

JEWS IN COLONIAL NEW YORK
From Recife to the Revolution:
Footprints to the Future

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It was a day in early September, perhaps the seventh. The sun reflected brightly off the North River later called the Hudson.

Strangers, perhaps four men and their wives, two other women, and thirteen children crossed the plank to shore disembarking at Pearl Street, a narrow ribbon of road paved with shiny oyster shells that ran along the shore line. They could not help noticing the other ships in the harbor and the laborers loading and unloading barrels and crates filled with spices, grains, oak timber and hickory, and most valuable of all, skins, beaver, otter, wildcat and rat. Summer's breath, hot and moist was evident in clusters of asters, goldenrods and Queen Ann's lace that dotted small patches of wild grass. Shorebirds, seal gulls and mallards pecked for tidbits of fallen grain along the sandy shore. Stumps indicated where pine, cedar, beech and maple trees previously towered. Squirrels, furry and fat, filled with summer's bounty ran among the surviving oak trees in a final frantic search for overlooked acorns.

The strangers, unencumbered by baggage or possessions moved easily away from the shore passing a wood and sod dilapidated fort built thirty years earlier, and then a grist mill with two vanes in similar disrepair. To the right, preparation was on the way for the construction of Whitehall, where the governor and his family would live. Nearby stood a squat, stone building with a short steeple which congregants called the Old Church. Perhaps the twenty three noticed the reverend in black robe who noticed them. The City Hall, previously a tavern, an adjacent jail and gallows admonished all travelers that orderly conduct was expected.

As the strangers continued the population became denser and noisier. Perhaps, a cooper and carpenter shared a shop next to a smithy. A grog shop, a bakery, a tinker's hovel and a candlestick maker's home lined another lane, next to a glassmaker and a fishmonger. The lane continued with a purveyor of hooks and kettles, then a duffel maker who sewed coarse sacks later stuffed with spices, fruits and dried fish, perfect for repeated trips across the sea. Ice skates and bed warmers were available at another shop. A farmer hawked from a produce stand brimming with fruits and seasonal vegetables. This was a muscular town, a man's town. Groups of them hauled crates, dug ditches, sawed planks of wood, unloaded grain into warehouses, and carried cargo to and from ships in the harbor. Some were indentured servants serving six years for the price of passage. Marriage could free men and women of the obligated time and provide them with a patch of land for farming, and full rights as colonizers. Black men and women - free and slave worked among the crowd. A careful eye spotted profiteers, speculators and adventurers looking for a quick dollar. Just ahead on wedges of gravel and sand, between uneven muddy lanes, industrious women in starched white aprons washed and powdered low stoops leading to yellow brick houses. One of the women was a midwife. Their daughters were at Maiden Pond, a favorite laundering spot. Pigs became apparent everywhere, running in the muddy lanes to open pits overflowing with rotting garbage.

This was a Dutch town, actually an incorporated city of eight hundred, based on Dutch jurisprudence.¹ The language of the street was Dutch, the ships in the harbor sailed back and forth to Holland and Dutch colonies. The parent governing body, the Dutch West India Co. had its office in Amsterdam. The only public religious worship permitted was the Calvinist - Dutch Reform church.² But if our group listened attentively they could have distinguished more than a dozen languages in which the townspeople chatted, bartered, bought, sold, loaned and borrowed, cheated and politicked. Here and there another group of people, exotic and strange appeared. Indians who spoke totally unintelligible languages. Yes, this was a Dutch town, but willing to accommodate other voices. Our strangers, refugees from Recife, Brazil, were not uncomfortable with crowds or the sounds of commerce and traffic in New Amsterdam: they were accustomed to city life.

At this point, after walking only five hundred yards the group of twenty three was stopped by a wall, a stockade fence, that ran the width of New Amsterdam and defined the northern border of the settlement. Beyond the wall, a path well tread by years of Indian foot traffic, led the way to the grassy hills of Manahatta, to dense apple and pear orchards, vast meadows, boweries or farms, coastal inlets filled with cod, oysters and clams, forests of chestnut, poplar and pine, reedy swamps and marshes. Natural resources staggering to the imagination, waiting to be harvested for profit and comfort. The adventurous could travel the footpath and then head west to sparsely populated Noor Twyck, later renamed Greenwich Village, or continue north to Harlem, a ghost town on that September afternoon but soon to be a thriving suburb. To the east, just across the river, was a flat, broad stretch of land called Breukenlan and, beyond that, Der Lange Eyland. To the south, Shtaten Eyland, named after the States General.

This was not a land of milk and honey, barley and figs occupied by giants. This was a port city, a seventeenth century company town whose sole communal purpose was to make money through the exploitation of natural resources and commerce. No folks, this wasn't the Promised Land but for now it would do.

The seventeenth century was a time of globalization, vast exploration, immigration and cutthroat economic competition. France, Holland, England and Spain sailed the seas, each seeking dominance, each establishing colonies to support their economic ambitions. Pirates and profiteers sailed in the wake of navies. Imagine, a few weeks journey to the riches of New World! It is important to realize that events in the New Worlds that were being discovered and settled were inspired by the rivalries and alliances of the competing European powers. Wars may have been declared in Amsterdam, Portugal or London but combatants died in Brazil and Montreal. Notwithstanding that Jews were politically stateless and dispersed, like all peoples they were caught up in the tides of superpower politics, sometimes as victims, sometimes as power brokers.

For example: Jews crossed the border to Portugal to escape the Inquisition. A few years later as part of a deal, King Manuel agreed to Spanish demands that Jews be exiled. On second thought, he realized this would negatively affect the economy and decided that forced conversion was the answer. You all know the story, many Jews converted, became New Christians, some secretly continuing Jewish observance as best they could. Others left to North Africa, the middle east and the Portuguese colonies where the Inquisition was not in effect and governors were less concerned with their crypto practices. This short period of relative respite enjoyed by the New Christians in Brazil was ripped asunder after Spain convinced Portugal to accept Spanish dominance including introducing the Inquisition to its colonies.

In Europe, Amsterdam was the preferred city. Why Holland? For one, Holland was not Catholic, two, Holland was at war with Spain. Besides, Holland was on the cutting edge of technology, exploration and trade. It was also on the cutting edge of new social contracts encouraged by such philosophers as Hugo Grotius and Rene DesCartes.³ Tolerance became politically correct. To tolerate was not to interfere with, or, stated in the positive, to allow different expressions of belief and custom or appearance without endorsing or embracing them.

Some New Christians shed their forced identities. Men endured circumcision, women koshered pots, and forged a lively Jewish community. Some Jews worked as craftsmen, most as merchants, a few as financiers, international traders. doctors, printers, scholars and international traders.

In 1630, Holland, in its war effort against Spain and Portugal attacked Portuguese colonies in Brazil. They were successful in the province of Pernambuco on the north Atlantic rim, the city of Recife north of Rio de Janeiro. Shortly after, Dutch businessmen including Jews arrived in the tropics. In fifteen years fifteen hundred Jews settled there, almost half of the city's European population. That number also included previously arrived New Christians from Portugal, several Jews from Italy, Turkey and a few from eastern Europe who also sensed opportunity in the New World. They crowded into the Rua dos Judeos - the Street of the Jews. There was money to be made in the sugar industry. Slaves and low paid Indians toiled on the plantations, sugar was exported to Holland where it was refined and sold to willing markets. Jew were also valued as tax farmers and, whether we like it or not, some become involved in the slave trade.⁴ They established a synagogue, Kahal Zur Yisrael where they worshipped openly and sent for Rabbi Aboub Isaac De Fonseca from Amsterdam. The extant minute book of the congregation lists *escamot*, synagogue by laws, written in Portuguese and Ladino, included a membership committee, election procedures, assignment of seats' distribution of *aliyot*, and support of the indigent and other areas of religious and communal life. A school was established which included *gemora* for older boys, and also a cemetery. Two smaller synagogues were established in the suburbs. Co territorialists may not have loved this open demonstration of *Yiddishkeit*, but the operative word was tolerance. There is another operative word: profit.

It took about ten years for the Portuguese to regroup and recapture Recife. Portuguese ascendancy included the Inquisition as eager as ever to uproot the "scandal of Christianity" that is, the synagogue.⁵ The Dutch resisted, relying on the Dutch West India Company to send soldiers and weapons which arrived too little and too late. The Jews of Recife did not hesitate, they responded vigorously with money and armed resistance. After all, they were Dutchmen. There was a price to pay for tolerance. Listen to a primary source:

" Many of the Jewish immigrants were killed by the enemy; Many died of starvation. Those who were accustomed to delicacies were glad to be able to satisfy their hunger with dry bread; soon they could not obtain this . They were in want of everything and were preserved alive as if by a miracle."⁶

The battles endured for nine years before the Dutch surrendered in 1654. The terms of treaty were benevolent. Dutch residents could continue to live in Recife and do business. In recognition of Jewish valor to the States General, the departing Dutch governor petitioned the Portuguese not to persecute them. Jews were permitted to remain unharmed for three months while they made plans to leave on ships, at no cost, provided by the Portuguese governor. New Christians who wished to remain would be required to face the renewed vigor of the Inquisition. The message was chilling and the exodus began. Most returned to Amsterdam including Rabbi de Fonseca who join the Bet Din that excommunicated Baruch Spinoza. Others went to neighboring Dutch colonies. Our group of twenty-three were among the last to leave in the dwindling days of amnesty. Another primary source:

“And it came to pass in the year 5414 that the Portuguese came back to Brazil and from the Hollanders took their land by force. And God had compassion on his people granted them favor and grace and all the people went down to the sea in sixteen vessels, many old and rickety.one of the ships captured en route by the Spaniards who resolved to take them to the Inquisition. Before they could carry out their design God rescued them out of the hands of those who had done violence to them and conducted them until they reached the end of the inhabited earth called New Netherland.....⁷

Three men paid particular attention to the Jews as they disembarked. Jacques de la Motte, captain of the Ste. Catherine, followed them across the plank. As just described, the voyage appears to have been prolonged by interception of a Spanish frigate and again by profiteers who stole most of their property leaving them with nine hundred guilders and their furniture. Along sailed Jacques de la Motte, who for the fantastic price of 2,500 guilders agreed to take the twenty-three to New Netherland. Upon arrival, de la Motte who was unwilling to wait for the money due him to arrive from Holland demanded full payment and sued. Enter interested party number two - Solomon Pietersen, a Jew recently arrived from Holland. At court, Pietersen acted as the group's attorney. He agreed that the “twenty-three - big and little must pay equally.” for the entire fee.⁸ The court decided that Jewish possessions be sold at market toward payment in addition to the nine hundred dollars in cash. However, the sale was delayed a few days to giving them, big and little, an opportunity for Rosh Hashana observance. Asser Levy was among those whose furniture and possessions were seized. Pietersen returned to court with the Jews including Levy who told the judges that there was no more money: a deal was made, two Jews were arrested and remained in jail until the balance of the debt was received from Holland.

The third observer: a man described as cold, crotchety, cantankerous, ornery, angry, narrow minded, *farbissen* (bitter) and *aingespat* (stubborn) not above bribing and being bribed, autocratic and tyrannical, the governor-general of New Netherlands, Peter Stuyvesant. In response to a demand for reforms in New Netherlands, he countered ...”We derive our authority from God and the Company, not from ignorant subjects.” He viewed representative and popular will as unruly demonstrations of a mob.

There was another side to him. He was a dedicated and loving husband and father, a patriot, brave soldier, more than competent military strategist, concerned about the education of children, attempted to alleviate drunkenness in the colony, worked to foster commerce and stimulate the economy, a shrewd but sometimes easily duped diplomat.

He has also been called an anti Semite. You all know the story of his attempts to bar the twenty-three from settling. At first he “deemed it useful to require them in a friendly way to depart.” Unsuccessful at his attempts for voluntary departure, he turned to Holland. Letters went back and forth. He offered every excuse, religious and otherwise. They are “hateful enemies and blasphemers of Christ,” who would add additional burdens during the winter, corrupt the populace, undercut competitors and “infect”... the colony.” While Jews may have been distinguished for their alleged economic duplicities, all religions shared Stuyvesant’s religious wrath. In a letter to the Dutch West India Co. he warned that allowing Jews to settle would signal acceptance to Papists and Lutherans. He seemed to hold Quakers in particular contempt.

His superiors in Amsterdam sent mixed messages. They agreed that “the new territories no more be allowed to be infected by people of the Jewish nation,” but they could settle in New Amsterdam provided they remained economically self sufficient. Tolerance, grudgingly extended.

The twenty-three settled in . Without benefit of precedent or experience it became their chore to establish a communal structure and organization which would foster the development of a common identity through shared traditions, ideals and paradigms, while negotiating the social, economic, and historical contingencies of an evolving general society. I think a chronological or linear presentation of events and personalities, a few quotes along with a little analysis will keep the afternoon mellow and give us insight to how the colonial Jews encountered these tasks.

1654 By the time the twenty-three arrived Stuyvesant was in the seventh year of an unpopular governorship. On both sides of the Atlantic critics called for his removal. Notwithstanding the hurly-burly commercial activity New Amsterdam critics assailed his economic and political policies citing the colonies failed efforts to attract settlers.⁹

1655 Jews requested permission to establish a cemetery. The request was denied and also a request to trade outside of the city between Connecticut and New Sweden.

Abraham de Lucena opened his shop during the preaching of the Sunday sermon. His license was revoked and he was fined. This gave Stuyvesant an opportunity to write to the Dutch West India Co. that “Jewish liberty is detrimental because Christians cannot compete against them. De Lucena may have been among five men sent to the colony by the West India Co. to stimulate business. It was De Lucina who brought a Torah scroll to New Amsterdam. This indicates that there were at least ten Jewish men in New Amsterdam. Services were held in a private residence, public worship outside of the Dutch Reform Church was prohibited.

There was some good news the following year. Asser Levy appeared before the council to request permission to serve in the militia rather than pay a small tax in lieu of service. Stuyvesant’s defense blamed the “aversion and disaffection of this militia to be fellow by the Jewish nation. He was overruled and Asser Levy took his place at the wall.

After a second appeal, Jews were given the right to establish a cemetery. And, the prohibition against doing business outside of the city was rescinded by the company in New Amsterdam . Jews were now free to enter the lucrative fur trade.

1658 A Lutheran minister in the settlement of Vlissingen, known to us as Flushing, across the East River, and some “women on account of their evil life, “ and a few Quakers were banished from the settlement. The folk of Flushing took the notion of tolerance seriously and responded with what has become known as the Flushing Remonstrance which said:

“We desire not to be judged neither to be condemned, rather to let each man stand and fall to his own Master. The law of love, peace, and liberty extends to Jews, Turks and Egyptians, as they are considered to be the sons of Adam.” ¹⁰

1660 Asser Levy, already a tavern owner is given a license as butcher. He is excluded from dealing in hogs. Abraham de Lucena and his Torah returned to Amsterdam.

The English came in 1664, established British hegemony on the Atlantic coast, and retired Stuyvesant to his bowerie. Stuyvesant had brokered a few diplomatic coups with the English colonial governors but did not realize that English flattery and hospitality were a ruse for a takeover. Retaining New Netherlands was a lost cause, there was almost no Dutch resistance. In three days the city returned to normal. One Jew encouraged peaceful Dutch acquiescence, Asser Levy. Why only Levy? Records do not list another male Jew. Stuyvesant couldn't be too upset about Levy's position, his son Balthazaar publicly supported a peaceful surrender.

Articles of Capitulation were signed granting freedom of conscience to all inhabitants of New York. This did not allow the right to public worship, but it did allow all groups to worship as they chose, Jews too.

1670 Collections are made for the construction of the Lutheran Church. Asser Levy is listed as a contributor. The following year he was the first Jew in colonial New York to serve on a jury trial. Two years later the Dutch recaptured the colony for a year, No major changes were made, business went on.

1682 There was still no formal synagogue in New York but religious services were held at a private house rented from a shoemaker on Beaver St. between Broadway and Broad. Asser Levy dies.

In the last year of the seventeenth century , the wall across Manhattan came down. There were about fourteen Jewish families in the city.

In the first year of the eighteenth century there were no restrictions to Jews practicing crafts, retail and trade. No special permission, no special tax were required. However, they were not permitted to hold public office.

1720 There are more Ashkenazi Jews in New York than Sephardim.

1730 Jews have been granted right to public worship: Kahal Shearith Israel opens for Pesach worship. The synagogue on Jew Alley, more formally known as Mill Street, presently the garage on 22-24 South William Street, was 35 feet wide and 58 feet long with a blue brick front façade, There was an adjacent *mikvah*. The following year a *succah* and a house for the congregation's school teacher were added.

For the next one hundred years, Shearith Israel was the only synagogue show in town. The adjuncta, the governing board, ascribed to itself powers and responsibilities associated with the *kehilla*, such as assignment of a slaughterer and supervision of *kashruth* and operating the *mikveh*, performing marriages and arranging for burials and distributing charity. It also censured Jews including those who lived outside of the city whose behavior it considered inappropriate, Desecrators of Shabbat and the High Holidays and those who flagrantly disregarded dietary laws risked a high fine, public censure and even the threat of *cherem*, excommunication.

1740 was a watershed year. England agreed to a Colonial Naturalization Act which allowed Jews and Christians other than Anglicans who lived peacefully in the colony for seven years to become citizens. Jews were excused from the Sacramental Oath which required reciting the phrase “upon the faith of Christ.” We came a long way.

So did Phila Franks, daughter of Shearith Israel’s president Jacob and Abigail. She eloped with Oliver DeLancey, a next door neighbor, and kept the marriage secret for six months, Abigail was a precursor of the acculturated Jewish woman. She was a rigorously religious matron who advised her children to eat only bread and butter when confronted with issues of *kashrus*. She was also well educated, refined, enjoyed the friendships of Christian friends including the governor of New York in whose home she was invited to dine.¹¹ Abigail, embarrassed and shaken fled the city and wrote to her son that she wished she could leave New York forever.¹² Despite numerous appeals from Oliver she refused to meet him or see Phila. Father Jacob was easier to reconcile, explaining that colonial society was too limited to avoid intermarriage. Perhaps, as many as ten to fifteen percent of New York’s Jews agreed.¹³

Within the next ten years English replaced Portuguese for record keeping at Shearith Israel. Shortly after, services were translated into English, because “Hebrew,” it was explained, “being imperfectly understood by many, by some not at all, it has become necessary to translate our prayers in the language of our country wherein it has pleased the divine Providence to appoint us.” The translator did make certain to include that the liturgy was written “according to the Order of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews.” There is no synagogue records of controversy about this decision,

1748 A Christian visitor to the city observed that Jews “enjoy all the privileges common to other inhabitants.” This included owning shops, property and ships. He was also informed that Jews “never boil meat on Saturday...in winter they kept a fire during the whole Saturday.... They commonly ate no pork, yet when they travel especially younger men eat anything.”¹⁴

In 1768, Gershom Mendes Seixas was appointed as *Chazzan* of Shearith Israel, just in time for the Revolution. Soon, Jews like other colonists would have to decide where to place loyalty, as Tories to England or Whigs to the colonial cause. No easy decision.

There was good reason to support the king. Notwithstanding New York's heterogeneous population the city was a loyalist settlement. It would not be easy living with neighbors who considered Jews as traitors and strangers. After all, Jews had been permitted to return to England more than one hundred years earlier, where they worshipped openly. In New York City they could not hold public office but they were considered citizens who enjoyed free and open discourse with Christian neighbors. Why risk this status?

On the other hand, the British Navigation Acts affected Jews as they did other colonists and the lofty language of the Declaration of Independence and the revolution resonated strongly. Finally, they were living in New York, not London. Most of the Jews living in the city supported the rebellion.¹⁵ Perhaps, what was most significant was the comfort of choice.

Congregation Shearith Israel turned to prayer for guidance. "O Lord: the God of our Fathers... may it be please Thee, to put it in the heart of our Sovereign Lord, George the Third, and in the hearts of his Councillors to turn away their fierce wrath from against North America. And to destroy the wicked devices of our enemies..."¹⁶

With reference to Concord and Lexington they prayed, for "an everlasting peace between Great Britain and the colonies and that ...no more blood be shed in these countries." Most of New York's Jews chose the colonial position and followed the *Chazzan* to Philadelphia, a safer city for rebels.

Meanwhile in 1777, New York State's Constitution made it crystal clear. There would be "free exercise and enjoyment of religion for all mankind."

In the same year a German officer who fought in the Revolution wrote that Jews "cannot be told, like those in our country by their beards and costumes, but are dressed like all other citizens... shave regularly...Women have their hair dressed and wear French finery with other women."

1783 Haym Solomon, in a letter advised his uncle not to immigrate to America. There is "*venig Yiddishkeit*", he explained.¹⁷

Chazzan Seixas returned to New York in 1784 where he was one of the fourteen clergyman to officiate at Washington's inauguration. True, he was the last listed on the program, below the Baptist minister, but listed he was as Minister to the Jewish Congregation in this City." Just another religious group.

Seixas went on to be appointed as a regent of Columbia University and trustee of the Humane Society.

At about the same time, Michael Myers, a prestigious Jewish silversmith was elected as president of the Silversmith Society of New York. His work featured Jewish and Christian ritual items.

Jews accommodated to Blue Laws passed in 1787 at financial loss but also contributed to a Christian cemetery that collapsed.

1791 The Bill of Rights is ratified. Another Bill of Rights was adopted at about the same time at Shearith Israel. Its language was remarkably similar to the preamble of the United States' Constitution, with notions of democracy, consent of the governed and individual determination.¹⁸ It begins with:

“Whereas in free states all power originates and is derived from the people , who always retain every right necessary for their well being.”

The Bill went on to describe each Jew as a brother and made it easier for the average congregant to hold synagogue office.

The Trustees of the synagogue recognized that in the future its authority would be subordinated to voluntary affiliation and adherence to its traditions.

Finally, two journals kept at sea:

July 4, 1794, Isaac Levy and a businessman partner sailing en route to Calcutta.

“This being the Fourth anniversary of American independence we kept it as was becoming American citizens.”¹⁹

The following Passover, another Jewish voyager wrote,

“In this being the first anniversary day of *Pesach*, Mr. Moses and I kept it with the strictness as much as possible on board a ship. God send we may spend the next one in New York.”²⁰

The Dutch tenure in Manhattan lasted only ten years after Stuyvesant's initial rebuff. While other constituents of the colony were not entirely inclusive or welcoming they were driven by Dutch concepts of tolerance, accepting others in order to secure the stability of the colony by assuring its financial success. This impetus not only survived the English takeover but continued through the English pre revolutionary period. Kings, royal governors and trading companies learned that subordinating religious and cultural differences to commercial interests assured enriched treasuries. There were times when New York's population and importance were eclipsed by other cities. But the city seemed intent on its mission and its continued acceptance of immigrants helped to fulfill it.

The revolution, and the ideals of equality before the law, democracy and secularism that it generated, purged the city of its Tory sympathies. The Constitution neither encouraged or discouraged religion. Religious societies were free to flourish without formal recognition by the government, without the civic endorsement of a chief rabbi or *kehilla* to enforce internal Jewish affairs. The pioneer spirit fed notions of individualism and a liberalization of society, a society where individual accomplishments were championed. Jews of New York were as much a part of this enterprise as anyone else. They embraced these patterns of change, internalized them and gave new forms to their communal organization, reworked traditions and produced new interpretations of Jewish expression.

Set against this frame of reference Jews entered the emerging American society. Before the great towers of finance soared upward, back when the skyline was a couple of hundred cottages built near the water's edge, Asser Levy, Abraham de la Sina, Abigail Franks, Gershom Mendes Seixas and their peers pushed and tugged at the corners of the city's fabric. They were the initiators of a dialogue that has sought to negotiate a congruence between the economic, financial, social and political characteristics of the city and Jewish bi-cultural adaptability. There were some who had little interest in participating in this dialogue preferring to assimilate into the general culture. There are estimates that suggest only two thirds of the grandchildren descended from Jews living at the time of the Revolution remained Jewish. One did not have to convert; one could just not be Jewish.²¹ New York's Christians were not always interested in this dialogue either but they have come to enjoy the bagel, relish hot pastrami sandwiches and watch Jerry Seinfeld.

Throughout the past two centuries Jews came to New York in spurts, individually and in groups to continue the dialogue. How well did they succeed? Take a look around you, folks.

This article was originally presented as a lecture at Or Zarua on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the arrival of Jews in New York City.

¹ For a history of New Amsterdam see Russell Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World* (New York, 2004) and Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham*, (New York, 1998).

² Henry Feingold, *Zion in America* (New York, 1981) p.22

³ Shorto, pp 97-100.

⁴ Eli Faber, *Jews, Slaves and the Slave Trade*, (New York, 1998).

⁵ Attributed to Joao Fernandez Vieyra, cited in Joao Sedycias, *Straddling Two Worlds: The Sephardic Presence in Northeastern Brazil*, presented at the Annual Convention of the Modern Language Association (Chicago 1990).

⁶ Attributed to Rabbi Isaac Aboab de Fonseca, *Chapters in American Jewish History*, Chapter 82.

⁷ Saul Levi Montera, *Providencia de Dios Ysrael, Verdad y Eternidad de La Ley de Moseh y Nulidad de las Demas Leies*. See Arnold Wiznitzer, "The Exodus From Brazil And Arrival In New Amsterdam Of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, 1654", *Publication Of The American Jewish Historical Society*, Nos. 1-4, September, 1954 to June, 1955, pp.97 and Samuel Oppenheim, "The Early History of the Jews in New York, 16654-16664, *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no18, pp 1-91.

⁸ David De Sola Poole, *An Old Faith In The New World*, (New York, 1955), p.10

⁹ Shorto, PP.191 - 254.

¹⁰ Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York pp. 412-413.

¹¹ Faber, *A Time For Planting: The First Migration 1654 - 1820*, (Baltimore 1992) p.85

¹² Jacob R. Marcus, ed., *On Love, Marriage, Children,,,And Death Too*, (Cincinnati, 1965), pp.5-7.

¹³ Henry Feingold, *A Midrash On American Jewish History*, Albany, 1982, p.6, pp.5-7.

¹⁴ Hyman B. Grinstein, *The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York, 1654-1860* (Philadelphia, 1945) p. 132.

¹⁵ Feingold, *Zion in America*, p.36. Jacob Rader Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, v.2, (Philadelphia, 1953) p. 527 and Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew*, v 1-3, (Detroit, 1970).

¹⁶ Cited in Faber, *A Time For Planting*, p.104

¹⁷ Jonathan Sarna, *American Judaism*, Yale university Press, p. 102

¹⁸ De Poole Sola, pp. 260 - 264.

¹⁹ Faber, *A time for Planting*, p.2.

²⁰ Ibid., p.2

²¹ for a discussion of intermarriage during colonial and the Revolutionary period see Malcolm Stern, "The Functions of Genealogy in American Jewish History," *Essays in American Jewish History to Commemorate the tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Jewish Archives*, 1958.