christians, and thus in recent times the descendants of Rehiel Abudiente, otherwise Rowland Gideon, the seventeenth century Barbados Jew, have included a Peer, Lord Saye & Sele, an Admiral, Eardley Wilmot, an Irish rebel, Erskine Childers, and an M.P. and M.D., Sir Francis Freemantle!⁵⁵ The other two assessors (with Abraham Abudiente) of the 1680 Jews' Levy were ISAAC GOMEZ HENBIQUES and Abraham de Soza Mendes; the former, a brother-in-law of Aaron Baruch Louzada, was usually known as Isaac Gomez, and he, too, was one of the wealthy Barbados merchants who ultimately withdrew to London.⁵⁶ His brothers were probably those outstanding Jamaican planters, David and Abraham Gomes Henriques, who had been endenized there in 1668. David died in 1673 owning over 3,000 acres in that Island. Although Isaac Gomez Henriques had settled in London long before 1701, nevertheless, his wife, Benvenida (Grasia), was laid to rest in Barbados on the 31st August of that year.

The other assessor, ABRAHAM DE SOZA MENDES—who is entered as "Abraham Desices" on Capt. Ely's Parade Roll of the 6th January, 1680, was also a great traveller. He had, in fact, only just come out to Barbados from London, whilst a few years previously had seen him settled in Jamaica, and a few years later he was to establish himself in New York.⁵⁷ Very distinct from his career was that of MOSES D'AZEVEDO, also a Barbados merchant, but one whose life was spent mainly on the Island, where he acted as Reader to the *Nidhé Israel* Congregation. He must have enjoyed considerable popularity among his congregants for he is often remembered in their

55 *Transactions J.H.S.*, vi. 208, 209.

56 M. Gaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 76, 91, 93, 95.

57 He was endenized in Jamaica on the 9th September, 1670, and seven years later he signed the Ascamoth (Rules) of the Creechurch Lane Congregation (M. Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 13).

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wills. His pious uncle, Isaac Gabay Letob, sometime the "*Shochet*" (Jewish slaughterer) of Martinique, had joined him on the Island somewhat later than the year under review, and their families had intermarried with the Burgos', Delleons' and Mendes'.

Moses D'Azevedo was a man of some property and of some taste—his legacies included a Japanese escritoire for a favourite child. His widowed daughter, Mrs. Rachael Burgos, had a household of six persons and a couple of slaves in Bridgetown in 1680. Her full name was a proud one, Rachel Burgos de Francia, and maybe she, too, used the coat-of-arms of the Francias of Bordeaux, those distinguished Jews who quartered the Lilies of France with their other emblems. Hazan D'Azevedo seems to have been excused the militia parades, and, if there is any truth in the suggestion that one of the Jewish clergy of Barbados became a Justice of the Peace, then D'Azevedo may have been this man. He died in 1715 and his will, albeit written in Portuguese, contains a typically British Droviso as regards one of his four sons—David Eliau D'Azevedo—whom be judged to

have been undutiful: "E por ser Desobediente, Lhe Deixo hum shillings em dinheiro" ("and since he has proved disobedient, I give him one shilling in cash").

In the year 1685 there passed away at Bridgetown in the person of AARON NAVARRO a well-to-do Jew who had long played a leading part in the affairs of the *Nidhé Israel*. Although a British subject by endenization in August, 1661, Navarro did not take up his permanent residence on Barbados until ten years later. The son of an Amsterdam Jew, he had settled in Brazil with his two brothers, and they had developed a thriving trade. At the Portuguese re-conquest of Brazil the Navarros had fled, taking with them their books of account which were lodged with a cousin (Isaac Nunes Navarro) in Amsterdam. Aaron Navarro seems to have settled for a time in Surinam,⁵⁸ and only in the "sixteen-seventies" to have rejoined at Barbados his former Recife friends, the Valverdes and Mercados. Abraham Valverde was his nephew, whilst he was soon to be associated with Dr. Moses Hiskia de Mercado in the management of the communal *Sedaca*. In 1680

⁵⁸ At the time of his death he still had on deposit at Surinam in the custody of the Gentlemen of the Mahamad (=Wardens of the Synagogue) the value of 10,000 lbs. of Muscovado sugar.

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Aaron Navarro's household comprised seven Jews, and no less than eleven black slaves. When he died in 1685, his two boys and his daughter were still quite young and had to be placed under guardianship. To the second son, Jacob Navarro, he bequeathed "the house in which I now live and which is between George Fletchers and that which belonged to Moses Hamas." To each other child was also left a freehold house, whilst the widow, Ester Navarro, was to receive back her *Ketubah* money, 4,000 florins, and was amply provided for in other ways. He arranged, too, for the freeing of a certain native woman (and her child), she being his daughter by a coloured mistress. Aaron Navarro's London banker had been Samuel Da Veiga, who had established a goldsmith's business in Bevis Marks towards the close of the Commonwealth. Other Navarros at Bridgetown were SAMUEL NAVARRO and JUDITH NAVARRO. They each of them owned only one slave apiece, and were only in quite a moderate position. The Navarro family appears to have withdrawn from Barbados not long after the death of the head of the family.

The year 1680 saw the death of MOSES HAMIS (GAGO), who died without issue, after living for many years on the Island. Although the state of his health did not allow of his attending the militia parades, yet Moses Hamis was a loyal subject of king Charles, to whom he had sworn allegiance in 1662, together with Jeronimo Rodrigues. And in spite of the fact that he used the Portuguese tongue when he wrote out his will "em Barbados" 26th March, 1680, he did not omit to date it "em anno trinta e dois do Reyno de sua Majestade!"

The Jewesses of Barbados constituted a far more important element in the Community than might perhaps have been expected among a body of men who were credited with having Oriental ideas as to the status of the female. As has already been mentioned, a large number of women's names figure in the lists of Jewish heads of households in the Barbados of 1680. A great number, no doubt, were widows, their husbands having predeceased them by many years. For these adventurous Sephardi Jews led strenuous lives. They were great travellers and merchants, making and losing fortunes, dwelling first in one land and then in another, so that it was only in late middle age that they were able to marry and settle down. As a result their wives more often than not were left to manage their affairs, not only

during widowhood but also in the prolonged absences from home which foreign travel then necessitated. Thus many of the Barbadian Jewesses were extremely capable women of affairs and enjoyed the full confidence of their menfolk. **Aaron Baruch Louzada** empowered his young wife at his death to give bills, sell property and do anything in her discretion in advance of trade, whilst Mrs. Rachel Arrobas received—in her husband's lifetime—£150 from a brother (Jacob Pachecho) “to improve and make use of” till her two nephews should come of age, when it was to be handed over to them.⁵⁹ Mrs. Grace de Mercado (1685), Mrs. Joseph Mendes (1700), and, in later times, Mrs. Lebanah de Leon (1724) were all burdened with the weightiest responsibilities when they became widows in the years shewn, and the first-named—as has been mentioned—became a prominent and successful owner of property on the Island.

JAEL SERRANO, who had lived alone in Bridgetown in 1680, owned five slaves and made appropriate contributions to the two Jewish levies.⁶⁰

MRS. LEAH DE CAMPOS⁶¹ and MRS. LEAH MEDINA had fewer belongings than Mistress Jael, but far greater households.

Against Mrs. Medina's name the Census-taker has written []. Twelve years later SOLOMON DE MEDINA and ABRAHAM DE MEDINA died and were buried on the Island, whilst at the militia muster of the 6th January, 1680, "Abraham de Medena" and "Abraham Madena" figured respectively on Capt. Ely's and Capt. Morris' Bolls. A generation later Samuel De Campos and Jacob De Medina were fast friends. The former, incidentally, died in 1719, being survived for fifty-three years by his wife Rebecca, who attained on Barbados the phenomenal age of 105.

59 The elder orphan-son of Jacob Pachecho was in 1679 a little boy of five. Subsequently he became one of the representative Jews on Barbados, and (like Simon Massiah) Hezekiah Pachecho was much in demand as a trustee of property and a guardian of children. In 1673 he had inherited considerable property from his uncle, David Pachecho, of Jamaica. See p. 71.

60 Was she perhaps an unmarried daughter of Isaac Serrano, endenized on the 25th May, 1654?

61 Jacob de Campos had emigrated out of necessity with his family from Hamburg to Barbados on the 20 Elul, 5417 (=September, 1657). M. Gruenwald, *Portugiesengraeber auf deutscher Erde* (Hamburg, 1902), p. 105.

Other women householders among the Barbadian Jews of 1680 were JUDITH RISSON⁶² (with a household of four and two slaves), REBECCA PACHECHO (two in family and with four slaves), **REBECCA BARUH** (living alone with one slave), RACHEL LOPEZ (four in family and one slave), JUDICA TORRES (with household of two and that number of slaves) and HESTER BARSIMON (five in family and with only one black attendant). This last lady was possibly the relict of Jacob Barsimson, the first known Jew to arrive in New York (or New Amsterdam as it then was) where he had landed from Holland in August, 1654.⁶³ He is not heard of there, however, after 1658.⁶⁴ "**Rebecah Barruch**" is no doubt the lady who figures as "**Refica Loisada**" as a very modest contributor to the two Jewish levies. Perhaps, too, she was that "**Rebecca Barrow**" who on the 18th December, 1679, had sailed from Bridgetown (on a pass endorsed "time out") "in the ship *Anne and Jane* for London."⁶⁵

In 1680 MRS. RACHEL LOPEZ, a namesake of the Haham's wife, was approaching her fortieth year; she lived in Bridgetown with a family of four and one negro. In after years the name "Lopez" was very general among Barbados Jews. ABRAHAM LOPEZ was a Bridgetown householder. A voyage to London—to and fro—had occupied most of the year 1679, but he was back for the big parade day early in January, 1680, in which he took part under Major Lyte's orders. One poor Jewess who lived all alone in Bridgetown in 1680 bore the name of SARAH ATKINS. She was evidently an English convert to the Faith of Abraham, and led a solitary and indigent life. Neither ESTER NAAR nor JUDITH ISRAEL owned any slaves, and each had a household of two persons. The first-named was doubtless related to "Isaac Noy, *Samas*."⁶⁶ Judith Israel's name coincides with that of "Judith Tudesca" who contributed twenty-five pounds

62 Sarah, Aaron and Isaac *Gabay* Risson were buried on the Island in the years 1672, 1687 and 1710,—the last-named being perhaps identical with Isaac Gabay Letob.

63 A.J.H.S.P., No. 18, pp. 3, 49 and 50.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

65. See Appendix IV, (a.) p. 94.

66 In some Barbados wills this name is spelt "Nahar." From its Barbados variant "Noy" was perhaps derived the form "Noah," borne by certain distinguished American Jews.

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of sugar towards the levy of February, 1680, and who was evidently a German and not a Sephardi Jewess. These ladies were not free from the usual feminine weaknesses, and a fondness for handsome jewellery seems to have been very general. Thus we know that Mistress Jael Valverde (1655-1721) owned one large pair of diamond earrings, whilst certain other ladies' possessions included a "diamond fingerring and a pair of diamond earrings," "one goold buckle for a girtle," "one goold Spangle chain," etc. etc.

The two lists of contributors to the Jews' levies disclose a few further women's names which are not to be found in the census list of Bridgetown householders; these include ESTER RODRIGUES, a pious kinswoman of the de Campos family, ESTER COSTANHO, and ESTER PACHECHO. The last named was an illiterate widow of some small estate and the mother of two sons (Isaac and Moses) and a daughter (Rachel). The principal representative at Bridgetown of the Costanho⁶⁷ family was ABRAHAM COSTANHO, a distinctly well-to-do Jew who owned six slaves and served in Major Lyte's company of militia. Only slightly less affluent were ISAAC DE MEZA and his wife RACHEL—they were of those Jews who had come to Barbados from Surinam.⁶⁸ JACOB PRETO, MORDECAI PALACHE, ISAAC ABOAB-FURTADO, DAVID SOARIS and MOSES ARROBAS came under the category of Jewish householders who were only in a moderate position. An interesting group were the Israel de Pisas, who were related to the Bueno Henriques, and had been concerned with that family and with Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita in certain highly diverting, if complicated, transactions to which Sir William Davidson was a party, and which took place between 1661 and 1668. The story of "Sir William Davidson and the Jews" will be told elsewhere, but it is satisfactory to know that ISAAC ISRAEL DE PISA was still living on Barbados in 1680 albeit a royal decree of the 1st March, 1664, had ordered him to be "banished off our said Island never to reside or trade their againe." Moreover, Isaac Israel de Pisa had enjoyed the singular privilege in January, 1663, of being received in audience by king Charles II. who—however much he may have regretted his generosity later on—was

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"pleased to bestow a Gold chaine vpon" him "for his encouragement." Despite the threats of banishment the Israel de Pisa family threw on Barbados for many subsequent generations. In 1680 it included ELIAHU ISRAEL DE PISA.

Major Paul Lyte's Company in the Governor's Regiment of Guards was 121 strong—rank and file—and this included no less than twenty-three Jews. Five of these (not being householders) must have been indentured white servants unless they were relatives of the established Jews already referred to. These five militiamen were:—

DAVID AZUBY, a contributor to the Jewish levies—and who must consequently have been a free man.

DAVID PALACHE, recorded as "David Bleachy," who was possibly a relative of Mordecai of that ilk, and hailed from Amsterdam.^{68a}

AARON PRETO, recorded as "Aron Perabo."

ABRAHAM DIAS,—and, finally

DAVID FONSECA. It seems probable the full name of this "David ffonsegoe" was David Nunez de Fonseca, and that he belonged to that noteworthy Colonial family who usually called themselves Nasy.⁶⁹

It is pleasant to reflect that the seventeenth century Sephardi Jews of Barbados were good husbands and kindly fathers, in addition to being industrious traders. In their dealings with one another they were extremely trustful, and this willingness to confide in their brethren must have been a factor in the increase of their trade. Business disputes were adjusted before the *Beth Din* (a consistory), whose rulings were obeyed. They seem all of them to have possessed an overwhelming "sense of family"—stronger even than their "sense of property"—and a dying Barbados Jew in parcelling out his estate would make solicitous provision for generations yet unborn. To maintain intact the family capital inter-marriage was very rife. Repeatedly in successive generations would a cousin wed a cousin, and sometimes even an uncle would take to wife his niece. Dowering the bride was looked

68a A.J.H.S.P., No. 29, p. 9.

69 See p. 94. David Nasy, the noteworthy pioneer who was born in Brazil and who in the middle of the seventeenth century established successive Jewish settlements in Surinam, Cayenne and Curaçao. He was also called Joseph Nunez de Fonseca.

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upon not only as a social need, but also a religious duty.⁷⁰ Moreover, a wife was entitled in her own right to the money that had been settled on her in marriage, and great was the deathbed remorse of one imppecunious husband, Abraham Gomez (obit 1676), when he found himself unable to repay to his wife her dowry.

It is to be supposed that the Barbados Jews were kindly masters to their negroes, albeit most of them must have regarded as a curious eccentricity the liberation of slaves which was already being practised to a small extent. Strange though it may seem there was a strong feeling on the Island against the conversion of the negroes. It was thought, apparently, that a knowledge of the democratic teachings of Christianity would tend to increase unrest among the slaves. The 10th July, 1677, saw a special act introduced to prevent any Quakers from bringing negroes to their prayer meetings;⁷¹ and in the seven-

teenth century a baptised negro was sufficient of a rarity to warrant special chronicling in the Parish Records. The Jews in Barbados and in other English colonies accepted the dominant idea, and their black folk consequently remained heathen, albeit the Judeo-Dutch congregations in Guiana and Curaçao not only "initiated" their negroes but also bestowed on them the high sounding polysyllabic names which they themselves had brought from the Iberian Peninsula. The ordinary Barbadian planter usually treated his slaves with great harshness, whilst the horrors of the journey from the African Coast on the slave ships simply cannot be described. The attitude of the planter towards his slaves is naively disclosed in the following utterance: "they will run away and perhaps never be seen more: or they will hang themselves, no creature knows why. And sometimes there comes a Mortality amongst them, which sweeps a great part of them away. When this happens, the poor Planter is in a hard condition: especially if he be still indebted for them. He must have more Negroes, or his Works must stand, and he must be ruin'd at once."⁷² Whilst positive evidence is lacking, it seems probable that the Jews joined with the Quakers in humanely treating their black

70 This is quite in accordance with Jewish teachings. In 1705 Rachel Baruh Louzada makes it incumbent on her three sons at all costs to dower their sister Hannah. See p. 81.

71 C.S.P., Col., 1677-80, p. Ill, para. 319.

72 Edward Littleton, *op. cit.*

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people, and that they ever heeded the reminder "for ye were bondsmen in the land of Egypt."

In the seventeenth century Barbados and Jamaica were sinks of iniquity. Not only were the Buccaneers who infested the harbours noted for their excesses, but the traders and planters guzzled and drank and were steeped in immorality and profanity.⁷³ The churches, too, were ill-attended, and some of the Parish clergy contrived to draw their stipends from England without troubling to live in Barbados! This does not mean, of course, that there were not any clean-living or God-fearing Englishmen left on Barbados in the year 1680, but still it is refreshing to consider that in its Jewish community Barbados then possessed a compact and organised body which did stand for the sanctities of family life.

And here for the time being let us take our leave of "The Jewish Colonists in Barbados in the Year 1680." Many families that have not yet been named were subsequently to settle on the Island and to contribute to the modest history of its Jews (*inter alia*, the Brandons, Abendanas, Pinheiros and De Moras). Other families with whom this narrative has dealt—such as the Navarros, Mercados, Dias and Israels,—were to disappear from Barbados with the close of the seventeenth century, just as certain pioneer-families of the "sixteen-fifties," like the Caceres and Athias, had taken their departure before the date (1679-80) assigned to this story.

73 C.S.P., Domestic, Jan.-Nov., 1671, p. 469. Sept. 6., Falmouth. Thomas Holden to James Hickey. . . . "The Golden Hind arrived to-day in six weeks from Jamaica. A Jew that went there to inhabit is returned in this ship, the people living so debauchly that he could not find it in his heart to live among them; bad people indeed when Jews refuse to live with them."

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Envoi.

Close on twelve years have elapsed since the foregoing lecture was delivered, and I have prepared it for publication on the lines originally planned. I have made some subsequent use of Dr. V. T. Harlow's *A History of Barbados, 1625-1685* (Oxford, 1926), and I am indebted to its author for obligingly reading and commenting on the first draft of my manuscript. The Barbados Synagogue still stands, but in a dismantled state. Some years back it was sold for use as a Law Library, but in the spring of 1935 was still unoccupied. The tombstones which surround it are undisturbed—save by the encroachment of tropical vegetation. The last of the Barbados Jews, Edmund Isaac Baeza ר'ב died on the 6th June, 1934, in his eightieth year (*Times*, 12th June, 1934). Some time previously the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Synagogue in London had taken over the possessions of the Island congregation.

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decline during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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APPENDICES.

I.

(a) Census List
of

Speightstown Jews (=St. Peter's Parish).

Public Record Office, *Col. Papers*, vol. xlv. No. 47, XXI
(Calendared in "S.P.CoI—Am. & W.I.—1677-80," para. 1336, XXI
and copied also in MS. 2202, Guildhall Library, pp. 195-203).
parish of st. peter. barbados

*A list of the Sarvants Negroes & Land in the Parish of St. Peter
Allsaints taken the 15th of December 1679.*

	<i>Sarvants</i>	<i>Negroes</i>	<i>Acres Land</i>
Jacob Defonsequa	—	6	—
Deborah Burgis	—	1	—
Sollomon Chafe	1	5	—
Jerrimiah Burgis	—	3	—
Abraham De Silver	—	5	—
Joseph Mendas	—	10	—
David Chelloe	—	2	—
Mosias Delyon	—	3	—
Sollomon Mendas	—	3	—
David Velloa	—	2	—
Abraham Barrow	—	2	—
Simon Mendas	—	1	—
Jacob Massias	—	2	—
Simon ffretto	2	4	—
Paule De Verede	1		—

Note.—The Jews owned 53 slaves out of the 3,000 in the Parish,
i.e., 1.76 per cent. These fifteen Jews represented 7 per cent. of
the householders of St. Peter's—the full figures for the Parish being

Total Inhabit.	208
Sarvants	379
Negroes	2977
Acres	6846

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(b) Militia Muster Roll
of

Speightstown Jews (=St. Peter's Parish).

Public Record Office. *Col. Papers*, vol. xlv. No. 47, XXX (Calendared in "S.P. Col.—Am. & W.I.—1677-80," para. 1336, XXX and copied also in MS. 2202, Guildhall Library, pp. 327-8).

Extract from the Nominal Roll of Companies in Colonel Richard Bayley's Regiment of Foot.

(Note.—There are ten companies, the second on the list being that of Lieut.-Col. Tidcombe. This Company's officers are not named but there are 118 men of whom twelve are Jews—apparently all belonging to St. Peter's Parish.)

A List of Soldiers Names under the Command of Lt Coll Samuell Tidcom 9ber ye 11th 1679.

Jeremiah Burges, Jew	Moses Delyon, Jew	Abraham De Silva
Abram Tenock, Jew	Daniell Campernell, Jew	Sampson Delleon, Jew
	Jacob Messias, Jew	
	David Chillon, Jew	Symon Mendes, Jew
	(three Quakers)	Jacob Barrow
	David Delyon, Jew	Ephram Elrick, Jew

Public Record Office. *Col. Papers*, vol. xlv. No. 47, XXXIV (Calendared in "S.P. Col.—Am. & W.I.—1677-80" para. 1336, XXXIV and MS. 2202, Guildhall Library, p. 399).

Nominal Rolls of the several troops in the two Regiments of Horse commanded by Colonels Samuel Newton and Simon Lambert.

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(Note.—There is nothing to show to which Regiment the troops belonged. There are a dozen Jewish names to be found in the rolls of four out of the thirteen Troops that comprised these two Regiments of Horse. All troopers are described as "Mr." or "Esq." or else by some military title.)

barbados. January the 6th 1679.

A List of Collonell Simon Lambert His Troop.

	<i>Horse</i>		<i>Horse</i>
Mr. Paule Dawrade . . .	1	Abraham Burrough . . .	1
Mr. Joseph Mendes . . .	1	Mr. Jacob Defoncecoe . . .	1
Mr. Manases Mendes . . .	1		
Mr. Solloman Mendes . . .	—		

(Note.—Six Jews out of 67 men and all apparently belonging to St. Peter's Parish.)

SPEIGHTSTOWN WILLS.

SARAH ISRAEL DIAS (*probably of Speightstown*), legitimate daughter of Imanuel & Judica Israel Dias, Will in Portuguese dated 5 Sivan 5455= 8 May 1695.

"I desire to be buried among my Jewish brethren, and a stone to be provided for my grave and that there be paid out of my Estate the cost of 2 stones, one being that on the grave of my most esteemed sister Abigail da Fonsea."

To bro.-in-law Jacob da Fonseca a silver cup. To niece, Sarah, wife of Araõ Senior, a blue enamel ring with 5 diamonds, also my clothing & white linen in my linen-cupboard, keeping the best for herself, the rest to be given to some poor woman.

It is my wish that 20/- be paid to the meritorious Brotherhood of *Guemiluth Hasadim* for the grave of my mother, who is in God's keeping. To my dear nieces Ribca & Judica, daurs. of my dear bro. Selomoh Oliveira & Rachel his wife and my sister, (who live in Amsterdam), the residue of my estate the money to be remitted to the parents, for the benefit
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 of their aforesaid daurs, by means of a good Bill of Exchange or any other method of transfer that may be deemed suitable to my Exors.
Exors:—Jacob da Fonseca, Moseh Jacob Franco minor & Abram Valverde.
Witnesses (to testator's mark):— Abraham Gomes, Isaac Diaz, & a non-Jew. Proved by last witness 8 Feb. 1703-4.
 (Recorded in Barbados 16/67.)

ISHAK GABAY LETOB (*probably of Speightstown*). Will in Portuguese dated 25 Elul 5458=24 Aug. 1698. "I, I.G.L. ask the Lord of the Earth to pardon my sins and to receive my soul in his glory and in a good place." To son David Gabay Lettob 20/-, apart from his share in my Estate, and I pardon him, & ask God to pardon him for the great trouble he has caused me. To son Jacob Gabay Lettob my slave-girl Juana, so that she may look after him, he being ill, and she is not to be disposed of by him but at his death she is to go to whichever one of his brothers she prefers. To grand-dau. Ribca Ulloa the daur. named Peggy, of said Juana and for her heirs at her death but not otherwise. I beg my sons Jacob & Benjamin to act in a brotherly manner towards my daughter Lebana Perreira de Leaõ, and my nephew Mathatias Perreira de Leaõ, maintaining my arrangement with them until the stipulated time, & should she wish to part, they will hand her her negress as stipulated in the document I drew up. . . . My sons Jacob & Benjamin Gabay Lettob I appoint as my legitimate heirs, they to share equally as brothers what they find in the house after payment of debts. I give them full liberty to act as they think best in the interests of themselves and their heirs.
 "On the day above-mentioned I begged my sons Jacob & Benjn Gabay Letob that on the day I render my soul to its Creator, they may be God-fearing & observant of his Precepts, & keep from evil ways, & that they take the advice & documents which will be given them by my nephews Moseh de Azevedo & Abraham de Aron Burgos, who are appointed their Guardians; thus will they grant repose to my soul; & as good & God-fearing sons I expect it from them; *Veshalom*" (=and Peace!)
Witnesses:—Mosseh de Azevedo & Abr. de Aron Burgos, and proved by former 20 June 1711.
 (Recorded in Barbados 21/26.)

JOSEPH MENDES of the town of Speights in the Parish of St. Peters. Will in English dated 17 Feb. 1700 with codicil in Portuguese dated on day following & 2nd codicil in Portuguese dated 17 July, 1707.
 review of the jewish colonists in barbados.
 "May I inherit eternal Life in the Kingdom of heaven with the other Elect children of God. My Body I commit to the Earth to be interred according to the manner of the Hebrew Nation." To my dear & loving wife Rachel M. 3 Negro Slaves (vizt.) Mary, Astor she & her boy Matte & the Issue or Offspring of their bodies for ever. Also during widowhood the use of all my wrought Gold & Silver Plate & all the Rings & Jewells that I shall dye possessed of. Wife & Son Moses M. to come to an account with my bro. Menasses M. of London we being under an agreement copartners
 in trade & merchandising ths of our joint estates belong to my ex'ors &
 ths to his. To wife £200. in money. To son Jacob M. of London Merchant

£20. sterling for mourning "willing him to be herewith content I having already advanced him in trade & marriage." To son Moses M. £1000. on marriage or 21st birthday (which shall first happen) & for ever one Negro Woman named Hagar & the issue or offspring of her body & 2 negro boys named Jack Coger & Tom fons. To daur. Sarah £1000. on marriage or 18th birthday (which shall first happen) & for ever one negro woman named Mary & a Negro girl named Evare & the issue . . . of their bodies. To daur. Luna £1000. on marriage or 18th birthday (which shall first happen) & £40. "that 2 young negroes be bought for her" forever. To my friend Symon Massiah "to encourage him to be careful of my business & diligent in getting in my debts & to be aiding & assisting my ex'ors" £25. Until legacies paid to son Moses & daurs. Sarah & Lunah they to "receive their maintenance & Education out of the profitts of my Estate" survivors to share equally legacy of any one that dies. To my good friends the Hon. Michael Ferrill Esqre.* the Hon. Thomas Merrick Esq.** Mr. David Castello & the before-mentioned Symon Massiah a ring of 25/- to wear in remembrance of me. To my wife Rachel M. during widowhood "the furniture of my house with the utensils of household thereunto belonging . . . & that she be carefull in the maintenance & education of my aforesaid 3 children to whose care & guardianship I doe committ them to be vertuously educated." If wife remarries then sons Jacob & Moses M. to be ex'ors & David Castello & Symon Messiah to be Guardians over my three children; & wife & 4 children ea to have 1/5th of Residue. I give my Wife during widowhood full power to give up to £50. to any of my Children "to encourage obedience in her children to her." Ex'ors to be wife Rachel M. & son Moses M. & their overseers & assistants to be David Castello & Symon Massiah.

Witnesses:— Daniel Ulloa, John Sober, Jacob Gabay Letob & Dan Richards.

* His will was recorded in Barbados in 1706.

** A large land-owner (*Caribbeana*, vol. iii. pp. 49 and 53).

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 codicil of 18 feb. 1700.

The Articles to be added to the will which shall be observed the same as is to be done in the other will.

1. I desire my wife . . . to give Ten pounds st to the Priest to be distributed amongst the poorest of the Jews that shall be found and that she may distribute to every one as she shall think fitt that all may have a share.
2. I leave to my friend Moses de Azevedo £5 for his-trouble which he is to be at in saying a prayer for me every day of the Law untill the Expiration of the Eleven Months and doe desire him that when he makes the prayer he should make an offering of Sixpence every time and place this same to my account and at the end of the year in which my account shall be drawn out my wife shall pay the same.
1. I leave to my friend Simon Massiah £5 for a suit of mourning that he may take care of the saying a prayer for me every day of meeting.
2. I leave also in Holland to my two Nieces, daughters of Isaac Vaz and of my sister Esther Vaz (being unmarried) on the day of making their Contract of Marriage £50 to each of them towards their portions and in case they shall marry before my death and I shall be forced to contribute any part towards their portion then this Legacy shall be void.
3. I leave also to my (sic) . . . Isaac Massiah Son of my friend Simon Massiah £20 to be paid by my wife to his ffather to be managed by him and put out to interest untill he shall attain the age of 21 or day of marriage and then his father shall pay him the same with the advantages to be made.
4. I further desire my friend Simon Massiah to take care of my Books and Accounts and to assist my Wife in all that he can and that he shall have the same salary going on untill my wife shall leave of Trade or shall be minded to goe for London to live with her children all which I leave to her choice and do farther desire my said wife and all my children that for my

Blessing or displeasure they should not have any accounts or dealings with any of their Brothers or Cozens except it be with David Castello Benjamin de Liaõ and Manuel Nimias and that she may goe about disposing of what Goods she can and put all in a good way that she may be dispatched to goe to live at London with her children that she may not be kept here out of her money.

5. I leave to my friend Majr. Joseph Pickering and to John Sober* to each of them one Ring of 25s. for a Remembrance of me and I desire my wife to observe these Articles as being my last will.

Witnesses as for Will, but Dan Richards replaced by John fforster & Simon Massiah.

* Dr. V. L. Oliver in *Monumental Inscriptions of Barbados* (London, 1915) describes at p. 173 tombstone (and arms) of Collonel Joseph Pickering of Pickering, St. Lucy. At p. 145 is reference to his cousin John Sober of St. Peter's (see also *Caribbeana*, vol. v. p. 249).

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codicil of 17 july 1707.

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Previous dispositions confirmed. Son & nephew Abraham son of bro. Menassah M. to be 3rd ex'or. "I leave my 3rd part which I have in the holy Synagogue called *Snead* (? *Semah*) *David* consecrated to the Poor." To grandson Joseph son of my son Moses M. £1,000 "of this Island . . . in the hands of his grandmother Rachell M. & his grandfather David Castello . . . until 21st birthday or marriage." Similar legacy to "the child my daur. Sarah goes with, wife of my Executor Abraham M."—my wife & my bro. Menassah M. to hold the £1,000. in first place. . . . Similar legacy to "the first child which my son Jacob M. of London shall have," my wife to hold the £1,000. until marriage or 21st birthday of beneficiary. Similar legacy to "the first child which my daur. Luna shall have she marrying to my nephew Benjamin Son of my Bro. Menassah M. as we have agreed." My wife & my bro. to hold the £1,000. in first place. Ex'ors may sell "all such Lands houses & Negroes as I have in this Island for the better adjusting their Accounts." To "my ffriend Phineas Abrabanel £25 currant money. . . . To my cousin Aaron Vaz Lopez £25 currant money. . . ."

Witnesses:—Daniel Ulloa & Isaac Cabvalho. Proved at London by son Moses M. 7 July, 1712, & by son-in-law Abraham M. 21 July, 1712. (*Recorded in Barbados, as well as in London in an English version. P.C.C. "Barnes" 139.*)

BENJAMIN DELYON "of the Town of Speights . . . Merchant & one of the Hebrew Nation. . . ." Will dated 17 Apr. 1713. "The use of . . . all my estate . . . & not otherwise . . . during the terme of her natural life . . . unto my . . . wife . . . & after . . . to be equally divided between son Matathias & daur. Sarah Delyon." Son & daur. "to have their maintenance & education out of the profitts arriseing out of my sd estate." Exors. "my dear & loving wife Simha Delyon" aided & assisted by "my good friend Simon Massiah"—last-named to succeed wife (should she die) as exor. "& Guardian of my sd. children dureing their minoritys."

Witnesses:—Three non-Jews—one of whom proves Will 16 Aug., 1714. (*Recorded in Barbados 37/365.*)

MANASSAH MENDEZ of London* Merchant. Will dated 3 July 1716.

I will and order that my Executrix do within three months after my decease pay unto my son Benjamin all such Sumes of Money as by my Books shall appear "to be due and owing unto him and also deliver unto all such Tallys Orders Notes or Effects as shall be in my hands belonging to him. I will

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that out of the most ready of my Estate there shall be paid to my wife Deborah Mendez her portion of Thirteen Thousand Guilders Bank Money of Amsterdam with the Augmentaçon thereof and Additional Sumes of Money pursuant

to and in satisfaction and performance of my Marriage Contract with her in the City of Amsterdam. Also my Wrought Plate and Gold Plate and Jewels and all my wearing apparel Linen Woollen and Silks and all my household Goods whatsoever and of what kind soever. "To sons Abraham & Benjamin M. & to daur. Sarah wife of Jacob M. £100 of Lawfull money of Great Britain. To my wife Deborah the residue of my estate "not in the least doubting but she will be kind to my said children whom I desire to be Obedient to their said Mother according to Gods Commands & not to molest her." My wife Deborah M. to be sole executrix, aided & assisted by my sons Abraham & Benjamin M. & by my son-in-law Jacob M.

Witnesses:—3 non-Jews. Proved in London 10 Feb. 1718-9 by Deborah Mendez.

(Recorded in London—P.C.C. 32 " Browning.")

* Of Parish of St. Andrew Undershaft (*Probate Act Book*), formerly of Speights-town.

ABRAHAM DEPEZA* "of the Town of Speights . . . & one of the Hebrew Nation being sick & weake in body."** Will dated 11 Aug. 1716. To youngest son Isaac on 21st birthday "a negro girl named Obbah." To daur. Sarah Depeza "A negro girl named Peggy." To wife Hester Depeza "my negro woman by name Mary . . . & house & ground I am now living . . . in lieu of her dower." To son David Depeza after decease of my wife—the residue of my estate.

Executrix:—Wife, Hester Depeza.

Witnesses:—Simeon Massiah & a non-Jew. Proved by former 13 Oct. 1736.

(Recorded in Barbados 27/165.)

* Buried in Barbados in 1736 as Abraham Haim Israel Depieza.

** Notwithstanding—he lived for another twenty years.

MOSES DE SOLOMON MENDEZ* of Fenchurch St. London, Merchant. Will dated 23 Nov. 1717.

"I recommend my soul unto the hands of God that gave it my body committ to the earth to be buryed at such place in such manner & such money to be distributed to the poor & such other acts to be done at my funeral as my executors shall think proper & Convenient," To Elders of Portuguese Synagogue £100 "they saying prayers according to their custome review of the jewish colonists in barbados

on the three great festivalls in the year in such manner as is used for those that give legacies to the Synagogue." To Hester Dubueno of Dukes place London widow £20. per annum to be paid on usual quarter days. During son Solomon's minority ex'ors to send & distribute annually to my poor relations at Barbados £20 (or the amount thereof in goods). Exors to sell immediately "all my messuages lands Tenements & hereditaments in the Island of Barbados . . . & place the moneys arriseing by sale thereof at Interest (likewise the residue of my estate) . . . dureing the minority of my said son . . . (&) . . . maintaine & educate my said son." "All such interest as shall at any time arise out of my said Estate "to be paid quarterly to son Solomon after his 21st birthday "in case he shall intermarry with one of the daurs. of my Exor. Abraham Mendes which I recommend to him to doe." Failing such marriage or on Solomon's death without issue residue to be divided between exors. "share & share alike." If son Solomon M. "shall marry some other woman" he is to receive a lump sum of £250 only (afterwards increased to £500). To be Ex'ors "& Guardians of my . . . son Solomon my loving brother Abraham Mendez senior & Isaac Mendez of London merchant in whom I have an Intire confidence having by a long course of Trade experienced their integrity & friendship."

Witnesses:—Jacob Massiah & 2 non-Jews.

Sworn in London (P.C.C.) by 2 non-Jews (lawyers) 6 Dec. 1717.

(Recorded in Barbados 4 Sept. 1718 4/333)

* The paternal name would have been borne to avoid confusion with some other Moses Mendez. Testator was buried in the Port. Jews' Old Cemetery in Mile End, London, 2 Tebet 5478 (Jan., 1718). In Barbados "Sarah Abigail, wife of Mosseh de Selomoh Mendes" had been buried 3 March, 1714.

SAMUEL DE CAMPOS, mercht. Will dated 7 Jan. 1720. "My soul to Almighty God my creator I humbly resign." To dau. Sarah a negro boy by name Scipio and a mulatto girl named Debora. To dau. Hester a negro boy by name Joe and a girl by name Jenny. To dearly beloved wife Bebecca De C. "one full sixth part of all my Estate. . . . in full lieu of her Dower." Residue equally between children (minors) Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah and Esther. To sister Sarah Lopes Ferard (? *Perera*) £20, and to nephew Isaac Rodrigues £15 current money.

Executors:—Wife Rebecca De Campos (during her widowhood) Jacob De Medina, Eliazar Valverdie and Isaac Ferdiandes Nunes, mercht. in Lond.

Witnesses:—Abraham Brandon, G. Gomes and a non-Jew. Proved by first-named 20 Jan. 1720.

(Recorded in Barbados 6/31.)

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MATHIAS DELLYON of the Parish of St. Peter. Will dated 10 April 1724. "being sick & weak in Body . . . & intending a voyage for London."* "My soul unto Almighty God . . . & my body to the earth or sea firmly hoping in His mercy." "My well beloved wife Lebanah D" to be sole executrix & beneficiary ("without giving in any Inventory of my Estate into the Secretary's Office") subject to 8 legacies. To daur. Sarah wife of David Lopez £10 "currant money." To daur. Rebecca wife of Joseph da Silva £30 "currant money p. annum" or income for life on £300. "put out at interest a year after my death . . . which (*ever*) her mother shall think proper." To daurs. Ester & Deborah "at the day of Marriage provided it be by her mother's consent" ea. £350 "Currant money & a negro woman . . . or otherwise to be at the pleasure of her mother to give her what she shall think proper." £25 "Currant money to be paid her at the day of Marriage" ea. to Sarah daur. of David Letub dec'd; Deborah daur. of Simeon Messiah & Ester daur. of Isaac Panseco. To the Synagogue in St. Michael's Town £10 "currant money."

Witnesses:—2 non-Jews, one of whom proved the Will on 25 Sept. 1724.

(Recorded in Barbados 7/430.)

* He was buried the same year (7 Ab 5484) in the Port. Jews' Old Cemetery in Mile End, London, (Carera 17).

"JOSEPH DE SILVA of the parish of St. Peter. . . . Merchant being suddenly intended to depart this island* & knowing the uncertainty of Humane life". . . . Will dated 17 Apr. 1725. "Hoping for full pardon of all my sins . . . I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God who gave it." Executrix & sole beneficiary "my dear & wel beloved wife Rebecca De Silva." Property includes . . . "my two niggers (*Viz*) Peggy a woman & Gracy a girl."

Witnesses:—Isaac Rodriguez & a non-Jew. Probate by latter 18 Nov. 1725.

(Recorded in Barbados 7/356.)

* The grave of "Yoseph da Silva, 2 Ab 5485" is in Carera I8 of Port. Jews' Old Cemetery, Mile End Rd., London.

JACOB VALVERDE now a resident of the towne & parish of St. Michael. Will dated 19 Apr. 1725. "I ask the Almighty of Israel forgiveness of all my sins . . . & desire my beloved children to have me buried amongst my brethren the Jews observing such obsequies & ceremonies as are usually

done amongst us." Debts to be paid "without going to any court of Judicature . . . as I have ever done even to this day." To well-beloved daur. Jael Vaelverde "my negro woman called Rose also the negro wench call'd review of the jewish colonists in barbados

Mariba as also the negro wench called Great Quasiba. . . . (also) one large pair of diamond ear rings which were formerly of my mother decd." To well beloved daur. Lunah V. "the three several negroes viz. the negro woman Aba the negro girl Doegood & the negro woman Boss . . . (also) . . . a diamond Finger Ring with 4 diamonds & six lasks* set in goold . . . also . . . a pair of goold buckles which was formerly worn bye. . . ." To well-beloved son Abraham V. "my Pentateuchus or 5 books of Moses which I have in our synagogue as also the sylver ornaments or bells thereto belonging . . . (also) . . . the two negroes viz. Primus & August." To son Isaac V. "the two negroes viz. the negro man nam'd London & the negro woman nam'd Diana." To son David V. "the negro man call'd Manuel as also the negro boy call'd Antony." To daur. Esther V. "the three negroes viz. the negro woman call'd Bella the young negro girl Bessy the said Bella's child & the negro woman Mall . . . (also) . . . one goold buclde for a girdle as also one diamond Finger Ring with a large diamond & severall small lasks around." To daur. Rebecca V. "The Indian Wench Sary as also the negro wench Mainba . . . (also) . . . a pair of diamond ear rings which was her mothers." To daur. Simha V. "the negro woman call'd Jenny & the negro girl call'd Quassiba the daur. of the sd. Jenny . . . (also) . . . one diamond Pinger Ring with seaven small & great diamonds." To son Moses V. "the negro woman called Nanny & her son call'd John Lopy as also the negroe boy call'd Purim." To son Aaron V. "the negro woman called Esparansa as also the negroe boy call'd February." To daur. Lea "the negroe girl call'd Peguey & alsoe the negro girl call'd Lilly . . . (also) . . . one goold Spangle chain." Residue at ex'ors discretion for distribution to children at 21 years or marriage day. "And so taking my leave & farewell of my dear & well belov'd brother & sisters & give my tender embraces to all my children to whom I earnestly charge to have continually before their eyes the fear of God & the respect of their grandfather Mr. Jacob Franco as alsoe to their Unkles & Aunts & soe keep unanimously & lovingly together regarding the eldership of one another like good brethren as alsoe take leave & farewell of all my friends like a penitent sinner begg pardon of all the world & signe this my last will & Testament"

Ex'ors., my loveing bros. David &• Elias Valverde and Moses Franco.
Witnesses:—David Da Corta (sic), Jacob Roiz Pereira & Moses Nunes. Sworn 10 July 1729 by J. R. Pereira.
(Recorded in Barbados 16/416.)

ABRAHAM NUNEZ of Speights's Town in the parish of St. Peter's.
 Will dated 29 Dec. 1735. "My soul to Almighty God . . . have me buried amongst my brethren the jews in Bridgetown observing such ceremonies
 * A shallow diamond in the form of a parallelogram

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 as are usual amongst us on the like occasions." Ex'ors to collect "& gather in with all convenient speed my outstanding debts of what nature kind or quality soever . . . & . . . to remit home to England the sum of £4,000 sterling to the Wardens of the Hebrew Nation there . . . directing (them) to put the same out to interest either in the Bank of England or in such other hands or funds as they shall judge most safe & advantageous." To son Morducey N. £100 current money shall be paid by the Wardens yearly out of the interest of the said £4,000. which is to remain always untouched—income to be continued after son's death to "his now wife Rebecca N. my grand daur." To ea. lawfully begotten child of son Mordacey at 21 years or marriage £500 out of accumulated interest on the aforesaid £4,000. The like to any lawful child of Rebecca N. if she "shall survive my said son

& intermarry after his decease." Similar legacy "to all such children as my grand daur. Hester daur. of Moses Lopez shall have." "And so the like sum of £500 shall continually be paid out of the interest moneys to children's children." If the line fails then £100 only "to ea. of my nearest relations" & failing them for "marriage portions of poor female orphans" at discretion of the Wardens in London "hoping they will act conscientiously therein." To grand daur. Hester Lopez at 21 years or on marriage £800. current money & "the following negroes viz.—Old Katy, Old Flora & Katy Casandar & John her children (& the children thereafter to be born of her body) Ishmael a negro boy . . . (also) . . . a chest which contains the linnen Plate & Jewels mentioned in a list thereof which I give to my ex'ors & I also give her my old 5 books of Moses." To great grand daur. Ester N. (daur. of my son Morducoy & my grand daur. Rebecca) "my negro woman slave called Casander & Sammy her child & the children she shall have at the time of my decease." Ex'ors to be easy with my debtor David Burgos & not in any wise trouble or molest him—" unless they see sufficient reason which I leave to their discretion." To Abigail & Rachel, daurs. of David Burgos on marriage day or at 21 years £35 ea. current money out of their father's debt to me. To such daur. of Jacob Suares of the Island of Curaco as shall first be married after my decease £25 current money & I free said Suares of any debt due to me at my decease. To the heir of Isaac Halas £20 current money & a similar release to I.H. "To such daur. of my niece Judith widow of Ralph Carvalho as shall first be married after my decease £25 money of Great Britain." To Sarah Nunes Neto widow & her sister both of the Island of Jamaica £10 current money. To the youth Moses son of David Lopez £25, which ex'ors shall remit to England "on his attaining the age of 13 years . . . & to traffic & merchandise with (it) for him & so to continue making the most of the said sum until the youth shall attain 21 years or day of marriage." For the use of the synagogue of London £25 money of Gt. Britain. For the use of the house of Orphans of the Hebrew Nation in review of the jewish colonists in barbados.

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London £10 money of Gt. Britain. For the use of the Synagogue in Bridgetown £10 current money & a further £10 to be paid to the proper persons for reading the prayers called *Seduhadim*. * Ex'ors to send to England as soon as possible for another diamond finger ring & a pair of diamond ear rings both to cost £50 sterling. My grand daur. Rebecca N. "shall have her choice wheather she will keep those she now has or exchange them" for the new ones—grand daur. Hester L. to have those that are left. To my sister-in-law Abigail N. £10 current money yearly for life—in lieu of her maintenance if through any difference she should part from living with my son & grand daur. Morducoy & Rebecca N. (my will is she shall continue. to live with them). Residue to son Morducoy N.

Ex'ors. :—son Morducoy Nunez, son-in-law Moses Lopez & my friend Elias Valverde "or any 2 of them jointly . . . & I do expressly prohibit any one of them to act singularly & alone."

Witnesses:— David Lopez & 2 non-Jews, one of whom swears to the will 27 Oct. 1736.

(Recorded in Barbados 27/182.)

* The correct designation of these prayers for the dead is *Sidduk Hadin*.

II.

(a) Census List
of

Bridgetown Jews (=St. Michael's Parish).

Public Record Office. *Col. Papers*, vol. xliv, No. 47. I. pp. 9-10
(Calendared in "S.P.Col.—Am. & W.I.—1677-80," para. 1336, I. and copied also in MS. 2202, Guildhall Library, pp. 16-17.)
"The JEWES."

Barbados. Anno. 1680.

A list of the inhabitants in and about the towne of St. Michaelis with their children, their servants, prentices, bought servants and negroes. Memd that ye Towne of S. Michael only has returned an Accot of Children.

The JEWES.	<i>Children Jews</i>	<i>Slaues</i>
Jacob Franco Nunes	4	1
Aron Navaro	7	11
Aron Barruch	5	5

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Paul Devrede	2		3	
	2		4	
	3		11	
	6		8	
	2		2	
	3		3	
	5		3	
	3		10	
	2		2	
	7		-	
	2		1	
	2		2	
	2		1	
	3		1	
	5		1	
	3		11	
	2		1	
	2		4	
Isaac Perera				
David Ralph Demercado				
Lewis Dias				
Abraham Qay				
Abraham Barruch				
David Israell				
Anthony Rodrigus				
Abraham Sousa				
Leah Medina				
Isaac Abof				
Abraham Burges Aron				
Moses Hamias				
Mrs. Leah Decompas				
Hester Bar Simon				
Danniell Boyna				
Abraham Lopes				
Abraham Valverde				
Judicah Torez	<i>Psons</i>	2	<i>Slaues</i>	2
Moses Mercado	5		2	
	1		5	
	5		2	
	3		2	
	3		4	

6	3
3	4
3	2
2	2
	2
	5
	2
	4
	1
	-
	6
	1

Jaell Serano
 Eliah Lopez
 Isaac Gomez
 Joseph Senior
 Isaac Perera
 Isack Meza
 Solomon Cordoza
 Abraham Obediente
 Judith Risson

4
 9
 4
 2
 1
 1
 2
 4

David Namias
 Moses Arrobas
 Gabriell Antunes
 Jacob Preett
 Sarah Atkins
 Abraham Costanio
 Samuel Navarro

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Rachell Burges	6	2
Mordecah Palache	1	-
Rebecah Pachecho	2	4
Rebecah Barruch	1	1
Jacob Pachecho	5	4
Rachell Lopez	4	1
Jacob ffonceco Vale	5	4
Mordecah Sarah	4	1
Samuell Dechavis	2	4
David Swaris	5	2
Judith Navaro	2	1
Hester Noy	2	-

Judith Israel	2	-
Moses Desavido	5	3
Isaac Nov	6	2

(Note.—The Total of Inhabitants is 806
[of which figure men
make up 404 and chil-
dren—which possibly
included women —
4021].)

The white servants number	412
and the Negroes	1325
Included in the opening figure are Jewish Heads of Families to the number of	54
Whilst " Children, " " Sons, "	

"Jewes " & " Persons " come to	184
	<hr/> 238
(The Jewish-owned slaves total	163

(b) Militia Muster Roll
of
Bridgetown Jews (=St. Michael's Parish).

(Public Record Office. *Col. Papers*, vol. xlv. No. 47, XXXIII.
Calendared in "S.P. Col. Am. & W.I.—1677-80," para 1336, XXXIII.)

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and copied also in MS. 2202, Guildhall Library, pp. 370-4 &
377-8).

Extract from the Nominal Roll of Companies in Colonel William
Bates Regiment of Foot.

His Majestys Regiment of Guards for His Excellency (January 6th,
1679).

(Note.—There are twelve companies in all; the names of Jews
are to be found on the muster rolls of six of these companies and all
appear to be resident in St. Michael's Parish.)

Abraham Sarrah	William Bate, Capt & Collonell	Jacob ffonceco, Chirugion
<i>The Leift Collonells Company</i>	Samuel Dechavis	
John Codrington Capt & Leift Colonell		
Isaack Mellada	David Raphael de Mercado	
Abram Bueno Henricus	David Israel	
Jacob Franckoe		
<i>The Majors Company</i>		
Paul Lyte, Captaine and Major		
Moses Burgis	Abraham Burges	Jacob Pachegoe
Samuel Navarro	David Asabee	MordecayPelechey
Moses Arabus	Isaack Noare	David Bleachy
Isaac Israell	Elias Isreall	Jacob Perabo
Isaac Gomes	David ffonsegoe	Isaack Mesaw
		Joseph Senior
		Abraham Lopus

Isaack Mercado, Chirugion.

(Note.—Rank & File 121—of which 23 are Jews.)

Abraham Burges Abraham Descices
Abraham Medena
 Isaack ffurtadoe
Abraham Madena David Mercado
 Abraham Sarrah

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BRIDGETOWN WILLS.

ABRAHAM GOMES of St. Michael's Town. Oral testament in mid-May 1676. Deposed by Lewis Deas & Aaron Navarri "on 5 books of Moses according to H. M.'s order." All the Estate he had to his wife Grace* Gomes—who was granted probate. ("He had nothing to dispose of for that he had not so much as he had with his wife . . . he did repeat the same words several times and said he had not left her so much as he had with her.")

(Recorded in Barbados 9/396.)

* A certain Grace, wife of Isaac Gomes Henriques, died in 1701.

JACOB PACHECHO—at house of Moses Arrobus in St. Michaelis. Deposition taken before His Excellency on 28 Sept. 1682 on Five Books of Moses according to the Jewish custome by Daniell Bueno, 45 y. & Samuell Navaro 42 y. or thereabouts.* To his 2 sons "what estate hee had or was worth," but his sister Rachel wife of Moses Arrobus to make use of and improve £150. until sons come of age. To brother Abr. P. £20. "for ever." Lewis Dias, marcht, "humbly desired & appointed" ex'or.

(Recorded in Barbados 12/247.)

* J. P. had died on 28 Adar I. 5442 = Feb./Mar. 1682.

MOSEH HAMIS (GAGO). Will in Portuguese dated 26 Mar. 1684. "in the 32nd year of the reign of His Majesty."

In the name of the Blessed God, Amen. Finding that all my capital is insufficient to pay back the dowry my dear Wife, Judicah Hamis, brought with her, I direct that after payment of my debts, my Wife shall inherit my houses, coins, moneys, or anything else of mine, both here & elsewhere, without let or hindrance. I direct that when it shall please God to take me, my coffin & tombstone shall be quite plain, & Jacob da Fonseca Valle shall recite the holy *Kaddish* (=prayer for the dead) for me and my wife (when it shall please God to call her), & the lettering on our two stones shall be as customary; & the said Jacob da Fonseca Valle is directed to request the *SSres. do M. M. & the Parnas de Betahaim* (=the Gentlemen of the Board & the Warden of the House of Life) that the grave next to either one of us be kept empty so that the survivor of us may be buried therein, for which a reasonable sum will be paid. My wife & I direct that a sum of 2,000 lbs. of Muscovado Sugar be paid to the aforesaid Valle for saying *Kaddish*, for both of us.

Item. I direct that 1,000 lbs. Muscovado Sugar be paid to her Aunt Esther Rodrigues in memory of our good relationship, & a like amount to our friend Rahell do Valle, wife of Isaque do Valle.

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I confess that I owe to Jacob Massiah 12,000 lbs. m'do Sugar, remainder of what we offered him as Dowry with our niece, Angela, as appears in a credit-note which both my wife & I signed, & we admit owing it to the said Massiah, & he is to be paid as quickly as possible. My wife & I also wish & direct that 2,000 lbs. m'do. Sugar be paid after the death of us both to his son Simon Massiah, or failing him (which God forbid) to his brother or sister next following (& failing them to their parents) to help in the purchase of a young negress.

After the death of my wife & myself, & after payment of our respective debts, 4,000 lbs of m'do Sugar to be given to my sister Esther, wife of Isaque Namias, & failing her, to her husband. Similarly to my niece Sarah Lopes 2,000 lbs. m'do Sugar, & to her daughter Judicah Lopes 4,000 lbs. m'do Sugar, & to my niece Esther Pinto a Widow 1,000 lbs. of Sugar, & to my nephew Jacob Machorra, son of my sister Hanah Machorra . . . 2,000 lbs. m'do Sugar, after the death of both of us.

Item. It is my last wish that our slave named Consciencia continue serving my said Wife all her life, & if she serves her faithfully, & with love and due respect as if I had been living, I desire & direct that on the death of my said wife she shall become free, without any person or persons, heirs of myself or my wife, having the right to keep her captive; this being a reward for her good service to me, and as I hope to my wife.

Witnesses:—Selomoh Cardozo, Abraham Valverde & Jacob da Fonseca Valle & proved by the last named 2 Dec. 1684-85.

(Recorded in Barbados 9/29.)

AARON NAVARRO, legitimate son of Abraham N. of Amsterdam at present in Isle of Barbados. Will in Portuguese dated 13 Tammuz=4 July 1685.

Pious invocation expressing belief as a Jew in the Law of Moses & in resurrection after death.

Item. I was in partnership with my brother Moseh Navarro, in Brazil; went to Amsterdam, & we adjusted our accounts. I came to this Island with some 2,000 florins . . . used in the distribution . . . the profit. However after a short time the fire in the year 1658 happened, & the house & land were burnt . . . so that . . . if my said brother will not specify it in his Will (*several indecipherable words omitted*).

Item. With my brother Jacob Navarro I had business in Brazil & an external & internal a/c . . . as shown in the books which remained in Amsterdam in the possession of my cousin Ishac Nunes Navarro which were settled before we left Brazil, & after that I had other accounts with him, both in cargoes & remittances from this island; & after he died I wrote review of the jewish colonists in barbados that I had 30,000 pounds of Muscovado sugar for the dowry of his daughters —my nieces—for which I sent him some 20,000 pounds; & for the remainder I had in Surinam 10,000 pounds of Muscovado sugar as passed & confirmed by the *Sres. do Maliamad de Surinam* (=the Wardens of the Surinam Synagogue), but before encashing the amount the alienation happened to the Jews, and so should they not receive the cash from Surinam I request my heirs or their trustees to pay the said 10,000 lbs. of Muscovado sugar to the heirs of my aforesaid brother Jacob Navarro. I gave him this information because my Brother was somewhat slack with his books.

Item. With my cousin Jacob Fundao deceased I had various accounts & cargoes. I owed him 639 florins, on a/c of which I remitted him a Draft drawn by Samuel Frazao on his brothers, payable to Mordehai Senhor, brother-in-law of the said Fundao, for the sum of £30. sterling, for a/c of the heirs of the said Fundao. After many days they wrote me that they had not encashed the Draft, & they blamed Mordehai Senhor for not having taken the necessary steps to execute it. The £30. equal 325 florins; there remain 314 florins which I order my Heirs or their Trustees to pay.

Item. I had various transactions with Samuel da Veiga, who said he had in his possession a Draft for £80 sterling & other a/cs of Abraham Navarro, or Moses, which were not verified. Nevertheless I order my Heirs or their Trustees to pay to the Heirs of the said Samuel da Veiga 10,000 lbs. of Muscovado Sugar.

Item. I declare that my aforesaid brother Jacob Navarro sent to this Island, per Luis Dias in the year 1666 from London a cargo, which the said Luis Dias told me was for a/c of my said brother, & that he had sold from 36/38,000 lbs. Muscovado sugar . . . for some 14,000 lbs. of Muscovado

Sugar Sam. da Vega received £14. for the widow & heirs of my aforesaid brother; the balance of the money of the said cargo is still owing by the said Luis Dias, to whom I petitioned for it before the *Sres. do Maliamad* (=the Wardens of the Barbados Synagogue), but my action failed in the Court. . . .

I say that Entitta & her daughter Hannah are mine, being the daughter & grand-daughter of my slave (negress) Maria Arda; if they wish to free themselves, they can come to an arrangement with my wife, & no one may prevent or contradict them; this is my order & desire.

Item. I say that I had a debt with Moseh Hisquiah de Mercado, when he was *Gabay Sedaca* (=Treasurer of the Charity Fund), of A 788, which were not paid, & they were credited in the books of the *Sedaca*.

Item. I declare that I bequeathed to my wife Ester Navarro and our dear children Moseh Jacob & Sarah, as follows:—Firstly I desire and it is my last wish that my aforesaid wife Ester Navarro shall collect & receive all my goods & chattels, & that she should be paid 4,500 florins, the amount

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of her *Ketubah*, which is £400 sterling; I also bequeath to my said Wife her jewels of silver & gold & other adornments she may find in the house; & it is my wish that my aforesaid Wife should control & manage my Estate for the benefit of my children Moseh Jacob & Sarah Navarro; & I desire them to be obedient to their Mother & to their Trustees, & should any of them not be obedient to my said Wife or their Guardians, she & they may, and it is my wish that they should, exclude & deprive them of any belongings or inheritance of mine, or any benefit arising from this my Will; but should they, as I hope they will, be obedient to their virtuous Mother, it is my Will & Testament that my son Moses should possess & enjoy for himself & his legitimate Heirs the house in which at present Mary Michell resides, to the west of Annetta Bond's house; & the house to the east of that in which I recently lived (which I bought from Abraham Baruh), I bequeath to my daughter Sarah; & the house in which I am now living I bequeath to my son Jacob, it being between the houses which belonged to Moseh Hamis & George Fletcher. Should God take any of them, without their leaving legitimate heirs, the surviving brothers to inherit equally the deceased's inheritance. And finally I appoint as Trustees of my dear wife & children *Haham Rebi* (=the Chief Rabbi), Eliau Lopes, Mr. Jacob da Fonseca Valle, Mr. Joseph Senior, & my nephew Abraham Valverde, & whom justly & severally I beg to assist my wife & children in all matters, & it is my wish that my wife & children should act in concord with my said Trustees. I also beg our mother Sarah Torres to look after her daughter Ester Navarro, my wife, & her dear grandchildren, & I hope they will obey & love their Mother & Grandmother & Trustees, & thus enjoy the blessing of God. To be guardians of my dear wife & beloved children.

Executors:—Senhor *Reby* Eliau Lopes, Jacob da fonseca Valle, Joseph Senior & my nephew Abraham Valverde.

Witnesses:—Joseph Senior, 2 non-Jews, **Jacob Baruch Louzada**, Jacob da fonsecca Meza & sworn on 29 Oct. 1685 by 2 last-named.

(Recorded in Barbados 10/442.)

DAVID RAPHAEL DE MERCADO. Will in Portuguese dated 21 July, 1685.

I hereunder declare . . . that if it be the Will of God to take mee to himself that hee may for his mercyes gather my soule to a good place that my body shall be interred in the *Betahaim* (=cemetery, literally *House of Life*) with my bretherin at the beginning of the row and for this work I doe leave to the said *Hebra* (*burial society*) 40/- and 10/- to my *Haberim* (*fellow-members*) that they with care may make me my grave and coffin. As for my funerary rites I order my consort to do as she wishes as well for the *Promessas* and for

the distributions to the poore and I doe order my beloved wife Gracia de Mercado to procure a white marble stone with an inscription proper for my actions that with charges may cost 50 sterling. Alsoe . . . within one yea.re to cause a stone wall to bee built encircling our *Betahaim* at present in use. 20/- ea. to bros. Isaac and Moses H. de Mercado "for any pretence of Inheritance that hee may have against mee"—and latter discharged of the balance of our Accounts. To nephew David sonne of Isaac any three of my houses for him and his heires upon condition that he shall not sell them that they may alwaies enjoy them in my name and for the 4th house I doe leave my wife to chewse any of the foure freely enjoying it for her life . . . and at her death shall remain to the said David. Wife to deliver to my nephew David sonne of Isaac de M. the one half of my household silver dividing it equally and alsoe to deliver him my *Sefortora* (=Scroll of the Law) with all its ornaments. Wife to deliver £100 sterling to some honest person or persons when my nephew and godsonne David somne of Moses H. de M. is of age of 13 years . . . to imploy the same until hee is 21 and then to deliver the same with the profitts thereof to the said David, and the said sum cannot be demanded from my consort until he attains the aforesaid age of 13. "My beloved wife Gracia de Mercado absolute owner and executrix of all the estate that I have or shall have anywhere . . . as it appeareth by my bookes." Whole of residue of Estate left to Wife, with liberty to dispose of it as she wills. I annul anything I may have written or promised to any person.

Witnesses:—Aron Baruch, Isaac Gomes and sworn by them 28 Aug. 1685.

(Recorded in Barbados 10/398 and in London P.C.C. "Cann " 153 in an English version.)

Proved 9 Dec. 1685 by Antony Louzada, merc't, London attorney for the widow.

DAVID ISRAEL, inhabitant of the Isle of Barbados. Will in Portuguese dated 15 Sivan 5449—24 May 1689, revoking all previous Wills made. If it should please God to take me to a better world I ask pardon for all my sins & that my soul may be rec'd in mercy. To be buried in the customary fashion among my brother Jews & my debts including what I owe to the *Sedaca* as indicated in their Books to be paid. 20/- to the Senhor Haham R. Eliau Lopes. 20/- to the Senhor Hazan Moseh de Azevedo. 10/- to the *Samas* Ishack Nahar. To wife Sarah Israel 1/3rd of rent of stone house in Broad St. between Aaron Baruh Louzada's house & Capt. Thomas Horner's, also a negress named Betty, and the use of two negresses named below to go (eventually) to my daughter Esther when 21, or on her previous marriage. To my son Isaac 1/3rd share of the incoming rent of my said house less
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expenses, the right to mortgage being reserved to him and his legitimate heirs born in holy wedlock of a Jewish mother. To my son Isaac a male negro named Antonio. To my daur. Esther and her legitimate issue the remaining 3rd share of the yearly yield of my house less share of charges. Also my two negresses Maria Ibo and Esperansa they to be delivered by my wife unto Esther when she marries or attains 21 years. What time executors are to accumulate daur's 1/3rd share. To my daur. Rahel, wife of David Judah Rodriques £25 sterling payable by executors and 2 *moreques* (=negro boys (moliques)) for my grand-daughter Ester Zinha. To grandson Jacob son of David and Rahel Judah Rodrigues a *moliques* named Robin. To my brothers Abraham and Jacob and to the heirs of my brother Samuel inhabitants of the City of Amsterdam 600 florins left to me by my father. Also 235 flns. left me by my mother being my share of my mother's *Ketubah* money to be divided equally between brothers Abraham, Jacob, and heirs of brother Samuel. If any brother dies without legitimate heirs the money

to be distributed among the legitimate descendants of other brothers. To brothers Abraham, Jacob and heirs of brother Samuel 10/- each for all claims against estate. I declare that in so far as I have an independent claim to the plot of land which formerly I bought jointly with Aron Navarro this is to be sold to avoid expense and proceeds to go to wife Sarah and son Isaac. To wife Sarah and son Isaac the considerable sum of money and sugar which according to my books and accounts I hold in the possession of Selomoh Israel. Also 2 negroes named Vallenty and Macaco which I sent him for the service of the business. To Solomon Israel in clearance of all claims 20/-. All book debts to wife Sarah and son Isaac after paying my debts. On death of wife all sons to share. On the death of any son only the legitimate heirs to participate, or the survivors of such children.

Joseph Mendes & Abraham Valverde to be executors.

Witnesses:—2 non-Jews. Sworn by them 12 Aug. 1689.

(Recorded in Barbados 41/179.)

ARON BARUH LOUZADA, Will in Portuguese dated 9th May 1693.

In the name of the Blessed God—Amen. Absolute power to Wife to sell houses & land. To give bills for what is due to me. In the year 1685 my brothers Mosseh, David & Abm. Baruch Louzada sent me a balance sheet, signed, of what was due to each one, which I gave to my Wife, & did not sign, owing to my then serving my 26 (years) slavery. The amount due to me was £1,937 sterling, made up as will appear. The houses are for my dear Wife, sons & daughters (*several lines indecipherable*). After my dear David went to London (*rest of para. indecipherable*). Should wife wish to re-marry, which I do not prohibit, she shall not have more than her

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Ketubah provides for, and administration shall be appointed for my children until each one comes of age. I desire my wife to look after her dear children . . . and she may sell houses, lands, & give Bills & Drafts . . . & trade and make advances. Estate to be divided equally among wife & children, but first-born son David to receive £50. over and above his share by virtue of his birth-right. That a tombstone be obtained for my grave, & I ask Sr. Jacob (*name omitted*) & my nephew Jacob Baruch Louzada & Abr. Gomez that they do everything to help my wife & children in accordance with my wishes.

Witnesses:—Abraham: de Sousa Mendez, David Castello and Jacob de Medina, who proved the Will on 3 Oct. 1695.

(Recorded in Barbados 11/282.)

Note.—In Jan. 1925, Mr. Samuel Oppenheim of N. York one of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.'s most able workers (unhappily he has since died) asked me to identify from photographs the writer of six birth entries in Portuguese headed Barbados and scribbled in a re-bound and defective copy of the Oral Law "Shulchan Aruch" (Amst. 1663) which he had acquired. This seems the place to interpolate a translation of Aaron Baruch Louzada's interesting announcements (with additions by his son Solomon), the late Mr. Oppenheim having obligingly permitted me to do so.

Barbados, 4th January 1676/7.

9th Sebat 5437.

It pleased God to grant mo a major (=first-born) son; I gave him the name David.

Born 2 hours before dawn on Thursday; circumcised by Moses Jamis Gayo.

In the said Island September 2, 1678. 13 Elul 5438.

It pleased God to grant me a son, to whom I gave the name Selomoh; not born in good health; circumcised by Moses de Azevedo on the Past of Gedalya 3rd of 439, Monday at 10 a.m. (In a later hand) of the Moon (=month) Tisri 19 no (sic) 20 September owing to having been ill.

21 September 1679; 23 Tisry 5440.

It pleased God to grant me an old son, whom he took on the 7th day; before (his death) I gave him the name of Isack; the aforesaid Azevedo circumcised him after death on the 1st day of R. Hodesh Sivan (? error for Heshvan) 5440.

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(In a later hand)

On Sabbath, at mid-night, I, Selomoh, was born on the 14th Elul, 5438, corresponding with the 2nd September, but they circumcised me on the 3rd Tisri in the New Year 5439, corresponding with Monday, the 19th September, 1678.

Barbados, 27th November 1681; On Friday, at 3 hours before dawn, it pleased God to grant me a fine boy; may it be for a good omen (equivalent of "Besiman tob"); I gave him the name of Jacob. Moseh de Azevedo circumcised him on the 5th Kislev 5442.

Wednesday, 27th December 1682, at 10 p.m., it pleased God to grant me a fine son; may it be for good; I gave him the name Imanuel; Moseh d' Azevedo circumcised him on the 15th Tebet 5443. May God increase me. Louzada.

1685/6 March 9th, Adar 22, 5446.

It pleased God to grant me a girl, by name Ester, who was born for good on Monday at midnight.

On the 15th Sivan 5449, corresponding with 3rd June 1688 Hanah was born; may God make her one of his servants. Amen.

LUIS DIAS. Will dated 15 Apr. but signed 24 May 1698 "translated out of Portuguese."

"In the name of God to whome I recommend my Soule desiring pardon of my Sinnes, as I likewise doe of all I have offended knowingly or not & that with all humility when God please to take me hence Lett my body be buried according to the Jewish manner as neare my ffather & children as possible. I desire my Sons to walke in good wayes to be obedient to their Mother & deale justly with all men And they shall thereupon have Gods blessing & mine & they shall be honoured before God & my Soule shall be glad." To sister Ester Antuneq (=Antunes) £20 per Annum for life. To sister Sarah de Mega (=Meza) £10 for a Remembrance. To Raquel Morena £20 (to wit) £10 to herself & £10 to her eldest Son. To Hannah Alures (=Alvares) Maianike (sic) for her care & assistance during my sickness. To the poore to be distributed in the days of mourning £10. "To my Son David Dias Two shares of the Chamber of Amsterdam one in the possession of Abraham del Sotto and other of Samuel Haim de la Parra which shares
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my said Administrators shall endeavour with all Expedition to place upon the name of my Son David. He shall not dispose thereof . . . and my Executors shall take care of the management of them . . . leaving it to their consciences . . . to deliver the same to him if he is sensible and capable to manage the same and for want of such capacity (which is left to their Consciences) he shall not dispose thereof but the same to remaine in the said India Company and he to have the Income and proceeds and after him . . . the Eldest of his Male heirs, to one only. And in default of Males if there are any females then the proportion of the said Annuity to descend to the eldest of them.” To wife Jael D. & son Isaac D. “who I desire to agree together” in equal shares “all my Estate, houses, Negroes, Gold, Silver, Jewells, Pearles, Goods, Household stuffe . . . and . . . at their pleasure . . . one piece of gold & another of silver as alsoe 2 negroes small or greater . . . to son David D.” “In case of . . . disagreement (which God forbid) between my wife Jael D. & mine and her son Isaac D. if she is not content to comply with this will which I make . . . she shall have no more than (the) Law will allow her.” Ex’ors, wife Jael D. and son Isaac D.
Witnesses:—Ab. Baruch Henriq., Jacob Franco & David Castello.
 Sworn by Jacob Franco 16 Jan. 1698-9. Proved at London 4 Feb. 1705-6
 by Isaac Dias, son of dec’d & one of the ex’ors.

(Recorded in Barbados, & also in London—P.C.C. “Eedes” 35.)

ABRAHAM BARUCH HENRIQUES. Will in Portuguese dated 6 Feb. 1700-1.

(Lengthy Invocation to the Most High God of Israel.) My dear wife Sarah Baruh Henriquez, together with my two daughters Raquel & Ester Baruh Henriquez (Judica being still a minor) to be exors. of all real & personal estate, both in this island & abroad, with liberty to sell houses, slaves or plantations, after first obtaining the advice & approval of Jacob Franco, Jacob Nunez & Isaque Dias; & my said Wife & Daughters will continue the executorship during her widowhood, & should my said wife re-marry, then she shall cease to be my Executor & Administrator, & shall have none of my wealth, save that mentioned in the *Ketubah* (=marriage contract) I gave her, to which she is legally entitled, & I nominate the aforementioned gentlemen as Guardians to my 3 daughters Raquel, Ester & Judica Baruh Henriquez, my Estate to be equally apportioned among them & given to them on their attaining 21 years of age, or on their previous marriage with the consent of their Mother & Guardians; & should any of them die, which God forbid, before reaching 21 years, & without leaving any issue, the deceased’s share shall be divided among those surviving, my Wife receiving her equal portion should she not re-marry. “To the *Esnoga*
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de Nidhé Israel (the Synagogue “*The Scattered of Israel*”) a lamp with 12 branches, & another 6-branched one, to have engraved thereon with the privilege & license of the Rulers, my name and the day of my death. Should my children & heirs desire to light candles for the night of *Kipur* (=eve of the Day of Atonement), they can do so without hindrance, this being allowed & entered in our Records Book by the Gentlemen of the *Mahamad* (=Wardens) of this *K.K.* (=holy congregation), which may God increase & prosper Amen. It is my desire that my Wife & Daughters should give for the poor of the *K.K. Nidhé Israel*, every *Rosh-Hodesh* (=New Moon), for a term of 12 months, the sum paid out by the *Gabbay* (=treasurer) in my name, & for the repose of my soul, this being allowed & entered in our Records Book by the Gentlemen of the *Mahamad* etc. To Isaque Suarez, my godson, £20. to be given to him one night after my death so that he can start life, & a further £5. for his saying *Kaddish** (=the prayer for the dead) for me, taking care to get people to come to Prayers in my house for 12 months after my death. To Jacob, son of Mr. Isaque Mellado, £10., which will be sent to him with a certain box containing bonds 15 months from this date; on its arrival,

they shall not be possessed by anyone other than the gentlemen appointed to do the best with the said box of bonds, & they shall not be delivered to him until 18 years old with the accumulations." To Jacob & Moses, sons of Hoikian (*probably Hisquiau=Hezekiah*) Pacheco each £5. in coin in the same form as to Jacob Mellado.

Witnesses:—Aron Haim de Mercado; Jacob Mendez; Pselo (probably **Selomoh=Solomon) Baruch**. Proved by 1st named 4 Mar. 1700-1.

(Recorded in Barbados 14/135.)

*The Testator left no son.

JACOB DEFONSECA MEZA. Oral testament of 21 Jan. 1701. Deposition by 2 non-Jews on 3rd Feb. 1701-2 that Abr. Valverde & Isaac Minns (? Nunes) were to be ex'ors, bury him & "pay & discharge." Freed "a certain Molatto woman Isabella" by deed on same occasion.*

* Abigail da F. M. had died in 1692—19 Iyar 5452.

(Recorded in Barbados 41/511.)

RACHELL BARUH LOUZADA. Will in Portuguese, dated 29 October 1703. "I desire to be buried among my Jewish Brethren, & I request my sons **Solomon & Jacob Bh. Louzada** to give me a decent funeral, as a son should do to his mother: & I ask them to get from London a good stone for my grave."s

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My sons Solomon & Jacob to sell everything in the house, goods, jewels silver, gold & copper, also slaves, & to pay all my debts, funeral expenses & doctors bills.

To sell also the houses and pay off immediately the mortgage applying the balance of the money towards the dowry of my **dau. Hannah Bh. Lousada**.

My sons Solomon & Jacob Bh. **Lotizada** to remit the aforesaid balance of the houses to London immediately, to my **brother Izaque Gomez**, to be invested, as he thinks best with regard to the security & interest, on behalf of my aforesaid dau. Hannah.

To my son Jacob Bh. Louzada £25. current money, & £25. current money to **my son Ymanoel B. L.**

To **grand-dau. Ribca dau. of son David Baruch Louzada** & to **grandson Araõ, son of son Selomoh Bh. Louzada**—£20. current money.

To my dau. Hannah Baruh Louzada "a negress named Esperansa, & a diamond ring, also £25. current money with which to commence seeking a livelihood, & that she may live in sisterly harmony with her brothers Jacob (&) Ymanoel Bh. Louzada, as God commands."

"I trust that my aforesaid brother Isaque Gomez, of London, will take charge of her money as specified above; but in the event of my brother having died, which God forbid, or should he not be there, I request Isaque Dias, nephew, of London, to take charge of the money for the dowry as directed above, & God rest my soul & grant you all long life to serve & praise Him."

Witnesses:—Benj. Mota, Jacob Frances, & a non-Jew. Proved by two former 22 November 1703.

"We, the below-mentioned signatories, do declare that everything specified in the above testament of our Mother Rachell Baruh Louzada was done with our full consent & desire to which we truly affirm in Barbados, this 29th October 1703."

David Baruh Louzada

Solomon

Jacob

" "

" "

(Recorded in Barbados 16/24.)

EMMANUEL LEVY* of St. Michael, merchant. Will—by an English attorney—dated 19 Dec. 1709. "My Body . . . be decently buried & my

Soul I committ to Almighty God that gave it me in hopes of a blessed Resurrection. All my estate . . . within Island or elsewhere . . . unto my wel beloved wife Rachel Levy” & to be sole ex’trix.

Witnesses:—Henry Murrey,—Lopez (?Rabbi Eliahu L.) Benj Poor (or Coor—? a translator). Probate 10 Jan. 1709-10 by 1st witness.

(Recorded in Barbados 5/304.)

* He signs Manuel Levy.

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DAVID CASTELLO of . . . Town & Parish of St. Michael, Merchant. Will dated 9 Jan. 1711. To son Jacob £100 current money in full settlement of any claim on estate. To son Ephraim “my pentatukes or five books of Moses wch I now have in the Synagogue with the silver bells & all other ornaments thereunto belonging.”

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Moses Castello and my daughter Hannah Castello and to their heirs for ever equally to be divided between them one third part of a dwelling house wch I have in Amsterdam in the New Old Graft near the Vintecne in Company of my sisters the which was put in the Orphans House in Amsterdam by my father in the year One thousand six hundred and seventy And whereas there is now due to me twenty six years rent of the sd: third part of the said house my will is that such rent when recd may also be equally divided between the said Moses and Hannah and it is my desire that my said son and daughter Moses and Hannah may purchase the other two thirds of the said house by reason it was my Fathers And it is further my will that after all my just debts and legacies be paid my loving wife should give the one tenth part of my estate towards some good charitable uses and to bestow the same to such person or persons as she shall think fitt it being an offer which I offered when I came out of Amsterdam. To daur. Judith wife of Moses Mendez junior 5/- “in full of all demands.” Sole executrix & residuary legatee “my loving wife Rebecca Castello.”

Witnesses:—Isaac Mellado, Jacob Kopke & another non-Jew. Proved by Isaac Mellado 5 Feb. 1711.

(Recorded in Barbados 7/29.)

RACHEL LEVY of St. Michael, widow.* Will—by an English attorney—dated 24 Feb. 1712. “I recommend my soul unto the Great God of Isaac (sic) hoping to receive pardon of all my sins.” Ex’ors to buy two tombstones for myself and deceased husband Emanuel Levy “to be placed over in the burying place amongst the rest of our brotheren.” “To ea. of my cosins Jacob, David & Eliza (?Elias) Valverde 5/- in full satisfaction of all pretence . . . to any estate of me.” To my friends & ex’ors Jacob, Francis & Eleazer Valverde all the rest of estate “to doe herewith what I have: begged & desired them to do.”

Witnesses:—2 non-Jews. Probate 30 March 1712-3 by 2nd witness.

(Recorded in Barbados 7/151.)

* She signs Rachel X. Levy, probably Ximenes Levy.

ISAAC* HENRIQUES MELLADO of the town of St. Michael. Will dated 28 Oct. 1713.

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To sons Jacob, Abram, Aaron & David & to daurs. Rachael, Judith, Rebecca, Hester, Jael & Deborah 20/- current money when 21 y. old. “My well beloved wife Sarah Henriques Mellado” to be sole executrix & residuary legatee.

Witnesses:—Aaron & Hezekiah Peirera & a non-Jew. Proved by Hezekiah P. 20 Dec. 1715.

(Recorded in Barbados 35/476.)

* Subsequently copied as Teague, probably in error for Ysaque.

MOSES DEAZEVEDO “na Parochia de S. Michel e no town ditto.” Will in Portuguese dated 6 Oct. 1715. I recommend my soul to God, Creator of me & of the whole universe & I ask pardon for all my sins . . . to be buried with my brethren in the burying-place I have prepared. To daur. Rachel Burges de Francia 5/- & remit her debt to me. To my son Jacob D. I remit his debt & since he has been disobedient I give him 1/- for whatever claim he may raise against my estate. To son David Eliahu D. I remit the considerable sum of money paid out for him as appears in my books & since he has been disobedient I give him 1/- in cash. To son Abraham D. 10/- & my worn clothes and my white linen. To daur. Esther, de Medina an escritoire of Japan. To grandaur. Lebanah Mendes for her & her heirs the gift of a mulatto named Mary & of my Cormanty negress named Esperanto. (?Reversion to son Solomon D. also a couple of Barocos servants if Lebanah dies without issue?). To son Solomon D. a negress named Zabelina with her mulatto daur. Bashe & her son Cain & her daur. Maria & all their issue & I confirm the deed of gift of my Madagascar (negress) named Diana for him and his heirs made 20 June 1715. Son Solomon & Snr. Hezekiah Pachecho to be joint executors.
Witnesses:—Moses Branda, Abraham Suares. Sworn by former 25 Oct. 1715.
(Recorded in Barbados, 35/439.)

ESTHER PACHECHO “of in the town of St. Michael . . . widow.” Will dated 9 July 1717, To sons Isaac & Moses Pachecho ea. £5 currt. money. To daur. Rachell Pachecho “one negro woman named Quasheba & her increase to her my aforesaid daur. for ever to her & her heirs.” Residue to said daur. Exor., my friend Hezekia Pachecho.
Witnesses:—David Decosta Dandrady & Moseh Dazevedo.* Proved by former 12 Aug. 1718.
(Recorded in Barbados 4/324.)

* Clearly not identical with his homonym, whose own will (*see above*) was proved in Oct, 1715.

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MOSES BRANDON, town of St. Michaels. Will dated 10 April, 1718, “to be buryed according to the Jewish Lord (sic) in the Jews burying place.” To wife Rachel B. “all my gold rings and Jewells.” To Esther, dau. of Abraham Swares £50 current money provided her father pays within 2 years £150 15s. 6d. for “goods which he the said Swares was intrusted with to dispose of for my bennefitt.” Residue for equal division between wife (in lieu of her Dower) and children (minors) Abraham, Jacob, Isaac and Bath-saba B. Exors., wife Rachel B. and son Abraham B.
Witnesses:—David Aboab and a non-Jew. Proved by latter 30 April, 1718.
(Recorded in Barbados 4/279.)

RAQUEL NUNEZ CARVALLO of the Town of St. Michael. Will dated 4 June 1718. To son Jacob Frois . . . of St. Michael “one negro woman by name Abbah.” To son Isaac Frois “now of the Island of Jamaica . . . one negro girle by name Rose.” Residue of estate in equal shares to these 2 sons. Ex’or., son Jacob Frois.
Witnesses:—Jacob Medina, Simeon Massiah & a non-Jew, who proves Will 4 July 1718.
(Recorded in Barbados 4/296.)

JAEL DIAS* widow of Lewis D. late of . . . Barbados and now of St. Catherine Creechurch parish in London. Will “translated from the

ffrench” dated 30 Mar. 1720. To Elders of Portuguese Jews Synagogue in London . . . annuity of £112 in Trust for my Son David D. now in . . . Barbadoes & after his decease to “my 3 grandchildren that are children of my son Isaac Dias dee’d . . . viz. Jael, Joseph & Abraham. To the Elders for their care & trouble in this matter . . . £100 for the use of the poor of the said synagogue.” To grand daur. the said Jael D. £300 on her marriage. Residue to be shared equally by 3 grandchildren. Ex’ors, the Elders or *Par(n)assim* of said synagogue.

Witnesses:—Rowland Gideon, Moses Espineza (=Espinosa) & a non-Jew. Proved 19 Nov. 1724 by Esther, (widow of Isaac D.), Mother & lawful guardian of reversionary legatees Joseph & Abraham D. The Synagogue Elders (Joseph de Castro, Isaac Martin, Abraham Ximenes, Jacob Fernandes Nunez, Jacob Mendes da Costa) lawfully summoned—did not appear. (*Recorded in London, P.C.C. “Bolton “ 244.*)

* Jael Jesurun Mendes (alias Jael Dias) was buried 29 Tisry 5485 (=Oct., 1724), in Port. Jews’ Old Cemetery in Mile End, London. The chief Rabbi Haham David Nieto preached the funeral oration.

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ROLAND GIDEON, late of Parish of All Saints, London Wall, dec’d. Commission issued 22 Apr. 1722 to widow Esther G. to administer estate. (*Recorded in London, P.C.C. “Aim. Act. Bk.,” 1722, f. 78.*)

ELEAZER VALVERDE of the town of St. Michaels . . . Shopkeeper. Will dated 1st Aug. 1722. To Almighty God . . . my soul . . . hoping . . . by his infinite goodness & mercy to obtain forgiveness of my sins. To “the 3 Abraham Valverdes the sons of Jacob David & Elias V. a gold ring apiece of value of 20/-.” Exor to sell . . . Lands & Bldgs . . . in my or my tenants possession. To “Mr. Gabriel Levy Mercht in Coroossoe (=Curaçao) in Lieu of what his bro. Emanuel Levy late of this Island, Shopkeeper might owe unto him,” the balance still outstanding (to be enforced by ex’or) of a judgement I recovered for upwards of £500 agst. Mary Cooper spinster. Exor, Mr. Elias Valverde.

Witnesses:—Aron Riveira, Mrs. Johanna French & another non-Jew. Proved by Mrs. French 14 May 1725. (*Recorded in Barbados 7/529.*)

JACOB DE MEDINA of the town of St. Michael, Merchant. Will dated 24 June 1724 opens with a pious invocation. “My loveing wife Simtia” to be sole executrix & beneficiary & “shall yearly, or as often as she shall think fitt remitt to my dear mother towards her support in this life such sum or sums of money as to her in her discretion shall seem meet & convenient.”

Witnesses:—Abraham Nunes, Ben Coor & 2 non-Jews. Proved by first named witness 26th June 1724. (*Recorded, in Barbados 7/390.*)

JACOB FRANCO* of the Towne of St. Michael. Will dated 20 Oct. 1724 with Codicil dated 16 Mar. 1724-5. Pious opening. To son Isaac F. forgiveness of all debts, also interest from (& ultimate disposal of) £2,300 invested for me (by his bro. Abraham Franco Nunez & my cousin Isaac Fernandez Nunez merchants in London) in the India Coy, South Sea stock or Annuities in Gt. Britain. To grandson Jacob (son of Isaac F.) £3,100 similarly invested (but to be reinvested immediately after my death in the Bank of England India or other national funds) half the income “to be applied towards the Education & Maintenance of my said grand son till 21” & other half to his father. To said grandson Jacob F. & his heirs “the following Negro slaves viz. Clarina a woman, Anthony a man, Johnny & Jack boys.” Provision

for redistribution should said grandson die before 21. To my son Abraham F. N. merchant in London £2,300 in India Coy. S. Sea Stock or Annuityes. To his daur. Leah at 18 or marriage £500 “being part of £1,000 which my son Abram. hath already placed out of my a/c in the Bank of England.” Similar legacies (£2,300 & £500) to my son Moses F. & his daur. Rachell. To my grand-daurs. Jael & Luna daurs. of Jacob Valverde & my deceased daur. Rachell £270 each. To their bros. Abraham, Isaac, David, Moses & Aaron & to their sisters Esther, Rebecca, Simcha & Leah £120 each “which I now have placed out in the India Coy. S. Sea Stock or Annuityes . . . to be paid to their father” & by him paid “to the Boys at the age of 21 & the girls at 18 or marriage.” To my daur. Simha wife of David Valverde £200 (similarly invested) & to her children Abram, Jacob, Elias & Jael V. £120 ea. (on same terms as to their cousins). Residue of my money in Bank of England & effects in Brittain to my 3 grandchildren Jacob Leah & Rachell F., son & daurs. of my said sons Isaac Abraham & Moses F. To my son Moses F. “the house wherein I now dwell with the yard together with all my negroes goods chattels wares merchandises Jewells money.” To my cousins Esther & Simha Fernandez Dias £10 each money of Barbados. To the use of the Synagogue in the Towne of St. Michaelis £20. (Son Moses to pay last 3 legacies.) Ex’ors & trustees of estate in great Brittain, cousin Isaac Fernandez Nunez & son Abraham Franco Nunez. Ex’or of estate in Barbados & the West Indies son Moses F. “so hoping my sons & daur. as also my sons in Law will rest satisfied with this my will I recommend them as well as myself to the protection of Almighty God.”

Witnesses:—David Dacosta & 2 non-Jews.

Codicil of 16 Mar. 1725.

A further bequest to daur. Simha, wife of David Valverde of £300 “which I now have in the India Coy. S. Sea Stock or Annuityes.”

Witnesses:—David Dacosta, Jacob Brandao & a non-Jew.

Will & codicil sworn 1 Nov. 1726 by David Dacosta.

Proved at London 17 Feb. 1726 by Abraham Francis (sic) Nunes.

(*Recorded in Barbados & also in London—P.C.C. “Farrant “ 37/8.*)

* His full name was Jacob Franco Nunez.

JACOB MARQUEZ of the parish of St. Michaels . . . Merchant. Will dated 2 Aug. 1725. To my loving wife 1/3rd of my estate “to be in full of her dower.” To my loveing daur. Rachel M. 2/3rds of my estate. Executrices, my dear Mother—Peixoto & my dear wife Esther Marquez.

Witnesses:—2 non-Jews—one of whom swears to the will 21 Aug. 1725.

(*Recorded in Barbados 7/555.*)

JACOB D’FONSECA SENIOR. Will dated 17 July 1728. My Estate real & personal unto my son Abr. de F. in London. Hezekia Pachecho to be ex’or “and that ho may burrie me according to the Custome of the my brother Jews.”

Witnesses:—3 non-Jews. Probate 22 Aug. 1728 by 1st witness.

(*Recorded in Barbados 2/524.*)

MOSES FRANCO of the Town of St. Michael,* Merchant. Will dated 16 Apr. 1730. To niece Lea dau. of late Jacob Valverde £300 current money of this Island on 18th birthday or “day of marriage—which shall first happen” & to be maintained & educated by exors. “till her . . . legacy be paid.” To nephew Isaac son of said Jacob Valverde £200. To nephew Abraham son of said Jacob Valverde £500 current money if my daur. Rachell “at the age of 15 years . . . then refuse to marry him”—he being willing. “My well beloved daur. Rachell” to be principal beneficiary, “to be maintained in a handsome manner” pending marriage or 18th birthday. “It is my

will & pleasure that my s'd daur. at her age of 15 years shall intermarry with my nephew Abraham Valverde." If daur. dies before marriage or her 18th birthday "residue . . . of my Estate to ye Children of ye said Jacob Valverde dec'd (that is to say) Abraham Isaac David Moses & Aaron boyes & Hester, Rebecca, Simha & Lea girles . . . equally . . . to be divided. To godson David Ulloa £10 "to be paid to his mother . . . to his use." To Sarah Abenun widow £25. . . . ** "A mourning ring to every of my executors." My moneys now out at interest shall remain in the hands they are now in provided the interest thereof be duly paid.

Exors. & guardians of daur. Rachell my cousin Moses Mendez & bros.-in-law David & Elias Valverde (or any two of them jointly but not any one of them) & any two may "sell any of my reall Estate" & give receipts, but "not any one of them."

Witnesses:—2 non-Jews, one of whom proved the Will, 27 Apr. 1730.
(Recorded in Barbados 22/24.)

* Testator was son of Jacob Franco Nunez.

** This bequest was an afterthought "interlined betwixt 28th and 29th line."

MOSES HENRIQUEZ LOPES of the Town of St. Michael . . . one of the Hebrew Nation. Will dated 18 Oct. 1731. "To be interred . . . in the Jews burying place in Bridgetown." To bro. Benjamin Henriquez Lopes, & to sisters Rebecca Monsanto & Lea Calvo 5/- ea. current money. To nephew Abraham H. L. 5/- current money in settlement of all claims. Ex'or to "let my dear & loving mother Sarah H. L. during her natural

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life have & enjoy my negro & the profits of my personal estate." Ex'or (& residuary legatee on death of my mother) my nephew David Aboab Furtado.

Witnesses:—Abraham Brandon & Isaac de Campos Pereira. Proved by first named 26 Oct. 1732.
(Recorded in Barbados 35/59.)

MORDUCAY BURGOS of Town & Parish of St. Michael, merchant. Will dated 30 March 1736. I am in good health but intending shortly to depart this Island . . . I recommend my Soul to Almighty God, &c. To bro-in-law Daniel Messiah an annuity during his natural life of £20. current money of this Island. To nephew Jacob Messiah, Merchant in London £100. sterling. To niece Angel De Costa wife of David De Costa £100. money of this Island. To her daurs. Sarah & Rachel De Costa £50. ea. c. money. To Simon, Isaac, Abraham & Samuel Messiah & to David Baruh Luzada, son of Simon L. £50. ea. curr't money. Unto my Unkle Manuel De Mercado & my Aunt Rachel Teyxeyra Tartas £15. ea. sterling. To Hester Aboab £1,000. currt. money on her day of marriage (only if Lunah Burgos consents under hand & seal to such marriage). To ea. of my Cousins Abraham & Isaac Teyxeyra Taitas in Holland £50. sterling, the like to my Cousine Samuel de Mercado son of Jacob de M. deed. To Sarah Castello daur. of Ephraim Castello £100. curr't money. To son-in-law Isaac de Piza £2,000 curr't. To Jews Synagogue in St. Michael's Town £50. curr't towards repairing or building any addition thereto. To the Wardens £10. like money "for making such ceremonies as are usual for their Donors or Testators."

Dearly beloved wife Lunah Burgos to be my whole & sole executrix & residuary legatee.

Witnesses:—Benjamin & Abraham Massiah & 1 non-Jew. Sworn by first named 11 Nov. 1736.
(Recorded in Barbados.)

ELIAS VALVERDE of the Town & Parish of St. Michael, Merchant.
 Will dated 3 July 1739 . . . “finding myself at present indisposed in Body
 . . . I desire my wellbeloved Wife & children to have me buried amongst
 our Brethren the Jews* observing such Obsequies & Ceremonies as is usually
 performed amongst Our Nation.” To son Abraham V. “already married
 & rec’d . . . (his) . . . portion . . . the . . . Land which I have in
 Swan St. my Moiety of the House in Cheapside as also my Moiety which
 I have in the ffive Books of Moses that is in the Synagogue with the Silver
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Ornaments & other things thereunto belonging.” To daur. Jael “already
 married** & rec’d . . . (her) . . . portion . . . a Mourning ring of £5
 value.” To “my Dear & Well Beloved Wife all the plate Jewells & pearls
 . . . which she brought from her ffather’s House . . . all my House-
 hold Stuff & furniture ... as also the Negro Woman named Peggy & her
 two children called Santo & Rose girls “also a life interest only in “my
 Negroes Primus, Sarah & Phillis.” To “the Wardens for the use of the
 Synagogue of Bridgetown . . . £10.” To “my beloved partner & son-in-
 law Abraham Gomes a mourning ring of £5 value.” To son Jacob V. £450
 as also a Negro Man named Cudjoe. To daurs. Rebecca & Rachel on marriage
 or 2 years after my decease (which shall first happen) £450 ea. To daurs.
 Sarah & Leah on marriage or 21st birthday (which shall first happen) £450
 ea. To my grand-daus. Lunah & Rachel on marriage or 18th birthday (which
 shall first happen) £50 “to be laydout in purchasing Negroes for them or
 put out at Interest or otherwise Employed for their best advantage “ as
 ex’ors shall think proper. “It is my will and Desire that my said Wife
 live with my children Rebecca Rachel Sarah Leah and David Valverde
 And that she and they be maintained and Accomodated with such Cloathing
 apparel Dyet and other Necessarys as she shall think proper and direct
 and such as She and they now have untill such time as my said Children
 shall attain their respective Ages or days of marriage when I have directed
 their ffortunes to be paid to them. But if my said Wife shall rather Choose
 to live apart from my said Children then I will and direct that my said
 Executors hereafter named continue the Sum of One thousand pounds out
 at Interest during my wifes life and pay the Interest annually accrewing
 thereon to my said Wife for and during her Natural Life instead of the
 Maintenance and Accomodation before directed for her but the Mainte-
 nance and Accomodation for my children to continue till they receive their
 Portions All which Legacys and Bequests to my said Wife I intend and they
 shall be taken Accounted and Deemed in full Bar and Satisfaction of her
 Dower Thirds or any other Demand she may have against my Estate.”
 For Support & Maintenance of my son David V. income of £600 “out at
 Interest . . . till it shall please God to give him Eyesight” said £600 to
 be paid him on 21st birthday if eyesight restored. “And I will that the
 Negro Punch shall serve and attend my said Son during his Life or till he
 shall have his Sight when I give and bequeath the said Negro to him and
 his heirs for ever But if he should not have his Sight then at his death I
 direct the said Negro to be sold and itt’s produce with the said Sum of £600
 to be equally divided among my Residuary Legatees.” Residue of estate
 (including my wife’s life interest at her death) to be equally divided between
 my children Abraham, Jacob, Jael, Rebecca, Rachell, Sarah & Leah. “I
 do hereby nominate and appoint my two Dear and well beloved sons Abraham

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and Jacobe Valverde my Executors in trust of this my last Will and Testa-
 ment. Lastly I give my Tender Embraces to my Dear and Loving Wife
 praying the Almighty to protect and bless her and my Dear and Well Beloved
 Children whom I earnestly charge to have continually before their eyes
 the ffear of God and the respect of their Mother and to keep unanimously
 and lovingly together regarding the eldership of one another like good

brethren and so taking my Leave and ffarewell of all my Relations and ffriends like a penitent Sinner I beg pardon of all the World And sign this my last Will and Testament in the Island of Barbados aforesaid.”

Witnesses:—David Valverde & Moses Pinheiro & proved by them 29 Nov. 1739. Letters of Administration were granted 26 Jan. 1742 in London to Moses Espinosa lawful attorney of ex'ors “now residing in the said Island of Barbados.”

(Recorded in Barbados, as well as in London—P.C.C. “Boycott “ 26.)

* An Elias Valverde of Barbados was buried aged forty-eight on 30 Aug., 1739 in the Chatham Square Jewish Cemetery, New York. The body was removed in 1856 to 21st Street. (A.J.H.S.P., No. 18, p. 121.)

** Apparently to Abraham Gomez (Henriquez), her father's partner.

III.

(a) Census List
of

Other Barbados Jews.

Public Record Office. *Col. Papers*, vol. xlv, No. 47, VII. and XVIII. (Calendared in “S.P. Col.—Am. & W.I.—1677-80,” para. 1336, VII. and XVIII., and copied also in MS. 2202, Guildhall Library, pp. 68, 78 and 172.)

A True and Perfect List of all ye names of ye Inhabitants in ye Parrish of Christchurch with an exact accompt of all ye Land, white Servants and Neg8 within ye said parish. Taken this 22nd Decemb' 1679.

	Acres land	Wtt Servants	Neg's
Buenno Beniamin	—	—	1
Nemias Daniel, a Jew	20	—	12

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An accompt taken of the Acres of Land, White Servants and Negroes within the Parrish of St. Thomas according to an ordr of his Excellly dated ye third day of Decembr one thousand six hundred seaventie.

	Acres of Land	Bought Servants	Negroes
Mr. David Dearosto	41	3	61

(b) Militia Muster Roll
of

Other Barbados Jews.

Public Record Office. *Col. Papers*, vol. xlv, No. 47, XXXIV. D, E & M. (Calendared in “S.P. Col.—Am. & W.I.—1679-80,” Para. 1336, XXXIV., and copied also in MS. 2202, Guildhall Library, pp. 401, 404, 415 and 416.)

Nominal Rolls of the several troops in the two Regiments of Horse commanded by Colonels Samuel Newton and Simon Lambert.

(Note.—There is nothing to show to which Regiment the troops belonged. There are a dozen Jewish names to be found in the rolls of four out of the thirteen Troops that comprised these two Regiments of Horse. All troopers are described as “Mr.” or “Esq.” or else by some military title.)

A List of Major John ffarmer's Troop of horse belonging to ye Leward Regiment Commanded by the Honble Coll. Symon Lambart deceased taken ye 5th of January 1679.

Mr. David De Acosta		<i>Horse</i>
	1	

A List of the Troop under the Comand of James Carter Lt Coll.

	Horses	
Mr. Daniell Deboyna.	1	ffebr '79.

A list of the gentm names together with the number of there men and horse yt appeared on Tuesday ye 6 Jany 1679 in ye Troope of horse now Under ye Command of Lieu,t Thomas Maxwell.

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Mr. Isaac Peraroe.	1	<i>A list of ye defaulters of ye same Troope on ye day.</i>
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Mr. Abraham Baruck.	1	
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Mr. Daniel Bueno.	1	
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Mr. Aaron Baruck.	1
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WILLS.

DAVID DE ACOSTA. Will in Spanish dated 1st Shebat 5444 (=Feb. 1684-5). Invocation to the God of Israel, blessed His Divine Name, to receive my soul in mercy. Executors to be my wife Abigail, my son-in-law Daniel Bueno Enriques and his wife (my daughter) Sarah Bueno Enriques. The two former to enjoy and possess my plantations negroes, &c. each paying half of debts owing, and sharing proceeds and expenses each year. No negroes or anything to be sold, & should Daniel B. Henriques sell anything he will forfeit his inheritance in favour of my wife, & the sale shall be deemed null & void.

I hope . . . that the said Bueno . . . will proceed with my wife in peace and friendship (doing all needful for upkeep of plantation, planting, milling, paying, & purchasing "promissiones") as I expect of his honourable procedure. He and his wife, my daughter, to inherit share of my wife Abigail on her death. Meanwhile wife to have house furniture and 3 named negroes for sole use (incl. a child named Gerson Catalina). On wife's death house furniture not needed by daughter to be given to Selomoh Tinoco and David Soares or other selected persons. I entreat my wife and the said Daniel Bueno for the love of God to send and find out at Livorno if there lives a niece of mine named Ester de Mello married to Jacob de Campos and if they are both alive to send them 200 sterling, half as soon as my debts are paid, & half the following year. And in the event of my niece having died they should send 100 pounds and no more to the said Jacob de Campos her husband if he still lives, for the good he has done by protecting that orphan. I give to Moseh d'Azevedo 5 pound sterling that he may say Kadis for my soul, and 5 pounds sterling to David Nunes da Fonseca and 2 pounds sterling to the Senhores of the Mahamad that they may distribute them for the poor as seems fit to them. I entreat H. H. Eliau Lopes of his charity to be a witness of this my will "and in the absence of fresh sales or partnerships with other parties everything should come in and be divided equally and in the fear of God—and our Lord will reward you (=Rabbi Lopez) for such a good deed and will grant you the enjoyment of a larger life."

No signatures by witnesses. Sworn 13 Apr. 1685 by Eliahu Lopez & Jacob de Fonseca who take oath that they received the will from the testator. (Recorded in Barbados 10/341.)

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MANUEL NAMIAS, son of David & Luna N. Will in Portuguese dated 30 Nov. 1713, and bearing testator's mark. Recorded "truly & faithfully" in the Island Register by Benjamin Lopez, who takes oath to that effect 6 May, 1714. All my estate to my wife (not named), half to pass to my dear daur. Luna N. on the day she marries with her mother's consent, she to have the other half too if wife marries. Executors to be "my beloved wife in company with my nephew David Aboab . . . & I direct my wife always to take the opinion of said nephew."

Witnesses:—Benj. Aboab, Jacob Valverde. Sworn 26 Apr. 1714 by J. V.

(Recorded in Barbados 37/297.)

IV.

GENERAL

(a) Extract from Barbados Embarkation Lists from 1st January to 31st December, 1679.

Public Record Office. *Col. Entry Book*, vol. vii. p. 3. (See Cal. S.P. Col—Am. & W.I.—1679-80, para. 1336, XXVI.) The Jewish entries can also be partially extracted from J. C. Hotten's "List of Persons . . . who went to the Plantations" (London, 1878).

A list of what TICQTTS have been granted out of the Secrty's Office of the Island aforesaid for the departure off this Island of the several p'sones hereafter menconed. . . .

Aprill the first 1679.

Campanell Mordicay in the Ketch Swallow for Newengland.
Joseph Hardy Comander. time out.

Aprill the 11th 1679.

Tinico Jacob in the Ketch Wm and John for New England.
John Sanders Comander. time out.

Aprill the 21st 1679.

Lopes Abraham in the ship Hope for Londo.
Joseph Ball Comandr. time out.

May the 29th 1679.

Serfatty Josua in the ship Morneing Starr for Surranam.
John Vanderspike Comandr. security.

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September ye 18th 1679.

Nasy Daniell in the ship Hope for New England.
John Price Comander. time out.

October the 29th 1679.

Senior Jacob in the Barg Dove for Neuis.
Anthony Jenour Comandr. security.

November the 3rd 1679.

Cotinho Moses Henriques in the Barg Adventure for Jamaica.
Edward Duffield Commander. time out.

November the 25th 1679.

Gidion Rowland in the Ketch Phoenix for Antegua.
Robert Flexny Comandr. security.

Hayem Abraham in the ship James for New Yorke.
Wm. Sweetland Comander. time out.

November the 25th 1679.

Abudient Abraham in the Ketch Phoenix for Antegoa.
Andrew Gall Comandr. security.

December the 18th 1679.

Barrow, Rebecca in the ship Ann and Jane for London.

Richd Radford Comander. time out.

December the 31. 1679.

Lopez Telles Abraham in the ship Recouery for Jamaica.

James Brown Comandr. time out.

(Note.—In all, eleven Jews and one Jewess from a list of 523 men and 60 women.)

(b) List of Barbados Jews who secured Letters of Endenization during the Latter Half of the Seventeenth Century.

These names have in the main been extracted from Dr. W. A. Shaw's "Letters of Denization . . . for Aliens" (Huguenot Soc. Publ. 18, 1911).

(Out of 190 grants made to recognizable Jews in the British Dominions between 1660 and 1700 no less than 72 were issued to inhabitants of Barbados—or to Jews of London or Jamaica who had previously been settlers in Barbados.)

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Rezio	Anthonio Rodriguez	July 11th, 1661.
Silva	Aaron de	July 12th, 1661.
Meroado	David Raphaell de	" " "
Gutteres	Lues Dias	" " "
Henriquez	Daniel Bueno	" " "
Navarro	Aaron	Aug. 2nd, 1661.
Enriques	Daniel Bueno (<i>see above</i>)	Sept. 5th, 1662.
Bueno	Joseph.	Oct. 2nd, 1662.
Henriquez	Isaac	" " "
Israel	David	Dec. 27th, 1662.
Namias	David	" " "
Objenti-Elias	Patchdiel (=Pagdiel)	" " "
(= <i>Abudiente</i>) Pucheo (= <i>Pachecho</i>)	Moses Israel	" " "
Vrede	Paul Jansen de	" " "
Jago	Moses Hamos	Feb. 20th, 1663.
Rezio	Jeronimo Rodriguez	" " "

Costa	David Da	Mar. 8th, 1663.
Cordoza	Solomon	May 29th, 1663.
Enriques	Mose Hengas	Apr. 18th, 1664.
Lousada	David Baruh	” ” ”
Serrano	Ishac	May 25th, 1664.
Mesquita	Benjamin de Bueno de	Oct. 24th, 1664.
Continho	Isaac Pereira	Dec. 14th, 1666.
Lopez	David	Oct. 25th, 1667.
Mendes	Joseph	” ” ”
Rezio	Abraham Levi	” ” ”
Henriques	Abraham Gomez	Aug. 11th, 1668.
Navarro	Isaac	Feb. 1670.
Mendes	Abraham de Soza	Sept. 9th, 1670.
Pereyra	Moseh	Feb. 17th, 1671.
Senior	Joseph	Nov. 27th, 1671.
Cordoza	Mosseh Yessurun	Apr. 15th, 1672.
Lousada	Abraham Baruh	Apr. 20th, 1675.
Lousada	Aron Baruch	Aug. 20th, 1675.
Mercado	David Raphael de	July 11th, 1678.
Gideon	Rowland	July 30th, 1679.

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(c) Epitaphs (100) from the earlier Bridgetown Jewish Cemetery.

Abstract (by permission) from Dr. V. L. Oliver's *Monumental Inscriptions in Barbados* (London, 1915), pp. 197-206.

"Jewish Burial Ground. Bridgetown. . . I commenced copying inscriptions in the oldest ground, but had not time to do more than 100, leaving off at the line of the caretaker's house. There were about 160 more in that portion. In the S. and E. divisions walled off and

divided by a path, there appeared to be quite another 100. In White's Alley is a later ground opened in the year 1828." north portion.

1. Here lyeth ye body of | David Raphael de Mercado | merchant who departed | this world ye 14th of August 1685.

1. Da Bem . Auenturada | Ester Gaon qu | Recollyda . as . . . | pouos . em . 21 . de y. | Ano . 5427 . sua . Alma | Goze . da Glorya.

1. To Zela | (5 lines, very worn.)

1. Do Bem Aventvra | do Varaõ Selomoi | Tinoco qve foy | Apanhado Asevs | Povos em 24 de | Kisleva 5448.

1. Da Yncurtada Donzela | Rahel Ester Henriques qve | falecv em 11 de Sebat | Anno 5448.

1. De. . . . Nicolav | falecv | 48.

1. Broken across, much worn.

1. Do Bem . Aventvrado | Varaõ David Ysrael q | falecev em 21 de Tamvs | Anno 5449.

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9. Do ylvstre | Varaõ Honrado | & svblyme dn | Ephaim Yesvrvn | Henriques | faleceo em 19 | e Tisry do Ano | 5450 da Griaca | do mundo.

1. Do yncurrado Eynsigne | mancebo Abraham de | Medina que Rendeu A alma | A seu Criadon em 11 de | Nisan Anno 5452.

1. De Ribcah filha d | Ab & Jael Valverde | faleceo em 22 d | Menaid 11 Ao 5447.

1. De Mose f° de Ioseph | Mendes falesev | em 12 (flaked) Nahem Ao

1. De Moseh Hamis faleseo | em 10 de Nisan 5440.

1. D Abraham Ydana f° | d Yacob Ydana qve J Partyv deste mvndo | en 21 d Hesvan 5439.

1. Da incurtadad Estep | Mendes Filhad Ioseph | Mendes que nfoi | Servido Recol hep Em | 12 D Tamus . D 5440.

1. D Sarah Ester Pera | d Leao Mr de Moseh | Pera d Leao qve faleceo | em 16 d Elvl 5438.

1. Da Bern Aventvrada | Sarah Simha . Israel | de Piza qve Foyapa- | -nhado . Aseos Povos | em . 7 de . Tamvs . Ao: 5438.

1. Flaked and illegible.

1. De Yosivahv Rephael | filho de David Caste | llo . qve foy devs ser | vido Levalo Pera si | em 16 de Veadar Ano | 5459 | (3 Hebrew lines.)

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1. De Yacob fillo de | Joseph . Eiael. Ysvrvn | Mendes falesev | en 27 de Tamvz 5436.

1. De Sarah Gabay | Risson falecev em | 13 de Nesan 5432.

22. Do Ben . Aventvrado | encurtado dedias | Ishak Gabay Risson | qve faleceo em 15 | de Nisan Anno 54 . . | (flaked.)

23. Three smaller stones to children, inscription left on only one:—
De Moseh f . . ho de | Ab & Jael Valverd . . | faleceo em |
Tisry A° 5 . . .

24. De Hanah . . . Ioseph | senior faleseo em | de Tebet 5440.

25. Do . Emcvrtado . Aron | de Mercado . . qve | faie . seo . em .
9. de . Adar | 5420.

The 3rd row commences here, and consists of sixteen stones.

1. Do Bem . Aventvrado | de Yacob Abraham | Leverezio | qve foy Apanhado | Sevs Povos em | 21 de Adar Seni | Anno 5421.

1. Do Bem . Aventvrado | de Yshack | Levy | Rezio | falecev | em 16 de Adar 5427.

1. Do Yncvrtado Virtvozo | Emanso Cordeiro | Abraham Lopes Pereira | qve foy Apanhado Asevs Povos | em 19 Desebat | Anno 5431 | (and long Hebrew inscription.)

1. Do Bem . Aventvrado | de Mosseh Haym | Nahamyas qve foy | Deos servido | Recolleio Aseos | Povos em 28 de Elvl | 5432.

1. Do Bem . Aventvrado | Dovtor Abraham | Henriquez flo res | qve foi Apanhado | Asevs Povos em 3 | de Sebat Anno | 5433.

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31. Broken slab. Around the edge framewise:—
. . . . n & Ester Louzada who died Jany . . 21.

And in the centre:—

. . . . Israel | . . . Filho | . . 5502.

32. Broken in two pieces:—

. . . (missing) Vrado . d | Moseh Deleon | falecev em 26 de Adar | Anno 5 (flaked) 35.

1. Do Bem . Aventvrado e | Virtuoso Varao David | Iesurun Mendes que foi | Apanhado Aseus Povos | de Hidade de 90 Annos | em 5 de Nisan Anno 5435.

1. Very worn:—

Do Bem Aventvrado | David Ys Dias | falesev | 2 Nis . . | 5436.

1. Inscription worn away.

1. De Moseh Barvh | Loizada falecev | em 9 Elvl | A 5437.

1. Do Bem . Aventvrado | Yehosvah Hayayafo | em . 7 de . Elvl . Ao 5438.

1. Da . Bem . Aventvrada | Sarah . Mvlher . de | Yehosvah . Hayaya . f° | em . 27 . de Tamvz Ao | 5439.

1. Broken across:—

Da . Bem Aventvrada | ri . a Pachego qve | falecev . em. 10 de ab | A° 5441.

40. Do Bem Aventvrado de | Yacob Pacheco que faleceo | em 28 de Adar Rison 5442.

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41. In wall:—

Do Bem . Aventvrada | Hanah Alvares | faleceo em 17 year | 546.

1. De Rachel filha de | Ioseph Ejael Yesvrvm | Mendes falecev em 28 | . . Viar A° 5446.

1. Small stone:—

De Yshac Filho | Jacob E Ribcah Ba- | -ruh Louzada que | faleceo em 2 Deadar | Ao 5446.

44. Small stone:—

De Eliaiu filho de | Jacob E Ribcah | Baruh Louzada | que faleceo em | 21 de Sebat 5451.

1. De Abraham filho | de Ioseph Ejael | Iesurum Mendes | faleseo em 22 de | Hesuan 5445.

1. De Mose filho | de Ioseph Ejael | Iesvrvn Mendes | faleseo em 5 de | Kisley 5442.

1. De David fillo de | Joseph Ejael Y*vrn | Mendes qve foy | Recollido a sev | Griador ovltimo | Diadepesah do Anno | 5440.
* Hole in stone.

48. Do Yncvrtado | e Virtvoso Mancebo | Selomoh Rodrigves | Soarez qve foy | Recollido Amillor | mvndo em 2 de Sivan | Anno 5440.

1. Da Bem Aventvrada | de Dynah Pacheco | qve foy Apanhada | Asevs Povos em 14 | de Nisan de 5441.

1. Do Bem Aventvrado | de Aaron Navarro | qve faleceo em 23 | de Ylve Ao 5445.

1. Very large and deep lettering:—
Da Bem Aven- | turada vertu- | oza mulher de | Fonsado Rahael | namia qve foy | descans . r aseos | Povos Em 22 de Roshodes yhill | Anno 5444.

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1. Da Bem Ave | tvrada ha (or ra) | Cardoso qve | f . . ecev | de Hesvan 5449 (? year).

1. Do Encvrtado de Abraham | de Yshac Ysrael de Piza | falecev em 23 de Nisan | Anno 5466.

1. A fifth row commences here:—
De Yshac do | Vale fa° em | 20 Adar 5452.

1. Flaked away.

1. De Ester . Odri | qve falecev | em 11 Tan . vs . . | 5451.
(Indistinct.)

1. Flaked away.

1. Del Bien Avientvrado | e Virtvozo Ishag de | David da Silva
Qe | Recolleo Devs para sva | Gloria em 17 de Tanz | 5452 qvi |
Conresponde a 26 de | Ivlho.

Below in a sunk square is an arm chopping a tree through the trunk. This occurs frequently later.

59. Very large lettering:—

Ester de | Caseres 2 | Ab 45.

1. Da Bem Aventurada | Judica Israel Dias f | em 3 de Tebet |
A° 5451.

1. Do Encurtado de Abraham | Aron f° de Joseph Mendes |
que foy Ds servido Recolher | Aseos Povos em 8 de Tisry Ao | 5452.
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62. Lettering raised instead of incised :—
(6 Hebrew lines above) | Do Bern Aventurado | Pagdiel Abudiente
| que faleseo em 27 de | Ab 5451 em Barbadas | (skull and cross-
bones below).

63. Do Bern Aventurado Selo | Moh e Medina 9 foi Ds | servido
Recolher Aseos | Qvos em 24 de Hesvan | Ao 5452.

64. Eleven Hebrew lines above:—
Do Bern Aventurado & Temerozo | De Dosor Abraham Abudente
que | De 84 annos palsoudesta Vida a | Da gloria Eterna Em 4 Tamuz
| 5457 | Conresponde a Conta | Vulgar com 3 Julho | 1697.

65. Da Vertvoza & Honesta | Rachel mother qvi foy | de Abraham
Abvdiente | q fallecev em 22 Hesvan | A° 5456 | q Conresponde com
21 | 8bro 1695.

66. Only two lines, but worn:—
Jud . . H

67. Much worn. Ao . 452 is legible.

68. Da Bern Aventurada | Abigail da Fonséca | Meza f° em 19
yyar | Ao 5452.

69. Do Bern Aventurado | Sor Jahacob Massiah | fallecev | em 11
de Iebe (crack) Ao 5453.

70. Da Bern Aventurada | Sra Deborah Massiah | fallecev | em 6
de Adardo A° 5453.

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71. Several cracks:—
Da Bern Aventurada | Virtuoza Donã Rachel | Idanha Que foy
Ds | servido Recolher Aseos | Povos em 7 de Sivan | de 5453 ã Que
Cor- | -responde a Pr°: de Junio | de 1693 ã.

72. Hebrew inscription in wall.

A sixth row commences here.

73. Cracked:—

D. Pem Aventvrado de | Joseph Senior Saraiva | qve foi Apan-
hado Aseos | Povos em . 26 de | Menahem Ao | 5454.

74. DaBem Aventvrado | Yael Serana . fallecev | em 7 de Tisri
Ao 5455.

75. Do Bern Aventurado de | Abraham de Leao fillio | de Mosseh
Perreira de Leaos | q foy Ds Servido Recol- | -1er a Seos Povos em 6
de | Hesvan Ano 5453 q Cor- | -responde a 6 de Outubro | 1692.

76. Do Bern Aventurado de Isaque | Mendez filio de Josseph
Mendez | que foy Ds servido recoller nassor | de sua Idade pa Plantarlo
em . an (crack) | Eden Lugar dos J Evir- | -tuosos adonde su .
muita | Gloria supra a . . alta de sua | Idade fallesco em 7 de Tebet |
5456 que Corresponde a 3 de | Decbro1696 ã.

Around the sides and top runs:—

Here lyeth interred the body of Isaac Mendez son of | Joseph
Mendez who departed this life on the 30 December aged xxi yeares.

77. Do Bern Aventurado | Yshak de Meza que | faleceo em 21 de
Hesuan | 5457.

78. De Daniel filho | De Simhon E Sara | Massiah q faleceo |
Em 29 de Tebet | 5466.

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79. Skull and crossbones below:—

Do Bern . Aventvra- | do David Chillao | qve falecev em 14 | de
Tebet Ao 5458.

80. Da Virtvoza Donzela | Sarah filha de Manvel | Israel Dias
faleceo em | 5 de Adar Rison 5464.

81. Much flaked:—

. . . . Burgos | | 5467.

82. Under a tree, much flaked.

83. Da Sra Rachell de Meza | Que falleceu Sendo VV | dosor:
Ishak de Meza em | 17 Nissan 5459.

84. Da Bern Aventurada Evertuosa | Molher de fonsado A Sta
Ribca | Letob Aqual Recolheu osr | Deus para millor Mundo | faleseu
em 22 de Sivan 5463 | que Comresponde a 27 de | Mayo Anno 1703
Que sua | Bendita alma goze da Devina | Gloria.

85. Flaked away.

86. Da Bern Aventurada de | Sarah Mulher de Danell J. osuah | de Leao que foy D . S | Recolh . . seos Povos em | Tebet 5456 que Corresponde | a 19 Decembro 1695 Emais ascos | pez Enterada huma sua | C . . ca (p nome Rahell que faleseu | Em 30 de Sebar 5456 Seos | Seija perda de | Se pacado.

87. Da . Bern . Aventura | Jvenerable Vella Sra | Ribca Mvller qe Foy Dosr | David Viloa qe Ds Temq Foy | Ds Servido Recoller Deste | Mav Mvndo Pa Ovtro | Mellor Em 23 de Roshodes | Nisan 5470-qe Conres Ponde | Em 11 de-Abrill 1709.
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88. Skull and crossbones below:—
Do Bern Aventurado MoSseh | Haim Coutinho que faleceo em 10 | de Sivan 5466 que Corresponde, a 12 | Mayo 1706, Sv.

89. Below is an arm out of clouds chopping down a tree:—
Da Bern Aventurada Honesta | Devota E Caritativa Donha Sarah | Abigail Mendes Mulher que foy | da Mosseh de Selomoh Mendes | que foy arrebatada desta para | melhor vida na flor de sua idade | Em 27 Adar 5474 que Corresponde | a 3 Marco 17 | (7 Hebrew lines follow).

90. Flaked away.

91. A slab illegible, partly buried, to "Sara."

2. Do Y . . vrtado Evirtvozo | Mancebo A aim Bvrgos (? Aaron Haim) | 2 Foiapana vos | em dia de bvoto de an | A° 5 . 6 .

93. Da Bern Aventurada de | Bern Venida Gomes Hen- | -riques Vinua de Isaque | Gomes Henriques que | faleceo Em 31 de Agosto | 1701 que Corresponde | a 6 de Elul 5461.

94. De Bern Aventurada onesta | Evertuoza Ester Antunes que | faleseu de ydade de 84 annos | em 16 de Sebat do Anno 5463 | da Criacao do mundo que Com- (*sic*) | -responde em 22 Janeiro 1702/3.

95. Do Bern . Aventurado & Temerozo | de Ds osor Joseph Jes- surun Mendez | que fallecev de 83 annos fundou a | eznoqa de Nidhe Israel a defendeu | & protejeu ate sua jazida com seus | paes que foy em 15 Tebett 5460 | Here is Buried the body of | Mr Lewis Dias who review of the jewish colonists in barbados.
was beloved | Respected by all men in his time | he died on the 27th of December Ao | 1699 Being 83 yeares of age.

96. Above is a cupid's head:—

Damallograda Virtvoza | Etemeroza mulher asra Ester | mulher de **Moseh Espinoza** | que for nolo senhor Servido | chamar para Si em 24 de | tamus 5470 que corresponde | a 8 de Iullio 1710.

97. Da Bern Aventurada | Yvirtuoza de Liina Mulher | De Jacob Franco Nunes | que foy Deos Servido | Recolher para Sy em 6 | De Yiar 5466 | que Comresponde A 9 | De Abril 1706.

98. Do Bern . Aventurado & | Caritativo Iahacob | Franco Nunes que foy | Deos fer vido Recolher para | sua Santa Gloria em Sabat | 8 Hesvan 5487 de Annos | 80.
Around the sides and top runs:—
Here Lyeth Interred the Body of the Pious and Charitable | Mr Jacob Franco Nunes, of Barbadoes Mercht | who departed this life on the 8th of Hesvan 5487 of ye Creation | of ye world, which is ye 22d of October 1726 Aged | 80 Years.

99. Da Bern Aventurada Evirtuoza | Ribcah Mulher de **Jacob Baruh | Louzada** que foy Deos servida | Recolher a Milhor Mundo | flor de sua Ydade em 24 | Menahem Anno 5457 que | Corresponde a primeiro de | Agosto 1697.

To the south of this are six stones to Valverde, and several to Massiah, touching the house.

100. Do **B. A. De Aaron Baruh | Louzada** que foy Ds Servido | Recolher pa sy em 5a: fa: 6 de | Nisan 5528 que Corresponde I 24 Marco 1768 de Idade de | 64 Annos 11 Mezes and 20 Dias.

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Da Berm Aventurada y | Virtuoza Pia y Devota | Ester Sarah Mulher que Foy de **Aharon Baruh | Louzada** F^o em 26 Hes | van A^o 5505, Coresponde | a 20 de Outubro 1744 da | Ydade de 36 Anos y 1 | Mezes.

Round the sides and top runs:—

Here lyeth interred ye body of ye charitable | Ester Sarah late wife of **Aaron Baruh Louzada** | who departed this life the 20 of Octr 1744 aged 36 y. & 7 mons.

(d) Notes by Author on the Barbados Jewish Congregation and the Phases of its Decline

During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

On the 29th March, 1833, the new Swan Street Synagogue of the Congregation *Nidhé Israel* was consecrated in the presence of 300 visitors; they were mainly non-Jews, for in the previous year the Synagogue's contributing members had numbered only about thirty persons. The older Synagogue building had been completely destroyed in the hurricane of 1831, and its replacement by an entirely new fabric was a remarkable instance of the optimism, generosity—and affluence—of the dwindling congregation.

Yet already by 1834 the funds of the congregation had become so attenuated that the Warden, D. (? Daniel) M. Lobo, felt impelled to seek the advice of the Attorney-General of the Island as to whether he could be held personally responsible for the salaries of the Syna-

gogue officials. The reply was in the negative, and subsequently a meeting was held with a view to the reduction of these salaries. In 1841 the funds belonging to the Synagogue were—for their better protection—handed over to trustees in England, one of whom was I. M. Da Costa, who died in the following year. On the 12th May, 1842, the contributing members met and deliberated regarding the congregation funds that had been deposited in England. (£1,325 of 3% Stock). They resolved that the control, sale and application of this trust money should be in the hands of not less than six contributing members, furthermore, that the London Trustees should remit all dividends to Barbados in order that these

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might be expended in repairs to the Synagogue, supplies of candles and oil for the Services, etc. etc. The London Trustees were Jacob Montefiore, Hananel de Castro, Judah Aloof and Nethaneel Lindo, and the Trust Deed bore the date of the 13th July, 1842.

The Registrar General's return for 1846 placed the number of Jewish births, marriages and deaths on the Island at one each and the average attendance at Synagogue at twenty-two. The number of contributing members in the ensuing fifteen years varied from six to ten persons.

On the 6th May, 1869, only eight contributing members of the congregation survived, and these agreed on that date to preserve the Synagogue property (as distinct from the Congregational Funds) by placing it* also in the hands of trustees. The names of the eight survivors were :—

Michael Baber Isaacs (Warden).	Joshua Levi.
Solomon Baber Isaacs.	Jacob Lindo.
Benjamin Lobo.	Benjamin Cohen d'Azevedo.
Daniel Lobo.	Edward Samuel Daniels.

The names of the Trustees—six in number—were :—

Isaac Benjamin Elkin (London)	Nethaneel Lindo (London).
Samuel Taylor.	Charles Thos. Cottle.
Edward Samuel Daniels (Barbados).	Michael B. Isaacs (Barbados).

These trustees were empowered to convey the property to the London Congregation for its own uses "in case there should be no person of the Hebrew Community residing on the Island." The London Congregation was defined as "The Spanish and Portuguese Hebrew Community or Congregation of Bevis Marks in the City of London."

On the 1st June, 1887, new trustees of the Congregational Funds were appointed:—Sir Joseph Sebag-Montefiore, Abraham Mocatta, Jacob Nunes Castello and Gabriel Lindo.

At the close of 1905 the total Jewish population of Barbados numbered seventeen souls (five men, nine women and three children), and that had also been the figure six years previously. On the 29th

* The property consisted of the Synagogue buildings, burial grounds, four shops and several houses, shares in the Barbados Water Works Company, seven Sepharim with appurtenances, silver cups, etc.

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June, 1905, there died on the Island Mr. Edward S. Daniels, Warden and Secretary of the Congregation for over thirty-five years. He was a most pious and observant Jew, who for some forty years had punctiliously conducted the Synagogue Services, although on some Sabbaths he was alone in the building. In 1899 he had printed at Bridgetown

a modest account of the dying *Kaal* entitled, "Extracts from various records of the early settlement of the Jews in the Island of Barbados." The following entry figures in the Minute Book of the Congregation under date 30th June, 1905:—"Being the only contributing member of the *Kaal* at present in the island and as Ex-Parnas of the same, I have according to the custom prevailing in recent years and as far as practicable under existing circumstances this day assumed and undertaken the functions of Parnas. (Signed) E. I. Baeza." Subsequently this gentleman's elder brother, Mr. Joshua Baeza, returned to Barbados, and, in the spring of 1907, the affairs of the Congregation came before Mr. Justice Neville in the Chancery Court. A "friendly action" was then tried between the Messrs. Baeza and the sole surviving London Trustee of the 1842 Deed Poll—the late Mr. Gabriel Lindo. As an outcome of these proceedings a considerable portion of the funded property was remitted to Barbados to enable badly needed repairs (exceeding £500 in cost) to be carried out to the Synagogue as well as to the other buildings belonging to the Congregation. It was also held by the Court that the ultimate balance of the Stock was to revert to the Bevis Marks Congregation for its own purposes ("in case there should be no person at Barbados of the Hebrew Community") in the same way as was to be done with the real estate.

On the 23rd April, 1908, the number of contributing members of the Barbados Congregation still stood at two, the brothers Edmund Isaac and Joshua Baeza. On this date these gentlemen by a resolution sealed with the Great Seal of the Island re-affirmed the earlier resolutions* creating an ultimate trust of the Synagogue property and of

* ("and whereas the said Edmund Isaac Beza and the said Joshua Beza are the only contributing Members of the said Barbados Congregation and as such are desirous of giving effect to the intention and traditions referred to in the preceding recital").

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the Funds in favour of the Bevis Marks Congregation. Once again it was laid down that the transfer of the property should not take effect until "there should be no person of the Hebrew Community residing on the Island."

On the 20th November, 1908, the London Trustees of the Barbados property were Messrs. James Castello, E. L. Mocatta, M. A. N. Lindo and R. M. Sebag-Montefiore.

In the year 1924 Messrs. Joshua and Edmund I. Baeza attain the respective ages of eighty-one and sixty-nine years. Thus the Barbados Congregation still survives as by a miracle, having "lingered" for close on ninety years. What finer or more pathetic symbol can be found to-day of the faithfulness and wondrous tenacity of the Jew? For over 250 years the *Nidhé Israel* have subsisted. Will it be given to them to keep their tercentenary? Who knows?