

The Alvares Family Patriarchs and the Place of Pre-1692 Port Royal in the Western Sephardic Diaspora

STANLEY MIRVIS

David Baruh Alvares, his son Abraham, and their families were among the first Jewish pioneers in Jamaica and leading figures among the Jewish community of late seventeenth-century Port Royal. Their lives spanned the period of the first Jewish settlement in Jamaica from the 1670s until the destruction of Port Royal by an earthquake and tidal wave in June of 1692. This article and its documentary appendixes, which include transcriptions and translations of David's and Abraham's wills, explores Western Sephardic life in pre-1692 Port Royal as represented by one of its most prominent families.

Seventeenth-century observers and modern historians alike have acknowledged the presence of Spanish-Portuguese Jews in Jamaica during the pre-1692 era. From John Taylor in 1688 to Frank Cundall in the first half of the twentieth century, observers and historians alike have seen Jews as emblematic of Port Royal's ethnic and religious pluralism. Though too marginal to receive sustained attention, these Jews were too curious to ignore. Recent research has attempted to redeem Port Royal's Jews from the margins of Jamaican history, particularly through their economic activity.¹ Through a microanalysis of the Alvareses' last will and testaments I hope to further explore the full significance of Jamaica's early Jewish inhabitants within the broader Western Sephardic Diaspora.

First, a note on periodization. June of 1692 was a significant watershed moment for Jamaican history, and I have therefore chosen to focus on David and Abraham Alvares in part because their lives came to an end with the destruction of the city they knew as their home. Port Royal never regained its primacy as a center for trans-Atlantic trade after the devastating earthquake.² Among the estimated two thousand casualties lay at least twenty-two Jews, not including those who died later—likely including David and Abraham—as a result of malarial fever.³ The year 1692 was, however, a watershed moment for more than just the earthquake and its aftermath. The date also marks a shift in the residential

patterns of the Jews in Jamaica toward Spanish Town and Kingston, and it inaugurates a period of more direct migration from the Metropole rather than from proximate Caribbean colonies. The earthquake and subsequent French invasion also ushered in a sustained policy of Jewish taxation that would become a perennial concern for Jamaican Jews and that would exhaust their channels of political lobbying throughout the eighteenth century.⁴

This article further seeks to use the micro-historical analysis of David and Abraham Alvareses' wills to better understand the nature of the Caribbean relationship with European parent communities and to offer a more nuanced understanding of the internal interaction of smaller communities within the Western Sephardic Diaspora. Current studies tend to view smaller communities such as Hamburg, Bayonne, Livorno, and those in the Americas as satellite dependencies on Amsterdam. Though there is certainly a great deal of truth to this model, particularly with regard to ritual exports and rabbinic authority, it does not tell the full story. Though Jamaican Jews looked toward Amsterdam and London as sources of both migration and communal authority, their wills reveal that communal Judaism on the island took shape just as much in the transitory space of Bayonne as in the capitals of either London or Amsterdam. As will be shown through the Alvares patriarchs, Bayonne was a source of Jewish migration and familial ties for Port Royal's Jews equal to Amsterdam. Furthermore, early Jamaican Jews from Bayonne formed an insular enclave within the community of Port Royal suggesting that interactions between smaller communities are as essential to the migratory patterns of the Western Sephardic Diaspora as was the patronage of Amsterdam.

Pre-1692 Port Royal

After the English conquest of Jamaica in 1655—part of Oliver Cromwell's semi-messianic "Western Design"—the island that had been home to a small community of Spanish farmers and tanners on the north coast was transformed into one of the most important trading hubs in the Atlantic.⁵ As the English turned their attention toward privateering and Atlantic trade, they committed their resources to fortifying Port Royal at the tip of the Palisadoes, a sand peninsula forming the outer barrier of what is today Kingston Harbor.

Port Royal held considerable advantages for the British: The protected harbor made it possible to sustain a naval and privateering fleet year-round and early inhabitants spoke of the healthy climate. The cost of living was, however, dramatically higher in Port Royal compared to other English port cities or even settlements on Jamaica's mainland. Without an indigenous source of fresh water, potable water had to be ferried from across the harbor.⁶ The Port Royal diet almost entirely consisted of imported foodstuffs from England, North America, and other parts of the Caribbean. Even tortoise meat, the signature staple dish of Port Royal, was largely imported from the Cayman Islands.⁷ Despite these drawbacks, the white population of pre-1692 Port Royal grew prodigiously between 1655 and 1692.⁸ According to Henry Morgan's census of 1680, Port Royal was home to a total of 523 households, approximately 2,069 individual European settlers, and around 814 enslaved people, making Port Royal one of the most densely populated cities in the English colonial world just short of Boston and New York.⁹

Late-seventeenth-century Jamaica was a politically divided community. One historian writes that "between 1655 and 1689 there were two Jamaicas: the agricultural colony and the buccaneer's rendezvous."¹⁰ The English crown played a game of tug-of-war with the Jamaican Assembly and its own appointed governors whether to privilege the interests of the landholding planters or the more individualized, less manageable, merchant class of Port Royal. The fortunes of the merchant class were very much connected with an attempt to localize Caribbean privateering activity in Port Royal and likewise diminished as privateering became increasingly marginalized after 1680.¹¹

Though in taste, fashion, and leisure, Port Royal differed little from other Protestant port cities, it nevertheless held a less-than-favorable reputation within the English world. Its reputation as a debauched city stemmed from its now infamous allure to pirates, prostitutes, and alcoholics. As one late-seventeenth-century visitor put it: "Port-Royal is the very Sodom of the Universe"—a sentiment shared by the adventurer John Taylor, who concluded that the city was "almost impossible to civillize."¹²

These negative descriptions, true as they may have been to some extent, ought not to be taken as a complete picture of life in pre-1692 Port Royal. Though there were certainly brothels, reckless drinking, and

irascible pirates, Port Royal also had an efficient marshal's office and prison, along with other tools of law enforcement.¹³ It also offered a good quality of life for families and boasted of a religious and ethnic diversity that included a population of Catholics, Quakers, Huguenots, and Jews, in addition to an active presence of the Established Church of England.¹⁴

In what some perceived to be divine punishment for the vice of Port Royal, its primacy as the center of Jamaican settlement came to an abrupt end with the earthquake and tidal wave of 7 June 1692.¹⁵ Some estimates place the death toll at around two thousand souls.¹⁶ This catastrophe was conflated by the collapsing of rigid English brick buildings unsuited for the seismic realities of life in the Caribbean and subsequent riots that left many murdered in the streets.¹⁷

The calamity of June 1692 did not end with the recession of the tidal waters. Malarial fever plagued the survivors for nearly an entire year. Furthermore, war with France had begun in earnest at the onset of the Glorious Revolution in 1688. With the destruction of defensive infrastructure in 1692, the island remained vulnerable to attack. The French took advantage of this weakened state and violently invaded Jamaica in the summer of 1694. The short-lived endeavor to rebuild Port Royal came to an end in 1703, when a warehouse fire destroyed what remained of the city.¹⁸ It would not be until the middle of the eighteenth century that Port Royal would again be home to a significant population, though it never regained its primacy at the center of English Atlantic trade. After 1680, sugar began to drive the colonial Jamaican economy into the new century. With the rise of sugar, Port Royal's merchant community, and the city itself, would be relegated to the margins of history. The city that David and Abraham Alvares came to know as their home largely died along with them in 1692.

The Jews of Pre-1692 Port Royal

David and Abraham Alvares were leading figures in what became a full-fledged community of Spanish-Portuguese Jews in pre-1692 Port Royal. Spanish Jamaica, though loosely under the authority of the Inquisition in Cartagena das Indias during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, was undoubtedly home to New Christians, some of whom may have retained ethnic or even religious ties to their Jewish

heritage. And, as in all parts of the Castilian Americas, Spanish Jamaica was also home to a population of Portuguese trading households.¹⁹

In an attempt to combat the dwindling pool of native laborers, a charter granted to a *hacendista* (land holder) during the early sixteenth century made explicit provisions for the settlement of Portuguese field hands.²⁰ Some of these Portuguese settlers were very likely New Christians. Indeed, the Portuguese in the Castilian Americas were largely synonymous with Judaizers despite the presence of Old Christians and sincerely Catholic New Christians within the *Nação* (Portuguese Nation).²¹ Some of these Portuguese inhabitants are also known to have remained on the island after the British conquest.²² Whether or not some members of the original Jewish inhabitants of the island had been among the presumed converso population of Spanish Jamaica is ultimately a matter of conjecture.

In the earliest record of Jewish activity on the island, Jacob Jeosua Bueno Enriques, a former New Christian, petitioned the restored crown of England in 1661 for a license to exploit copper mines he discovered through reports from a Spanish prisoner.²³ In return for identifying and exploring the copper mines, he asked for a land grant, patents of naturalization for himself and two brothers, and the free practice of Judaism. Little else is known about Enriques except that in his petition he reports that the English residents of Jamaica referred to him as a “French Jew” (*el Iudio franses*).²⁴ Like so many other Jewish inhabitants of colonial Jamaica—and as will be discussed in greater detail below—Enriques’s origins were likely Iberian via southwestern France.

Jews found their way to the shores of Port Royal before 1692 in small waves corresponding to the changing colonial hands of proximate colonies. Most of the Jewish refugees from Brazil before and after the Portuguese recapture of Pernambuco in 1654 returned to Amsterdam or moved farther eastward toward Livorno in Tuscany, though many later found their way back to the Americas, forming the seed community for the Jewish Caribbean and Guianas.²⁵ Among these Brazilian refugees to settle in Port Royal was David Baruh Alvares. David thus serves as an important representative of the critical role Brazilian refugees played in pioneering Jewish settlements in the Caribbean.

According to one twentieth-century chronicler of Jamaican Jewish history, another small group of Jews arrived directly from London’s

nascent Jewish community in 1663, more than half a decade after the expulsion from Brazil.²⁶ The arrival of these “English” Jews suggests a more direct role of London’s Sephardic community in the Jewish colonization of the Caribbean rather than via the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish metropole of Amsterdam or Dutch colonies such as Curaçao. The fledgling London community furthermore dispatched at least five indigent individuals to Jamaica before 1692, and the London community also included some Jamaican returnees.²⁷

Very soon after, in 1664, another small group arrived from Cayenne (French Guiana) when the French wrested the colony from the Dutch, who had formerly promoted Jewish settlement there. Similarly, with the 1667 Dutch recapture of Suriname, a colony under English rule since 1651, another small group sought their fortunes in the English West Indies.²⁸ The last significant wave of Jewish arrivals to Jamaica in this period occurred with the implementation of the French *Code Noir* in 1685. Though ostensibly intended to regulate slavery in France’s colonies, the very first article decreed the expulsion of Jews.²⁹ As a result, the Jewish populations of Martinique, Guadalupe, and, to a lesser extent, St. Domingue relocated to the Dutch and English Caribbean. Though there are no extant population figures from these years, the French Caribbean expellees likely constituted the largest, and the last, significant pre-1692 wave of Jewish migration to Jamaica.

Population figures for pre-1692 Port Royal’s Jewish community are far from exact, but we do have some bases for informed conjecture. In December of 1671, Governor Sir Thomas Lynch, while defending the Jews of Jamaica, reported that twenty-nine Jews lived on the island.³⁰ At that time, at least thirteen Jews possessed patents of denization, while the remaining sixteen resided on the island by virtue of their connections to these naturalized Jews. At least eight Jews can be positively identified as the recipients of land grants in pre-1692 Port Royal.³¹

According to the previously mentioned census of 1680, Jews made up less than 4 percent of the white households in the city, comprising only seventeen to twenty households.³² There appears to have only been around seventy-five individual Jews in Port Royal at the time, still less than 4 percent of the total white population. Had the census been taken some six years later, after the implementation of the *Code Noir*, the numbers would no doubt have been higher.

It is safe to assume that there were no more than a hundred individual Jews in Port Royal by the time of the earthquake. But, despite their demographic insignificance, by 1680 Port Royal's Jewish population had surpassed that of Barbados, making it the single largest community of Jews in the English Americas.³³ By comparison, Dutch Curaçao likely had more than five hundred Jews by 1700.

Though their numbers were small, the Jews of Port Royal were a highly recognizable minority and contributed to the commercial health of the island disproportionate to their numbers.³⁴ As part of the broader Portuguese *Nação* with access to large international family networks, they played a crucial role in the bullion trade with the Spanish Americas.³⁵ These Jews were ideally suited for clandestine commerce with the Dutch Americas—in defiance of the Navigation Acts, which prohibited the trafficking of certain commodities to the Netherlands and her colonies—by virtue of their family networks and linguistic flexibility. More recent research also suggests that their economic presence was perhaps most strongly felt as some of the most important distributors of enslaved people in the city.³⁶

Under the English, Port Royal was a place of remarkable ethnic and religious diversity. John Taylor included in his description of the city's inhabitants people of African descent, indigenous peoples, English, Scots Irish, and "Also...many Jewes, very wealthy merchants haveing free commerce with our English factory."³⁷ The small port town also offered a haven to Protestant dissenters such as French Huguenots and English Quakers. Apart from the enslaved population and what remained of the native inhabitants, Jews were the only group to be alien both in religion and nationality, making them a conspicuous white minority. Like Quakers, Jews were religiously divergent from the Established Church of England, and like Huguenots, they were alien by virtue of their Iberian nationality. Unlike these two Protestant minorities, however, Jews never married into the families of established Anglicans and so never gained access to high military and civic orders.³⁸

As in other port cities, religious tolerance was the rule rather than the exception, but it was a top-down process and a mercantile rather than ethical consideration. Charles II instructed Lynch—a stalwart defender of the Jews in Jamaica—to grant religious freedoms to non-Catholics in 1670.³⁹ At odds with the non-Jewish merchants, Lynch found himself

defending, more than once, this crown policy. Anti-Jewish petitions to the crown from Port Royal's non-Jewish merchants began as early as October of 1671, when the Governor's Council considered a petition from non-Jewish merchants attempting to restrict Jewish trading activity on the island.⁴⁰

The Jamaican Assembly considered a second petition against the Jews in June of 1672, when thirty-one merchants complained that Jews were in violation of the current Navigation Acts (last renewed in 1670) and traded as "a kind of joint stock company."⁴¹ Similarly, in 1684, Port Royal merchants protested that Jews undermined the other merchants on the island by bringing their goods to market sooner by virtue of their proximity to the harbor.⁴² In a now-infamous petition, submitted to the Board of Trade in London only four months before the earthquake, the non-Jewish merchants of Port Royal grumbled that: "The Jews eat us and our children out of all trade.... We do not want them at Port Royal ... and though told that the whole country lay open to them they have made Port Royal their Goshen."⁴³

Despite these barriers to Jewish integration into Jamaican merchant society, pre-1692 Port Royal possessed not only an economically prosperous Jewish community but also one with a somewhat well-developed ritual life clustered together in the town's Middle Precinct.⁴⁴ Port Royal's Jews began to ferry their dead to Hunt's Bay, across the harbor on the Liguanea Plain (today a suburb of Kingston), sometime before 1663, the date of the earliest legible tombstone (I Adar, 5423/ג"התכ).⁴⁵ Based on the existing cemetery record of Hunt's Bay there are forty-eight Jews buried there from the pre-1692 era.⁴⁶

A synagogue is also thought to have existed in pre-1692 Port Royal. John Taylor referred to a "Jewe's sinagog," and the eyewitness to the earthquake Edmund Heath reported "I ... turned into the Jew's street in order to get home, where the synagogue fell by my side."⁴⁷ Furthermore, it is possible that a deed from 1677, "for the purchase of the Jews of Port Royal, a lot of land"—granted to three prominent Jews, including Moses Yeshurun Cardoso (discussed below)—may have been for the purpose of erecting a synagogue.⁴⁸ It is uncertain, however, whether this structure was an actual synagogue building or a more informal meeting place. Unlike cemeteries and ritual baths, there is no real need for a synagogue to establish a functioning Jewish community, especially one with so few members.

Jamaican Jewry was far from an autonomous self-sustaining communal entity. Jamaica, like Curaçao and the rest of the Western Sephardic Diaspora, was in some way dependent on the mother communities of Amsterdam or London.⁴⁹ They not only received ritual items, such as Torah scrolls and ornaments from Amsterdam and tombstones engraved in London, they also received rabbis (*hakhamim*) trained at Amsterdam's Etz Hayim Yeshivah. Though there are no extant Jamaican communal minutes from this period, the very presence of a *hakham* implies the existence of a functioning communal board (*ma'amad*) capable of overseeing the requirements of communal Jewish life, such as raising taxes (*finta*), issuing ordinances (*haskamot*), imposing bans (*herem*), and perhaps even aiding in the process of conversion to Judaism for conversos without the direct intervention of Amsterdam or London. They also participated in somewhat extra-communal confraternities such as a burial society (*hevra kadishah*).

R. Josiah Pardo, formerly in the service of the Curaçao community, was the first known *hakham* to lead the community. He was the son of the prominent Amsterdam rabbi David Pardo and son-in-law of Amsterdam's principal rabbinic authority Saul Levi Morteira, therefore with clear Italian origins. In this way, Port Royal mirrors the establishment of Jewish communal life in Amsterdam based on Venetian models. Before arriving in Curaçao in 1674, Josiah had officiated as the *hakham* in the community of Rotterdam and had later served as the head of Amsterdam's poor relief confraternity (*gemilut hasadim*). It has been suggested that he departed Europe for Curaçao in 1674 as a result of a personal financial crisis.⁵⁰ He began his rabbinic post in Jamaica in the summer of 1683, at which point the record of his life ends. Some historians of the Dutch West Indies speculated that Pardo died in the earthquake, though it is very likely that his tenure in Jamaica was considerably shorter than nine years.⁵¹

Hunt's Bay cemetery contains a tombstone for one "Arab R Yosiau Pa[r]d[o]," dated 27 August 1684 [image 1].⁵² This is clearly the tombstone of the *hakham*. Even if the family name is somewhat obscure, the bottom Hebrew inscription, from II Kings 22:2, refers to the death of King Josiah, who "walked in the way of David his father." The choice of this passage is clear, as it praises the merits of a biblical figure with the same name as the deceased. This passage may also have been chosen for

its reference to “David his father,” perhaps an allusion to R. David Pardo. Josiah Pardo thus served the Port Royal community for no more than a single year, too little time to have left a lasting legacy on the island.

During Pardo’s short-lived tenure on the island, David and Abraham Alvares would have been among the most prosperous and well-known members of the community. The Hebrew inscriptions on the tombstones of both David and Abraham include the honorific acronym “כמ״ר” (*kavod morenu u-rabenu*, honored teacher and rabbi) that, though formulaic, suggests that they were men with a learned reputation in matters of rabbinic law and ritual and respected as such in the community.

David and Abraham Baruh Alvares

David Baruh Alvares was among the Brazilian Jewish pioneers who went on to establish the Jewish community in Jamaica. According to a denouncement to the Lisbon Inquisition from the famous Marrano martyr Isaac de Castro Tartas, David Baruh Alvares, along with his older brothers Pedro and Luis, was among the former converso residents of Pernambuco in Brazil during the 1640s.⁵³ According to de Castro’s denouncement, as a New Christian, David was known by the name of Martim Alvares. David may have also been involved, during this period of his life, in the trade of enslaved people directly from the West African coast.⁵⁴ It appears that he migrated from Iberia to Bayonne to Brazil and then, around 1675, to Amsterdam, where he was married. He then moved on to Jamaica within two years.

David resided on the island as early as October of 1677 and a year later (October, 1678), he took the oath of allegiance to become a free denizen of Jamaica.⁵⁵ Naturalization in this early period required an official act of parliament, though as denizens, Jews could trade freely within the English world, own land, and arbitrate disputes in court. Denization was, however, an expensive process that offered no relief from alien tariffs. Denizens likewise could not serve on juries or hold any civic office and their children, regardless of where they were born, could not inherit the status.⁵⁶

David died in November of 1692, five months after the devastation of Port Royal, and was interred at the Hunt’s Bay Cemetery.⁵⁷ He likely died as a result of the epidemic fever that plagued the island in the wake of the tragedy. Four years after the death of her husband, David’s wife

Rachel took the oath of allegiance, in November of 1696, likely so that she could settle his outstanding affairs through arbitration and pursue a more public role as a widow.⁵⁸ She continued to reside in Jamaica for another twenty-seven years, alongside the family of her younger son Jacob, until her death on Purim day of 1720.⁵⁹

David's eldest son Abraham took the oath of allegiance six years after his father in November of 1684.⁶⁰ In January of 1685, two months after his denization, Abraham registered a land patent for a fifty-acre plantation that included both pasture and woodland in Vere (now part of Clarendon Parish).⁶¹ Abraham, who appears to have amassed even greater wealth than his father, also seems to have been an indirect victim of the earthquake, having died in February of 1693, just three months after his father.⁶² He also appears to have been more integrated into Jamaica's non-Jewish society than his father. While the three witnesses to David's will were all Jews, the three witnesses to Abraham's were all non-Jews.

David's tombstone, like most of his Jamaican Jewish contemporaries, included three epitaphs—one each in English, Hebrew, and Spanish—portraying him as a man of three worlds: English, Jewish, and Iberian. His Hebrew epitaph remembered him as “dear, sagacious, honorable, and venerable” [image 2].⁶³ His tombstone also included some notable iconographic features. Crossbones appear on the top corners, and the face of a cherub is found on the bottom center. The cherub is a common early modern iconographic motif found on Jewish and non-Jewish tombstones alike, and indeed this one is slightly less elaborate than others found at Hunt's Bay.

The presence of two pickax-and-shovel symbols is significantly more curious and uncommon among colonial Jews. This symbol appears on only one other known tombstone at Hunt's Bay, also from 1692.⁶⁴ Though rather uncommon for Spanish-Portuguese Jews, this image in various forms is found on tombstones throughout the Atlantic world and may carry no other meaning than as a symbol of the act of burial itself. However, given the iconographic significance and pervasiveness of the symbol in later Freemasonry, it is possible that David may have had some association with early non-operative forms of esoteric proto-Freemasonry.⁶⁵ He may have even been among the suspected group of seventeenth-century Jewish “Freemasons” who have been implicated in bringing this esoteric community to North America.⁶⁶ If indeed this

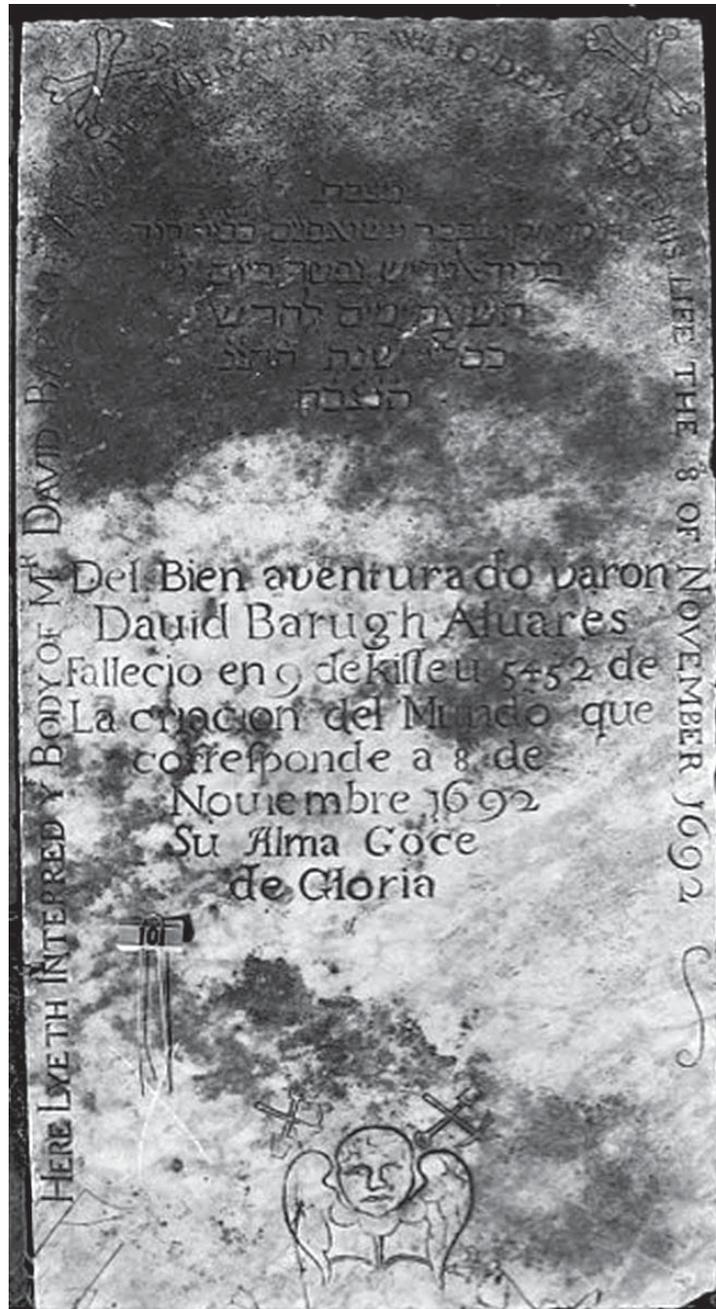


Image 2: Tombstone of David Barugh Alvares (1692).
Photograph by Rachel Frankel, 2008 Caribbean Volunteer Expedition's documentation of the Hunt's Bay Cemetery.

symbol implies some connection with an esoteric association, then it sheds new light on the cultural lives of Jews in colonial Jamaica and implies a certain level of familiarity with early modern esoteric mysticism.⁶⁷

One possible clue as to the nature of David's suspected esotericism is in John Taylor's description of an elaborate public festival held in Port Royal in December of 1687 celebrating the arrival of the Duke of Albemarle as the new crown-appointed governor of Jamaica.⁶⁸ Taylor described two days of celebratory artillery fire, streets lined with spectators, streaming banners, waving flags, hundreds of soldiers ceremonially volleying fire, and bonfires that burned throughout the night. One of the crowning events of this public spectacle was the presentation to the Duke of Albemarle of an elaborate throne or "chaire of state" in Port Royal's St. Paul's Church to symbolize the strengthening of royal authority in Jamaica. Taylor reports that the chair was "cover'd in azur velvet, richly bost, fringed and embroider'd with gold in curious work with nine steps of ascent, with golden lions *like Solomon's throne* all covered with rich embroideries."⁶⁹ The chair was presented to the governor by "the Spanish factor, Seigniora [*sic*] San Jago and Senior Alverious a Jew, merchant on Port Royall."⁷⁰ This is likely a reference to David Baruh Alvares.

What is striking in this description, in light of David's tombstone iconography, is the reference to Solomon's throne. Indeed, though anachronistic, the later Royal Arch branch of Freemasons, with which that symbol is most associated, dedicated itself to preserving what it believed to be the building secrets and hidden meanings of Solomon's Temple.⁷¹ The choice to model the throne on Solomon's Temple may have therefore been more than an arbitrary aesthetic consideration and is suggestive of David's suspected mysticism or possibly even some form of Messianism.

A somewhat less speculative conclusion derived from Taylor's remarks about David's participation in this ceremonial performance of state, in which he and the Spanish agent presented a "chaire of state" to a crown-appointed governor, is that a Jew played some role in the political exchange between the Spanish and English Americas. According to Taylor, Jamaica's Assembly allowed for the presence of only a single Spanish agent—in this case, the man referred to as San Jago—to represent the interests of the Castilian crown on the island.⁷² The possibility that a Spanish-Portuguese Jew served as cultural, or even political,

intermediary between the Castilian and English Atlantics serves as an important counterbalance to the much more spotlighted role of Jews in the contraband bullion and slave trades between the English and Spanish Americas.

Abraham's tombstone also possesses some notable iconographic features. It is similarly trilingual, with inscriptions in Spanish, English and Hebrew. His Hebrew epitaph, typically more descriptive than the other two, remembers him as "a righteous and upright man who gave to the poor and whose splendid and righteous works will stand forever" [image 3].⁷³ Along with a floral pattern on the top corners of his tombstone, a prominent skull and crossbones is etched into the bottom center. Skull and crossbones symbols were an early modern iconographic convention symbolizing a state of corporal death, mortality, and possibly an indirect reference to resurrection.⁷⁴ By the eighteenth century, these symbols are as ubiquitous in English contexts as in Spanish and are found in every cemetery of the early modern Atlantic world. They are similarly found in the regulations (*takkanot*) of the Amsterdam *hevrah kadishah* from this period.⁷⁵ They appear on both men's and women's tombstones at Hunt's Bay Cemetery, including on that of Abraham's wife, Esther Baruh Alvares.⁷⁶

Little is known about the nature of the Alvareses' trading activity in Jamaica except that David was joint owner in a ship referred to in his will as the "*Joseh*" [i.e. *Joseph*], bequeathed to his younger son, Jacob. The nature of the *Joseph's* activities and routes are unknown except that her captain, Jan Bruks, may very well have been Dutch. If that was indeed the case, David may have been following the example of other Jewish traders in the English Atlantic of playing hard and fast with the Navigation Acts.⁷⁷ If David continued his involvement in the slave trade, as he had done in Brazil, it is possible that the *Joseph* carried human cargo.

Commercial activity, and the identification as "merchant," did not preclude the owning of plantations. David was listed among twelve planters in a petition submitted to the crown by Port Royal's Jews in August of 1692; they intended this to defend themselves against accusations that they traded at the expense of cultivating long-term plantations.⁷⁸ And, as mentioned previously, Abraham held land patents for at least one plantation in Vere and likewise made stipulations in his will for the liquidation of his plantation property, including its enslaved labor force.

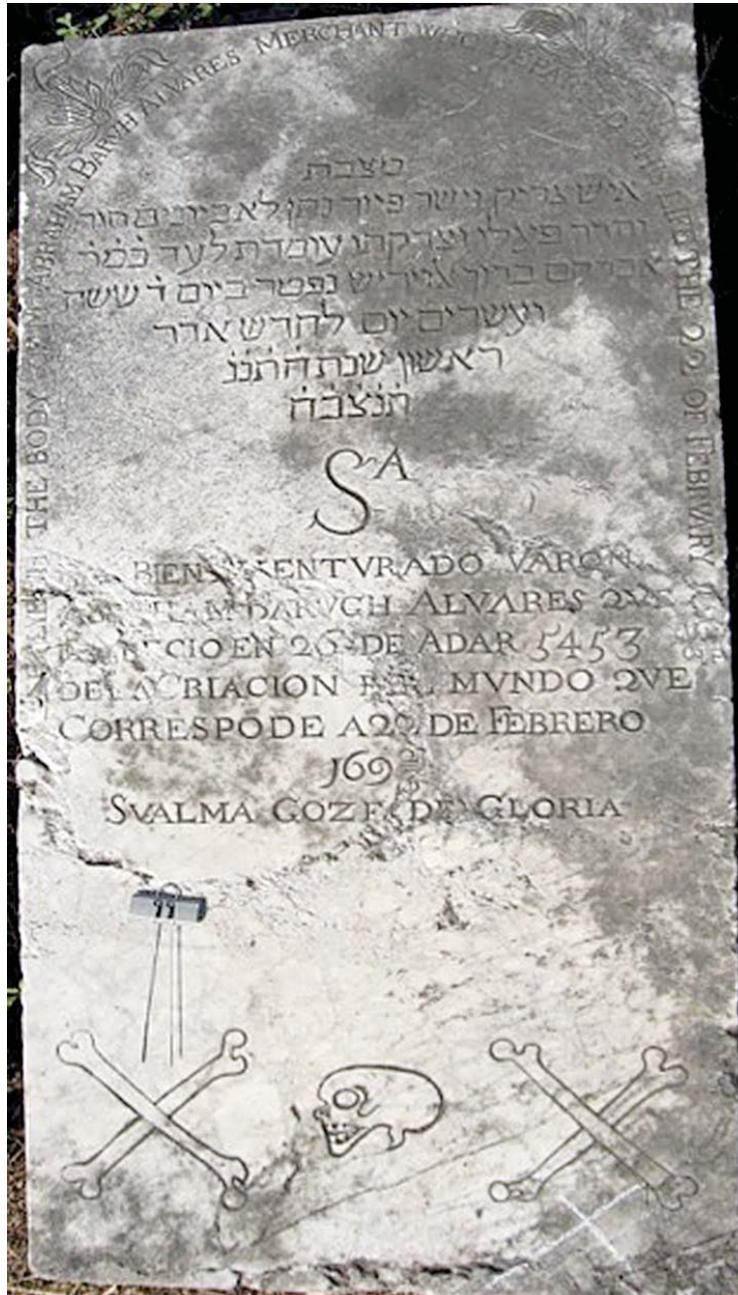


Image 3: Tombstone of Abraham Baruh Alvares (1693). Photograph by Rachel Frankel, 2008 Caribbean Volunteer Expedition's documentation of the Hunt's Bay Cemetery.

Like other Port Royal merchants, the Alvareses' commercial activities were highly diversified.⁷⁹ In addition to importing and selling luxury goods from Europe, Jews often invested the profits from their mercantile activities into plantations that they managed as absentee owners. It is more common to find Jews residing on their Jamaican plantations in the mid-eighteenth century than in the late seventeenth. It is hard to know, therefore, on which side of Jamaica's political divide David and Abraham would have been, as they had vested interests in both camps: the merchants and the planters.

Like all other Jamaican settlers during this period, the Alvares family possessed enslaved people. David's household was listed in the 1680 census as being in possession of six slaves: three women (one of whom was born into their possession) and three men (one of whom died before the census).⁸⁰ Abraham also referred to his enslaved "plantation negroes" in his will. It is unknown how many enslaved people they owned as a plantation work force and, strangely, unlike their Jewish and non-Jewish counterparts in Jamaica during this period, neither David nor Abraham made any specific bequests of slaves to their beneficiaries. These are the only sources that suggest how and to what extent people of West African descent had been integrated into the Alvares family, though they undoubtedly were a fundamental part of the household rhythm and daily routine.

Alvares Household Structure

According to the previously mentioned 1680 census, David's household was the largest among Port Royal's Jews at the time, with eight living white family members—four men and four women.⁸¹ David's and Abraham's wills reveal more members of the household. From these documents it is known that the Alvares household included David's wife Rachel (née Narbaes), his two sisters Sara Narbaes (née Alvares) and Esther de Aguilar (née Alvares), his two grown sons Abraham and Jacob, and four married daughters: Rica Gonsales, Judica Nunes, Ester de Castro, and Sara Lopes Torres. His extended kin, living alongside the Alvares clan in Jamaica, also included the four children of David's sister Esther Aguilar—Judica, Isaac, Sarina, and Moses—along with other nieces and nephews, all recognized in Abraham's will with inheritance.

Abraham's wife Esther died in February of 1690 and was remembered in her Hebrew epitaph as "a modest and honorable woman."⁸² Her more elaborate Spanish epitaph suggests that she died as a young

woman after a prolonged illness. Unlike his father, Abraham included no children as beneficiaries of his estate. It is possible that Esther died before giving birth to children, or they may have been unable to conceive. And if they did have children, Abraham may have given them their inheritance through unofficial channels. Or it is possible that, like so many other inhabitants of Port Royal, their children perished in the floodwaters of 1692.

One historian of colonial Jamaica has characterized white settlement between 1655 and 1780 as dominated by itinerate single men: “Jamaica was a place for sojourners, a land in which to make a quick fortune before heading home to Britain.”⁸³ Indeed, especially after the demographic disaster brought on by the earthquake and subsequent French invasion, this characterization rings true, as the gender ratios for white settlers in colonial Jamaica were heavily skewed toward men throughout the eighteenth century. However, pre-1692 Port Royal appears to have been a surprisingly inviting place for families.⁸⁴ Though the male-to-female ratio had been around 4:1 in 1662, by 1673 it had leveled out, 1.5:1, and nearly equalized at the time of the earthquake.⁸⁵ The Alvares family was therefore not unique in settling as a household in Port Royal. They were unusual, however, in the nature and extent of their kinship networks and in their marriage choices.

David’s daughters, Rica Gonsales and Judica Nunes, appeared to have been married in Jamaica sometime between November of 1687 and February of 1693. David left bequests in his will for the explicit purpose of providing dowries for Rica and Judica, though he also stipulated that they would not receive their inheritance unless their marriage partners met with his approval. In the case of his seemingly youngest daughter, Judica, he made stipulations for her ample inheritance of £800 sterling along with a jewel worth an additional £200 “on the condition that she marry with honorable and god-fearing people.”

David’s coercive intervention in his daughters’ marriage choices echoes similar concerns over “clandestine marriage” found on a communal level in other parts of the Western Sephardic Diaspora. Clandestine marriages are those enacted without the official consent of parents or clergy and often suspected of being motivated by either affection or male deception. As with similar fears in the English and Castilian worlds, laws against clandestine marriage were a result of a perceived loss of parental authority.⁸⁶

In the case of communal regulations against clandestine marriage directed at Sephardim, the fear was that such marriages would threaten the channels of wealth distribution and the Portuguese Jewish sense of familial aristocracy.⁸⁷ However, for Western Sephardim there was also the added concern that clandestine marriages threatened the ethnic homogeneity of the *Nação* through marriage with either Ashkenazim or non-Jews, possibly a more pressing concern in the Americas than in Europe. Through the study of wills it becomes apparent that what were communal concerns in places like Amsterdam and Curaçao were also regulated through private means within the domestic sphere. Through leveraging inheritance, David ensured that his daughters would marry within the ethnic and economic expectations of the *Nação*. Marriage patterns among the Sephardim of Jamaica throughout the eighteenth century, reflecting those of their converso ancestors—as opposed to their counterparts in North America—reveal an overwhelming preference toward endogamy (marriage within one’s own ethnic or religious group).⁸⁸

Marriages among the Sephardim tended to also often be consanguineous, between two cousins or an uncle and niece, at a much higher rate than the English during this period.⁸⁹ Consanguineous marriage, though also common among early modern Ashkenazim, held special meaning for Western Sephardim. It strategically not only preserved family wealth but also served as a bulwark to protect the ethnic contours of the nation. Coming from a background where their ancestors were cut off spiritually from Judaism and then socially defined in Iberian society by virtue of their blood “stain,” or *limpieza de sangre* (cleanness of blood), ethnicity for the Western Sephardim became internalized as the very linchpin of their identity as Jews. If blood ties provided the strongest link to their Jewish past, then the continuity of that past ultimately informed their design for the future through their choice of marriage partners.

The Alvares family more than conformed to these marital expectations. David’s daughter Sara married her cousin Jacob Lopes Torres. David himself also married consanguineously. In his will, he referred to his sister Sara Narbaes as the “mother of my wife,” making his wife Rachel also his niece. More than just a close familial relationship through marriage, his widowed sister Sara also lived with David and Rachel in their home—an otherwise uncommon occurrence among the non-Jews of Port Royal. He further requested that, after his death, his sister Sara continue to live in

his home alongside her daughter. This unusual request appears to have been intended not only to ensure that there would be a mutual support between his wife/niece and sister/mother-in-law after his death but also so that they would not become burdensome to their children. The extension of David's patriarchal patronage over all members of his family, especially within the four walls of his home, is one feature of the Alvareses' family life that distinguished them in English Jamaica, a type of household structure far more Iberian than English that had become increasingly defined by companionship and affectivity by the 1690s.

David's household was rather extensive for colonial English standards, and it also extended across the Atlantic. As one historian of the seventeenth-century *Nação* has shown, the very strength of the Portuguese trading nation, as a cohesive network that defied national and religious boundaries, was rooted in its web of households: "the house formed the fundamental unit of the Portuguese merchant class."⁹⁰ Marriages between kin only strengthened the financial bonds of these networks, a reality wholly embodied by the Alvares family. Their networks were not only multinational, they extended across states in active conflict with each other: the Castilian world, the English Atlantic, and the French Atlantic coast. Though other diasporic groups in Jamaica, such as the Quakers and Huguenots, also sustained multinational family networks, Spanish-Portuguese Jews were singular in the extent of these networks and also in their confessional diversity by including both Jewish and converso kin.

Port Royal and Bayonne

Like many Jamaican Jewish families throughout the colonial period, the Alvares family maintained familial, communal, and likely commercial ties to Bayonne. We know from the previously mentioned denouncement from Isaac de Castro Tartas that David Alvares had spent his formative years in Bayonne before crossing the Atlantic to settle in Brazil. In 1687 David requested that money be sent to Bayonne on the first ship leaving for France for the distribution of alms; he also implied that the same should be done on behalf of his sister/mother-in-law, Sara Narbaes. Abraham sustained similar ties to Bayonne in making provisions for the distribution of alms there and also in his support for specified individuals.

Starting in the mid-sixteenth century and intensifying after the union of Portugal and Spain in 1580, conversos had slowly trickled into France's southern Atlantic coast, where Jews had been expelled in the late fourteenth century. Recognized as Portuguese merchants (*marchands portugais*), they received privileges of settlement as such as early as 1550 and retained that status, if only nominally, until those same rights were extended to openly identifying Jews in 1723. The Portuguese merchants of Bayonne—many of them sustaining family connections to the French Americas—were largely confined to the St. Esprit suburb and stood at the forefront of several Atlantic enterprises.⁹¹ Most prominently, Bayonne was home to a burgeoning chocolate industry in which Judeoconversos played a critical role in importing cocoa from the Americas.⁹²

By the mid-seventeenth century, most of Bayonne's Judeoconversos had adopted open Jewish practices and communal structures. Indeed, Bayonne, along with other French territories, became a center for conversion to Judaism and attracted the attention of Jewish missionaries, communal functionaries, and circumcisers, who dedicated themselves to the project of converting the Portuguese New Christian population of southern France.⁹³ It is known from Inquisition spies that clandestine synagogues were in operation as early as the 1650s. By the end of the century, Hebrew inscriptions can be found on tombstones.⁹⁴

It was likely in Bayonne that David and Abraham actualized their return to Judaism. Though the extant communal records of the Bayonne Jewish community begin too late to trace this Alvares clan, there is some evidence that members of the Alvares family retained communal as well as familial connections to Bayonne. In addition to charitable donations, Abraham also supported the marriage of the daughters of the Bayonne Jewish communal functionary (*hazan*), Isaac de Mercado. It is possible that de Mercado may have also been involved in Abraham's process of return to Judaism and his acclimatization to open Jewish life.

David and Abraham are more than representative of the strong early ties between Bayonne and Jamaica. Of the twelve Jewish planters named in the aforementioned Jewish petition to the crown following the earthquake in August of 1692, only five of them could be positively identified as the testator of a surviving will.⁹⁵ Of those five wills, only three diasporic connections are mentioned: one to London and two to Bayonne.⁹⁶ Of the 123 Jewish wills probated in Jamaica composed before 1750, only

forty-five contain references to familial beneficiaries living in other parts of the Diaspora. London appears nineteen times, Amsterdam fifteen times, Bayonne and the “Kingdom of France” fourteen times.⁹⁷ In terms of Jewish Jamaican familial connections across the Atlantic, Bayonne was thus essentially on par with Amsterdam during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

More than just an important link in the chain of migration to Jamaica, the Jews of Bayonne who settled in the New World tended to form an enclave, as their familial connections are usually clustered in clans such as the Alvareses. It is clear from the wills of several pre-1692 inhabitants that other Jews with known ties to Bayonne were more likely to be found among their network of people attached to their estates as guardians, executors, or beneficiaries. The Jews of Bayonne thus formed a distinctive subgroup within the Jewish community of Jamaica.

A case in point is Moses Yeshurun Cardoso, a fellow Bayonne Jew, who appeared in both David’s and Abraham’s wills. David appointed Cardoso as a quasi-executor and requested that he assist his wife and son in the administration of his estate—seemingly to offset a potential tension he anticipated between them—and Cardoso also served as a witness to David’s will. Abraham likewise appointed Cardoso as a joint executor of his estate and empowered him to not only dispose of his plantation property but to also oversee the distribution of the proceeds among the poor of Jamaica.

Cardoso, in his own will drafted in 1725, included a nephew, niece, and male cousin among his beneficiaries in Bayonne.⁹⁸ Among the witnesses to his last will and testament was Isaac Lopes Torres, a fellow Bayonne Jew and a relative of the Alvares family. Cardoso lived in Jamaica along with his sister, his wife Rebecca, and three children. Indeed, Moses Yeshurun Cardoso’s son, Jacob Yeshurun Cardoso, continued the family ties to both Port Royal and to Bayonne as late as 1751.⁹⁹ At that time Jacob still resided in Port Royal and supported its Jewish institutions, while the vast majority of Jamaican Jewry had moved to either Kingston or Spanish Town. He also remitted inheritance to Bayonne for the support of two cousins living there when the overseas Jamaican Jewish networks had largely shifted to London and Amsterdam.

Another one of David’s and Abraham’s contemporary Bayonne Jews in Jamaica was the famous “marrano poet” Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna,

who apparently migrated directly from a Spanish Inquisition prison to Jamaica.¹⁰⁰ It is known from his poetic, quasi-autobiographical adaptation of Psalms, *Espejo fiel de vidas* (Faithful Mirror of Life) that, though born to New Christian parents in Portugal, he grew up among openly professing Jews in Bayonne. He clearly intended to make Jamaica a permanent home for himself and his family. After having his *Espejo* published in London (1720), he returned to Jamaica, where he drafted a will in Spanish and where he was ultimately buried.¹⁰¹ Laguna bequeathed substantial residential property in Kingston to his wife, Rebecca, and three sons, but he also continued to support family in Bayonne. He stipulated from the rents of his property in Kingston an estimated four-pound annuity be designated for the benefit of “my sister Rachael Lopes Laguna [who is an] orphan and blind in Bayona,” along with an orphaned cousin, Esther Suares del Valle, presumably also living in Bayonne.

Another member of David and Abraham’s Bayonne cohort was Diego Luis Gonsales, who appears to have been a major real estate developer in Jamaica. He bequeathed in his will no fewer than seventeen residential properties, along with a storehouse in Port Royal, divided between his three sons and wife.¹⁰² In addition to his family network in and around Port Royal he supported his brother, David Nunes Gonsales, who lived in Bayonne, with a forty-pound lifetime annuity.

The Jamaican Jews from Bayonne, like the Alvares family, shared a common history and path of migration from the Iberian world to the “*tierras de libertad*.” They formed an enclave in Jamaica and presumably also in Amsterdam and London, where they were an enclave within an enclave, a “diaspora within a diaspora.” Undoubtedly, the rabbinic practice of Judaism that they learned from the Jewish missionaries in Bayonne significantly informed the nature of Jewish communal and ritual life in Port Royal. The interaction of the communities of the Western Sephardic Diaspora was more complex than simply being satellite dependencies under the patronage of Amsterdam; rather, it was an integrated network where each individual community was mutually dependent on and reinforced by each other. In the late seventeenth century, Jamaica was as much interconnected with Bayonne as it was with London or Amsterdam.

Conclusion

Spanish-Portuguese Jews were an integrated part of life in Port Royal before 1692. They were in many ways indistinguishable from their non-Jewish white neighbors: They traded in the same goods, took oaths of allegiance, settled disputes in court, owned plantations, participated in the ceremonies of state, possessed and sold enslaved people—and their bodies lay side by side with other Port Royal inhabitants with the recession of tidal waters in 1692.

In other ways they were completely distinct. They clustered together in a residential enclave, refrained from eating the ubiquitous tortoise soups sold in the town's many taverns, were alien in both religion and nationality, spoke Iberian languages, and were buried in their own cemetery. Their family lives resembled those of Iberian patriarchal clans, with extended household networks, as opposed to the increasingly companionate families of the English world or the itinerant Caribbean single white male pioneers. In this way, the Jews played a critical role in shaping not only Jamaican commerce but Jamaican cultural life as well. They became agents of the continuity of hispanicity in Jamaica after the Spanish period came to an end in 1655. And, in this way, they embodied the spirit of the early modern hybrid Atlantic world by defying national, ethnic, and religious homogeneity: They were, as is so explicit in their tombstones, at one and the same time—Iberian, Jewish, and English.

Their kinship networks furthermore extended to other territories in active conflict with England, specifically to the French Atlantic coast. Bayonne was crucial in the development of Jamaican Jewish society before 1692. It was there that the most prominent members of Port Royal's Jewish community returned to Judaism and cultivated a familiarity with communal Jewish life that they would later apply in building the same in Jamaica. Port Royal's Jews received their Torah scrolls and their rabbis from Amsterdam, their tombstones from London, but their people from Bayonne and other parts of the Dutch, French, and Spanish Caribbean. Even though pre-1692 Port Royal is demographically insignificant within the broader context of the Western Sephardic Diaspora, it is nevertheless enormous for what it represents—the interconnectivity of the Diaspora and mutual dependence between small and large communities. The Alvares family and their patriarchs, David and Abraham, stood at the

forefront of these developments, and their wills enable us to access the private lives of the nonrabbinic, nonintellectual figures of the Jewish past.

Stanley Mirvis is a postdoctoral fellow in the European Research Council-sponsored program "A Diaspora in Transition: Cultural and Religious Change in Western Sephardic Communities" at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is currently completing his monograph titled, The Jews of Colonial Jamaica: Western Sephardic Society and Family Life in the Eighteenth-Century Caribbean.

APPENDIXES¹⁰³

APPENDIX I:A: WILL OF DAVID BARUH ALVARES¹⁰⁴

En el nombre de dios todo poderosso amen.

Digo yo, David Alvares, abiendo hecho tanteo de lo que poseo en esta ysla de Jamaica y fuera della y considerando que la vida es ynsierta, estando en mi entera salud y perfeto juisio me paresió asertado con la ayuda del dio bendito, azier estos apuntamentos que abajo sigen para la disposición de mis bienes para que al fin de mis días se cunpla en todo e por todo como me [*sic*] postrera voluntad y testamento, poniéndole las fuersas que se requieren como si fuera echo ante escribano con todos sus requisitos. Son como se sigen:

Item: primeramente encomiendo mi alma a dios todopoderoso para que se apiade della, perdonándome mis pecados y mi cuerpo a la tierra para que me intierrem [*sic*] entre mis ermanos en su entaramiento.

Item: que lego se mande pagar cualquier débito legítimo que yo debiere, costanto contada realidade.

Item: a myjo Abram Alvares bisto aberle dado cuando se cassó quinientas libras esterlinas le dego más ochosienta [*sic*] libras esterlinas.

Item: y a mijo Jacob Alvares le dego ocho sienta libras.

Item: y a miya Rica Alvares le dego para su doto [*sic*] otras ocho sientas libras esterlinas y que sea con gente de bien.

Item: y a mi yja Judica Alvares le dego otras ocho sientas libras esterlinas y además a más se le dará en mi nombra [*sic*] una joya de dusientas libras esterlinas, encargando que la cassen con jente onrada y temiento del dio.

Item: y a se mesma a mi yja Ester que está casada con el dotor Jacob de Castro a la qual le di en aquel tienpo lo que pude al primer yjo uija [*sic*] que tubiere le dego dusientas libros esterlinas y casso que tenga nesidad se las darán luego.

Item: y a mi yja Sara que está casada con mi sobrino Jacob Lopes Tores le dego otras dusientas libras esterlinas en la misma conformidad que a mi yja [E]Ster.

Item: y a mi ermana Ester de Aguilar le dego sien libras esterlenas para ella e sus eraderos adbertiendo que si tubiere alguna yja soltera sean y es mi voluntad sean para ayuda de su dote.

Item: así mesmo dego a una yja de Francisco [defrn^{co}] de Ledesma llamada macho dusienta [*sic*] libras tornesas a ella u a su yja la primera que se casase.

Item: y a mi ermana Sara Narbaes, madre de mi mujer, que al presente bibe conmige le pido encaresidamente esté sienpre con mi mujer y casso que la dicha mi ermana alcanse en días a la dicha su yja le dego sien libras esterlinas para su sustento y si al fin de sus días le dego [unreadable] de dega a mis yjos y esta es me [*sic*] volunta[d].

Mando, si acaso yo muriese en Jamaica, que en los primeros navios manden orden a Bayona para que se reparta una limosna general y otra a los onse meses.

Item: y así mismo por mi ermana Sara Narbaes que dios dé buena bejes.

Item: y casso lo que dios no premita algunos de mis yjos muriere antes de tomar estado, lo que le tengo apuntado en esta me [*sic*] testamento es me [*sic*] voluntad que seré parta entre los yjos por yguales partes = y esta es mi voluntad de que todo se oservará [*sic*] a la letra.

Item: y mi mujer Raquel Alvares le dejo mil y quinientas libras esterlinas y casso que no aya en mi caudal para el cumplimento destas mis mandas se bajará cado una pro ratta y que no se le pueda a dicha mujer tomar juramento ni otra quenta ninguna solo lo que ella dijere.

Item: primero de entregarse cossa alguna se procura cobrar lo que se me allare se me debe y entonses se dará a cada uno su parte.

Item: y dejo por mis alvaseas a mi querida mujer Raquel Alvares y mi yjo Abram Alvares y casso que por alguna bia tenga algún desaborimiento mi yjo con dicha mi mujer la dego a la dicha mujer Raquel Alvares sola la administrasión deste testamento = y encargo a mi amigo Y[esu] r[un]¹⁰⁵ Moseh Yeserun Cardoso la asista y anpare en lo que pudiere para aconsejarle lo que l[e] estubiere bien que semeara m[er]ce]d¹⁰⁶ de que estoi my sierto.

Item: y asimismo encargo y pido a dicha mi mujer que no se ponga por ningún modo con yjo ni yja ninguna para biber juntos por ebiter el que tengan disensiones si no es en casso que dicha mi mujer sea tan bieja podrá estar con alguna su yja para que la asita [*sic*].

Item: y es declarasión que lo que dejo a dicha mi mujer lo podrá degar a sus yjos a su voluntad sin que se la pueda oponer a cosa ninguna.

Item: así mismo dejo para ayuda de la serca sinco libras esterlinas digo la serca del entierro en que entram bente chelinas que ofresí a mucho tiempo que no sé si se pagaron que fue en tiempo de Meser Cardosa.

Item: y si acaso se allare más de mis bienes de lo que tengo testado no entrado en ellos las pocas joyas y plata que tubiere la dicha mimujer que es sola para ela sin que se le pueda pedir quenta ninguna [ing^a]

que al fin de sus días lo degará lo que restares a dichos mis yjos a su voluntad dego la cassa que tengo en esta punta que compré a Jacob de Tores a miyjo Abram Alvares.

Item: y la parte del navio que tengo que se llama Joseh de que e soy [*sic*] capitán Jan Bruks se la dejo a mi yjo Jaco Alvares y casso lo que dios no premita suseda algo a dicho navio partirar por yjuales partes la dicha cassa bien entendido que suseda esto antes del fin de mis días para que sean delles dos solos.

Y a digo que a de ser después de aber ajustado y pagado lo que se allaré que yo deba como las mandas que tengo hechas en este mi testamento y si faltare se podrán bender dicha cassa y el navio para el complimento dél y para que en todo tenga este mi testamento fuere [*sic*] y bigor lo firmo en presensia de los testigos abajo firmados y lo selle con mi sello en Puerto Real de Jamaica a antes de firmar declaro que enquanto a lo que digo de las casses [*sic*] y nabio que es mi voluntad que los dichos Abram a y Jacob Alvares per yguales partes estos se entiende después desea beren cunplido todas mis mandas y casso como digo atrás mi mujer Raquel Alvares tenga algún desaberimento a dos [*sic*] gusto con dicho mi muser [*sic*] le dejo a dicho mi mujer albasea a ella sola y que se baya ajuntando todos mis bienes y estando juntos se ayan de repartier en la forma que dego que esta es me [*sic*] voluntad y lo firma y selle en presnsia de los testigos abajo firmado en Puerto Real de Jamaica ha: 20 de nobiembre de 1687.

David Alvares

Firmado y sellado ante nos.
Moses Jesarum Cardoso
Testes Jacob Mendez Guteres
Joseph Decosta Alvarenga

APPENDIX I:B:**TRANSLATION OF THE WILL OF DAVID BARUH ALVARES**

In the name of almighty God Amen.

I David Alvares declare, having made an account of what I possess in this island of Jamaica and outside of it, and in consideration of the uncertainty of life, being healthy of mind and of perfect judgment, I have found it fitting, with the aid of blessed God, to prepare these stipulations for the disposal of my property so that in my final days it may be completely fulfilled as my last will and testament presenting it before the required authority as if made in the presence of a notary. They are as follows:

First, I recommend my soul to almighty God so that he may have mercy on it and that my sins may be forgiven and I recommend my body to the earth to be interred among my brethren.

Next, I order the payment of all legitimate debts I may have after the validity of the claims have been verified.

To my son Abram Alvares, seeing that I already gave him five hundred pounds sterling when he married, I leave him another eight hundred pounds sterling.

And to my son Jacob Alvares I leave eight hundred pounds.

And to my daughter Rica Alvares, I leave for her dowry another eight hundred pounds sterling so that [her marriage] be with good people.

And to my daughter Judica Alvares I leave another eight hundred pounds sterling and in addition she [should] be given in my name a jewel [worth] two hundred pounds sterling on the condition that she marry with honest and god-fearing people.

And to my daughter Ester who is married to doctor Jacob Decastro I leave two hundred pounds on the occasion that she has her first son or daughter or immediately in case she is in need.

And to my daughter Sara, who is married to my nephew Jacob Lopes Tores, I leave another two hundred pounds [under] the same condition as my daughter [E]ster [i.e. on the occasion of the birth of her first child].

And to my sister Esther de Aguilar I leave a hundred pounds sterling for herself and her heirs with the stipulation that if she were to have any single [unmarried] daughter it is my will that it be used to help with her dowry.

Likewise, I leave to one daughter of Francisco de Ledesma, [who is] called macho, two hundred pounds tornesas¹⁰⁷ for [his] first daughter that will be married.

And to my sister Sara Narbaes, the mother of my wife, who currently lives with me, I ask her emphatically that she always remain with my wife and in the case the day [shall come] that my said sister live as long as her daughter, I leave a hundred pounds sterling for her sustenance and if at the end of her days she give [unreadable] to leave for my sons and this is my will.¹⁰⁸

In case I should die in Jamaica, on the first vessels [leaving for France] an order should be sent to Bayonne for the distribution of general alms and again eleven months after my decease.

And similarly for [on behalf of] my sister Sara Narbaes, that God may grant her a good old age.

And in case, God permits one of my children to die before receiving their [share] of the estate that I have left to them, [then] on account of their death, my will is that their share be divided between my [surviving] children in equal parts and it is my will that this shall be observed to the letter.

And to my wife Raquel Alvares I leave one thousand and five hundred pounds sterling and in case there is not [enough] in my estate [*caudal*] for the fulfillment of these my directives then they [these amounts] should be prorated and [no other beneficiary] will be able to lay a claim on her portion whatsoever as has been stipulated.

Before [any bequest] is delivered and divided there must be an attempt to collect anything that is owed to me and then each [beneficiary] shall have their part.

And I appoint as my executors and guardians my beloved wife Raquel Alvares and my son Abram Alvares and in case there be acrimony [*desaborimiento*] [between] my son and my said wife [then] I declare my wife Raquel Alvares to be the sole administrator of this testament and I charge my friend Y^r Moseh Yeserun Cardoso to assist and support her however he can and to counsel her in what is good of which I am very sure.

And likewise, I charge and request that my said wife will not by any means be [i.e. live] with any son or daughter so as not to live together to avoid any dissention [unless] [if] my said wife [requires], in her old age, [she] may be with one of her daughters for assistance.

And I declare that what I have left to my said wife she may bequeath to any of her children by her own will without any possible opposition in any matter.

Similarly, I leave for the assistance in [erecting] a fence [*cerca*] around my grave five pounds sterling for the said fence at the [time of] burial that includes twenty shillings to be used at that time of which I am uncertain has already been paid to Meser Cardoso.

In the case that there be more property than [what has been listed] in my will, not including the aforesaid few jewels and silver, I give to my wife as a sole beneficiary whatever she may find without her having to account for it and that [this leftover property] should then be given to my children after her death according to her will.

I leave my house in this place [Port Royal] that I purchased from Jacob de Tores to my son Abram Alvares.

And my share of the ship called Joseh of which Jan Bruks [is the] captain I leave to my son Jaco Alvares and in case, God forbid, something happens to the said ship, then the said house should be divided into equal parts, if this occurs before the end of my days, so that there should be two [beneficiaries of my house].

And I declare that this should be undertaken after satisfying all of my debts as well as all the bequests made in this my will, and if there be a need, to sell the house and the [share] of the ship so that [these bequests] be fulfilled. And so that in all respects this my will has force and validity, I sign it in the presence of the below mentioned witnesses and I seal it with my seal in Port Royal Jamaica, but before signing it, I do declare that [if] the house and ship [are sold] then my sons Abram and Jacob Alvares should share [the proceeds] in equal parts being understood that [this should be done only] after all the above bequests are satisfied and in case my wife Raquel Alvares should be in any way disappointed and displeased, I appoint my said wife as sole executor of this my testament [so] that she may [be allowed to make an] inventory of my possessions that are to be divided according to my orders. This is my will signed and sealed in the presence of the below named witnesses in Port Royal Jamaica on 20 November 1687.

Signed and sealed in our presence
Moses Jesarum Cardoso
Witnesses Jacob Mendez Guteres
Joseph Decosta Alvarenga

APPENDIX II:A: WILL OF ABRAHAM BARUH ALVARES¹⁰⁹

En el nombre del dio benditto Amen.

Yo Abraham Alvares estando enfermo pero en my entero juizio y perfeto conosimiento de que la vida es yncierta hago estos apuntamientos para que sirvian de my prostrera voluntad y testamento como sy fuera hecho ante escrivano con todos los requisitos necciari en ley a saber:

Primeramente: encomiendo my alma a dios que la crió y my cuerpo a la tierra para que sea enterrado entre mis hermanos judios en Legany [Liguanea] mando para obras de dho [dicho] entierro veinte livras esterlinas y otras veinte livras esterlinas para la sedaka.

Segunda: es my voluntad que de lo primero de my caudall sean pagadas todas mis deudas y después se cumplan todas las mandas que abajo espesefico que son las siguientes.

Tersera: es my voluntad se le dé a my hermano Jacob Alvares cien livras esterlinas.

y a my hermana Ester de Castro otras cien livras esterlinas.

y a my hermana Sara Lopes Torres otras cien livras esterlinas.

y a my hermana Rica Goncales otras cien livras esterlinas.

y a my hermana Judica Nunes otras cien livras esterlinas.

y a la señora mi tia Ester de Aguilar otras cien livras esterlinas.

y para cassar a su yja Judika de Aguilar otras cien livras esterlinas a su tiempo.

y a my primo Ishak de Aguilar otras cien livras esterlinas.

y para cassar a su yja Sarina de Aguilar otras cien livras esterlinas a su tiempo.

y a Mosseh de Aguilar cinquenta livras esterlinas para que busque su vida.

y a my sobrino Yshack Lopes Torres le dejo cinquenta livras esterlinas.

Quarta: es my voluntad que se den más duzientas livras esterlinas para el resto de mis parientes más necesitados todo a la dirección y voluntad de mis alvaseas sean abaxo nombrados y juntamente para que de my cuadal cassen seis huérfanas las que mejor les pareciere ynclinándose más a los parientes y para ello dexo seis cientas livras esterlinas.

Y assimismo es my voluntad que escrivan a Bayona y remitan quinientas livras tornessas para que el siguiente viernes después de receuida la carta se den a los pobres ducientas y cinquenta en limosna general y las otras ducientas cinquentra livras a los once mezes mezes [*sic*] de my falesimiento y sy y dios fuere servido llevarme para sy el día que

me enternaren se repartan veinte y cinco livras esterlinas con pobres necentados y otras veite y cinco libras sterlinas a los ocho dias y otras veinto y cinco livras sterlinas al mes y otras veinte y cinco livras a los onze mezes y otro tanto a los mismos tiempos y my señor padre David Alvares que dios aya y juntamente.

Es my voluntad después que se aiga pagado todos mis devitos y mis mandas conforme se fuera haziendo de my estado se den se den[sic] cien livras sterlinas para cada hija de Pedro de la Borda marido de my prima pechicha, para su cassamiento y lo mismo a las hijas del hajan Ishack de Mercado de Bayona que dios aya que estubieren solteras y más de lo arriva dando cien livra sterlinas a la señora my tía Ester de Aguilar y otras cien livras más a Ishak de Aguilar y assy más.

Es my voluntad lo que rendiere más my plantaje después de averse pagado todas mis mandas ariva en cinco años de tiempo se reparta a su neto rendimiento en huérfanas más allegadas a my y de más nessesidad para su cassamiento se que harán el ynforme posible dello en saberlo y al término de los dhos [dichos] cinco años lo que restase dexo la mittad de dho [dicho] my estado a my hermano Jacob Baruch Alvarez y la otra mitad a my sobrino Ishack Lopes Torres y en faltta de alguno dellos entrarán todas mis hermanas en todo lo que ubiere etedando [sic] yguales partes tanto de la parte de my hermano como de la de my sobrino sean todos ygualles como digo y dexo que mis alvaseas a my amigo y señor Mosseh Yesurun Cardoza y Jacob Lopes Torres para que se aposecionen de la plantaje y todo lo demás que contraré ser mio como sy fuera yo propio y cumplan my voluntad lo mejor que pudieren y para ello les doy poder absolutto a su voluntad de poder vender my plantaje negros y todo lo demás que tubiere como sy fuera yo mismo para hazer deshaser lo que mejor les pareciere y sy la pudiere conseguir como digo arriva lo estimara mchísimo [muchísimo].

En falta tienen el poder como digo y para cumplir my voluntad sino se pudieren conseguir los cinco años cassarán seis huérfanas más y la huna sea la hija de Diego Gomes Campos y las yjas de my primo Ishack Narvaes que dios aya cien livras esterlinas a cada una a su cassamiento

y el yjo otras cien livras esterlinas y lo que restaré después que sean cumplidas todas mis mandas se hará en la conformidad que tengo referido y por ser esta my postrera voluntad y que se siga todo a la de dicha mis alvaseas y dios les reciva la misma y encamine lo mejor para su santo servicio amen.

Lo firme de my mano y selle con my sello, oy, a 12 de la luna de Adar de 5453 años dela criación del mundo que son a 8/18 de feurero 1692/3 años. AB [Abraham Baruh].

firmado cellado y puplicado.

En precensia de los abajo
Charles Knight
Robert Wardlow
Lancelot Talbot

APPENDIX II:B:

TRANSLATION OF THE WILL OF ABRAHAM BARUH ALVARES

In the name of blessed God amen.

I Abraham Alvares being sick but of sound mind, knowing perfectly well the uncertainty of life, do make these provisions to serve as my last will and testament, done before a notary with all the necessary requirements by law, namely:

First: I recommend my soul to God who created it and my body to the earth so that it be buried among my Jewish brethren in Liguanea for which I bequeath twenty pounds sterling for burial expenses and another twenty pounds sterling to the sedaka [charitable confraternity].

Second: it is my will that, first of all, my debts are paid from estate and after all of these demands are satisfied then [my bequests] are [as] specified below.

Third: I will to my brother Jacob Alvares a hundred pounds sterling.
and to my sister Esther de Castro another hundred pounds sterling.
and to my sister Sara Lopes Torres another hundred pounds sterling.
and to my sister Rica Goncales another hundred pounds sterling.
and to my sister Judica Nunes another hundred pounds sterling.
and to my aunt señora Esther Aguilar another hundred pounds sterling.
and for the marriage of her daughter Judika de Aguilar another hundred pounds sterling at the time [of her marriage].
and to my cousin Ishak Aguilar another hundred pounds sterling.
and for the marriage of his daughter Sarina de Aguilar another hundred pounds sterling at the time [of her marriage].
and to Mosse de Aguilar fifty pounds sterling so that he seeks his [aim in] in life
and to my nephew Yshack Lopes Torres I leave fifty pounds sterling.

Fourth: it is my will that a further two hundred pounds sterling be given for the [benefit of] the rest of my relatives who are most in need at the discretion and will of my executors named jointly below. [And] for the support of the marriage of six [female] orphans, whomever seems the most in need, preferring my relatives among them, I leave six hundred pounds sterling.

And also it is my will that they should write to Bayonne and on the next Friday following the sending of this letter to remit five hundred pounds tornesas for these poor [of Bayonne] and two hundred and fifty [pounds] for general alms and another two hundred and fifty [pounds] eleven months after my death. And if it serves God to bring me to him [i.e. when I die], then on the day of my internment twenty five pounds sterling are to be distributed among the poor, and [also] that [another] twenty five pounds sterling be distributed to the poor eight days [after my death], and another twenty five pounds a month [after my death], and another twenty five pounds eleven months [after my death], and likewise at the same time for [in honor of] my father señor David Alvares who is together with God [i.e. deceased].

It is my will that after all my debts and demands are paid and satisfied from my estate, as has been done until now [i.e. as specified above], a hundred pounds sterling [should then] be given to each daughter of Pedro de la Borda husband of my youngest¹¹⁰ cousin, for her marriage and also for the single daughters of Hazan Ishack de Mercado of Bayonne who is together with god and I do [the same] as above in giving a hundred pounds sterling more and also [a hundred pounds] to my aunt Esther de Aguilar and another hundred pounds more to Ishak de Aguilar and thus more.

And is my will that [over the course of] five years all the yields of my plantation [be sold], after all my aforementioned debts be paid, [and] the proceeds should be distributed by her grandson¹¹¹ to give to the orphans most closely [related] to me, and who are most in need, for their marriages and they will do all that is possible to report on how this has gone when the said five years are over. I leave half of what remains of my said estate to my brother Jacob Baruh Alvarez and the other half to my nephew Ishack Lopes Torres and in their absence [i.e. if they die], all of my sisters [will become] equal parties to it, just as my brother and my nephew are complete equals. I declare and leave [appoint] as my executors my friend señor Mosseh Yesurun Cardoza and Jacob Lopes Torres to be in possession of my plantation and all the rest which is mine, as if it were myself, and may they fulfill my will as best they can. And to this end, I give them complete freedom to sell my plantation and negroes along with everything else as if it were me to do and undo as they wish with it. And if they could obtain it [the proceeds of the plantation within five years] they must comply with my will and if they are not able to obtain [the proceeds] within the five years they must make sure that the six orphans [mentioned above] will marry and that the daughters of Diego Gomes Campos and the daughters of my cousin Ishack Narvaes, who is with God, be given a hundred pounds sterling each on their [day of] marriage and another hundred pounds sterling to his son after the remainder of all of my demands have been satisfied in conformity with what I have said. And may this, my last will and testament be complied with in all

that has been said, [by] my executors and may God direct them in the manner most in keeping with his holy service amen.

I have placed my signature and sealed it with my seal, on the 12th of the lunar month of Adar 5453, year of creation of the world, that [corresponds to] 8/18 of February, the year 1692/3. AB

Sealed, signed, and publicized

In the presence of the undersigned [witnesses]

Charles Knight
Robert Wardlow
Lancelot Talbot

Notes

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Program (FP7 [2007–2013]) / ERC grant agreement #295352. I would like to thank Yosef Kaplan for hosting me at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I would like to recognize Jane S. Gerber and Ainsley Henriques, who were instrumental in the development of this research. I am also deeply grateful for the extremely helpful feedback from the anonymous readers and Matt Goldish.

¹See for instance Allan D. Meyers, "Ethnic Distinctions and Wealth among the Colonial Jamaican Merchants, 1685–1716," *Social Science History* 22, no. 1 (1998): 47–81.

²See Michael Pawson and David Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, repr. 2000), 165–172.

³For an estimate of the casualties see Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 166 n. 10.

The number of Jewish casualties was reported in a correspondence from the ma'amad of London to the Jews of Safed in January of 1693; see Richard D. Barnett, "The Correspondence of the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 20 (1964): 1–50, esp. 11 (hereafter "TJHSE").

⁴On Jewish taxation in Jamaica see George Fortunatus Judah, "The Jews' Tribute in Jamaica: Extracted from the Journals of the House of Assembly of Jamaica," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 18 (1909): 149–171 (hereafter "PAJHS"); Frank Cundall, "The Taxing of the Jews in Jamaica in the Seventeenth Century," *PAJHS* 31 (1928): 243–247; Joseph R. Rosenbloom, "Notes on the Jews' Tribute in Jamaica," *TJHSE* 20 (1964): 247–254.

⁵On the English conquest of Jamaica and the "Western Design" see Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972, repr. 2000), 152. See also Pawson

and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 7–24; and James Robertson, *Gone is the Ancient Glory: Spanish Town Jamaica, 1534–2000* (Kingston, JA and Miami, FL: Ian Randle Publishers, 2005), ch. 2. For a useful survey of the early English presence on Jamaica see Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640–1700* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 33–42.

⁶Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 90, 140–141; Robertson, *Gone is the Ancient Glory*, 54.

⁷Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 90.

⁸Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 179, n. 40

⁹“Census of Port Royal (1680),” CO 1/45, 96–107, The National Archives (TNA), Kew, England. I have also relied on the reproduction of the census figures in Eli Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade: Setting the Record Straight* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1998), 53, 186. The census figures were earlier reproduced (with some slight disagreements) in Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 180. See also Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 135. For an analysis of the 1680 census see Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 179.

¹⁰Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 177.

¹¹For an analysis of the political struggle between the privateers and planters see Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 33–44 and Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 154–165.

¹²Edward (Ned) Ward, *A Trip to Jamaica: With a True Character of the People and Island* (London: J. How, 1700), 16. For Taylor’s remarks see David Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687: The Taylor Manuscript at the National Library of Jamaica* (Kingston: The University of the West Indies Press, 2010), 240.

¹³Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 155–156.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 158–159.

¹⁵For a description of the earthquake see the often-cited narrative in Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica: or General Survey of the Ancient and Modern State of That Island II* (London: T. Lowndes, 1774), 141–144. See also the description in Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 165–172. For a list of the contemporary accounts of the earthquake see Frank Cundall, *Historic Jamaica* (London: The Institute of Jamaica, 1915), 53–54. On the perception of the earthquake as divine retribution for the vice of Port Royal see Ward, *A Trip to Jamaica*, 15. See also, Matthew Mulcahy, “The Port Royal Earthquake and the World of Wonders in Seventeenth Century Jamaica,” *Early American Studies* 6 no. 2 (2008): 391–421.

¹⁶Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 166 n. 10.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 166. See also an analysis of English building methods in Robertson, *Gone is the Ancient Glory*, 63.

¹⁸On the 1703 fire see Long, *The History of Jamaica II*, 144 and Cundall, *Historic Jamaica*, 60.

¹⁹On the early modern Portuguese trading nation within the Castilian Americas see Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean: Portugal’s Atlantic Diaspora and the Crises of the Spanish Empire, 1492–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

²⁰See Irene A. Wright, “The Early History of Jamaica (1511–1536),” *The English Historical Review* 36, no. 141 (1921): 70–95, 77.

²¹Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea*, 151–174.

²²Robertson, *Gone is the Ancient Glory*, 19 n. 51.

- ²³J.W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, vol. 5 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898) 48–49. See also the original document, “Petition of Jacob Jeosua Bueno Enriques (1661)” CO 1/15, no. 74, TNA, Kew, England. See also the reproduction of this text in Herbert Friedenwald, “Material for the History of the Jews of the British West Indies,” *PAJHS* 5 (1897): 45–101, esp. 65–66. This document is also reproduced in Zvi Loker, *Jews in the Caribbean: Evidence on the History of the Jews in the Caribbean Zone in Colonial Times* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, Institute for Research on the Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage, 1991), 164.
- ²⁴Friedenwald, “Material for the History of the Jews,” 66.
- ²⁵On the expulsion of Jews from Portuguese Brazil see Arnold Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 128–142. For the Jewish Brazilian refugees’ role in populating the Caribbean see Wim Klooster, “Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs: The Founders of the Jewish Settlements in Dutch America, 1650s and 1660s” in *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism*, ed. Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), esp. 37, where Klooster relates the travels of the Port Royal settler Benyamin Bueno de Mesquita.
- ²⁶Jacob A.P.M. Andrade, *A Record of the Jews in Jamaica from the English Conquest to the Present Time* (Kingston, JA: The Jamaican Times, 1941), 2.
- ²⁷“Annual Accounts (1676–1693),” LMA/4521/A/04/01/001–011, London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), London, England. Among those from Jamaica to settle in London and to receive financial support from the community was one “Abraham Alvares de Jamaica” in 1682, certainly not the same Abraham Alvares under discussion here.
- ²⁸Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers* 9, 258–259, 282–287.
- ²⁹On the Jews of the French Caribbean and the impact of the *Code Noir* see Mordechai Arbelle, “Jewish Settlements in the French Colonies in the Caribbean (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Haiti, Cayenne and the ‘Black Code’),” in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800*, ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001), 287–313.
- ³⁰Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers* 7, 297–300. See also Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 49.
- ³¹Andrade, *A Record of the Jews in Jamaica*, 136.
- ³²Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 52–53 and Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 183.
- ³³Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 49.
- ³⁴Meyers, “Ethnic Distinctions,” 56.
- ³⁵Nuala Zahedieh, “The Merchants of Port Royal, Jamaica and the Spanish Contraband Trade, 1655–1692,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (1986): 570–593.
- ³⁶Meyers, “Ethnic Distinctions,” 76.
- ³⁷Buisseret, *Jamaica in 1687*, 238.
- ³⁸On the role of Protestant dissenters in the English Caribbean and their connection with Jews see Natalie Zacek, “‘A People So Subtle’: Sephardic Jewish Pioneers of the English West Indies” in *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World*, ed. Caroline A. Williams (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 97–112.

³⁹Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers* 7, 145–147.

⁴⁰Ibid., 268.

⁴¹Ibid., 366–367; Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 50; Friedenwald, “Material for the History of the Jews,” 51.

⁴²Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers* 11, 601–612, 614. See also Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 50.

⁴³Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers* 13, 583–596, 594.

⁴⁴Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 183 and see n. 47.

⁴⁵“Tombstone of Isaac Henriques Alvin (1663),” in *The Jews of Jamaica: Tombstone Inscriptions, 1663–1880*, ed. Richard D. Barnett and Philip Wright (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1997), 6 no. 16. Jamaica’s Jews appear to have only secured a deed for the property in 1736; see Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*, x.

⁴⁶Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*, 182–183.

⁴⁷For Taylor’s reference to a synagogue see Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687*, 240. Heath’s remarks are quoted from Mordechai Arbell, *The Portuguese Jews of Jamaica* (Kingston, JA: Canoe Press, 2000), 20.

⁴⁸Andrade, *A Record of the Jews in Jamaica*, 40.

⁴⁹On this religious and ritualistic dependence on Amsterdam see Gérard Nahon, “Amsterdam and the Portuguese *Nação* of the Caribbean in the Eighteenth Century” in *The Jews in the Caribbean*, ed. Jane S. Gerber (Oxford and Portland: Littman Library of Civilization, 2014), 67–83.

⁵⁰On Pardo in Curaçao see Isaac Emmanuel and Suzanne Emmanuel, *History of the Jews in the Netherlands Antilles I* (Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, 1970), 53–56 and 60–61.

⁵¹Ibid., 60–61.

⁵²Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*, 7 no. 22. This transcription is based on my reading of the Portuguese inscription from the original tombstone.

⁵³On Isaac de Castro Tartas see Elias Lipiner, *Izaque de Castro: o mancebo que veio preso do Brasil* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco Editora Massangana, 1992). For De Castro’s denouncement of David Baruh Alvares see 155. On David Baruh Alvares in Brazil see José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, *Gente da Nação Judeus Residentes no Brasil Holandês, 1630–54* (Recife: publisher not identified, 1979), 54. See also Egon Wolff and Frieda Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico: Judaizantes e Judeus no Brasil, 1500–1808*, I (Rio de Janeiro: do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 1986), 22. I am grateful to one of the anonymous readers for this important reference.

⁵⁴de Mello, *Gente da Nação*, 54.

⁵⁵“Naturalization of David Alvarez (1678),” 1B/11/1/7 fol. 99, The Jamaica Archives and Records Department (JA), Spanish Town, Jamaica.

⁵⁶On denization in the British Atlantic see Jessica Roitman, “Creating Confusion in the Colonies: Jews, Citizenship, and the Dutch and British Atlantic,” *Itinerario*, 36 no. 2 (2012): 55–78, 60; Holly Snyder, “English Markets, Jewish Merchants, and Atlantic Endeavors: Jews and the Making of British Transatlantic Commercial Culture, 1650–1800” in *Atlantic Diasporas*, 50–74; and see also, James Homer Williams, “An Atlantic Perspective on the Jewish Struggle for Rights and Opportunities in Brazil, New Netherlands, and New York,” in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West*, 369–393.

⁵⁷“Tombstone of David Baruh Alvares (1692),” Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*, 13 no. 64. Both the English and Spanish epitaphs cite the date of his death as 8 November 1692. The day of his death on the Hebrew epitaph appears as 9 Kislev 5452, which would correspond to 30 November 1691 (ה'תנ"ב = 5452 = 1691). The Spanish epitaph repeats the erroneous 5452 Hebrew date. Barnett and Wright therefore read the year as ה'תנ"ג = 5453 = 1692, which is the correct year but the incorrect transcription. Also, as a result of this “correction,” David’s Hebrew day of death became 18 November 1692, the date that Barnett and Wright privilege as the actual day. Certainly the correct date is 8 November 1692, as it appears twice in both the English and Spanish—languages much better known among the presumably London-based stonemasons than Hebrew.

⁵⁸“Naturalization of Rachel Alvarez (1696),” 1B/11/1/12 fol. 277, JA, Spanish Town, Jamaica. On the public role of Spanish-Portuguese women in the Western Sephardic Diaspora see Tirtsah Levie Bernfeld, “Sephardi Women in Holland’s Golden Age” in *Sephardi Family Life in the Early Modern Diaspora*, ed. Julia R. Lieberman (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2011), 177–222. For the public role of white widows in colonial Jamaica see Trevor Burnard, “Inheritance and Independence: Women’s Status in Early Colonial Jamaica,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 48 no. 1 (1991): 93–114. And see Lucille Mathurin Mair, *A Historic Study of Women in Jamaica, 1655–1844*, ed. Hilary McD. Beckles and Verene A. Shepherd (Kingston, JA: The University of the West Indies Press, 2006), 149–189.

⁵⁹“Tombstone of Rachel Baruh Alvares (1720),” Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*, 9 no. 35.

⁶⁰“Naturalization of Abraham Alvarez (1684),” 1B/11/1/10a fol. 74, JA, Spanish Town, Jamaica.

⁶¹“Land Patent of Abraham Alvares (1685),” 1B/11/1/10a fols. 182–183, JA, Spanish Town, Jamaica.

⁶²“Tombstone of Abraham Baruh Alvares (1693),” Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*, 13 no. 62. Like his father’s tombstone, there are inconsistencies in the dating between the Spanish, English, and Hebrew epitaphs. Both the English and Spanish cite the date as 22 February 1693. In Hebrew the date is displayed as 26 Adar I ה'תנ"ג = 5453 = 4 March 1693. The Spanish epitaph repeats this day, and Barnett and Wright privilege it as the correct day. Again, it is my view that the Spanish and English are more reliable than the Hebrew and therefore take 22 February 1693 to be the true day of Abraham’s death. Abraham records the day that he drafted his will as 12 Adar 5453 = 18 February 1693, which would be consistent with either the February or March dates.

⁶³*ha-yakir[.] zaken[.] nihbad[.] u-nesu'a[]panim*. On sepulchral art and epitaphic convention in the Western Sephardic Diaspora see Michael Studemund-Halévy, “The Persistence of Images: Reproductive Success in the History of Sephardi Sepulchral Art” in *The Dutch Intersection: The Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History*, ed. Yosef Kaplan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 123–147.

⁶⁴“Tombstone of Moses de Lucena (1692),” Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*, 6 no. 17.

⁶⁵For the early history of nonoperative freemasonry see David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland’s Century, 1590–1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1988). The symbol of a crossed pickax and shovel appears often in the eighteenth-century iconography of freemasonry; see examples in W. Kirk MacNulty, *Freemasonry: Symbols, Secrets, Significance* (London: Thomas & Hudson, 2006), 84, 98, 202.

⁶⁶On the Jewish involvement in early nonoperative freemasonry in the Americas see Samuel Oppenheim, “The Jews in Freemasonry in the United States before 1810,” *PAJHS* 19 (1910): 9–11; David S. Katz, *Sabbath and Sectarianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1988), 161–162; and Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002), 547.

⁶⁷For more on Jewish mysticism and messianism in the colonial Americas and its relationship to sepulchral art see Laura Arnold Leibman, *Messianism, Secrecy and Mysticism: A New Interpretation of Early American Jewish Life* (London and Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2012), 123–180.

⁶⁸Taylor’s full description is found in Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687*, 297–305. It is also found in Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 151–154.

⁶⁹Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687*, 303. Emphasis mine.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹For a description of the symbol of shovel and its association with Royal Arch freemasonry see Albert G. Mackey, *A Lexicon of Freemasonry* (London: Richard Griffin & Company, 1860), “Royal Arch,” 298–301 and “Shovel,” 317. Here the shovel is described as “One of the working tools of a Royal Arch Mason. The working tools of this degree are the crow, pickaxe and shovel.”

⁷²Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687*, 238, 284.

⁷³“*ish zadik v-yashar[,] pizer natan le’evyonim[,] hod ve-hadar po’alo u-zidkato ‘omedet le-’ad.*” This transliteration is based on the tombstone itself, since there are errors in the Hebrew epitaph as it appears in Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*.

⁷⁴For tombstone iconographic convention in the Puritan Atlantic and English mortuary tradition—particularly the “triumph of death” and “symbols of resurrection”—see Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650–1815* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), 77–109.

⁷⁵See for instance *takanot me-ha-hevrah kadisha gemilut basadim* (Amsterdam, 1742), RB140 Box 2:5, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, New York.

⁷⁶“Tombstone of Esther Baruh Alvares (1690),” Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*, 15 no. 74.

⁷⁷See Snyder, “English Markets,” 53–54.

⁷⁸“Memorandum of the Jews of Jamaica (August, 1692),” CO 137/2, 112 ii, TNA, Kew, England. See also Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 282 n. 35.

⁷⁹On the trading profile of Jews in the colonial English Atlantic see Snyder, “English Markets,” 50–74.

⁸⁰“Census of Port Royal (1680),” CO 1/45, 102, TNA, Kew, England.

⁸¹*Ibid.* Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 186.

⁸²Barnett and Wright, eds., *Jews of Jamaica*, 15 no. 74, “*ha-’isha ha-zenu’ah ve-ha-nikhbedet.*”

⁸³Trevor Burnard, “European Migration to Jamaica, 1655–1780,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 53 no. 4 (1996): 769–796, 792. For more on the West Indies as a

community of white transient sojourners rather than permanent settlers see Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 3–33.

⁸⁴Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 136.

⁸⁵Burnard, "European Migration," 772. See also Robert V. Wells, *The Population of the British Colonies in America Before 1776: A Survey of Census Data* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 201.

⁸⁶For the fear of "clandestine marriage" in the Castilian Americas see Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts Over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), 96–157. For the English context see Eve Tavor Bannet, "The Marriage Act of 1753: 'A Most Cruel Law for the Fair Sex,'" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 30 no. 3 (1997): 233–254.

⁸⁷For the fear of "clandestine marriage" among the Jews of Amsterdam see Yosef Kaplan, "The Threat of Eros in Eighteenth-Century Sephardi Amsterdam," in *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 280–300. See also Matt Goldish, "Passion at the Periphery: The Contexts of a Clandestine Converso Conjunction," *Zutor* 1 (2001): 124–132. For communal regulations against "clandestine marriage" in Curaçao see Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews* II, 565, 578–579, 602, 611.

⁸⁸See Stanley Mirvis, "Sephardic Family Life in the Eighteenth-Century British West Indies," doctoral dissertation, The Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 2013, 66–71. For converso marriage patterns see Haim Beinart, "The Conversos in Spain and Portugal in the 16th and 18th Centuries," in *Moresbet Sepharad: The Sephardi Legacy* II, ed. Haim Beinart (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992), 60; see also David M. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 244–246.

⁸⁹On consanguine marriage in England at the start of the eighteenth century see Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Academic Press, 1978), 18–33. Compare to the figures in Mirvis, "Sephardic Family Life," 71–76.

⁹⁰Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea*, 76.

⁹¹On the history of the Jews in France during the early modern period see Gérard Nahon, "From New Christians to the Portuguese Jewish Nation in France," in *Moresbet Sepharad: The Sephardi Legacy* II, 336–364.

⁹²Gérard Nahon, "The Portuguese Jewish Nation of Saint-Esprit-Lès-Bayonne: The American Dimension," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West*, 255–267.

⁹³See David Graizbord, "Becoming Jewish in Early Modern France: Documents on Jewish Community Building in Seventeenth-Century Bayonne and Peyrehorade," *Journal of Social History* 40 no. 1 (2006): 147–180.

⁹⁴Nahon, "From New Christians," 343. For an example of Jewish attempts to openly proselytize the Judeoconverso population of early modern France see the Spanish letter of Immanuel Aboab in Cecil Roth, "Immanuel Aboab's Proselytization of the Marranos: From an Unpublished Letter," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 23 no. 2 (1932): 121–162, esp. 143.

⁹⁵Listed in order probated: “Will of David Alvares (1693),” lib. 7 fol. 130, Island Records Office (IRO), Twickenham, Jamaica; SC-234, American Jewish Archives (AJA), Cincinnati, OH. “Will of Joseph Dacosta Alvarenga (1700),” lib. 9 fol. 102 IRO; SC-233 AJA. “Will of Joseph Ydana (1706),” lib. 11 fol. 37, IRO; SC-13279 AJA. “Will of David Lopes Narbona (1707),” lib. 11 fol. 77, IRO; SC-8675, AJA. “Will of Moses Yeshurn Cardoso (1726),” lib. 17 fol. 104, IRO; SC-1609, AJA.

⁹⁶Joseph Dacosta Alvarenga to London; David Alvares and Moses Yeshurun Cardoso to Bayonne.

⁹⁷Some wills mention more than one connection to the broader Diaspora.

⁹⁸“Will of Moses Yeshurun Cardoso (1726),” lib. 17 fol. 104, IRO, Twickenham, Jamaica; SC-1609, AJA, Cincinnati, OH.

⁹⁹“Will of Jacob Yeshurun Cardoso (1752),” lib. 28 fol. 227, IRO, Twickenham, Jamaica. Will not included in the collection of the AJA.

¹⁰⁰On Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna see, Meyer Kayserling, “The Jews in Jamaica and Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 12 no. 4 (1900): 708–717. See also Ronnie Perelis, “Daniel Israel López Laguna’s ‘*Espejo fiel de vidas*’ and the Ghosts of Marrano Autobiography” in *The Jews in the Caribbean*, 319–328. And see Ruth Fine, “Los Psalmos de David de Daniel Israel López Laguna,” *Caliope: Journal of the Society for Renaissance and Baroque Hispanic Society* 17, no. 1 (2011): 177–197.

¹⁰¹“Will of Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna (1723),” lib. 16 fol. 32, IRO, Twickenham, Jamaica; SC-6566, AJA, Cincinnati, OH.

¹⁰²“Will of Diego Luis Gonsales (1726),” lib. 17 fol. 94, IRO, Twickenham, Jamaica; SC-4140, AJA, Cincinnati, OH.

¹⁰³The transcription and translation of the wills of David and Abraham Baruh Alvares are based on the original documents found in the collection of the IRO. The AJA holds typescript transcriptions of both wills and a partial translation of David’s wills (no translation was made of Abraham’s). Both transcriptions of these complicated texts in the AJA contain considerable errors in the Spanish, and the partial translation of David’s will is in many parts incorrect. In transcribing the wills I have attempted to interfere with the original text as little as possible. I have, however, made a few interventions to make them more accessible to Spanish readers: I have separated the many fused words (typical of period), spelled out abbreviated words, added some punctuation, applied my own line spacing, and added accents where necessary. I have also not kept the arbitrary capitalizations of words as they appear in the original document, and I have underlined the names of individuals in both the transcription and translation for ease of comparison. I have intervened more in the English translations to make them as idiomatic as possible. I am deeply grateful to James Nelson Novoa, Ronnie Perelis, and Ioram Melcer, who reviewed these transcriptions.

¹⁰⁴“Will of David Baruh Alvares (1693),” composed 20 November 1687 and probated 25 April 1693. Lib. 7 fol. 130, IRO, Twickenham, Jamaica. SC-234, AJA, Cincinnati, OH.

¹⁰⁵Appears in the original as “Y.”

¹⁰⁶Appears in the original as “M^d.”

¹⁰⁷“*Tornesas*” refers to a form of early modern French currency.

¹⁰⁸The implication here is that the hundred pounds for living expenses should be rolled into Abraham’s inheritance if David’s wife and sister die before using it.

¹⁰⁹“Will of Abraham Baruh Alvares (1693),” composed 8 February 1692 and probated 23 August 1693. Lib. 4 fol. 171, IRO, Twickenham, Jamaica; SC-234, AJA, Cincinnati, OH.

¹¹⁰“*Pebicha*.” I have translated this as “youngest,” though the meaning in Spanish is unclear.

¹¹¹Presumably referring to Ishak de Aguilar.