

Miscellanies

OF THE

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND

PART I.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

SPOTTISWOODE, BALLANTYNE & CO. LTD.

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PREFACE.

THE present volume, which appears under the general description of *Miscellanies*, contains Notes and Documents which were not read at meetings of the Society. The contents vary considerably in length, from brief notes to extensive documents such as the full original text of the Northampton "Donum."

Members of the Society received all these *Miscellanies* in detail as they were printed, but they are now issued in volume form, with two indexes, chiefly of names. The same policy as in previous volumes has been adopted. Identical persons will sometimes be found (in each index) under different spellings. It has been found useful to those engaged in research to have these names so entered, even when they are obviously spelt inaccurately.

It is proposed to continue the *Miscellanies*, and to add to the collected 'Parts' from time to time.

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Miscellanies.

I.

The Bodleian Bowl.

IN a paper on the "Bodleian Bowl" (*Transactions*, vol. v. pp. 184-192), I inferred from a letter of Isaac Abendana (dated Oxford, October 9, 1696) that the famous inscribed vessel, now at the Bodleian, was "found in an old mote in Norfolk," and not, as had been previously assumed, on Tovey's authority, "in a small brook in Suffolk." Tovey's error led to the supposition that the bowl had belonged to the Jews of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk; this, again, induced the theory that the bowl was made in the twelfth century. The re-discovery of the true *provenance* of the bowl made it possible to revise this date and place the bowl in the thirteenth century, with further results explained in the paper cited above.

Further confirmation of the inference that the bowl was found in Norfolk is furnished in a book published in Cambridge in 1911. Our President, Dr. Stokes, kindly drew my attention to the volume, which is entitled *Cambridge under Queen Anne*. Among other contents, the book includes the diary of a visit paid to Cambridge by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach during the life-time of John Covell, Master of Christ's College, the first owner of the bowl. Uffenbach describes his visit to Covell on the afternoon of Saturday, August 2, 1710. Covell, he tells us, was over eighty, but still brisk. This, as the editor (Professor J. E. B. Mayor) remarks, is inaccurate, for Covell was only seventy-two or seventy-three at the time. Covell displayed several treasures, among them a view and ground-plan of Constantinople, "made by a Frenchman with the pen, with great labour, and not without great risk." The Frenchman, indeed, was forced to seek asylum with Covell, who was then in

Constantinople. Dr. Covel further introduced to Uffenbach "many very fine *codices hebraicos*, and among them in three voluminibus membr. in 4. biblia hebr. ante 300 annos scripta. It has indeed the vowel points but by a later hand. Such codices we find here and there."

Dr. Covel exhibited several other curiosities, including some texts from India, and then showed the bowl to his interested guest.

Afterwards Dr. Covel shewed us a fine *vas aeneum* with a hebrew inscription, found under ground in *Norfolk*. No one has yet been able to decypher the inscription owing to the numerous contractions. Mr. Dr. Covel believes that much money must have been found in it, as the man who dug it up, suddenly became rich. The vessel may contain two measures (p. 150).

For various theories as to the meaning of the inscription, the reader may refer to the *Transactions* as above cited.

It will be noted that Uffenbach adds a new point of some piquancy. The bowl, in Dr. Covel's opinion, contained treasure, which enriched its finder. Thus the story of the curious vessel grows in romance with every fresh mention of it.

I. ABRAHAMS.

March 1915.

2.

A Petition from Haslemere in 1753.

The following passage is taken from *Bygone Haslemere, a Short History of the Ancient Borough and its Immediate Neighbourhood from Earliest Times* (London, 1914), edited by E. W. Swanton, aided by P. Woods.

Concurrently with the manœuvres to oust the old members, much political feeling was engendered through the country by a Bill for the Naturalization of Jews. In the *General Evening Post* of December 8th to 11th, 1753, appears a letter of November 28th, addressed by forty-three Haslemere men to their Representatives, James Oglethorpe and Peter Burrell, Esquires, in which they laid before them the great inconvenience that would affect the free-holders of the Borough and the rest of the Kingdom by naturalizing the Jews. Whether or not it was mere party move, or dictated by honest motives, is not apparent (pp. 198-9).

The Bill "to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalised by Parliament and for other purposes therein mentioned" had become an Act of Parliament some months before the letter to which the foregoing extract refers was written. By the time the letter was published a Repeal Bill had been introduced into Parliament, and was well advanced towards the statute book. Oglethorpe, who was a supporter of the Naturalisation Bills, lost his seat in Parliament at the General Election of 1754. Twenty years previously he had shown his friendliness towards Jews in the matter of the colonisation of Georgia, of which he was the originator as well as being the first administrator of the Colony. He had hardly arrived in the Colony with the first batch of colonists when a shipload of Jews arrived, a large number of whom were practically destitute. Oglethorpe was at first at a loss to know what to do with them, but as under the Charters freedom of religious opinion and observance was guaranteed to all, with the exception of Papists, after a little consideration he incorporated the newcomers in the Colony. Oglethorpe's fellow-trustees at home took a very different view of the situation. They were determined not "to make a Jews' Colony of Georgia," and wrote instructing him to discourage any Jewish settlement, and by no means to allow Jews any share in the privileges of the colonists. Oglethorpe, however, ignored these instructions, and the part taken by Jews in the history of the Colony, from its very foundation, shows that in doing so he acted in its true interests. In the words of Mr. Leon Hühner, "To Oglethorpe belongs the credit that the Jewish settlers were allowed to remain. He retained them on his own responsibility. He sought to pacify the trustees by praising the industry of the newcomers, and giving a detailed account of the noble services of Dr. Nunez, one of the settlers, . . . whose generous ministering to the sick in the Colony had excited Oglethorpe's admiration." ("The Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of America*, vol. x. pp. 71 *et seq.*)

Oglethorpe was first returned for Haslemere in 1722. During his absence in Georgia he was again elected, and so retained the seat up to 1754. Thus, while he was befriending the Jewish settlers in Georgia, Oglethorpe was still a member of the English House of Commons.

ALBERT M. HYAMSON.

March 1915.

3.

Charles Dickens and Eliza Davis.

The originals of several letters from and to Charles Dickens on the subject of the novelist's Jewish characters are fully described, and in part printed, in the Catalogue of Messrs. Maggs Brothers, of 109 Strand, London, W.C. (No. 333 Spring 1915 Catalogue, item 93. £68.)

Some of the letters are published, and others alluded to, in *The Letters of Charles Dickens* (ed. 1880, vol. ii. pp. 204-5, 223, 280). But the account given of the originals in Messrs. Maggs' Catalogue enables us to realise the story much more clearly than before. The published *Letters* do not reveal the name of the "Jewish Lady," to whom, however, the editor of the *Letters* ascribes the novelist's creation of the character of Riah in *Our Mutual Friend*.

When Dickens left Tavistock Square in 1860 his house was transferred to Mr. James P. Davis. The wife of the new tenant addressed five letters to Dickens, and the latter wrote three answers. The first letter was written by Mrs. Davis, from Tavistock House, on June 22, 1863. She had previously corresponded with Dickens regarding the transfer of the house, and she was emboldened by his courtesy to address him on another subject. She complained of the character of Fagin, but added that while "Charles Dickens lives the author can justify himself or atone." Dickens replied, from Gad's Hill Place, on July 10: If the Jews were offended they must be "a far less sensible, a far less just, and a far less good-tempered people than I have always supposed them to be." Fagin was represented as a Jew, "because it unfortunately was true of the time to which that story [*Oliver Twist*] refers, that that class of criminal almost invariably *was* a Jew." Though conditions were unsatisfactory in several ways (see Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, ch. xxxiii.), Dickens would have found it impossible to justify, by statistics, so very sweeping a statement. Dickens explained, however, that Fagin is "called *the Jew*, not because of his religion, but because of his race." Moreover, it must be observed that "all the rest of the wicked dramatis personæ are Christians."

Mrs. Davis rightly disputes some of Dickens' facts in her reply of July 14. Very acute is her criticism that the wicked Christians in *Oliver Twist* are "contrasted with characters of good Christians," while "this poor, wretched Fagin stands alone as the Jew. . . . Perhaps we are over-sensitive, but are we not ever flayed?"

When the Jew Riah was introduced in number seven of *Our Mutual Friend*, Mrs. Davis again wrote to Dickens. Her letter bears date November 13, 1864. She expresses her admiration of the author for his obvious desire to show a higher Jewish type than Fagin. Mrs. Davis makes some comments on details of Dickens' treatment of Riah. It is, indeed, hard to understand how the novelist could have made some of the slips he did; Riah was no more a perfect picture from life than Fagin was. But Dickens took Mrs. Davis' criticism in very good part. On November 16 he wrote:

I have received your letter with great pleasure, and hope to be (as I have always been in my heart) the best of friends with the Jewish people. The error you point out to me [apparently the pronunciation of the divine name] had occurred to me—as most errors do to most people—when it was too late to correct it. But it will do no harm. The peculiarities of dress and manner are fixed together for the sake of picturesqueness.

On February 8, 1867, Mrs. Davis sent Dickens a copy of the Hebrew Bible, with the inscription:

Presented to Charles Dickens, Esq., in grateful and admiring recognition of his having exercised the noblest quality man can possess, that of atoning for an injury as soon as conscious of having inflicted it. By a Jewess.

So far from taking umbrage at this dedication, Dickens expressed his gratification at the terms in which it was drawn.

The terms in which you send me that mark of your remembrance are more gratifying than I can possibly express to you; for they assure me that there is nothing but goodwill left between me and a People for whom I have a real regard, and to whom I would not wilfully have given an offence or done an injustice for any worldly consideration.

After the death of Dickens, Mrs. Davis wrote to Miss Mamie Dickens on August 4, 1870. This letter reveals the fact that, despite

the intimate correspondence summarised above, the only two occasions on which Mrs. Davis saw Dickens were at public readings by the novelist.

ISRAEL SOLOMONS.

March 1915.

4.

Extracts from the Close Rolls, 1289-1368.

It will be remembered that, in volume iv. of the *Transactions* (pp. 202-219), extracts from the *Close Rolls* (1279-1288) were printed. This convenient plan is here continued, the extracts which follow having been copied by Dr. Abrahams. They are reprinted by permission of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office.

We start within measurable distance of the Expulsion of the Jews, and we soon encounter allusions to that momentous event. Public proclamations are recorded, *e.g.* under date July 18th, 1290; private exiles are alluded to, see Aug. 25th; whilst the so-called Statute of Jewry, passed fifteen years before, is quoted, on Nov. 5th. [Mr. Rigg's reprint of this in his *Select Cases* (pp. xl-xlii) may be referred to, with his note on the word "curialitas" in his glossary.] Under July 15th, 1293, there is an interesting echo of the punishment deservedly inflicted on certain cruel shipmen at the time of the Expulsion.

One of the exiles, to whom a private safe-conduct was accorded, was Aaron son of Vives, who had been assigned by a charter of Henry III (confirmed by Edward I) to Edmund, earl of Lancaster. Several references are made, in the *Close Rolls* extracts, to this important Jew, many details of whose life are collected in *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History* (see Index).

Another prominent Jew, to whom a private *exeat* was granted, and who is also spoken of as "Judæus *noster* Northampt.," was Moses son of Jacob.

Although this Israelite is here and on some other occasions connected with Northampton, his chief residence was at Oxford, as may be noted in the long extract about that city under date April 20th, 1297, where however, strange to say, he is described as "of London." This

variation illustrates the wide operations of some of the influential Jews. This same Oxford extract gives a number of interesting names, *e.g.* Benedict de la Corner, who appears in the *Hundred Rolls* as Benedict son of Meyr; Bonefey son of Lumbard of Cricklade, to whose imprisonment "for trespass of the Forest" reference is made in another extract (June 14th, 1290); Sarah wife of Benedict Levesque (or Episcopus); &c. Some of the names as written show the difficulty which the Latin scribes experienced in recording the Hebrew appellations. It may be mentioned that the modern editors need not have inserted the word "*Mossei*" in two or three instances, as they are simply dealing with the genitive of Mosseus.

There are also several extracts referring to the sister university town; for Canterbury, under June 28th, 1307, is undoubtedly a mistake for Cambridge—the heir of Saulotus there mentioned being a young Jew who was allowed to reside at Chesterton when his co-religionists were banished from her dower town by Queen Eleanor of Provence. It is curious to notice, under date June 14th, 1290, that the family of John le Moyne of Shelford, another suburb of Cambridge, had had financial and other dealings with the Jews throughout the thirteenth century.

There is a most interesting request recorded on Dec. 10th, 1309, where the Duke of Brabant (who had married the Princess Margaret) was requested by his brother-in-law, Edward II, to allow "Master Elias, a Jew dwelling in his land, to come to England to speak with the king concerning his affairs."

There are many other matters of interest which might be dealt with; but we have only space to draw attention to several extracts referring to converts. Of these we may mention one at the beginning and one at the ending. On Nov. 8th, 1289, Eleanor de Sancto Paulo, a Jewish convert, is permitted to retain her possessions "at the instance of the king's daughter Eleanor." This princess, whose name the convert had doubtless received at her baptism, was one of the nine beautiful daughters of Edward I and Eleanor of Castille; she was about to marry Alphonso of Arragon. The last extract, Nov. 18, 1368, addressed to "Henry de Ingleby, the king's clerk, warden of the House of the Converted, London," refers to a grant to an interesting inmate, "John de Sancta Maria in Spain." This date is three years earlier than that given by the Rev. M. Adler in his valuable "*History of the Domus*" (*Trans-*

ctions, vol. iv.), and the order goes on to tell us that "the said John was *long since* converted."

H. P. STOKES.

March 1915.

May 24, 1289.
Westminster.

To Ralph de Berners, constable of the Tower of London. Whereas the late king granted by his charter to Edmund, the present king's brother, Aaron son of Vyves, a Jew of London, with all his goods and chattels and all things that might pertain to the late king in any way by reason of the said Jew, and the king afterwards confirmed this grant to Edmund by his letters patent; and Edmund has mainperned to have Aaron before the king at his will to stand to right whensoever the king or others wish to speak against him concerning anything; wherefore the king has granted to Edmund that all matters touching Aaron requiring judicial examination shall be heard and determined before the king and Edmund: the king therefore orders Ralph not to intermeddle in any way with the goods and chattels of Aaron or with anything concerning him, contrary to the grant and confirmation aforesaid, except by Edmund's will. Witness: Edmund, earl of Cornwall.

Nov. 8, 1289.
Clarendon.

The like to John le Breton, keeper of the city of London.

To the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews. Order to assign to Eleanor de Sancto Paulo, formerly a Jewess of London, now converted to the Catholic faith, all the goods, debts, and chattels that belonged to her on the day of her conversion, as the king has given them to her at the instance of Eleanor, his daughter.

Nov. 6, 1289.
Clarendon.

To the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews. Order to inspect the rolls of the exchequer of the Jewry, and to cause full and speedy justice to be done to Aaron son of Vives, a Jew of London, concerning the debts that they shall find by inquisitions to have been enrolled by the chirographers in his own name, and in recovering other debts that are clear, as the late king by his letters patent, which the king has confirmed at the instance of Edmund, the king's brother, granted to Aaron that the debts that he could prove to be due to him should be levied by the king's ministers.

Nov. 20, 1289.
Kingston.

To the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews. As Floria, late the wife of Miles son of Jacob, a Jew of London, has satisfied the king for all the debts in which Miles at his death was indebted to the king, for which divers charters by which divers debts were due to Miles were taken from the chest of the chirographers of the Jews of London and were deposited in the treasury, the justices are ordered, if it be so and if the charters and debts aforesaid are detained for this reason and no other, to cause them to be withdrawn from the treasury and delivered to Floria.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, and to the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews. Whereas the king lately granted to William le Brun, his yeoman, and Isolda, William's wife, certain lands in Forthingbrigg, Randolveston, Perle, and Roghenor, and he now understands that the lands are charged in his Jewry by reason of certain sums of money that William de la Faleyse, who formerly held the lands, received by way of loan from certain Jews of England in times past; the king, wishing to show favour to William and Isolda for their good and long service to him and his consort, has granted that they shall be quit of all debts that may be exacted from them by any Jews of the realm at any time, and also that may be exacted for the king's use by reason of the said lands and of all other lands that they held on 12 January, in the 17th year of the reign, of the gift of the king and his consort, so charged in the Jewry up to the said day, whether the debts were in the king's hands or in the hands of any Jews, willing that the deeds and stars concerning the said debts that may be found in the chests of the chirographers or elsewhere shall be withdrawn and wholly annulled: the king therefore orders them to cause his letters patent of the gift to be read and enrolled before them, and to cause the deeds and stars aforesaid to be withdrawn and delivered cancelled to William and Isolda, and to cause them to be acquitted of the said debts.

Jan. 26, 1290.
Westminster.

To the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews. Order, at the instance of Edmund, the king's brother, to open the old chest of the chirographers and to inspect the charters and deeds of Aaron son of Vyves, Edmund's Jew, to wit as well those found in the chest that he can prove before them to be his as those enrolled in the rolls of the exchequer of the Jewry and that are in the treasury of the Jewry, and to distrain the debtors to render the debts contained in the charters and deeds according to the law and custom of the Jewry, and to cause his charters and deeds found in the treasury aforesaid to be withdrawn and placed in the chest aforesaid, so that the Jew may have his recovery (recuperare) for the said debts more conveniently.

Feb. 18, 1290.
Westminster.

To the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews. Order to cause the charter of the chirographers of the Jewry whereby Brian son of Alan was bound to Aaron son of Abraham, a Jew of London, lately deceased, in £100 to be withdrawn from the chest [of the chirographers] without delay, and to be delivered to Brian, as the king has pardoned him this sum.

May 15, 1290.
Westminster.

To the justices for the custody of the Jews. Order to cause John son and heir of John le Moyne of Sheleford to be acquitted of £10 that the justices exact from him for the debt in which his father was indebted by his charter to Jacob son of Samuel, a Jew, who was hanged for clipping the king's money, and to cause the aforesaid charter to be delivered to John, as the king has pardoned him this debt.

June 11, 1290.
Westminster.

To the sheriff of Oxford. Order to deliver in bail Bonefeyus de Cricke-

June 14, 1290.
Westminster.

lade, Simon de Hautwirthe, Ysaac de Cann, and Salekin de Marleberbe *sic*), Jews of Oxford, imprisoned at Oxford for trespass of the Forest.

June 26, 1290.
Havering.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to cause Robert de Shireland, king's yeoman, to be acquitted of 30 marks of the 50 marks in which Robert de Shirelaunde, his grandfather, was indebted to Put' son of Benedict, a Jew lately deceased, which debt is in the king's hands by reason of the Jew's death, and to permit him to pay the remainder by 5 marks yearly, and to cause this to be so done and enrolled, as the king has granted to him these terms.

July 9, 1290.
Westminster.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer and the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews. Order not to molest Aaron son of Vyves, a Jew of London, by reason of any tallage to be assessed upon the Jews, and not to intermeddle with his goods and chattels, as the king has granted him to Edmund, the king's brother, with all his goods and chattels, so that the king or his ministers shall not intermeddle with the Jew or his goods and chattels without Edmund's will and licence.

July 9, 1290.
Westminster.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer and to the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews. Order not to intermeddle with the chattels of Cresseus son of Cresseus and Aaron, his son, Jews of London, by reason of any tallage, as the king has granted to them that they shall be quit of all tallages to be assessed upon the Jews for all the time during which Cresseus shall be indebted to the king or Queen Eleanor, his consort, in aught of the 300 marks by which he made fine with the king for the forfeited chattels of Jews.

July 18, 1290.
Westminster.

To the sheriff of Gloucester. Whereas the king has prefixed to all the Jews of his realm a certain time to pass out of the realm, and he wills that they shall not be treated by his ministers or others otherwise than has been customary, he orders the sheriff to cause proclamation to be made throughout his bailiwick prohibiting any one from injuring or wronging the Jews within the said time. He is ordered to cause the Jews to have safe-conduct at their cost when they, with their chattels, which the king has granted to them, direct their steps towards London in order to cross the sea, provided that before they leave they restore the pledges of Christians in their possession to those to whom they belong.

The like to the sheriffs of Essex, York, Northampton, and Lincoln. Also to the sheriff of Hereford and Southampton.

Aug. 25, 1290.
Northampton.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer and to the justices appointed for the custody of the Jews. Whereas the late king granted to Edmund, the present king's brother, the body of Aaron son of Vyves, a Jew, with his lands, chattels, houses, and all his goods, which grant the king afterwards confirmed, so that he should not intermeddle therewith in any way; and the king has prefixed to Aaron, as he has done to other Jews of his realm, a certain day to leave the realm, for which reason he wills that

Edmund shall be certified before Aaron shall leave the realm concerning the houses and rents that Aaron holds in London, Canterbury, and Oxford by Edmund's will : the king therefore orders them to cause enquiry to be made both by Christians and Jews what houses and rents Aaron has in the said towns, and what Jews held and still hold the houses and rents, and how much each Jew renders by himself, and to deliver to Edmund the inquisition so made under the seal of the exchequer together with a counter-roll of all the debts of Aaron found in the treasury of the Jewry and in the chests of the chirographers of the Jews and in the rolls of the exchequer, which debts they shall cause to be levied according to the custom of the Jewry when required to do so by Edmund.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Whereas the king in his parliament at Westminster at the quinzaine of Michaelmas, in the third year of his reign, ordained that no Jew of the realm should thenceforth lend anything in usury to any Christian upon lands, rents, or other things, but should earn his living by trade and labour, and the Jews afterwards, maliciously deliberating amongst themselves, changed the kind of usury into a worse which they called 'courtesy' (*curialitatem*), and depressed the king's people under colour of such by an error double that of the previous one; wherefore the king by reason of their errors and for the honour of Christ, has caused the Jews to leave his realm as perfidious men; the king, not wishing to be inconsistent with his previous ordinance, but rather to imitate it, has wholly annulled all manner of pains and usury and every sort thereof that may be exacted from any Christians of the realm for any reasons whatever by reason of Jewry for any times whatsoever, willing that nothing shall be exacted from the Christians except the principal debts that they received from the Jews; of which debts he wills that the amount shall be verified before the treasurer and barons by the oath of three Christians, and that they shall be then paid to the king at suitable terms to be appointed by the treasurer and barons. He therefore orders them to cause his grace thus piously made to be read in the exchequer, and to cause it to be enrolled in the rolls of the exchequer, and to cause it to be firmly observed in accordance with the form above noticed.

Nov. 5, 1290.
King's Clip-
stone.

Enrolment of grant by Thomas Burt to Nicholas de Castello of all the manor of Horningtoft. Among the witnesses is William de Carleton, then Justice of the Jews.

Jan. 2, 1290.
Westminster.

William, son of Marmaduke Basset, knight, acknowledges that he owes to Aaron son of Vives, a Jew of London, 10 sacks of wool, price £100; to be levied, in default of payment, of his lands and chattels in co. Northampton.

Jan. 16, 1290.
Westminster.

Cancelled on payment.

Memorandum, that a writ for extending the houses and tenements of the Jews of Lincoln was delivered to the clerk of the sheriff of Lincoln by the hands of R. bishop of Bath and Wells, at Nottingham, 12 September. And

Sept. 12, 1290.
Nottingham.

- another writ for extending the houses of the Jews of Hereford was delivered to the mayor of Hereford by the hands of the said bishop.
- Nov. 16, 1290. To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to check the
Laxton. account (*auditis rationibus*) of Hugh son of Adam de Raveneskelf concerning a debt of 20s. that he received as a loan from Jacob de Brauntegate, a Jew of Lincoln, and to cause a remedy concerning it to be provided for him according to the grace granted by the king to Christians indebted to Jews, according to the form thereof delivered to and enjoined upon the treasurer and barons.
- Jan. 13, 1291. To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to cause John
Ashridge. Tregoz to be acquitted of £11 that they exact from him, to wit £4 for the issues of his lands forfeited before them at the exchequer, and £7 for the issues of his lands forfeited the justices lately assigned for the custody of the Jews.
- Jan. 8, 1291. To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to cause the
Westminster. converted Jews (*Conversi*) of London to be acquitted of 10s. exacted from them for tallage of their lands in Oxford, as the king has pardoned them this sum.
- Mar. 26, 1292. To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to supersede the
Westminster. demand made upon the prior of Neweham near Bedeford for £16 for a debt due to Sampson son of Sampson, sometime a Jew of Cambridge, from Hugh, prior of Neweham, as the prior has shown the king that whereas neither he nor any of his predecessors are indebted to any Jew of the realm by reason whereof the king can exact any debt from them, nevertheless the sheriff of Bedford exacts £16 from them for debt aforesaid by summons of the exchequer, and the king learns by inquisition that he caused to be made in the presence of Thomas de Bray by the sheriff aforesaid that there never was any prior of Neweham co. Bedford, of the name of Hugh, and that no prior of Neweham has hitherto made any contract with any Jew by reason of which he ought to be bound in any debt.
- Mar. 28, 1292. To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to cause Hugh
Westminster. de Staunford to be acquitted of 100s. at which he was amerced before Solomon de Roff [a] and his fellows, justices appointed to enquire concerning concealed goods of the Jews, for such concealed goods, which sum is exacted from him for the use of Queen Eleanor, the king's late consort, to whom the king committed such goods, as the king has pardoned him out of charity.
- May 10, 1293. To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Whereas the king
Westminster. granted to divers men divers houses that belonged to the Jews of the realm and that had come to his hands as escheats by reason of their exile, and certain men claiming to receive rents from the houses, which the Jews paid to them, as they assert, make distresses in the houses for the arrears of the rent not paid by the Jews: the king, willing that his grants shall be quit of the payment of the said arrears and of all other things up to the day of the

grant aforesaid, orders the treasurer and barons to cause the grantees to have peace concerning such demands.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to cause the master of the military order of the Temple in England to be acquitted of 20s. at which he was amerced in the king's Jewry against Benedict the Jew of Lincoln, and also of 20s. at which he was amerced against Hagin son of Benedict the Jew of Lincoln for many defaults, and also half a mark at which he was amerced in the said Jewry because he did not appear, as the king has pardoned him. June 10, 1293. Westminster.

To Stephen de Penecestre, warden of the Cinque Ports. Order to deliver Sandwich prison of Henry Adrian, who has been detained therein for two years for the death of Jews wherewith he is charged, and for other trespasses committed upon the Jews in their passage to parts beyond sea by him outside the liberty of the said ports. This delivery shall be made according to the law and custom of the said ports on this occasion by the king's special favour, and it is provided that this delivery shall not prejudice the king or others in times to come so that the king's barons and men of the ports shall not answer before the king or his justices concerning deeds done outside the liberty (*de factis suis forinsecis* [sic]) in the like case, according to the law and custom of the realm. July 15, 1293. Canterbury.

To Hugh de Kendale. As the king does not wish that those who were wont to receive certain rents from houses that belonged to the Jews shall lose the rents for the time when the houses were in the king's hand by reason of the exile of the Jews, but that they shall be satisfied for the rents for the meantime by Hugh, he orders Hugh to cause all persons claiming such rents to be satisfied for them, so far as he can ascertain, that they received the rents in the time of the Jews and as they can prove before him that the rents are due to them for the time aforesaid. Aug. 1, 1293. Westminster.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to acquit brother Guy de Foresta, master of the military order of the Temple in England, of half a mark at which the preceptor of La Bruere, a brother of the said Temple, was amerced in the Jewry for a false claim. Dec. 10, 1293. Westminster.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to acquit the master of the military order of the Temple in England of 20s. at which he was amerced in the king's Jewry against Benedict, a Jew of Lincoln, and of 20s. at which he was amerced against Hagin son of Benedict, a Jew of Lincoln, for many defaults, and of half a mark at which he was amerced in the Jewry because he did not appear, as the king pardoned him these amercements. June 10, 1294. Westminster.

Vacated, because on the Close Roll of the twenty-first year in, a schedule appended to the roll.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to cause William le Vavasur to be acquitted of 20 marks in arrear to the king of the 70 marks Sept. 13, 1294. Waltham.

in which he is indebted to the king for the houses which belonged to Bonamicus, a late Jew of York, which were sold to him, as the king has pardoned this sum to William, who is setting out with Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, for Gascony, in the king's service.

Aug. 10, 1295.
Westminster.

John Bele, a convert (*conversus*), of London, acknowledges that he owes to John de Drax, clerk, 15s.; to be levied, in default of payment, of his lands and chattels in London and Middlesex.

Cancelled on payment.

April 20, 1297.
Plympton.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Whereas the king by his charter granted to William Burnell, provost of Wells, the houses in Oxford that belonged to Moses son of Jacob de Lond[onia], a Jew, in the parish of St. Aldate, and the house that was the Jews' synagogue (*scola Judeorum*) in that town, and the houses that belonged to Margalicia, late the wife of Vives de Gloucestria, a Jewess, in the same town, and the houses that belonged to Bonefei son of Lumbard de Crekelad, a Jew, in the parish of St. Martin in the same town, and the houses that belonged to Sarah, late the wife of Benedict Levesque, a Jewess, in the parish of St. Aldate in the same town, and the houses that belonged to Floria la Vedue, a Jewess in the same town, and the houses that belonged to Benedict de la Corner, a Jew, in the same parish, and the houses that belonged to Pya, late the wife of Benedict Caus, a Jewess, in the same parish, and the houses that belonged to Avegaya, daughter of Benedict de Wyntonion, in the same parish, and the houses that belonged to Samuel de Bercamsted, a Jew, in the same parish, which are in the king's hands as his escheats by reason of the exile of the said Jews and Jewesses from the realm, and which are extended at £10, 8s. 7d. to have and to hold to William and his heirs or to whomsoever he may give or assign them, in accordance with the custom of that town, rendering therefor 6d. a year by the hands of the bailiffs of that town and doing to the other lords the service therefor due, as contained in the king's charter: the king orders them to cause William to be acquitted of all debts and arrears exacted from him for the said houses or for any of them for all the time up to the date of the charter aforesaid, and to permit him to hold the houses in peace, releasing him from any distraint that they may have made for the debts and arrears aforesaid.

April 1, 1300.
Westminster.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Whereas the king granted to Master William Burnel certain lands in Oxford that belonged to certain Jews of that town, which came to the king's hands by their exile from his realm as his escheats, to hold to William and his heirs, or to whomsoever he should give or assign them, according to the custom of that town, rendering therefore 6d. yearly to the king by the hands of the bailiffs of that town, and doing to the other lords of the fee the other services therefor due and accustomed, as contained in the king's letters patent; and the treasurer and barons exact from William 2½ marks yearly for a house that belonged to Sarah, late

the wife of Benedict le Evesk, a late Jew of that town, which Jocus son of Moses (*Mossey*), a late Jew of that town, held, which is one of the aforesaid houses, which $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks were wont to be rendered to the king yearly before that grant, and they exact from William certain arrears of the said $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks, contrary to the form of the king's grant aforesaid, as the king learns from his complaint: the king has pardoned William the said $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks yearly and the arrears of the same, and therefore orders him to be acquitted thereof, and to permit him to hold all the houses aforesaid in accordance with the tenor of the king's grant.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Order to cause the executors of the will of William de Brewosa to be acquitted of £52, for which his manor of La Knap was mortgaged (*invadiatum*) on the Jewry, which sum is exacted from them for the king's use by summons of the exchequer as the king has pardoned them this sum. April 1, 1300.
Westminster.

To the sheriff of Lincoln. Order to deliver to the prior and convent of St. Katherine's without Lincoln a tenement in Lincoln adjoining the messuage that formerly belonged to Hagin son of Benedict, a late Jew of Lincoln, saving the rights of others, as the king learns by an inquisition taken by William de Carleton and Roger de Hegham that Hagin held the said tenement for a long time before the exile of the Jews from England of the prior and convent by their charter by the service of 15s. yearly to them, and that the tenement was taken into the king's hands by the sheriff of Lincoln for the time being with other tenements that belonged to Hagin at the time of his exile by reason of his exile, and that the prior and convent have received nothing of the said 15s. since the tenement was taken into the king's hands. Feb. 24, 1301.
Lincoln.

Form how the men assigned above [in previous document] ought to induce the men of the cities and towns aforesaid to grant a subsidy to the king . . . al afferaunt du quinzime grauntée a roi a son reborner de Gascoigne quant les Jeux furent exilietz. Aug. 2, 1290.
Reeth.

Whereas the late king granted at the instance of Edmund, his brother, to Aaron son of Vives, a late Jew of London, the wardship of the son and heir of Saulotus son of Samuel, a Jew of Canterbury [Cambridge ?] and of the houses, debts and chattels that belonged to Saulotus, which pertained to the said king by reason of the death of Saulotus, to have until the heir should come of age, in accordance with the law and custom of the said king's Jewry, on condition that Aaron should render to the said king's exchequer 40s. yearly for the third of the said goods etc. pertaining to the said king according to the custom of the Jewry, and he ordered William de Orlaveston and Robert de Fulham, then his justices appointed for the custody of the Jews, to cause Aaron to have the wardship and marriage of the said heir and a counter-roll of the debts, goods and chattels aforesaid, and the administration thereof according to the law and custom of the Jewry, as appears by inspection of the rolls of his chancery; and it is shown to the king on the part of Edmund June 28, 1307.
Caldcoats.

Bacun and John, his brother, tenants of certain lands that belonged to Robert de Fulham, that Master Roger de Seton and his fellows, justices of the said king in eyre in co. Cambridge, ignoring the said grant, by reason of a presentment made before them in eyre, to wit that the chattels that belonged to Saulotus had come to the hands of the said Robert to the value of 600 marks, charged Robert with that sum as if he had received and retained the chattels in his possession, and that the chattels are exacted by summons of the exchequer from Edmund and John by reason of the aforesaid tenancy: the king orders the treasurer and barons to cause Edmund and John to be acquitted thereof.

Dec. 10, 1309.
Westminster.

To J. duke of Brabant and count of Lorrain and Limburg. Request that Master Elias, a Jew dwelling in his land, may come to England to the king, at the desire of the latter to speak with the king concerning his affairs.

Oct. 12, 1309.
Windsor.

Order to Roger de Wellesworth not to intermeddle further with the manor of Bechesworth, co. Surrey, which John de Berewick held by the delivery of Queen Eleanor, the king's mother, for a debt that John de Wauton owed to a Jew of the said queen, to hold until the debt were paid, which debt was fully received before the death of the said John de Berewik.

Feb. 13, 1318.
Windsor.

To R. bishop of London. Request that he will ordain for the parish church of St. Dunstan West in the suburbs of London as shall seem good for the church and the souls of the parish, remembering that the right of patronage remains to the king and his heirs, as the king is given to understand that it was found in his visitation of the city and diocese of London that the church and its fruits were assigned, with other things, by Henry III, patron thereof, for the maintenance of the Jewish converts to Christianity, for whom the said king ordained a place of residence within the parish, and caused a chapel to be constructed within the said place in honour of St. Mary, and for the maintenance of chaplains and clerks serving in the same, and willed that a keeper should be appointed by him (*per ipsos*) and his heirs to deliver to them what was assigned for their maintenance and that of the chaplains and clerks aforesaid, and did not will that the care of the said church should remain with the keeper of the said converts or another according to canonical sanction.

Mar. 16, 1324.
Westminster.

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Whereas the late king, on 20 September, in the 5th year of his reign, granted to John son of Reginald de Grey and his heirs that he should render the debts due from him to the exchequer for the debts of Ralph Morin, which were attermind at £20 yearly, at the rate of 5 marks yearly, and he ordered the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to allow the said terms and to cause them to be enrolled, and afterwards, on 8 November, in the 8th year of his reign, he ordered the treasurer and barons to permit the attorneys of Eleanor, queen of England, his consort, to receive the said sum yearly from John in the exchequer, the late king having assigned him to the queen to pay to her the

debts wherein Ralph Morin was bound to Hagin son of Master Moses (*Mosset*), a Jew of London, which debts were attermind at the exchequer, and afterwards, on 3 February, in the 19th year of his reign, he appointed John Bacoun and Richard de Kancia to levy all the debts due to the said queen at her death, on condition that they answered to the executors of her will therefor, and although the said John son of Reginald paid 5 marks yearly to the late king's exchequer from the 20th September aforesaid until the 8th November aforesaid, and paid that sum yearly to the said queen from the latter date, the treasurer and barons are exacting all the debts aforesaid from the executors and heirs of the aforesaid John as if the grant had not been made to the said queen; the king therefore orders them to examine the rolls and memoranda of the late king's exchequer, and if they find that John observed the attermindation aforesaid until the said 8th November, they are to cause the said demand to be superseded and to cause the said executors and heirs of the said John to be acquitted thereof.

References to lands in Northampton, formerly belonging to Jews, which "came into the hands of Edward I as forfeit, by the exile of the Jews": the former owners being Moses son of Jacob (Northampton)—whose lands were granted to William de Hamelton, sometime archdeacon of York—; Manser, son of David de Staunford, whose property was granted by charter to Joan la Ropere; Isaac de Berkamstede, whose land had been granted by charter to Ralph de Dyve. All these lands are in Northampton, and the question at issue in each case is whether these grants were capable of being alienated by those who originally received them from Edward I. Oct.-Nov. 1358. Westminster.

Similar reference made to Northampton lands which belonged to Isaac son of Vives and were granted to Simon Baud; and to a plot of land, granted to Ralph de Silveston, which formerly belonged to Sampson, a Jew, and was forfeited by the latter's exile. Feb. 6, 1359. Westminster.

To Henry de Ingleby the king's clerk, warden of the House of the Converted, London. Order to cause 26s. 8d. yearly of the rents and other profits of the said house to be ministered to John de Sancta Maria in Spain over and above 40s. a year which the said warden has appointed to be to him delivered as the king has learned; as the said John, who was long since converted from the superstition of the Jews to the Christian faith, and to whom the king commanded that maintenance should be ministered by the said warden such as one of the converted was wont to take, has repaired to the king praying for more abundant favour, as the said sum of 40s. a year is too small for his maintenance and the maintenance of his wife and children, and the king would add somewhat in aid of his living that he may have the more willing mind to abide in the Catholic faith. Nov. 18, 1368. Westminster.

5.

Maria Fernandez de Carvajal.

In my earliest essay on "The Resettlement of the Jews in England" (Lond., 1888, p. 5) I suggested, on circumstantial evidence which then seemed to me convincing, that Maria, the wife of Antonio Fernandez de Carvajal, the founder of the Anglo-Jewish community, was a daughter of Antonio de Souza, then Portuguese Resident or Ambassador in England. The error was pointed out to me very soon after by a friend in Lisbon, who sent me an abstract of a case recorded in the archives of the local Inquisition by which the family of Senora de Carvajal was identified. The facts were briefly recited in my paper on "Crypto-Jews in the Canaries" (*J. H. S. Trans.*, vol. vii. p. 111), and were alluded to in my earlier paper on "The Disraeli Family" (*J. H. S. Trans.*, vol. v. pp. 215-216), but they have not hitherto been given in an independent form. The following is a translation of the above-mentioned abstract, from the Lisbon Inquisition records, which shows Senora de Carvajal to have been a Rodriguez Nunez of Guarda:—

CASE OF ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ LINDO.

Antonio Rodriguez Lindo, x.n. (*Christiano Nuevo*), born at Badajoz, merchant at Lisbon, arrested for Judaism Oct. 9, 1660, condemned to public abjuration at the *Auto da Fé* of Lisbon, Sept. 17, 1662.

Aged 23 years in 1660 (Nov. 8), son of the late Joao Rodriguez Lindo, merchant of Campomaior, and of Constança Nunez of Guarda.

Paternal nephew of: Francisco Rodriguez Lindo, who was married at Badajoz to Luiza da Sylveira; no children.

Maternal nephew of:

1. Antonio Fernandez Nunez, fugitive in France;
2. Manuel Rodriguez Nunez, fugitive in France;
3. Leonor Nunez, wife of Joao de Affonseca Mesas, with whom she Judaizes in Holland;
4. Anna Nunez, widow of Simao Fernandez Carvalho, residing in France. She has four children: 1. Antao Roiz Carvalho at Lisbon; 2. Leonor Nunez, wife of Antao Rodriguez Nunez;
3. Anna Nunez, wife of Fernandez Marquez at Venice; 4. Maria Nunez in France;

5. *Maria Rodriguez*, in England, widow of *Antonio Fernandez de Carvajal*, by whom she has sons ;
6. *Brittes Rodriguez*, in England, wife of *Simao de Souza*, no children.

The accused *Antao Roiz Lindo* is brother of: 1. *Lourenço Rodriguez*, in the Canaries, married ; 2. *Manoel Rodriguez* at Rome ; 3. *Joseph*, an infant, at Lisbon. The accused was in Spain until the age of 12, then for six years in France, whence he came to Lisbon. His uncle, *Antonio Fernandez Nunez*, has been arrested by the Inquisition in the Spanish Indies (Mexico or Lima). Many of his mother's relations have been arrested in Lisbon.

This interesting document does more than establish the family relationships of *Maria de Carvajal* and the early history of the *Lindo* family. It tells us something of the martyr atmosphere in which the Anglo-Jewish community was founded, and of the strong Jewish spirit which animated the *Carvajal* household. Many of the names mentioned in it are already familiar to us. *Manuel Rodriguez Nunez* and *Simao de Souza* were resident in England, and are mentioned in *Antonio Carvajal's* will as his brothers-in-law (*J. H. S. Trans.*, vol. i. pp. 86-88). *Simao de Souza*, moreover, appeared as a witness in the *Robles* case (*ibid.*, pp. 64, 79). *Leonor Nunez* was the mother of the two nephews of *Carvajal*, *Manuel* and *Alonzo da Fonseca Meza*, who assisted him in his business (*ibid.*, pp. 56, 69, 70, 87) ; *Lourenço Lindo* we have met in the Canaries and in London (*J. H. S. Trans.*, vol. vii. p. 111), and his brother *Manuel* is also mentioned in the unpublished Canariote documents as a visitor to London.

Of *Maria de Carvajal* herself we know little, but that she was an ardent Judaiser even in London, is shown by the fact that when the security of the little Jewish community founded by her husband was threatened in 1660, she called a meeting of her co-religionists at her house in *Leadenhall Street*, and headed the signature of a petition to *Charles II* praying for "His Majesty's protection to continue and reside in his dominions" (*ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 14-15, 28-29). She survived her husband forty-three years, and was buried in 1702 as *Ester Fernandez Carvajal* in the old *Sephardi Cemetery* in *Mile End*.

It would be interesting to know more of the struggle of the *Nunez* family of *Guarda* with the Inquisition, for it was probably from that

struggle far more than from the Jewish Renaissance in Amsterdam that the chief spiritual impulses came which vibrated so powerfully in the London Marrano community during the eventful years 1655-1656.

LUCIEN WOLF.

April 1915.

6.

Mrs. Brydges Willyams and Benjamin Disraeli.

A note in the recently published third volume of the *Life of Disraeli* (p. 454) credits me with the discovery that the mysterious Mrs. Sarah Brydges Willyams *née* Mendez da Costa, who left some £40,000 to Benjamin Disraeli, was a daughter of Abraham Mendez da Costa of Bath, who died in 1782. As the identity of this lady has long puzzled Jewish genealogists and students of Disraeliana, it may be worth while to place on record the simple but indisputable evidence on which my identification rests. This is contained in the following hitherto unprinted letter of Mrs. Willyams to Disraeli, written in reply to the letter from him of July 20, 1859, printed on p. 467 of the *Life*:

MOUNT BRADDON, July 22, 1859.

I received this morning your most kind letter, and soon after the lost arms of my family, for all of which I most gratefully thank you. It would be the greatest additional gratification to me if there could be traced through the Lions rouge my alliance to the Laras.

The shield is beautifully emblazoned. It is, however, remarkable that there are no supporters to it, and that the Coronet is different from the Coronet on a seal in my possession of *my grandfather, Daniel Mendez da Costa*, which is *undoubtedly original*, and instead of a motto on the scroll of the shield, there is the name Mendez da Costa.

The reference here to Daniel Mendez da Costa is conclusive. This gentleman, who was of the Jamaican branch of his family, had a considerable posterity, but he had only one granddaughter in the male line, named Sarah. She was the younger of the two daughters of his younger son, Abraham Mendez da Costa of Bath, and it was consequently she who became Mrs. Brydges Willyams.

This identification is proved in another way. From a passage in a letter written by Disraeli on July 12, 1861 (*Life*, p. 467), it appears that Mrs. Brydges Willyams' mother's maiden name was "Legh." The following extract from the Marriage Register of St. Margaret's, Westminster, for which I am indebted to Mr. Colyer-Fergusson, shows that Abraham Mendez da Costa married a Miss Elizabeth Leigh, who was, no doubt, the same person :—

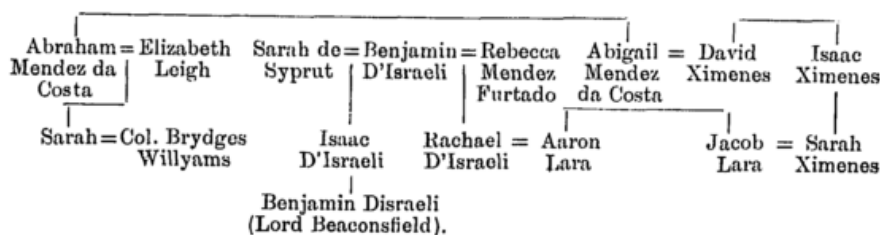
No. 891. Abraham Mendez da Costa of this Parish, Bachelor, and
Elizabeth Leigh of this Parish, Spinster, were married by
license
29th Dec. 1775
by me
J. MOR Curate
In presence of : This marriage { ABM. MENDEZ DA
RICHARD RICHES solemnised COSTA
MARY RICHES between ELIZ. LEIGH.

I should add that the proof is clinched still further by the fact that Abraham Mendez da Costa of Bath, the father of Sarah, refers to his wife as "Elizabeth" in his will (Prob. Off. Reg. Gostling 91).

This identification enables us to trace the hitherto mysterious *provenance* of Mrs. Brydges Willyams's wealth. It did not come from her father, who inherited only £4000 from his father and the residue of his mother's savings, nor from her mother, who is expressly stated in the correspondence with Disraeli not to have been an heiress. The source was her uncle, Isaac Mendez da Costa, who died in 1766 before his brother Abraham's marriage. He had inherited the larger part of his father's fortune, to which he had added considerably by his successful dealings in West Indian produce. He had also married one of the richly dowered daughters of Isaac Lamago, a prosperous merchant and planter of Jamaica. Isaac Mendez da Costa had, however, no children, and he consequently left the residue of his large fortune to be invested for the benefit of his brother Abraham, "and after his death the capital to go to his children" (Prob. Off. Reg. Tyndall 349). As no trace can be found of Abraham's elder daughter Juliet, it is probable that she died in infancy, and that the whole of this capital came eventually to Sarah Brydges Willyams.

It will be seen in the above letter that Mrs. Willyams believed she

was connected with the Laras, whom she apparently identifies with the noble Spanish House of Lara. Disraeli had a similar belief with regard to himself, but there was very little foundation for it in either case. I have shown elsewhere (*Jew. Chron.*, October 31 and November 21, 1890, *J. H. S. Trans.*, vol. v. pp. 208-209) that the Jewish Laras, with whom the connection really existed, were never a family of any exceptional social distinction, and that they were certainly not armigerous in the Peninsula; also that Disraeli's only connection with them was through the family of the first wife of his grandfather, from whom he was not descended. Mrs. Willyams's connection was even more remote. The only discoverable link is through a brother of her aunt's husband, David Ximenes, whose daughter Sarah Ximenes eloped with Joshua Lara, a son of Aaron Nunez Lara. Curiously enough, Joshua's brother Aaron became the first husband of old Benjamin D'Israeli's daughter Rachel, by his first wife Rebecca Mendez Furtado, and thus something of a link between Disraeli and Mrs. Brydges Willyams was established, as may be seen by the following table:—



It is not easy to express "this link, or even its component parts, in genealogical terms. The precise relationship of Benjamin Disraeli to the Laras was that of a half-nephew by marriage of Aaron Lara; that of Mrs. Brydges Willyams, a maternal cousin of the paternal cousins of Rachael D'Israeli's sister-in-law, Mrs. Joshua Lara. This is perhaps not very comprehensible, and even when mastered it cannot be very satisfying.

Nor is it in truth worth while. It would have distressed and astonished both Disraeli and Mrs. Brydges Willyams to know that Isaac Ximenes, the father of the adventurous Sarah, actually regarded the connection with the Laras as a *mésalliance*, and for that reason induced the Haham D'Azevedo to excommunicate Joshua Lara and all who had abetted him in the elopement. The unedifying story may be read

in a curious and rare pamphlet, of which I possess a copy, entitled, "A letter addressed to the Overseers of the Portugeze Jewish Synagogue in Bevis Marks, London, upon their extraordinary conduct in the dispute between Mr. Ximenes and Mr. Joshua Lara; with a full explanation of the affair." (London, 1772.)

LUCIEN WOLF.

April 1915.

7.

Colonial Commerce.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has recently issued as the ninth volume of the seventh series of its *Collections*, Part I. of the "Commerce of Rhode Island."

This contains 445 mercantile letters and documents from December 4, 1726, to December 25, 1774—in other words, wholly within the period of the existence of Rhode Island as a British dependency. More than one-half of the items in the volume relate to Aaron Lopez, the Jewish merchant-prince of colonial Newport. He had commercial interests, as is proved by these letters, in England, Ireland, Jamaica, Barbados, Canada, and elsewhere.

The book is reviewed in *The American Hebrew*, January 29, 1915, p. 348.

There is a vast mass of inedited material concerning Lopez's commercial transactions; some of it was presented by the writer at the twenty-third annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, and will, it is to be hoped, eventually see the light of print.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

April 1915.

8.

**Passes Issued to Jews in the Period
1689 to 1696.**

The support given by Louis XIV to the Stuart cause rendered it necessary for the Government of William III to watch carefully the passage of travellers, to and from the Continent, in the last decade of the seventeenth century. The main purpose of this vigilance was, under the ægis of the Grand Alliance, to prevent Jacobite intercourse with France. Hence we find several references in the *English State Papers* (Domestic Series, William and Mary) to the stringent measures taken for checking the arrival or departure of people without necessary passes. It is interesting, however, to observe that Jews were not among the suspects. Thus, when Moses Dejaco and party were stopped at Margate in May 1692 because they were unprovided with passes, they were at once permitted to continue their journey to London when it was certified that they were "all Jews and in no way disaffected to the Government."

Even more interesting is the entry on October 30, 1696, when "Richard Chapman" received a pass enabling him to go to Italy. The appearance of "Richard Chapman" in this series of extracts is explained by the following official explanation (*Calendar*, 1696, p. 427):—

Note.—The true name of Richard Chapman is Isaac Fernandez, but, being a Jew, and going in an Italian ship that was to touch at a Spanish port, he was forced to change his name for fear of being put in the inquisition. This was done upon the assurance Mr. Rodrigues gave Mr. Ellis of his being an honest man, and having no other than the aforesaid reason for changing his name.

From the same point of view, attention may also be directed to the list of names—obviously Marrano—under date October 18, 1694.

The number of passes issued between the years covered by our extracts (1689–1696) was very great. The persons to whom the passes were issued included representatives of all social ranks, English and

foreign. The nature of the pass may be seen from the form printed in Mr. Hubert Hall's *Formula Book, Diplomatic Documents* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 151. Among the recipients of passes were many Jews. Of these a considerable number are designated "poor Jews." This label seems merely a method of classification, to distinguish the persons so described from merchants and other persons of recognised standing. Jews are not the only persons so labelled. We often meet the phrase "poor French Protestants," and less often "a poor Dutchman"; once simply "a poor old woman."

Besides those specifically entered as Jews, there are undoubtedly many Jews, not so described. In these extracts only those are included who are termed Jews, or who may without further research be assumed to belong to that category. It is possible that some names have been wrongly included and excluded, but this can only have occurred in a few cases.

When the persons are not described in the Calendars as Jews, and are nevertheless included in the following extracts, the dates are placed between square brackets.

The lists prove that there was an active intercourse between England and Holland on the part of Jews. Sometimes the voyages were longer, as when in July 1695 the Reyna family went to Italy. Further afield went others, as when in April 1693 Ralph Abendana and Samuel Freras sailed for New England. So, too, Isaac Mendez received a pass in June 1691 to embark with his family for Jamaica; and David Louzada and relatives (April 17, 1696) to go to Barbados.

When, however, nothing is said to the contrary, the passes were issued to enable the persons named to travel *via Harwich or Gravesend to Holland*.

The Moses Mendez, son of the Isaac mentioned above, may be identical with the Moses Mendez who, with others, petitioned the Jamaica House of Assembly in 1722 on behalf of the Jews of the island who had suffered from "the late Hurricane." In this Note, however, no attempt can be made to trace the identities of the persons named, many of them of considerable interest. Francisco de Caseres, who in 1694 stood sponsor for Samuel Coen Vare; Isaac Pereyra, who in 1690 was Commissary-General of the Army in Ireland, are not the only striking entries. Of the names, important historically, it will suffice

to call attention to Solomon Ayllon, under date June 20, 1691. Francisco de Caseres figures in another entry (dated September 30, 1689), though in that case the reference is not to passes. He writes to James Vernon regarding the disputed patents of Jewish merchants who entered goods at the Customs House as free denizens. He pleads specially for the "enlargement" of a "particular friend of mine, Mr. Godiah, who is naturalized and a freeman of London." These volumes indeed contain many interesting entries regarding Jews, apart from the passes issued to them. There are, *e.g.*, references to denization, and to proposed levies on and loans from Jews (Nov. 12, 1689; Feb. 10, 1690). In July and Aug. 1696, Lord Godolphin informs the King that the Jews had agreed to remit £20,000, but that "the bills would not be sent till a later post, because of their Sabbath." On June 27, 1691, Viscount Sydney reports to the Earl of Nottingham that Hagrín Toledano, "a hebrew," had come with Sieur Juan Smith Hoppendorp to the Camp at Gembloux from Morocco, to "arrange for the redemption of 350 English that are in slavery there."

It may be noted that an Isaac Abendana received a pass for Holland early in January 1693. Only a few weeks earlier (December 6, 1692) a Jacob Abendana obtained a similar pass. As the famous Isaac was regularly teaching Hebrew in Oxford throughout 1693, he can only have paid a flying visit to the Continent, apparently during a University vacation. As to the identity of these Abendanas, see *J. H. S. Trans.*, viii. 121.

The spellings of the names are frequently confused, and the same names recur in various guises. Thus the Argel Jermy (of July 17, 1691) and the Angelo Fermy (of Oct. 22, 1692, and May 16, 1695) seem one and the same individual. As Mr. W. J. Hardy—the editor of the volumes in the Rolls Series—remarks, the clerks seem to have found insuperable difficulty in reproducing some of the unfamiliar names which they were called upon to enter. With the official spellings compare some of the same names with those in the documents presented by Dr. Gaster in his *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London, 1901).

It must be clearly understood that this list is not complete; it will be continued in later Notes. Just as there were passes issued to Jews long before 1689, so there were passes issued after 1696, the latest year covered by the published Calendars. The present list, moreover, has not

been compiled from the original sources, but from the Calendars. To derive the full significance of these lists would, however, be an arduous task, and it has seemed worth while to print these extracts as raw materials from which the full deductions must be drawn subsequently. Even as they stand they throw light upon social and commercial conditions, and also contribute to our knowledge of the migrations of Jews during a formative period of the present Anglo-Jewish community.

I. ABRAHAMS.

April 1915.

1689.

- [April 15] . . . Jacob Lopé, merchant.
Oct. 14 . . . The Rabbi, Isaac Cohen Sedek ("to go beyond seas").

1690.

- [Mar. 7] . . . Levi Vallat.
[Mar. 17] . . . For 28 bakers, employed by Isaac Pereyra, Commissary-General of the Army in Ireland (to go from Bristol to Ireland). In an entry Feb. 10, 1690, Pereyra is described as "Mons. Pereyra," and reference is made to his "contract for providing bread to the army."
[Mar. 28] . . . Jacob Ariesz.
[Sept. 30] . . . Abraham Nathan, his wife, a nurse and maid, Michael Levy, Joseph Symonds, Jacob Michael.

1691.

- [May 28] . . . Joseph Jacobs.
[June 1] . . . Solomon Teuy and Isaac Barents.
[June 18] . . . Isaac Mendez, merchant, with his three sons, Moses, Jacob, and David (recommended by Isaac Pereyra), to go to Gravesend or the Downs and embark for Jamaica.
[June 20] . . . Isaac Lopez, Sollomoh Aylon, Phineas Gomes Serra, Jeosuah Gomes Serra, David Gomes Continho, Moses Sasportas, Samuel Alvarenga, and Thomas Reeves, servant of the said Phineas Gomes Serra. .
[July 3] . . . Antonio de Orbo and Abraham Ergase, with Eliza Perrerr and Jacob Baruch their servants.

- July 17 . . . Argel Jermy, a Jew.
 [Aug. 13] . . . Abraham Naton and Moses Polack.
 [Sept. 2] . . . Nathaniel Falck.
 [Sept. 26] . . . Daniel Elias.

1692.

- Mar. 14 . . . David Mendez, Eli de Medina, Barons Isaacs, and Jacob de Baiza, four Jews.
 Apr. 7 . . . Michell Michell, Elias Isaac Polack, David Franco Drago, and Heschall Abrahams, four Jews.
 [May 14] . . . Emanuel Castillo.
 May 16 . . . The Earl of Nottingham to the Deputies of Margate. Being informed that Moses Dejacó, his wife, and five children, with a servant, have lately come from Holland and are stopped at Margate, they not having a pass; and it having been certified to me that they are all Jews, and in no way disaffected to the Government, her Majesty desires you to permit them to come to London.
 [May 16] . . . Jacob Castiliano, David Alvarano, Isaac Hereius, Benjamin Solus, Jacob Amego, Simon Fince, Samuel Josepht, and Abraham Bebis.
 [May 20] . . . Joseph Levi and Isaac Barents; Joseph Sarportis and his son, David Pardes and his son, Moses Depas, Isaac Preto, and Abraham Corea, his wife, and a maid and child.
 [June 7] . . . David Danon.
 [June 15] . . . Abraham Nathans.
 [June 29] . . . Joseph Jacobs, Samuel Simons, his wife and two children, and Isaac Simons.
 [July 12] . . . Samuel David Bernis.
 [July 14] . . . Moses France.
 [July 16] . . . Salomon and Arent Emanuels, brothers; Adolff Gerstensberg.
 July 29 . . . Mosch de Crasto, Samuel Alvarenga, Mosch Pacheco, Rachel his wife, and Isaac their son, Isaac Bernall, Joseph de Medina and Rachel his wife, Francisco Pereira and his wife, Joseph Salthiell, Barzilay Guilady, and Moseh Valensin, Jews.
 [Aug. 2] . . . Isaac Roselis.
 Aug. 6 . . . David Carvalho, Abraham Frois, Moses Frois, Abraham Rapas, Ben Rapas, and two children, Abigail Nunes,

- Rebecca Henriques, Branca Rodrigues, and Jeuda Carmy Esteves, "being all poor Jews." In the same entry passes are also given for "the Jews"—(not designated "poor")—James Henriques, Francis Pereyra and his wife, Joseph Labo and his wife, John Van Well and his servant, Abraham de Caseres, Myer Coen, Rachel Mines, and Samuel Vaes.
- [Aug. 9] . . . Jacob Israels, Solomon Levi, — Moses, his wife and two small children.
- [Aug. 16] . . . Jacob Michielse, Sarah his wife, and Abraham, Isaac, and Aaron, their children.
- [Aug. 26] . . . Michael Ereyrer, Jacob Polack, Joseph Crosse ("an Italian," *cf.* entries under July 17, 1694; June 13, 1695; and July 14, 1696).
- [Aug. 31] . . . Nathan and Saloman Michielsz, two brothers, and David Alvringe, with their wives and four children.
- [Sept. 20] . . . Moses Sasportas, David Alvarenga, Salomon Alvarer, his wife and his mother, Abraham and — Jacob.
- [Sept. 27] . . . Moses Jacobz and Simon Levi.
- [Sept. 29] . . . Joshua Salvador, Isaac Pachecho, Abraham Excixa, and two negroes.
- [Sept. 30] . . . Isaac Abrahams; Jacob Israel, Isaac Israel, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Levi, Simon Hollander, and Calme Jacobs.
- [Oct. 1] . . . Isaac Agilar and Benjamin Jacobs.
- [Oct. 5] . . . Isaac and Gabriel David, brothers.
- [Oct. 8] . . . Isaac Cogin, with David and Sarah their children.
- [Oct. 11] . . . Jacob Benjamin.
- [Oct. 14] . . . Levi Luts De Jonge.
- [Oct. 21] . . . Rodrigos Montezenus.
- [Oct. 22] . . . Angelo Fermi.
- Nov. 4 . . . Isaac Preto, David de Crasto, and Abraham Alvares, "three poor Jews."
- [Nov. 8] . . . Emanuel Symons.
- [Nov. 23] . . . — Lopes, — Francia, and — Alvarenga.
- [Nov. 25] . . . Jacob Abrahams, Soesman Levi, Isaac Symons.
- [Dec. 6] . . . Juda Coen and Jacob Abendana.
- [Dec. 12] . . . Symon Abrahamz; Meyer Moses, Mark Moses, and Hertog Abrahams.

1693.

- [Jan. 3] . . . Isaac Abendana.
 [Jan. 4] . . . Hertog Moses.
 [Jan. 9] . . . John and Joseph Garcia.
 [Jan. 11] . . . Simon Hertog.
 [Jan. 20] . . . Abraham Nathan, Levine Wisviler and his wife and
 his servant Benjamin Jacob, Elias Isaac Polak, Mor-
 decai Isaac, and Moses Marces (recommended by
 Mr. John Johnson, Goldsmith, in Cheapside).
 [Jan. 27] . . . Samson David, Frantie David and her two small
 children, and Moses, Salomon, and Michael Levi.
 [Feb. 3] . . . Sosman Levi.
 [Mar. 6] . . . Levy and Joseph Hartogh, and Moses Eleazar.
 [Feb. 8] . . . Ferdinand and Hana Abendaro ; Samuel Recaudo.
 [Mar. 10] . . . Moses Isaacx ; Joseph Pereira.
 [Mar. 15] . . . Nathan Levi, Mark Solomons, and Abraham Isaacx ;
 Jacob Israels, Moses Israels, his wife and three
 children
 [Mar. 24] . . . Isaac Elias.
 [Apr. 13] . . . Ralph Abendana and Samuel Freras (for New England).
 [Apr. 19] . . . Salomon Levy and his wife, Israel Elias, Nathan Symons
 and his sister, Daniel Polack, and Rachel Isaax.
 [Apr. 30] . . . Marcus Levi, Aron Jacobs, Meyer Samson, and Levy
 Hollander.
 [May 17] . . . Abraham Bilisario.
 [May 26] . . . Jacob Salomon, Joseph Meyer, and Jacob his son.
 [June 8] . . . Isaac and Esther Telles da Costa, Joseph Nunes da
 Costa, with his wife and one child, Nuno da Costa,
 Emy Betty, and Isaac, "a Portuguese family."
 [June 30] . . . Abraham Levy, Solomon Gerson, and Nathan Moses.
 [July 7] . . . Joseph Levy, Nathan Herse, and Benjamin Polack.
 [July 17] . . . Abraham Asser, Salomon Franck, Jacob Moses, David
 Aarons, and Mardochay Meyer.
 [July 31] . . . Joseph de Costa.
 Sept. 12 . . . Abraham Ben Omachor.
 [Oct. 20] . . . Bersebah Aberbanel and her son Joseph.
 [Oct. 23] . . . Isaac and Jacob Cohen, brothers.
 [Oct. 25] . . . Abraham la Batte and Elias Cohen.
 [Nov. 13] . . . Jacob Montesinos.

1694.

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| Jan. | 30 | . . . | Samuel Coen Vare, a Jew, recommended by Mr. Francesco de Casares. |
| [Feb. | 13] | . . . | Michaela Abrahams and a child. |
| Mar. | 23 | . . . | Moses Bendennon, a Jew. |
| July | 9 | . . . | Jacob Nunez, a Jew. |
| July | 17 | . . . | Nicholas Babossia and Joseph Croce, both Jews (under date August 31, occurs the entry : Nicholas Babullia and Joseph Croce, two poor Italian inhabitants of Amsterdam). |
| Aug. | 21 | . . . | Reby Mayer, Abraham and Isaac Jerusalem, Abraham Lion, Jacob Nunes, Moses de Ribas, David La Mar, Abraham Bayone, Phineas Abraham and Samuel Bona Dia, being "poor Jews." |
| Aug. | 27 | . . . | Jacob Mendes, Moses Rachell, Abraham and Isac Mendes, German Jews. |
| Sept. | 17 | . . . | Abraham Ereira, a Jew. |
| Oct. | 3 | . . . | Joseph Abraham, Samuel Levy, Samuel Davids, and Solomon Davids, "poor Jews" of Amsterdam. |
| Oct. | 10 | . . . | Hertog Meyer and Elias Levy, "poor Jews." |
| Oct. | 18 | . . . | Augustin Masacane, Jeronimo Bantitta, Carlos Francisco, and Francisco Mentor, Jews of Amsterdam. |
| [Oct. | 22] | . . . | Emanuel Castilo. |
| Nov. | 9 | . . . | Salbador Parensa, a Jew. |
| Nov. | 20 | . . . | Jacob Penso and Abraham Obediente, "poor Jews." |
| Nov. | 20 | . . . | Elias Polaque, Moses Marques, and Moses Fermes three "poor Jews." |

1695.

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| Feb. | 6 | . . . | Benjamin Soares and Abraham Mendez Guigon, two "poor Jews." |
| Feb. | 20 | . . . | David Daniels and Hendrick Isaacks, two Jews of Amsterdam. |
| Feb. | 27 | . . . | Abraham Delgado and Samuel Obediente, Jews of Amsterdam. |
| Apr. | 17 | . . . | Mordochai Munion and Moses Saruch, two "poor Jews." |
| [May | 6] | . . . | Joshua Bueno, Moses Mocatta. |
| May | 16 | . . . | Angelo Fermy, a Jew. |

- May 24 . . . Reina Israel and Judica Isaac, and five children, being all Jews.
- June 13 . . . Francesco Sano and Joseph Croce, Jews of Amsterdam.
- June 17 . . . Isaac Gabay Faro, a Jew of Amsterdam.
- [June 18] . . . Isaac Nunez and Jacob Mendez, of Amsterdam.
- June 25 . . . Abraham Franks and Lazarus Garmon, two Jews.
- [July 4] . . . Abraham Israel Reyna and Sarah his wife, with Rebecca their daughter, and Isaac their son, subjects of the Great Duke of Tuscany (for Italy).
- July 5 . . . Joseph Bengaces, Elias Meyato, Abraham Israel, Isaac Polacke, Isaac Garcia, and Jacob Garcia, "poor Jews."
- July 31 . . . Jacob Pardo, Judica Pardo, and Abraham Herrera, "poor Jews"; Abraham Suarez, Pincha Verrall, "poor Jews."
- Sept. 3 . . . Isaac Belisario, a Jew (for Denmark).
- Sept. 6 . . . Abraham Jerusalem, Raphael Jerman, David Israel, and Isaac Franco, "poor Jews."
- [Sept. 13] . . . Isaac Levi.
- Sept. 17 . . . Joseph Musafia and Asar Vidal, "poor Jews."
- [Sept. 24] . . . Abraham Nathan and his man Moses Marks (for Holland or Hamburg).
- Sept. 25 . . . Hester Castilio and four children, "poor Jews"; Aaron Moyses; Rabby Nathman, Abraham Jerusalem, Isaac Frankco, and Jacob Oseni, "poor Jews"; Isaac Francia and Aser Vidall, "poor Jews."
- Oct. 2 . . . Joseph Lota and Isaac Henricus, two "poor Jews" (for Holland or Flanders).
- Oct. 15 . . . Abraham Garcia and Richa his wife, "poor Jews."
- Oct. 21 . . . Sanson Gidlon, "poor Jew."
- Oct. 22 . . . Rachel de Fiansaca, Jacob her son, Raphael Traves, "poor Jews."
- Nov. 26 . . . Moses Sarucco, Hester his wife, Rebecca Manchorra and three children, and Joseph Falcon, "poor Jews."
- [Dec. 14] . . . Salomon Levi, Hamburger.
- [Dec. 19] . . . Salomon Juda, a subject of the States General.

1696.

- [Jan. 13] . . . Moses Pharo of Amsterdam.
- [Jan. 15] . . . Jude Solomon.
- Jan. 22 . . . Alexander Jacobs, with Anna Moses his wife, Jews of Amsterdam.
- Jan. 29 . . . Moses Duarte, a "poor Jew."

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| Feb. 11 | . . . | Isaac Gomez, a "poor Jew" (at the recommendation of Mr. Rodrigues). |
| [Mar. 5] | . . . | Eliezer Caliman, Gabriel Morenu, and Abraham Herera, with their servants. |
| [Apr. 17] | . . . | Isaac Pereyra Coutino, Abraham Baruch Louzada Joseph de Mattos, and one servant (for Holland); David Baruh Louzada, his son, and Rebecca Baruh Louzada (to go to Barbados). |
| [Apr. 26] | . . . | Isaac Saraina, Aaron Sasportas, and Ephraim Arary. |
| Apr. 28 | . . . | Herst Arones, a "poor Jew." |
| [Apr. 30] | . . . | Alvaro da Costa and his three servants, Richard Lickerish, Isaac, and Livy. |
| June 3 | . . . | Aaron bar Joseph, Benjamin bar Jacob, Jews. |
| [June 10] | . . . | Pores Moses. |
| June 30 | . . . | Abram Fundon, Abraham de Silba, and Elias Coliman, Jews; Lemmel Jacob, a "poor Jew." |
| July 3 | . . . | Mordecai Bar Sadun, a Jew. |
| [July 7] | . . . | Isaac Sweeres, "subject of the States General." |
| [July 14] | . . . | Joseph Croce (here described as manservant of Anthony Francis Magnoni, Italian merchant). |
| [July 20] | . . . | Moses Aarense and Isaac Fernandus, subjects of the States General. |
| [July 29] | . . . | Moses Messiah, Isaac Henriquez, and Jacob Nunes Meread. |
| [July 30] | . . . | Moses Frank and Simon his son, Mayer Ascana, Zacharias Ponsergy, Abraham Moses, and Kindly Mayer (a woman); Merian Treves, Vossa Treves, and two children, Samuel Mendes, Juda bar Jacob, and David Gaterno. |
| July 30 | . . . | Abraham de Mercado, Judith and Deborah de Mercado, and Anna Jupel; Elias Polack and Jacob Levy, Jews. |
| Aug. 7 | . . . | Moses Sasportas, Simon bar Jacob, and Lazaro Levi, Jews. |
| [Aug. 13] | . . . | Joseph Arons and Judith Simonse his mother. |
| [Aug. 25] | . . . | Hanna Moses, subject of the States General. |
| Sept. 1 | . . . | Abraham Baruh Aboab, a Jew. |
| Sept. 7 | . . . | Jacob Lema, a "poor Jew." |
| Oct. 20 | . . . | Samuel de Matos, David Rozales, and Aaron Rozales, "poor Jews." |
| Oct. 26 | . . . | Sal. Levy, a Jew. |
| Oct. 30 | . . . | Richard Chapman (=Isaac Fernandez. See Introduction). |
| Dec. 14 | . . . | Simon Saranu and his wife, "poor Jews." |

9.

The Netherbury Tombstone.

In *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, vol. xiv. part cvi. (Sherborne, June 1914), will be found an account of a very curious Tombstone in Netherbury Churchyard, Dorset. The stone dates from 1819 C.E., a date at which country churchyards usually present very little attraction to scholars. But this one is both interesting and puzzling. Its main interest lies in the fact that it has קדש ליהוה (Holiness unto the Lord, Exodus xxviii. 36) inscribed upon it in Old-Hebrew ('Ibri) characters, and the puzzle is how this bit of Semitic lore should have taken root in a remote nook of rural England.

The inscription runs as follows (*Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, p. 75):

Memento Mori

[Hebrew line: see Facsimile below.]

IN MEMORY

of BETTEY SYMES

Who slept with the Fathers

[Jan.]: the 27th A.D. 1819 aged 75 Years

— ALSO —

of DANIEL SYMES who departed this Life

April 18th 1824: Aged 78 Years.

The field of God is sown with the
seeds of the Resurrection.

The line in Old Hebrew letters, referred to in the above transcript, runs thus :—



In the *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* the transcript of the stone is followed by an excellent letter from Dom R. H. Connolly, of Downside Abbey, giving information about the character of the lettering, and pointing out that the person who designed the Hebrew inscription was probably acquainted with the statements in Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, viii. 3). To this letter I commend anyone who may be interested in the stone. My main purpose, however, in writing this Note is to urge that while the Tombstone shows a remarkable knowledge of Hebrew, there is nothing to suggest that the persons buried were Jews, or indeed that they had any connection with Jewish, as distinct from "Old Testament," learning.

In the first place, Daniel Symes seems to have been of a yeoman family long settled in the neighbourhood. The name Symes means the same as Simpson or Simmondson, *i.e.* Son of Simon, a name quite as often Christian in origin as Jewish. Bettey Symes seems to have been the daughter of Charles and Mary Pain, baptized 8 January 1744. Further, I imagine that a Jew or crypto-Jew would have put some word or words reminiscent of Jewish epitaph forms on his tombstone. Indeed, the employment of the Old-Hebrew Alphabet and of the Tetragrammaton strikes me as un-Jewish: it is a piece of Gentile erudition rather than of Jewish piety.

The question therefore arises whence Mr. and Mrs. Symes derived their curious knowledge. They may, of course, have been helped by the parson, but I cannot find that he was a known scholar; and if it had been his work we might have expected to find it on other tombs in the churchyard. In any case, we ought to look out for something not too erudite, something about Bible-learning in English. Mr. Abrahams' suggestion to Dom Connolly that the source was Josephus, is, I think, on the right track; Josephus was much read in England, especially in Whiston's translation. Unfortunately this type of Hebrew lettering does

not occur in any edition of Josephus that I have seen. The nearest is the picture of the High Priest's headband in the original folio edition of Whiston's Josephus, but there the letters are clearly Samaritan, like the Samaritan type used in eighteenth-century printed books.

The letters on the tombstone are more like the letters on silver shekels. Still nearer are the letters on the picture of the High Priest's Breastplate in the 1730 edition (French) of Calmet's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 352. In this picture the names of the twelve precious stones are written in 'Ibri characters very like those on the tomb. All the letters required occur, except *vav*, and the *vav* on the tomb is conspicuously inferior in shape to the rest.

I can scarcely claim to have unearthed the actual source of Daniel Symes's erudition; in fact, I should not be satisfied until I could find a picture, accessible to him, of Aaron's Petalon with קדש ליהוה exhibited thereon in the required lettering. And further, we need to account for the curious phrases about "sleeping with the Fathers" and the "Field of God." I think the composition was due to Daniel Symes himself, for the three lines recording his own death are quite commonplace; moreover, the two final lines about the Field of God are in the same lettering as those about the Fathers. It was easy to leave a sufficient space blank for Daniel's own name, to be added afterwards. All the interest therefore of this curious tombstone is in the part commemorating Betty Symes, erected while her widowed husband was still alive. He must have been an odd character in this Wessex village a hundred years ago!

F. C. BURKITT.

April 1915.

IO.

Jews and the Coral Trade.

The appended document, which has been kindly brought to the notice of the Society by Mr. Horace Mitchell, Assistant Superintendent of Records at the India Office, is interesting for at least two reasons. In the first place, it illustrates the large part played by Jews in the coral trade, as controlled by the East India Company, for of the sixteen

leading firms signing it, eight are Jewish ; and, in the second place, the appearance of Benjamin D'Israeli (the grandfather of Lord Beaconsfield) among the signatories marks an important turning-point in the variegated career of that adventurous personage.

Jews were prominent in the coral trade from a very early period, and their interest in it had much to do with the migrations which gradually shaped the Anglo-Jewish community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Coral was shipped to India, where there was a great demand for it, and the returns were very largely taken in diamonds. Hence, two Jewish interests were involved, that of the great gem merchants of London and Amsterdam, who were chiefly Jews, and that of the coral dealers in Italy, who were also very largely Jews. The trade, however, was declared a monopoly by both the British and Dutch East India Companies, and individual merchants could only take part in it as licensees of the Companies or as "interlopers." In both these capacities Jews figure very often in the early records of the East India Company, and even the great Alvaro da Costa himself was once caught "interloping" by the Nabobs of Leadenhall Street. (*I.O. Court Book*, vol. xxxii. pp. 16, 18, 68, 69.)

In the latter half of the seventeenth century the Jewish licensees in London were almost exclusively Spanish and Portuguese immigrants, such as the Mendez da Costas, the Salvadors, the Marquez' and the Gomes Rodrigues', who obtained their coral from other Spanish and Portuguese Jews settled in Italy. In the twenties and thirties of the eighteenth century Italian Jews began to break into this monopoly, and after the establishment of the great firm of Treves in London, quite a stream of Italian Jewish immigrants poured into London, and eventually concentrated the import of coral into their own hands, though the licenses to export in the Company's ships to India were still confined to the greater houses, whose members were freemen of and stockholders in the Company. It is interesting to note that the system under which coral licenses were granted was due to the Jewish merchants. Previously to 1685 the licenses were granted or refused quite arbitrarily, but in that year, owing to representations made by Alvaro da Costa, Alphonso Rodrigues, "and other Jews," a system was agreed upon by which licenses for export could always be obtained on stated conditions, which were equal for all applicants. (*Court Book*, vol. xxxiv. p. 79.)

The trade was one which required capital and character, and in neither of these respects was Benjamin D'Israeli very conspicuous in the early years of his residence in this country. Indeed, in 1759 he was compelled to assign what estate he had in trust for his creditors, and in 1764 his *finta* at Bevis Marks was only five shillings per annum. It says very much for his energy and resourcefulness that five years later we find him ruffling it with great houses like those of Franco, Salvador, and Serra as a leading representative of the coral and diamond interest in the City. His change of fortune was, however, not exclusively due to his personal qualities. His second marriage, which took place in 1765, and which brought him both capital and influential connections, had also much to do with it.

All the Jewish signatories of this document have interesting histories, but this is scarcely the place to set them out. A word or two, however, should be said about the first signatories, Messrs. Jacob, Moseh, and Rafael Franco, as they illustrate the family connections by which the coral trade was conducted. They were from Leghorn, where for generations they had been equally prominent as Jews and traders. Jacob was the father of Moseh and Rafael. He had one brother, Rafael, at Leghorn, who exported the coral to him, and he had another, Solomon, who looked after the firm's interests at Fort St. George (Madras). Moseh Franco was a brother-in-law of Joseph Salvador, another of the signatories, and Rafael Franco of Leghorn was a brother-in-law of another, Phineas Serra. The Francos were ancestors of Lord Ludlow and the Massey Lopes family.

The crisis in the coral trade, with which our document deals, was not of long duration, for within a very few years licenses for the export of coral were being issued again, on quite a large scale, to the Jewish houses. A note of one of these licenses, issued to Abraham Goldsmid in 1793, is appended by Mr. Mitchell.

LUCIEN WOLF.

May 1915.

[*Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 52, No. 240.]

To the Hon^{ble} Court of Directors of the United East India Company.

The Memorial of the Merchants & Traders in Coral, Diamonds, Jewels, Silver &c^a

Humbly sheweth

That the said Company having resolved to send out Henry Vansittart, Luke Scrafton, and Francis Forde, Esq^r as Commissioners for regulating their Affairs in the East Indies—Your Memorialists beg leave to represent to this Hon^{ble} Court, some of the many difficulties the Trade of Your Memorialists at present labours under ; in order that the redress thereof may become the object of the said Commissioners Consideration, viz^t.

By the Considerable returns that are become necessary to be made for Account of Individuals, the Diamond Trade has been greatly extended, and the Profits thereon much reduced, owing to the advantage the Natives have taken of this particular situation [in] enhancing the price, though there has been no considerable increase in the Quantity of Diamonds, and by the Methods in which they carry this Trade on.

From the Wars and Calamities in the Country, the demand for Coral has been greatly diminished, and these difficulties, if not remedied, will, we apprehend, cause the Trade to revert into some other Channel.

For want of Returns, the Traders Money has remaind in India unemployed, and their Factors alledge they cannot make an Interest thereof during the delay of Returns. That the Trade has always been profitable to the Company, yielding a certain revenue to them, and emolument to their Servants and Factories of near 20 pC^t on its value, and that it would be a great encouragement thereto, as well as useful to the Company, could the Coral Consigners be permitted to pay the Cash into the Company's Treasury's in their several Settlements at a moderate Interest, subject to be returnd to them with reasonable Notice when they may want it.

Your Memorialists therefore hope, that at this time of distress, the said Trade will merit the attention, and immediate Protection, of the Company ; and humbly beg

That this Hon^{ble} Court will give particular Instructions to the Commissioners, Henry Vansittart, Luke Scrafton, and Francis Forde, Esq^r, to take the State of the Trade into their mature Consideration, and to give them all such relief and assistance as they shall find necessary and useful.

That this Hon^{ble} Court will be pleas'd to give Instructions to their Governors and Councils of their Factories abroad, to receive the Monies

deposited into their several Treasuries for Account of Coral Consigners and to allow an Interest of p Cent p annum, subject to the Principal and Interest being repaid on Notice being given.

That this Hon^{ble} Court would order Bills on the Hon^{ble} Company to be issued from any of their Factories as is usual for their Covenanted Servants, and that the same be a standing, and separate order, 'till particularly revoked.

And Your Memorialists will ever pray &ca &ca

JACOB, MOSEH & RAFAEL FRANCO
 JOSEPH SALVADOR
 CHARLES GRAVE HUDSON
 BENJAMIN D'ISRAELI
 PHINEAS SERRA for Self & the Late Mr JUDAH SUPINO
 NATH: & HAN: MODIGLIANI
 AARON & SOLOMON NORDEN
 P: & R: MULLMAN
 WILL^m ROBINSON
 ANT. & J. L. ANDRÉ
 EDM: BOEHM
 JOHN & NATH. FREE
 JAMES FREMEANY & SON
 JAMES TIERNEY
 JOSEPH & MOSES NORSA
 M. A (?) SALOMON

Endorsements :

Mem. Traders in Coral representing the difficulties they labour under.

Read in C[ourt].

Com^{tee} Corres^{ce} }
 Ex^a & Rep. } 4 Aug. 1769.

Memorial of the Merchants and Traders in Coral Diamonds
 Jewels Silver &ca.

Court Minutes, 16 April 1793. [Vol. 102, p. 11.]

On reading several requests.

Ordered . . .

That Mr. Abraham Goldsmid have leave to ship Coral, on the Hillsborough, to the amount of £600 on the usual terms.

II.

"Theodore Cyphon."

Cumberland's play, *The Jew*, appeared in 1794, and two years later was published *Theodore Cyphon*. The author was George Walker, a bookseller of London and a prolific writer of novels. His works are a curious compound of wild melodramatic incident with comments, often shrewd enough, on social and political actualities.

Theodore Cyphon well represents Walker's method. The main plot is a tiresome story, told in retrospect, of Theodore's heroism and misfortunes in several walks of life, from the Minorities to Arabia. He ends on the scaffold for an offence which was, in truth, his noblest act of chivalry. In between we have a quite able discussion of the cruelty of inflicting capital punishment in cases of mere robbery. The author concludes his Preface with the fear that readers may exclaim: "Well, it was very tragical; but I am glad the hero is settled at last." That, at least, is the sentiment of a modern reader.

This novel of Walker's, however, arrests attention by being set in a Jewish frame. The term frame is used advisedly, since the main narrative is independent of the setting.

The full title of the book is *Theodore Cyphon, or the Benevolent Jew*. There were two editions of it. The first came out in 1796, the second in 1823. Of the second edition the British Museum possesses a complete copy; of the first edition an imperfect example—consisting of the first of the three volumes—has recently been presented to the University Library, Cambridge. The "benevolent Jew" is one Shechem Bensadi, and he is drawn with more than sympathy. Shechem lends

money at exorbitant rates to the improvident aristocracy, and devotes his gains to the relief of deserving unfortunates. Nay, his clients are not always deserving. When robbed, Shechem refuses to prosecute; he showers favours on those who treat him despitefully. His philanthropy is extended to Jew and Gentile alike. There is one remarkable scene in the fifth chapter, in which Shechem is shown in a large storehouse, surrounded by scores of poor Jews to whom he supplies goods, thus enabling them to earn a livelihood. In equally striking chapters, Shechem plays the rôle of benefactor and friend to others than his own co-religionists.

The first edition of *Theodore Cyphon* was obviously suggested by Cumberland's success. Curiously enough, the sub-title, *The Benevolent Jew*, is used in the sheet concerning Cumberland's play printed in vol. vii. of the *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society, p. 177. It is not improbable that the second edition of *Theodore Cyphon* was due to the popularity of Scott's *Ivanhoe*, which was published in December 1819. There are not wanting some superficial parallels between Scott's masterpiece and Walker's earlier and more moderate production. Eve, Shechem's daughter, nurses Walker's hero, just as Isaac's daughter Rebecca nurses Scott's hero. The most interesting parallel—perhaps the only real one—is presented in two scenes, one in *Ivanhoe*, the other in *Theodore Cyphon*. The first is the occasion on which Rebecca sings her famous hymn. Scott describes his poem as a "translation" of a hymn with which the evening ritual of the Synagogue concluded. It is really an original composition inspired by various scriptural texts, and in its turn may have suggested some great lines in Kipling's *Recessional*. Is it possible that Scott's idea of Rebecca's hymn was suggested by Walker? For, in the second scene alluded to above, Eve, too, is overheard singing a song to "music wild, yet so soft."

Walker gives us only the last stanza of Eve's song, which runs thus (p. 46 of vol. i. of the 1796 edition):

The wand'ers of Israel, through nations dispers'd,
Shall again dwell in safety, again rest in peace;
And the harp, that so plaintive our sorrows rehears'd,
Shall thrill with new pleasures, as pleasures increase:
The sweet, spicy shrubs, that wave over the hills,
Untouch'd by the simoom, eternally blow,
Frankincense and myrrh from their bosom distils,
And love shall attend on our path as we go.

Scott, of course, had other models besides Walker. Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* came out both with and without Nathan's musical accompaniment in 1815, four years before *Ivanhoe* was written. It is curious, by the way, to note that Rudolf Eric Raspe, the original of the character whom Scott so mercilessly caricatures as Dousterswivel in his novel *The Antiquary*, was not only the author of *Baron Munchausen*, but was also the first translator into English of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (London, 1781). Scott does not seem to have been acquainted with Lessing's play, either in the original or in translation. Scott's indebtedness to Marlowe, on the other hand, has already been pointed out by the present writer.

Having drawn attention to the parallel between Walker and Scott, it will be useful to note an equally striking contrast. On pages 110-112 of *Theodore Cyphon* occurs the passage:

His chief concern was for Eve, whom he saw, notwithstanding Theodore's supposed engagements, and the restrictions of religion, still encourage sentiments which sapped the foundation of her happiness, and which no expedient offered to remove, but by parting with its object, or suffering their marriage spite of religion and law.

Though a Jew, skilled in the learning of the Talmud and Mosaic law, he was without those prejudices that attend on superstition. He saw clearly that, when those precepts were first instituted, they were designed as a prevention of communication between the Israelite and Heathen, lest by the influence and interchange of the softer sex, they might be led into the practice of idolatry. Yet now, taking up the argument in a religious way, the danger existed no longer; both Jew and Christian agreeing in the chief article of worship, though divided about what the understanding of neither can comprehend. In a civil light, man was created for the society of man. The distinction of kingdom and people was childish, and fit only to insult the understanding. But whilst he indulged himself in these speculations, he avoided hinting to Eve that there was a possibility she should ever become the wife of Theodore, that the unattainability of the object might blunt or destroy the ardour of hope: for however he might have wished for such a character (so far as observation could judge) as his son-in-law, under the present circumstances he could not have allowed it, had even the affections of Theodore been placed upon her, which he believed was far from the case, as the observation he had made when he entered his chamber abruptly, and the words, "O Eliza," which his daughter had heard, led him to conclude some prior engagement retained him.

The sequel shows that Theodore is already married to Eliza. With Walker's view, however, as to such a marriage, it is fruitful to compare

the noble passage, on the same subject, with which Scott concludes the preface to the 1830 edition of *Ivanhoe*.

The character of the fair Jewess found so much favour in the eyes of some fair readers, that the writer was censured, because, when arranging the fates of the characters of the drama, he had not assigned the hand of Wilfred to Rebecca, rather than to the less interesting Rowena. But, not to mention that the prejudices of the age rendered such an union almost impossible, the author may, in passing, observe that he thinks a character of a highly virtuous and lofty stamp is degraded rather than exalted by an attempt to reward virtue with temporal prosperity. Such is not the recompense which Providence has deemed worthy of suffering merit, and it is a dangerous and fatal doctrine to teach young persons, the most common readers of romance, that rectitude of conduct and of principle are either naturally allied with, or adequately rewarded by, the gratification of our passions, or attainment of our wishes. In a word, if a virtuous and self-denied character is dismissed with temporal wealth, greatness, rank, or the indulgence of such a rashly-formed or ill-assorted passion as that of Rebecca for *Ivanhoe*, the reader will be apt to say, Verily, virtue has had its reward. But a glance on the great picture of life will show, that the duties of self-denial, or the sacrifice of passion to principle, are seldom thus remunerated; and that the internal consciousness of their high-minded discharge of duty produces on their own reflections a more adequate recompense, in the form of that peace which the world cannot give or take away.

From the artistic point of view, Walker's novel has little merit. But it deserves to be better known from the historical point of view. It was another expression of the new attitude towards the Jew, which began to distinguish English letters in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The mention of *Ivanhoe* induces me to call attention to a misprint which has survived in all editions since the first. In Chapter X. of the novel *Sabaoth*s is printed for *Sabbath*s.

I. ABRAHAMS.

April 1915.

12.

The Lehman-Goldsmid Litigation.

The litigation between Mr. Lehman and the executors of Dr. Falk's will, referred to in Mr. Gordon P. G. Hill's paper (*Transactions Jewish Hist. Soc.*, viii. pp. 122 *seq.*), was of a somewhat complicated character. Although it was afterwards alleged that the will and codicil had been obtained by undue influence, no proceedings seem to have been taken to prevent the Probate or recall it when it had been granted. Probate was accordingly granted by the Ecclesiastical Courts, which before 1857 had jurisdiction over these matters, to the three executors named by Dr. Falk.

But of these Aaron Goldsmid died before there had been time to commence the duty of administering the estate, leaving George Goldsmid and Lyon de Symons the surviving executors.

Against them Lehman made a claim to a large sum of money, which he estimated as something between £15,000 and £20,000, as money lent to Dr. Falk in his lifetime, or entrusted to him upon the pretence that he would by some occult means acquire a large fortune for himself and for Lehman. Lehman commenced a suit in the Court of Exchequer to enforce his claim, and, further, took a step which still more embarrassed the executors. By far the greater part of the property left by Dr. Falk consisted of stock in the French Funds, which was deposited in the names of Simon and Abraham Boas of The Hague. Lehman immediately entered a Caveat in the French Courts which effectually prevented the executors from receiving the interest or dealing with the capital of this stock.

The executors then took the reasonable course of initiating a suit on the equity side of the Court of Exchequer against Lehman and another claimant named De Matz for the administration of Dr. Falk's estate.

In the course of the action several orders were obtained, for which search has been made in the Record Office, and copies of which are here appended. The result was that the proper officer was directed to take an account of Dr. Falk's personal estate and of the debts for which it was liable, and Lehman was ordered by the Court to withdraw the Caveat he had entered in respect of the money in the French Funds.

Under the pressure of motions for attachment this seems to have been ultimately done, and as Lehman was not able to obtain sufficient evidence to prove his claim against the executors, his suit was dismissed for want of prosecution.

The documents that follow are printed exactly as written in the records. But no difficulty will be found in reading such abbreviations as exor for executor, deced for deceased, plt for plaintiff, deft for defendant, testor for testator, and so forth.

H. S. Q. HENRIQUES.

October 1915.

Exchequer Entry Book of Decrees IV. 33.
Mich. 1784 N^o 11.

Whereas George Goldsmid & Lyon de Symons surviving Exors of Sam^l De ffalk deced plts did in Hilary Term in the Twenty third Year of the Reign of his present Majesty King George the third Exhibit their Original Bill In this Court ag^t Cosman Lehman & Dan^l Dematz One of the Legatees Named in the Will of the s^d Sam^l De Falk wch s^d Bill was afterw^{ds} amended by Order of Court bearing Date the [] Day of June 1783 which Bill being so amended Set forth that the s^d Sam^l De Falk being possed of an Estate Consisting of Stock in the ffrench funds & being possed of a Small personal Estate did ab^t the Month of April 1782 make his Will in writing to the Effect fo^{tt} that is to Say "I the underwritten Sam^l De ffalk do make this my last Will in Manner fo^{tt} that is to say I do hereby nominate and appoint to be Exor of this my last Will and Testam^t Mr Aaron Goldsmid and his son Mr George Goldsmid of Lemon Street Goodmansfields giving these my s^d Exors full power and authority of all my Estate and Effects Goods Wares and Chattles whatsoever to dispose of and Settle the Same in such Manner as I shall hereafter either in writing or in words explain the same to my s^d Exors and that they shall be in Every Respect bel^d in such Manner that no person or persons wtsoever Shall Oppose or Contradict wtever these my s^d Exors Shall do or act witness my hand the fourteenth Day of April 1782" That the s^d Sam^l De ffalk also made a Codicil to his s^d Will Dated April fourteenth 1782. & thereby directed that after his

decease Mr Aaron Goldsmid his son Mr George Goldsmid & his son-in-law Mr Judah Lyon son of Sam^l Shoud be his Exors and thereby also directed that his Exors shoud give every Year forever One hund^d pounds to the behoof of the Great Synagogue of the Holy Congregation in London which is Called by the Name of the Dukes Place Synagogue and Shoud also give to the Hambro Synagogue of the Holy Congregation at London Every Year Yearly forever fifteen Pounds and shoud also give to the New Synagogue in London Every Year for ever fifteen pounds and shoud also give to the Holy Congregation of the Portuguese Synagogue in London Every Year Yearly forever fifteen pounds and shoud also give to the Beth Hamedrash of the Holy Congregation of the German Jews in London Every Year Yearly forever Ten pounds and shoud also give to the Beth Hamedrash of the Holy Portuguese Congregation of the Jews in London Ten pounds every Year Yearly forever and shoud also give to the four Charitable Societys in London that is to say To the Society called Talmud Torah the Society Called Gidul Jethemim the Society Called Meshibath Nefesh and the Society Called Malbish Gnarumim too Each of the s^d Societys every year yearly forever five pounds that is to say to the s^d four Charitable Societys together Twenty Pounds every Year Yearly forever To the Congregation at ffurth Every Year Yearly forever Twenty Pounds & also give every year yearly forever to the High Priest for the time being whoseever he might be Ten guineas To his Stepson Gedaliah every Year during his life Ten Guin^s To Mr Joseph Shenop^tgh Yearly during his life three Guin^s To Mr Mendle Reader in the s^d Testors Synagogue during his life five Guineas every year to his serv^t Mendle Ten Guin^s To Mr Hirsh Bristle Ten Guineas to M^{rs} Rachel wife of Meyer Ten Guineas to Mr Aaron under reader in the Testors Synagogue five guineas To his serv^t Meyer five Guin^s To Mr Moses Priest in the New Synagogue Ten Guin^s To Mr Abraham Doctor Ten Guin^s To Mr Levi Kroks Ten Guin^s To Mr Morrish at the Hague One hund^d Dutch Guilders to Mr Sarmon at Amsterdam five Guin^s To Mr Mordecai the son of Lima Dresden Ten Guin^s To Mr Jacob son of Lima Dresden six Guin^s To Mr Abraham the son of Sheloms usually called Abraham Nancy the sum of fifty Guin^s To the s^d Mr Abraham ffurniture house Utensils and Books to the Amount of fifty Pounds in the whole and the Testor directed that the Books of Torah with all their Ornaments Holy Dresses and Holy Utensils shoud be

faithfully given to the Great Synagogue of the Holy Congregation in London as a present & as those who were Remembered or mentioned in the s^d Will to whom the specified Sums were to be given every Year during all the Term of their lives should die such his Sum should be given every year yearly forever to the Behoof of the Great Synagogue in London and as to w^t further might be required either for his Burial or to take Ten Men to learn the first Year or to give Money to the Poor between the decease and the Burial & in the thirty Days of Mourning be it what it would to the Honor of the living and the dead it shall all be left at the option of his Exors as af^d to do as they should think proper & also w^tever might be left of his Estate after all that had been mentioned should remain in the hands of the af^d Exors at their Option to Divide to the poor and if in a short or a long time be it when it would any relation of Testors should come who was Intitled to have Inherited the Testor his Exors should give him five pounds Out of the Estate & therewith he should be Cut off from his Estate and should have no further Claim w^tever That Aaron Goldsmid in the s^d Will named together with plts proved the s^d Will in the proper Ecclesiastical Court & took upon themselves the Burthen of the Execution thereof That the s^d Aaron Goldsmid Departed this life on or ab^t the [] day of [] without having possessed himself of any of the Effects of the s^d Testor leaving plts the surviving Exors That the s^d Sam^l De ffalk was at the time of his Death Entitled to the sum of [] in the ffrench funds together with an arrear of Dividends due thereon which s^d Stock stands in the name of Simon Boas and Abraham Boas of the Hague Merchants but that plts were not able to possess themselves thereof or of any part thereof but had been prevented from selling the same or receiving the Dividends thereof by the Deft Lehman who had entered a Caveat in the proper Offices there so as to prevent plts from possessing themselves of the s^d Stock or the Dividends thereof under a pretence that the s^d Sam^l De ffalk was in his life time and at the time of his Death Indebted to the s^d Cosman Lehman in a very Considerable Sum of money the Contrary whereof the plts Charge to be true but the s^d Deft Lehman with a view only to obstruct plts in the Execution of the Trust in them reposed by virtue of the said will had entered such a Caveat as af^d & Insisted he would obstruct plts in the Execution of the s^d Trust in them reposed That the s^d Sam^l De ffalk was at the time of his Death possessed of a very

small p̄sonal Estate in England w^{ch} plts possessed themselves of & had applied the same according to the Directions of the s^d Testors Will and in discharge of his ffuneral and other necessary Expenses attending the Execution of the s^d Trust as far as the same woud Extend But the Deft Dematz pretended that the s^d Deft was in his life time and at the time of his Death Indebted to him in the sum of Two hund^d pounds or some such some of money for Moneys lent and advanced by him to the s^d Testor or upon some other account the Contrary whereof plts Charged to be true and that in case it shall appear that the Testor was at the time of his Death Indebted to the said Deft Dematz In any Sum of money w^{tsoever} that then and in Such Case Plts Submitted that the s^d Testor did by his Will and Codicil bequeath to the s^d Deft an Annuity of ten pounds a year during his life in full satisfaction and discharge of all such sums of money as he stood Indebted if any to him and submitted that in case the Deft Dematz shoud prove that there was any Debt due to him from the said Testor at the time of his Death that then the s^d Deft shoud make his Election either to be paid such Db^t as he shoud happen to prove ag^t the s^d Testor or to relinquish any benefit respecting the s^d Annuity and the s^d Deft Lehman pretended that the Testor was in his life time and at the time of his Death Indebted to him in the sum of fifteen thous^d pounds and upw^{ds} the Contrary whereof plts Charged to be true and that the s^d Testor was not at the time of his Death Indebted to him in any Sum of money w^{tever} Therefore that Defts might answer the premises & that an account might be taken of the debts Owing by s^d Testor at the time of his Decease & that an account might also be taken of the p̄sonal Estate and Effects of the s^d Testor and that his Debts Legacys and ffuneral Expenses together with the Expenses of attending the Execution of the Trust in the s^d Testors Will might be paid and discharged by and Out of the produce of the s^d Testors p̄sonal Estate & Effects and that the Surplus might be laid Out in the p̄chase of Stock in the Name of the Dep^y Rem^r of this Court Subject to the Trusts in the s^d will mentioned and that the s^d Deft Lehman might be decreed to withdraw his afd Caveat and that the Deft Dematz might make his Election either to relinquish his s^d annuity or to take such debt as he shoud be able to prove was due to him from the s^d Testor in his life time and for Gen^l relief was the Scope of the s^d Bill wch Bill the Defts being duly served with the process of this Court appeared and put in their

d

answers The Deft Lehman by his answer to the s^d Original Bill sayd that s^d De ffalk made his Will & a Codicil thereto to the Effect in the Bill stated sayd that s^d Testor was in his life time and at the time of his Death Indebted to him the s^d Deft by Simple Contract in the s^d Sums of money for moneys lent to s^d Testor in his life time & for money by Deft paid laid out and Expended on the Account of s^d Testor in his life time and for Bills of Exchange for Considble Sums of money Recev^d by or paid to the s^d Testor or to his Order or for his Use and that Testor at the time of his death was Indebted to him in a Considble Sum of money for the rent of a Messuage Situate in Leman Street Goodmansfields and that the Sev^l Sums in which s^d Testor at the time of his Death was Indebted to him the s^d Deft as he computed amo^t to much more than fifteen thous^d pounds that is to say Twenty thous^d Pounds or to some such large sum of money & that the same or any part thereof had not been paid to him by plts and Aaron Goldsmid Dec^d in Bill named or either of them or by any pson since the s^d Testors decease Admitted that s^d Testor at the time of his decease was possessed or Intitled to a Considble Sum of money in the french funds wch then did as Def^t bel^d stand in Testors Own Name or in the Names of some other psons In Trust for him Bel^d there was some dividend then due thereon Bel^d that s^d Testor was at the time of his Decease possessed of or Intitled to other psonal Estate and Effects to a Considble amo^t and that great part thereof was then in England & other parts in Holland Submitted whe^r if plts had paid any of s^d Testors Legacys such payments was not a misapplication of s^d Testors Estate if it should turn Out that same was insuff^t to satisfy all the Debts which s^d Testor Owed at the time of his Decease and whe^r in that Case plts Ought not to answer out of their Estate and Effects the just Creditors of said Testors at least to the amo^t of the Legacys so paid by plts Admitted that s^d Testor at the time of his Decease being as afd Indebted to Deft & plts neglecting to pay the same he said Deft to secure himself what was so owing to him by s^d Testor had entered a Caveat in the proper offices in ffrance to prevent plts from possessing themselves of s^d Stock in the french funds or the Dividends thereof and the s^d Deft Lehman by his answer to the s^d amended Bill sayd that near forty years ago he became acquainted with the before named Sam^l De ffalk who was a Jew Rabbi and that from the time of his becoming so acquainted with him until the time of his Decease or

during the greatest part of that time the s^d Sam^l De ffalk seemed greatly attached to Deft & frequently expressed the most Exalted friendship & regard for him and the s^d Sam^l De ffalk being or appearing to be learned & well skilled in the Jewish Religion & the Dutys and Ceremonies thereof and a strict observer of the same & Deft being of the same religion and being satisfied of the Rectitude of the Def^t De ffalks life & behaviour he the s^d Deft did with Respect to religious and Spiritual Concerns put himself under the Direction Governm^t and protection of the s^d Def^t de ffalk who gained or acquired a great Influency and ascendancy Over Deft as well in his Temporal and Worldly affairs & business as in his Religious & Spiritual Concerns and Deft placed great Confidence in the s^d De ffalk and for a long time had and entertained a very high Opinion of his Honesty Integrity & Morality and frequently and on various Occasions Expressed his Admiration of the rectitude of the life and Behaviour of the s^d De ffalk Sayd that the said De ffalk by or amongst the Jews was Called Ball Shem which signifies a Man able to do or pform Supernatural things & it was reported of the s^d De ffalk that he was very learned and skilfull in the Cabalistic art & that he was able to discover and bring to light the riches and Treasures wch had been buried and Concealed in the Earth & in the Seas and that he had by Means of his great learning Knowl: & abilitys discovered and bro^t to light great Quantitys of Riches and Treasures wch had been buried or Concealed in the Earth in Sev^l parts of Germany & done and pformed before or in the presence of Men of Great Rank & Literature various other Wonderfull & astonishing things there and in other parts of the World wch were of such a Nature as to Induce a belief amongst illiterate & Ignorant People that the same were done and pformed by or by means of some Diabolical or wicked Art or Contrivance and that on Account thereof such a Clamour was raised against the s^d De ffalk as Occasioned him to be Expelled or Induced him to withdraw himself from sev^l Different States or principalitys in Germany and that some Narrative or Account of Sev^l Misterious Wonderfull or Astonishing Mres & things sayd to have been done or pformed by the s^d De ffalk was printed & published as Deft had been informed and bel^d Sayd he bel^d that the s^d De ffalk was really possed of a very great Learning and abilitys and that he was knowing and skilfull in Various arts and Sciences but at the time Deft became first acquainted with him he the

s^d De ffalk was in narrow Circumstances & possed of a very small or Inconsidble fortune and the s^d De ffalk after he had been sometime acquainted with Deft represented to and Informed him that if he the s^d De ffalk had fortune suff^t to enable him to apply himself Closely to his Works and Studies without being Interrupted by other Cares or Troubles he Coud by Innocent means and without any Diabolical or wicked Arts or Contrivances discover raise and bring to light the riches and Treasures wch were Buried or Concealed in the Earth & in the Seas and thereby or by Means thereof procure great Riches and Honours to and for himself and also for Such other persons on whom he shoud be willing or minded to Confer the same and that the s^d De ffalk well knowing that he had acquired Great Influence Over Deft & that deft was possed of a very Considble fortune applyed to deft and requested him to advance s^d De ffalk Such Sums of Money as he shoud from time to time want or have occasion for during the time he was pursuing and Carrying on his Works and Studies and he assured Deft that if he would Comply therewith he the s^d De ffalk woud not only repay Deft what he shoud so lend and advance but woud also Confer on or procure or obtain for him great Honours and Unbounded Wealth or Riches and sayd that apprehending and believing the said De ffalk to be a very religious Man & of great Honesty and Integrity he was Induced to give Credit to what he said and the s^d De ffalk having gained such Influence Over Deft as afd did prevail on him to Consent to lend the s^d De ffalk such sums of money as he might from time to time want or have Occasion for and that Deft did Accordingly from time to time lend and advance to him Sev^l large Sums of Money and advance pay lay out and expend for him and for his Use Sev^l other large Sums of money & that for and on account thereof and for and on account of the other mres & things mentioned in his former answ^r s^d De ffalk was Indebted to Deft in Sev^l Sums of money amounting to Twenty thous^d Pounds and upw^{ds} as Deft Computed & bel^d Sayd that in or about the Year 1779 Deft del^d or Caused to be Del^d to the s^d Sam^l De ffalk an acc^{ot} wrote in the Hebrew Language and Character which was the Language in which the s^d De ffalk Gen^{ly} if not always Corresponded and Conversed of Sev^l Sums of Money by Deft lent and advanced to the s^d De ffalk and paid laid Out and Expended for him & for his Use & of w^t was then due and owing to him from the s^d Sam^l De ffalk for the rent of the s^d Messe

Mentioned in Defts s^d former answer Amounting together to Ten thous^d four hund^d pounds or there ab^{ts} and bel^d that the s^d Sam^l De ffalk perused Examined & Checq^d the s^d Account in or by writing under his hand in the Hebrew language & Character & acknowledged each & every of the Items and particulars of the s^d Account to be just or right Except only as to One hund^d & fifty Pounds part of a Sum of three thous^d three hund^d pounds in the s^d Account Mentioned to be lent or advanced to him by Deft in or by Bills of Exchange & that he Expressed a Confidence & hope that he shoud soon afterw^{ds} be able to pay or satisfy Deft the Same and all other Sums which he the s^d De ffalk then owed Deft but the said De ffalk did not in his life time pay or Satisfy Deft the said Sum of ten thous^d four hund^d pounds or any part thereof or any other Sum of Money B^{ld} that some short time after the s^d Acco^t had been del^d to the s^d Sam^l De ffalk he the s^d Sam^l De ffalk was Informed or Suspected that Deft intended to arrest him & the s^d Sam^l De ffalk in order to avoid such arrest gave Orders or direcons to his Serv^{ts} not to admit Deft nor any person whom they did not know to his presence and that if Deft or any Stranger shoud enquire for the s^d De ffalk to say he was not at home and bel^d that much about the same time the said De ffalk was also told or informed by some person who was an Enemy to Deft that Deft was not a good Jew for that he eat and drank Wine with Christians after their Manner and in other respects did not strictly conform himself to the rules and ceremonies of the Jewish Religion and that the said De ffalk on Account of such Information and of his ffears or apprehensions that Deft Intended to arrest him Conceived & entertained or affected to entertain great displeasure & prejudice against Deft and also affected for some time afterwards to consider Def^t as a person unworthy of the s^d De Falks protection Care or concern in religious or Spiritual Matters Admitted that in order to remove such displeasure and prejudice and to Induce the s^d De ffalk again to take Deft under his Direcon Governm^t & protection in religious and Spiritual Mres & Concerns deft did write some Lre or Letters to the s^d De ffalk in the Hebrew language and send the same to him & that having Instituted a Suit in Equity touching or Concerning the afd Messe wch Suit was a long time Depending & the s^d De ffalk who rented or Occupied the s^d house under Deft and therein pursued or Carried on his Works or Studys apprehending this

Deft bel^d he could not procure and Carry on Such Works and Studies with vigour and Effect during the pending of the s^d Suit and that Deft was Dilatory in bringing on such Suit to a Conclusion but a Decree in the s^d Suit being at length pronounced in favour of Deft & Deft who was at Versailles in France the place of his residence having been by Lre Informed of such Decree did about the Twenty fourth day of febr^y 1782 write a Lre in the Hebrew Language to the s^d De ffalk as well touching the said Messe & the s^d Decree as to remove from the s^d De ffalk such Displeasure and prejudice as afd & to Induce him again to take Deft under his direcon Governm^t and protection in religious and Spiritual mres & Concerns But that he did not keep any Copy or Minutes of such Lre & therefore he refers to the same when produced Sayd he had been informed & bel^d that the greatest part if not the whole of the psonal estate and effects which the s^d De ffalk was possed of and Intitled at the time of his Death arose from or was produced by the Moneys wch deft so as afd lent and advanced to him & paid laid out and Expended for him and for his Use in his life time Bel^d that s^d De ffalk was by undue Influence prevailed on to make the s^d Codicil & that before he made the s^d will and Codicil or Either of them he was also prevailed upon to burn or destroy sev^l Letters wrote and sent to him by Deft and other papers and writings by wch letters papers and writings or some of them if they had been preserved it would have appeared that he was & stood Indebted to Deft in a large Sum of money Bel^d that the s^d Sam^l De ffalk at the time of his Death was Intitled to the Amount of five thous^d five hund^d pounds Moneys or Stocks in the French funds or there ab^{ts} together with an arrear of Dividends due thereon and that such Stock Stood in the Name of Simon Boas & Comp^e of the Hague Bankers or in the name of some other person whom he did not know Denied that he did upon the Decease of the s^d Testor or at any other time Either by himself or with Divers or any pson or psons form any plan or Contrivance to get at the s^d Stock or any part thereof And the Deft Dan De Matz by his answ^r Sayd he was the son of Sarah the late wife of the afd Sam^l De ffalk Believed that s^d Sam^l de Falk made his will to the effect in Bill set forth and that he also made a Codecil to his s^d will to the Effect in Bill stated and that he departed this Life without revoking or altering the same and that Aaron Goldsmid in the Bill named together with Pet^s

proved s^d Will in the proper Ecclesiastical Court Bel^d that s^d Aaron Goldsmid Departed this life leaving plts the Surviving Exors of said Sam^l De falks Will Denied that he ever gave out or pretended that s^d Testor was at the time of his Death Indebted to him the s^d Deft in Two hundred pounds or in any other Sum of money for moneys lent and advanced by him to s^d Testor But sayd that for fourteen Years next before and up to the time of the s^d Testors Decease he served s^d Testor as his clerk & Steward and that in Respect thereof s^d Testor became Indebted to him in three hundred & fifteen pounds or thereab^{ts} as he Computed and bel^d over and above all Moneys paid to him by s^d Testor in his life time on that account and that soon after the s^d Testors decease he Del^d an account of the Debt or Demand to the afd Aaron Goldsmid But that he had not yet paid or Satisfied the same Insisted that the s^d Annuity or Sum of ten pounds ten shill^s by the afd Codicil Directed to be paid him every Year during his life was not bequeathed to him in full or tow^{ds} Satisfaction of the s^d Debt or Sum of three hund^d & fifteen pounds Insisted that the s^d Testor did not by his s^d Will & Codicil bequeath to him s^d Deft an Annuity of Ten pounds or any other Yearly Sum in full satisfaction & discharge of all such sums of Money as the s^d Testor stood Indebted to Deft Submitted if he proved the afd Debt of three hund^d & fifteen pounds or any other Debt Owing to him from the s^d Testor at the time of his decease he in that Case Ought not either to Waive such debt or the afd annuity of ten pounds & ten shill^s or to be put to his Election Either to Accept such Debt and relinquish the s^d Annuity of ten pounds Ten shill^s or to relinquish the s^d debt and accept the s^d Annuity of ten Guin^s But deft apprehended that he was well Intitled both to the s^d Debt and the s^d Annuity of ten pounds and ten shill^s and Claimed the same and hoped the Court woud direct it that s^d three hund^d & fifteen pounds shoud be paid to him Out of the s^d Testors Effects in preference to any Legacys given by s^d Testors Will and Codicil And the s^d Defts sev^{ly} denied Combination & Concluded their Respective Answers with the Gen^l Traverse To wch Answers the plts Replyed and the Defts rejoined & divers witnesses were examined as well on the part of the plts as on the part of the s^d Defts & their Depositions Duly published and this Cause being set down in the paper of Causes Came on to be heard on the Twenty third Day of Nov^r Instant in the Exchequer Chamber at Westm^r before the

Right Honble Sir John Skynner Kn^t Lord Chief Baron Sir Jam^s Eyre Kn^t Sir Beaumont Hotham Kn^t & Sir Rich^d Perryn Kn^t three other of the Barons of this Court when upon Opening the plts Bill by M^r Hollist of Councel for the plts & the Answer of the Defts by M^r Holt their Councel & on hearing ffancis Burton Esq^r one of his Matys Councel for the s^d plts & reading the probate of the Will & Codicil of the before named Sam^l De ffalk & hearing M^r Graham of Councel for the Defts It is Ordered adjudged and Decreed by the Court that it be and it is hereby referred to ffancis Ingram Esq^r the Dept^y to his Matys Rem^r of this Court to take an account of the psonal Estate & Effects of the s^d Testor Sam^l De ffalk Come to the hands of the plts the Exors or Either of them or to the hands of any other pson or persons by their or either of their order or for their or either of their Use and likewise an Account of the Testors Debts Legacys and ffuneral Expences & the said D Rem^r is to publish one or more advertizem^t or advertizem^{ts} in the London Gazette for the Cred^{rs} & Legatees of the s^d Testor to Come and prove their Debts and legacys before him by a day to be by him appointed or in Default thereof that they be excluded from all benefit of this Decree In the taking of wch accounts the s^d D Rem^r is to make to all ptys all just allowances & all ptys are to produce before and leave with the s^d D Rem^r upon oath all Books papers and writings in their Custody or power relating thereto & to be Exaied upon Interrogatories touching the same as the said Dept^y Rem^r shall direct and the s^d D Rem^r is hereby armed with a Commⁿ as well as for the Examination of the s^d ptys as of witnesses in aid of the s^d acco^{ts} and one or more Commⁿ or Commn^s is or are to Issue into the Country for the like purpose if necessary and if any Special matter shall arise in taking the s^d accounts the s^d D Rem^r is to state the same to the Court And it is fur^r Ord^d and Decreed by the Court that the Deft Cosman Lehman do forthwith withdraw his Caveat with Respect to the Money in the ffrench funds in the pleadings of this Cause mentioned and that the plts do procure the Trustee in whose name the s^d Money in the french funds stands to sell the same and that the money to arise by such Sale be bro^t into Court and paid into the hands of the D Rem^r of this Court In Trust to attend the further Orders of this Court in this Cause And this Cause is to be Continued in the paper of Causes to be further heard on

the s^d D Rem^{rs} Report until wch time the cons of Costs and all further Direcons herein are hereby Reserved.

Lane for the plts.

Exchequer Original Order, Hil. 1785 N^o 506

Friday 25 Febr'y 1785

Between GEORGE GOLDSMID and LYON DE SYMON—*Plts*
and COSMAN LEHMAN & DANIEL DE MATZ—*Defts*

By Bill

Upon the Motion of Francis Burton Esquire one of his Majestys Councel for the Plts informing the Court that by the Decree made in this Cause the 23rd Day of November last It was (amongst other things) Ordered and Decreed that the Defendant Cosman Lehman sh^d forthwith withdraw his Caveat with respect to the Money in the French Funds in the Pleadings of this Cause mentioned And further informing the Court that the said Defendant had been duly served with said Decree under Seal but he had not yet withdrawn his said Caveat It was therefore prayed that an Attachment might Issue under the Seal of this Court against the said Defendant Lehman for his Contempt in not performing the said Decree On reading the said Decree It is ordered by the Court that the said Deft Lehman do show Cause to this Court on the first day of next Term why all Proceedings under the said Decree should not be stayed till after the said Defendant shall have withdrawn his afore said Caveat

(3) E^p GATTY

B for Lane for Plts

*Exchequer Original Order, East. 1785 N^o 377**Wednesday 13 April 1785*

Between GEORGE GOLDSMID & LYON DE SYMONS—*Plts*
and COSMAN LEHMAN & DAVID DE MATZ—*Defts*

By Bill

Whereas by an Order made in this Court the 25th day of Febry last It was ordered by the Court that the Deft Lehman sh^d show Cause to this Court on the first day of this Term why all proceedings under the Decree made in this Cause the 23rd day of Nov^r last sh^d not be stayed till after the said Deft sh^d have withdrawn his Caveat with Respect to the Money in the French Funds in the Pleadings of this Cause ment^d Now upon the Motion of M^r Hart of Council for the s^d Deft Lehman shewing Cause ag^t the s^d order on reading the same and hearing Fra^s Burton Esq^r one of his Maty's Council for the Plts It is ord^d by the Court that the s^d order be & the same is hereby made absolute and that all proceedings under the aforesaid Decree be & the same are hereby stayed until the s^d Deft Lehman shall have withdraw his before ment^d Caveat

(3) E^p GATTY

B for Lane for Plts

Exchequer Original Order, Hil. 1785 N^o 533

[An order dismissing a Suit of Cosman Lehman against Geo Goldsmid & another for want of Prosecution]

13.

The Northampton "Donum" of 1194.

On the return of Richard I from the Crusade and his subsequent captivity, the Jews of England contributed to a tallage which was arranged at Northampton in the year 1194. The importance of the record of the payments made cannot be doubted, for it provides details as to the Jews resident in various parts of England at the end of the twelfth century, and gives a valuable clue as to the relative importance of many individuals. Some portions of the record have been published. Thus the entries relating to Cambridge may be found in Dr. H. P. Stokes' *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History* (pp. 248-9); while those which refer to Canterbury and Kent are printed in the Appendix to the Rev. M. Adler's paper on the Jews of Canterbury (pp. 74-5 of vol. vii. of *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society*).

The first writer to take due note of this Northampton tallage of 5000 marks was Dr. Joseph Jacobs. In his epoch-making work, *The Jews of Angevin England* (1893), he gave an ample summary of the record (pp. 162-164), and in the "Name List of English Jews of the Twelfth Century" (*op. cit.*, pp. 345-369), he entered all the names occurring in the Northampton record. His tabulation of the names, as well as their spelling, and his details as to the sums actually paid, however, needed revision. Dr. Jacobs held, with regard to the names, that it was best to equalise their spellings with those usually found elsewhere. It is also helpful, however, to the student to have before him just the differences found in various records.

But more was needed. Dr. Jacobs himself designed more. Speaking of the Northampton Donum (*op. cit.*, p. 162), he describes his work as "tentative." Later on in the same volume (p. 345) he says, "I am about to publish [it] in full in the *Revue des Études Juives*." This undertaking remained unfulfilled. Something like a year ago Dr. Jacobs was reminded of his promise, and he undertook to edit the document if I could provide him with an accurate copy. It is quite clear that Dr.

Jacobs must have had before him a full transcript a quarter of a century ago. But apparently the copy was mislaid, and a fresh one was accordingly prepared. Miss D. L. Powell devoted considerable time and care to the transcription, Lieut. Hilary Jenkinson gave much help in deciphering doubtful and difficult passages, Dr. Stokes corrected the proofs, and I have myself collated the whole document. Thus no pains have been omitted to ensure an accurate reproduction. The proof was sent to Dr. Jacobs to New York; he acknowledged the receipt, and expressed his willingness to write a full introduction, and to consider several debateable points as to the questions raised by the record.

This was, however, not to be. Dr. Jacobs has passed away. It seems to me, however, that it would be wrong to withhold the document itself, as it was in type and had been so very carefully revised. Moreover, the *Donum* is likely to be the starting-point for the history of the Jews in various English towns, and for this reason alone it is indispensable that the full text of the document should be available in print. But, while giving the document to our readers, I will not now stay to discuss it. That I must leave to another occasion and to other students.

Before Lieut. Hilary Jenkinson (of the Record Office) left for his military duties I was happily able to secure from him an account of the three membranes of which the roll consists (*Exchequer Account* $\frac{249}{2}$). He writes as follows :

“The handwritings of this record present some difficulties in their differentiation, and might probably be studied with advantage in the light of the internal evidence offered by the names, the amounts paid, and so forth. One or two facts, however, stand out clearly.

“The roll consists of three membranes, roughly 23 inches, 22 inches, and 29 inches in length, and in width from $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They are sewed together end to end. The whole of the face of these seems to have been written originally by one hand in a neat, rather rounded script, with headings either in capitals or capitals mixed with small letters; and in an ink which has faded somewhat. It is possible that in the last membrane we have a different hand, but if we have it is almost certainly contemporary, and followed the style of the first one closely. A slight difference of general appearance may be due to the

fact that the ink has not faded to the same extent as on the first two membranes.

"The whole of the dorse is certainly in one hand, quite a distinct one. It is a larger writing, freer, more angular, with more of a backward slope, the letters less broad in proportion to their height; the ink throughout darker. Capitals are little used in the headings except for initials: though the capital *S* and *R* in *-sira* persist. In printing the membranes below, the second hand is distinguished by the use of square brackets.

"To return to the face of the roll. Certain additions—of words and phrases (such as the *de eodem* introducing a second payment), of whole entries and even of whole paragraphs—have clearly been made by another hand, and in a darker ink. An attempt has been made to indicate these additions in the present text, though the identification of the second hand is, in one or two cases, difficult.

"The question arises whether these additions are by the same hand which wrote the dorse. There is a similarity between the two, and a slight coarseness observable on the dorse might be the effect of a different writing surface. On the whole it seems probable that the additions on the face and the whole of the dorse, if they are not by the same hand, at least represent the same (secondary) stage in the collection of the *promissum*. This stage is possibly to be connected closely with the activities in collection of W. de Bukingham: it is to be noted that when two collections from the same place are recorded under separate headings (as occurs in several cases), the second one, marked by the freer handwritings, by the darker ink, and by the fact that it is either an obvious insertion on the face of the roll or a part of the dorse, is generally connected with his name."

And though the signature to this edition of the *Donum* is not that of Joseph Jacobs, it is with his name that it must be connected. He planned the work before 1893, and would have executed it in 1916. In a letter written a few weeks before he passed away, he referred to his earlier remarks on the subject, and declared his intention of replying to the criticisms which have been directed against his interpretation of the title *Episcopus* (and its various forms). He also was still prepared to vindicate his equally disputed identification of the English "Benedict le

puintur" with the famous Berakhyah Naqdan, author of the famous *Fables*. The contrast between my colourless preface and the piquant introduction which Dr. Jacobs would have written is some measure of the irreparable loss which Anglo-Jewish historical research has suffered by his death.

I. ABRAHAMS.

February 1916.

m. 1. RECEPTA DENARIORUM FACTA APUD WESTMONASTERIUM DE PROMISSO JUDEORUM . TOTIUS ANGLIE . FACTO APUD NORHAMTON' POST REDDITUM DOMINI REGIS AB ALEMANNIA. IN TERMINO PASCHE ANNI QUINTI REGNI EUISDEM.

[de m. m. m. m. milibus marcarum.]

Londonia.

- De Samsone filio Abraham . vij. *li.* et xiiij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* de promisso suo. De Eodem . lx. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Deulesaut Judeo . x. *li.* de promisso suo. De Eodem . iiij. *li.* pro eodem. De Eodem . iiij. *li.* pro eodem . De Eodem. [De Eodem . viij. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.* pro eodem.]
- De Auigay Judea de Lond' . vj. *li.* et xiiij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* De Eadem . c. et xiiij. *s.* et viij. *d.* pro eodem.
- De Eadem Auigay Judea . vij. *li.* pro eodem.
- De liun' le Blund . xv. *s.* pro eodem. De Eodem . lx. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Samuele filio Abraham . xxx. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Benedicto quatrebuche . lx. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Abraham filio Auigai . vj. *li.* pro eodem. De Eodem . xx. *s.* pro eodem. [De Eodem . viij. *li.*]
- De Benedicto paruo [?] . c. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Mosse de Kant' . liij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* pro eodem.
- De Salemun filio Magistri . xx. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Viues le Vesque . xx. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Murien' filia Isaac de lund' . xl. *s.* pro eodem. De Eadem . xl. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Abraham Quatrebuche . xxx. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Liun' filio M—gar—te . xx. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Elia filio Magarede . xx. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Abraham filio Brun . c. *s.* pro eodem.

De Josce filio Deunesant . xl. s. pro eodem.

[De Muriel Judea . c. s. pro eodem per manum Willelmi filii Rem'.]

Wintonia.

De Abraham filio Beene . iiij. li. de promisso suo. De Eodem . xij. s. vj. d. pro eodem.

De Eodem . ix. li. de Promissione sua. In eadem taillia.

De Cassi de Winton' . iiij. li. pro eodem. De Eodem . xl. s. pro eodem.

De Manaser' de Wincestr' . xx. s. pro eodem.

De lumbard' de Wincestr' . iiij. li. pro eodem. De Eodem . vj. s. et j. d. pro eodem.

De Pipili' et fratres sui . liij. s. et iiij. d. pro eodem. De Eisdem . xxxvij. s. pro eodem. De Eisdem . v. s. et iij. d. pro eodem.

De Anna matri lumbard' . lv. s. pro eodem.

Norhamton'.

De Jacobo filio Samuelis . x. li. de promisso suo.

De Isaac filio Mosse de Notingeham . lx. s. pro eodem.

De Eodem . xl. s. pro eodem.

De Aaron filio Deudon' . lx. s. pro eodem.

De Jacobo filio Samuelis . vij. li. pro eodem. De Eodem . xj. li. pro eodem.

De Pulcele fil' Jacobi . xl. s. pro eodem.

De Benedicto filio Abraham . xl. s. pro eodem.

De Mosse le Gendre Bonenfant . xij. s. et j. d. pro eodem.

De Eodem . x. d. pro eodem.

De Isaac filio Sancto . xxvj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem.

De Makar' . xvij. s. pro eodem.

[postea In termino In termino Epiphanie

De Isaac de stanford . lx. s. de promisso suo.]

Gloucestr'.

De Mosse Juueni . lx. s. de promisso suo. De Eodem . xl. s. pro eodem.

De Viues filio Benedicti . vj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem.

De Heredibus Mosse de Gloucestr' . c. et vj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem.

De Eisdem . c. et xix. s. pro eodem.

De Josce filio Josce . xx. s. pro eodem.

De Elya de Gloucestr' . lxxvj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem.

Oxonia.

De Beleasez et filiis suis . ix. *li.* et xv. *s.* de promisso suo.
 De Eisdem . x. *li.* pro eodem. De Eisdem . viij. *li.* pro eodem.
 De Bonefei de Oxenf' . xl. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Benedicto le puintur . xxvj. *s.* et viij. *d.* pro eodem.
 De Eodem v. *s.* et vj. *d.* pro eodem.
 [De Jacobi de Wirecestr' . xiiij. *s.* et iiiij. *d.* pro eodem.]

m. 2.

Colecestr'.

De Isaac de Colecestr' . xj. *li.* et vj. *s.* et viij. *d.* de promisso suo. De Eodem .
 iiiij. *li.* et xiiij. *s.* et iiiij. *d.* pro eodem. De Eodem . lx. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Viues filio Jacob de Colec' . xl. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Eodem . xl. *s.* pro eodem. De Eodem . xl. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Abraham filio Jacobi de Colecestr' . viij. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Eodem . v. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Aaron de Colecestr' . . xxvj. *s.* et viij. *d.* pro eodem. De Eodem . xxvj. *s.*
 et viij. *d.* pro eodem. De Eodem . ij. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Viues filio Isaac . lxxvj. *s.* et viij. *d.* De Eodem . xl. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Eodem . xiiij. *s.* et iiiij. *d.* pro eodem.
 De Isaac de Colecestr' vj. *li.* de promisso suo.
 De Deudenie fil' Simonis de lund' . x. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Jacob filio Viues de Colecestr' . x. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Isaac filio Josse de Hant' . vj. *s.* pro eodem.

Walingeford'.

De Samuel de Walingef' . xv. *s.* de promisso suo.
 De Eodem . v. *s.* pro eodem.

[Hereford' in Wallia per manum Willelmi de Buring'.

De Abraham genere Elias . xiiij. *s.* de promisso suo de . v. milibus marcarum.
 De Petro Judeo . xj. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Abraham de Colecestr' . xxxviij. *s.* x. *d.*
 De Eligai . xxiiij. *s.* iiiij. *d.*
 De Isaac de Bungeia . xxviij. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Salococ . xij. *s.* x. *d.*
 De Melin . lxxiiij. *s.* iiiij. *d.*]

Cantuaria.

- De Samson' de Cantuar' . iiij. *li.* de promisso suo. De Eodem . xxxix. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Jacobo de Cantuar' . viij. *li.* pro eodem. De Eodem . c. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Samuele filio Jacobi . xij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* pro eodem. De Eodem . xij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* pro eodem.
- De Isaac Juueni de Cant' . viij. *li.* pro eodem. De Eodem . iiij. *li.* pro eodem. [De Eodem . xlvj. *s.* et viij. *d.* pro eodem.]
- De Isaac sene de Cantuar' . xl. *s.* pro eodem. De Eodem . lx. *s.* pro eodem. De Eodem . xxij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* pro eodem.
- De Cressi filio suo . liij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* pro eodem. De Eodem . xvj. *s.* et viij. *d.* pro eodem.
- De Gosce filio suo . xxvj. *s.* et viij. *d.* pro eodem.
- De Deuuelcresse leui . xj. *s.* et viij. *d.* pro eodem.
- De Meus fil' Benjamin' . xxiiij. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Simone Nepete Jacob . x. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Jacobo de Cant' . viij. *li.* pro eodem. De Eodem . c. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Eodem . xiiij. *li.* pro eodem.
- De Aaron filio suo . xij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* pro eodem.
- De Josce Gaudi de Cant' . vij. *s.* et vj. *d.* pro eodem.
- De Benedicto de Rouec' . lxvj. *s.* et viij. *d.* pro eodem.

Warewic'.

- De Salomone de Warewich' . xl. *s.* de promisso suo. [De Eodem . xxvj. *s.* viij. *d.*]
- De Gosce filio Liun' . l. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Josce filio Benedicti de Warew' . liij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* pro eodem. De Eodem . xl. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Eudone de Warewic . l. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Elia de Warewic . xvj. *s.* pro eodem.
- De Liun' de Warewic' . xx. *s.* pro eodem.

[Wirecestr' sir' per manum Willelmi de Buring']

- De Samuele filio Mosse . xvij. *s.* viij. *d.* de promisso suo de . v. milibus marcarum.
- De Simone Leui . xiiij. *s.*
- De Juette uxore Abraham . xiiij. *s.*

De Kanonimos . xiiij. s.

De Liun filio Bonefacie [?] . xxviij. s.]

- m. 3. [De W. de Sancte Marie Ecclesia xxix. s. viij. d. de Bisanciis Judeorum
Glouc' . Bristow . Wirecestr.]

Kantebr'.

De Beniamin de Kant' . vj. li. de promissione sua. De Eodem . lx. s. pro eodem. De Eodem xx. s. pro eodem.

De Cipora uxore Hakelot xxvj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem. De Eadem . liij. s. et iiij. d. pro eodem. De Eadem . x. s. pro eodem.

De Bonevie de Kant' . xxvj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem. De Eodem . xxvj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem. De Eodem . xij. s. pro eodem.

De Juda de Kant' . xxvj. s. pro eodem. De Eodem . xxx. s. pro eodem.

De Daud filio Cipora . xl. s. pro eodem.

De Eodem . xxvj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem.

De Jacobo filio Manasser . xx. s. pro eodem.

De Benedicto de Rumenel . xiiij. s. pro eodem.

De Isaac filio Liun . xl. s. pro eodem.

De Eodem . xx. s. pro eodem.

[*Cicestr'* per manum Willelmi de Buring'.

De Deulebeneie de Cicestr' . vij. li. de promisso . v. milium marcarum.]

De Heredibus Benedicti et Elie . xvj. li.

De Manaser' . lx. s.

Bristowe.

De Isaac filio Josse . xvij. s. de promissione sua.

De Isaac le Veske . ix. s. pro eodem.

Hvrtford'.

De Bonefant . xxx. s. de promissione sua.

De Morel . xlij. s. pro eodem.

De Eodem . xij. s. et iij. d. pro eodem.

Norewiz.

De Jurnet de Norewiz . xxx. li. de promissione sua. De Eodem . xxiiij. li. et xij. s. et iiij. d. pro eodem. De Eodem iiij. bisancia precii vij. solidorum in eadem tallia.

De Abraham de Bungeia . xxvj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem. De eodem . lx. s. pro eodem.
 De Josse filio Beneit de Norewiz . xxvj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem.
 De Mosse de Bungeia . xxvj. s. et iiij. d. pro eodem. De Eodem . xvj. s. et viij. d. pro eodem.
 De Samuele filio Magri' [?] . vij. s. et vj. d. pro eodem.
 De Samuele le prestre . xij. s. et vj. d. pro eodem.
 De Meus filio Abraham . xv. s. pro eodem.
 De Josce filio Crispin . viij. s. et ix. d. pro eodem.
 De Ursello de Bung' . xvj. s. et pro eodem. De Eodem . ix. s. pro eodem.
 De Isaac fratre suo . . ij. s. pro eodem . de veteri tallagio.
 De Eodem . . xxv. s. pro eodem.
 De Heredibus Flurie . ix. s. pro eodem.
 [De Abraham de Bung' . lx. s.
 De Benedicto fratre Jurnet . xx. li. de promissione . iij. milium marcarum.]

Hereford' in Wallia.

De Samuele de Hereford . xx. s. de promissione sua.

Excestr'.

De Amiot de Excestr' . xxiiij. s. et iij. d. promissione sua.

Nicole.

De Joie Judea et Josse genere suo . et Chere filia sua de promissione sua . l. s.
 De Eisdem . lx. s.
 De Samson' Bissop' . xxxij. s. et viij. d. pro eodem. De Eodem . xxviiij. d. pro eodem.
 De Beneit filio Aaron . x. s. pro eodem.
 De Josse Bissop' . viij. s. pro eodem.
 De Flurie uxore Isaac . xx. s. pro eodem.
 De Matatia de Laford' . xvij. s. et vi. d. pro eodem.
 De Jacobo de Linc' . vj. li. pro eodem.
 De Aser lumbard' . ix. s. pro eodem.
 De Peiteuin filio Jacob . vij. li. et iij. s. et vj. d. pro eodem.
 De Beneit filio Jacob . v. s. pro eodem.
 De Elya de Bungeia . xij. s. pro eodem.
 De Manaser Grosse de Lincoln' . xiiij. s. pro eodem.
 De Viues Scriptore . xiiij. s. et j. d. pro eodem.

De Beneit filio Isaac . xij. *li.* pro eodem . per manum Willelmi de Glamull'.
 De Ursello filio Elie de Nicole . lx. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Manaser de nicole . xxxix. *s.* et viij. *d.* pro eodem.
 De Elia filio Aaron . xix. *s.* et x. *d.* pro eodem. De Eodem . xx. *s.* pro eodem.
 De Viues filio Aaron . iiij. *li.* pro eodem. De Eodem . xl. *s.* In eadem tallia.
 De Abraham filio Aaron . iiij. *li.* pro eodem.

[*Cantebrug'* per manum Willelmi de Buring'.

De Beniamin . xxv. *li.* de promisso de . v. milibus marcarum.
 De Cipora . vj. *li.*
 De Daud . xj. *li.* x. *s.*
 De Judas . c. et iiij. *s.*
 De Viues de Hamton' . xxviij. *s.*
 De Bendit filio Isaac . xxiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*
 De Josce genere Isaac . xxxij. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Samuel filio Jacob . xvij. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Josce filio Manasser' . xj. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Samuel filio Daud . xxiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*
 De Abraham filio Isaac . xvj. *s.* iiij. *d.*
 De Abraham Leui . xxviij. *s.*
 De Jacobo Leui . xl. *s.*
 De Boneuie . c. vj. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Isaac sene . iiij. *li.* v. *s.* iiij. *d.*]

Coventr'.

De Elia de Couentr' . vij. *s.* et vj. *d.* de promissione sua.
 De Eodem . iiij. *s.* et iij. *d.* pro eodem.

m. 1. d. (In dorso) [DE JUDÆIS
 REGNI REGIS

IN TERMINO PASCHE ANNI QUINTI
 RICARDI.

Sudhamtesir'.

De Abraham filio Bone . xvij. *li.* de promisso suo pro se et heredibus suis.
 De Eodem . lxxv. *s.* vj. *d.*
 De Lumbard' . lxxviij. *s.* vij. *d.*
 De Eodem . c. *s.* x. *d.* pro nepotibus suis.
 De Heredibus Mosse de Walingef' . xxxvj. *s.*
 De Anna Matri lumbard' . iiij. *li.* v. *s.* vj. *d.*

De Salomone Episcopo . xviiij. s. viij. d.
 De Isaac carmin (or carnun) . xv. s.
 De Salomun de Beuerle . xliij. s.
 De heredibus Mosse . ix. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d.
 De Abraham filio Magistri Mosse . xij. d.

Bristowe per manum Willelmi de Buring'.

De Isaac filio Juda . xv. s. ij. d. de promisso de quinque milibus marcarum.
 De Abraham Gabbai . xviiij. s. viij. d.
 De Benliuing . xj. s. vj. d.
 De Preciuse . xiiij. s.
 De Isaac-furmager . xxviiij. s. viij. d.
 De Abraham filio Viues . xiiij. s.
 De Isaac Episcopo . ij. s. viij. d.
 De Manasser xj. s. viij. d.
 De Salamun filio Isaac . xiiij. s.
 De Jacobo filio Josce . xviiij. s. viij. d.
 De Deulecresse furmager . xv. s. vj. d.
 De Judas Gabbay' . xj. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d.
 De Samuele le Pointur . xxx. s. iiij. d.

Nicol sir'.

De Benedicto filio Jacobi . iiij. li. et viij. s. de promisso suo.
 De Benedicto fratre Aaron . xxxvj. s. viij. d.
 De Hanna de Burges . iiij. li. et viij. d.
 De Viues filio Aaron . xxxj. li. vj. s. viij. d.
 De Abraham Pernas . lxx. s. viij. d.
 De Jacobo de nicol . xiiij. li. ij. s. viij. d.
 De Elia de Bung' . xij. d.
 De Isaac filio Salomone . xviiij. s. viij. d.
 De Judas Episcopo . xxxviij. s. iiij. d.
 De Matatie fil' Salomone . xvj. s. iiij. d.
 De Peiteuin' de Nicol' . xvj. li. v. s. x. d.
 De Josce filio Benedicti . lxx. s.
 De Benedicto filio Josce . xxviiij. s.
 De Manasser le Gros . xxij. s.
 De Benedicto de Kant' . xvj. s. iiij. d.
 De Abraham filio Ben' . xlvj. s. viij. d.
 De Elia fratre Abraham . lvj. s.

- De Isaac filio Josce . xiiij. *s.*
 De Viues le Scriuein . xxij. *s.* et ij. *d.*
 De Joie et filio suo et genere suo . viij. *li.* x. *s.*
 De Petro de Kantebr' . xiiij. *s.*
 De Riche filio Isaac pernas . c. *s.* et v. *s.*
 De Samson episcopo . lxvij. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Josce episcopo . viij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Pucele . lx. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Matatie de Lafford . xxvij. *s.* et ij. *d.*
 De Benjamin filio Samuel . xvj. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Josce filio Samuel . xlij. *s.*
 De Benedicto filio Isaac qui dicit se esse filium Urselli' . xlvj. *s.* viiij. *d.*
 De Manasser filio al Mest' . c. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Elia filio Benedicti . iiij. *li.* et xij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Marterin' . xxvj. *s.* et viij. *d.*
 De A—— . xxxvij. *s.* et viij. *d.*
 De Flurie . xxvj. *s.* et viij. *d.*
 De Elia fil' Aaron . c. *s.* et ij. *d.*
 De Ursello . xxxvij. *li.*
 m. 2. d. De Abraham filio Aaron . xx. *li.* et viij. *d.*
 De Jagunce . xxij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Benedicto pernas . xxxiiij. *li.* xij. *s.* iiij. *d.*
 De Manasser de Stanford . xlvj. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Eodem . vij. *li.* xij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*

 De Hugone Bard' . vj. *li.* de Bisanciis Judeorum Lincolnie.
 De Eodem . x. *li.* pro Eodem.
 De Placitis Judeorum . vj. *s.* et viij. *d.* per Eundem Hugonem Bard.

 De Benedicto filio Isaac . iiij. *li.* de promisso suo.

 De Willelmo de Sancte Marie Ecclesia . lxiiij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de Bisanciis
 Judeorum Lincolnie.

Notingh' sir'.

- De Josce de Leicestr . xxij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Samuele Episcopo . xlvj. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Eleasar' . xxij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Naamia . xiiij. *s.*

Warewic sir'.

- De Heredibus Leon' de Warewic . c. et vj. *s.* et ij. *d.* de promisso suo pro eis
 et sororio suo.

De Josce filio Benedicti . xv. *li.* et ij. *s.* et viij. *d.*
 De Judas filio Benedicti . viij. *li.* et iij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Elia de Aufai . liij. *s.*
 De Samuel filio Sampsun' . xxj. *s.*
 De Elia fil' Isaac . lxx. *s.*
 De Samuel Leui . xxxvij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Salomun de Warewic . viij. *li.*
 De Samuele filio Josce . xj. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Samsun de Rume . xj. *s.* et viij. *d.*

Norhamtesir'.

De Salemun de Warewic , x. *s.* de promisso suo de auro.
 De Deudenie fil' Samuel . xij. *s.*
 De Mosse filio Jacobi . iiij. *s.*
 De Josse filio Deulecresse . iiij. *s.*
 De Jacob filio Samuel . lxxvj. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Aaron le Blund' . xij. *s.*
 De Jacobo filio Samuel . xxxiij. *li.* vj. *s.* viij. *d.* de fine Abbatis de Pipewell.

Bedford' sir.

De Isaac filio Mosse . ij. *s.* de auro.
 De Fluor de Liz . iiij. *s.*
 De Petro Blundo . ij. *s.*
 De Petro filio Mosse . viij. *s.*
 De Petro Blundo . viij. *s.*
 De Ursello de Bedef' . viij. *s.*
 De Isaac de Hicche . ij. *s.*

Gloucestr' per manum Willelmi de Boking'.

De Heredibus Mosse . xlvij. *li.* et xij. *d.* de promisso de quinque milibus
 marcarum.
 De Josce filio Belasez . xxxv. *s.*
 De Belasez . ix. *li.* xj. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
 De Abraham Hoge . xj. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Viues genere Mosse . xvj. *s.* viij. *d.*
 De Auigai . xxj. *s.*
 De Josce filio Auigai . xl. *s.* viij. *d.*

- De Abraham filio Liun . xlvj. s. viij. d.
 m. 3. d. De Elias genere Auigai . xij. s. et v. d.
 De Viuelot fil' Isaac . xxij s. iiij. d.
 De Justelin fil' Mosse . xxx. s. et iiij. d.
 De Mosse filio Jacob . xj. s. et xj. d.
 De Janum' — xiiij. s.
 De Bonel . xiiij. s.
 De Mosse fillastre . xij. li. et xij. s. et iiij. d.
 De Marie filia Belasez . xxij. s. et iiij. d.
 De Jwe . xxij. s. et iiij. d.
 De Elias filio Isaac . x. li. et xij. s. et iiij. d.

Londr' per manum Willelmi de Bukingham.

- De Petro filio Isaac . liij. s. de promisso suo de quinque milibus marcarum.
 De Abraham filio Brun . xvj. li. xj. s. viij. d.
 De Benedicto paruo . xlvj. li.
 De Auigai . xxj. li. et viij. d.
 De Abraham Leui . iiij. li. vj. s. viij. d.
 De Abraham filio Auigai . xvij. li. xij. s. iiij. d.
 De Isaac genere Auigai . xlix. s.
 De Viues filio Margarete . xiiij. s.
 De Viues le Vesq' . xlv. s. et iiij. d.
 De Benedicto filio Viues . xvij. s. viij. d.
 De Josce filio Magistri . xvj. s. et iiij. d.
 De Sarre . xxij s. et iiij. d.
 De Murie . xvj. li. et iij. s. et iiij. d.
 De Elies filio Magistri . xxix. s.
 De Salomun filio Magistri . lxvij. s. viij. d.
 De Leun filio Marigar' . xv. li. xvij. s. et iiij. d.
 De Abraham le Veske . xxxij. s. et viij. d.
 De Slema . iiij. li. et xij. s. et iiij. d.
 De Delesaut . lxx. li. et xvij. s. et iiij. d.
 De Josce filio Deulesaut . vj. li. vj. s. viij. d.
 De Benedicto quatrebuche . xxxii. li.
 De Josce filio Isaac . liij. li.
 De Briun . xvij. li. et x. s.
 De Mosse Leui . ix. li.
 De Isaac quatrebuche . xxj. s.
 De Deulesaut le Veske . xx. li. de promisso . iij. milium marcarum.
 De Willelmo de Buking' . viij. li. de catall' Samson.

Kent per manum Willelmi de Bukingham.

- De Isaac le gros . xlj. *li.* vj. *s.* viij. *d.* de promisso suo de . v. milibus
marcarum.
De Eodem . xiiij. *li.* vj. *s.* viij. *d.* pro eodem.
De Jacob de Kanterberi . lxxv. *li.* vj. *s.* viij. *d.*
De Meus genere Jacobi . lvij. *s.* et viij. *d.*
De Sampson' . c. et xiiij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
De Simund . x. *s.*
De Josce filio Isaac . lv. *s.*
De Abraham genere [Mosse *erased*] Josce . xxviij. *s.*
De Isaac sene . vij. *li.* et xvj. *s.* viij. *d.*
De Jurnet . xxij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
De Delecresse le cresp . xxvj. *s.* vj. *d.*
De Josce Gaudin . xj. *s.* et ij. *d.*
De Salomun genere Isaac . lvij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
De Heredibus Benedicti le cresp . xxix. *s.* et vj. *d.*
De Simund de Madling' . xxij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*

Norhamtesir' per manum Willelmi de Bokinge ham.

- De Maker . xvij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* de promisso suo de . v. milibus marcarum.
De Jacob filio Simonis . xvij. [?] *s.* et iiij. *d.*
De Bonenfant . c. et xvij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
De Mosse filio Jacob . x. *s.* et ij. *d.*
De Abraham de Clannund . xxij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
De Salom' fil Salomun' . xvj. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
De Bahama . xvij. *s.* et viij. *d.*
De Josce le lung . xiiij. *s.*
De Josce filio Samuel . xiiij. *s.*
De Josce filio Deudon' . xlvj. *s.* viij. *d.*
De Petro filio Samuel . x. *s.* x. *d.*
De Jacobo filio Deudone . xxij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
De Abraham filio Sancto . xxij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*
De Samuel filio Petri . xiiij. *s.*
De Coc nepote Samuelis . xxv. *s.* et viij. *d.*
De Auigai . lxx. *s.*
De Moises filio Jacobi . xiiij. *s.*
De Jacobo de Bung' . xvj. *s.*
De Isaac filio Sancto . viij. *li.* xvij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*

De Isaac Merdenhostel . x. s.
 De Isaac de Notingeham . viij. s. iiij. d.
 De Mosse genere bonanfant . iij. d.
 De Jacobo filio Samuel . x. li.
 De Isaac filio Simonis . lx. s.
 De Isaac filio Mosse . c. et v. s.
 De Benedicto filio Abraham . xliij. s.

Item *Norhamton'* per Willelmum de Buking'.

De Josce filio Deudon' . xxviiij. s. v. d. de promisso suo de tribus milibus
 marcarum.
 De Jacob filio Deudon . xvj. s. et iij. d.
 De Samuel filio Petri . xij. s. et iij. d.
 De Heredibus Abraham filii Samsun' . xviiij. s. et ix. d.
 De Pucela . vj. li. et ij. s. vj. d.
 De Coc nepote Aaron' . xx. s. v. d.
 De Isaac filio Simonis . xl. s. et x. d.
 De Isaac filio Mosse . xxiiij. s. et j. d.
 De Jacobo filio Samuel . xij. li. et x. s. et x. d.
 De Isaac filio Sancto . xxx. s. et x. d.

 De Slema Judea Lond' . xl. s. et x. d. In Lond'.
 De Belin Judeo de Glouc' . xx. s. vj. d. In Gloucestr'.
 De Abraham filio leun . xl. s. et x. d.
 De Josceo Judeo . ij. s. et xj. d.
 De Viuelot . xx. s. et v. d.
 De Judas filio Belasez . v. d.
 De Muriel sorore Judei . x. d.

Oxenef'.

De Isaac de Oxenef' . xiiij. li. vj. s. viij. d. de promisso suo de . v. milibus
 marcarum.

Wincestr'.

De Deuaie . lx. s. de promisso de . v. milibus marcarum.]

14.

Anglo-Judaica in the Catalogue of the British Museum Hebrew Manuscripts

Apart from substantial aids to the history of the Jews in England, to be found in the general collections of the British Museum (see Jacobs and Wolf, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, London, 1888, Preface), there are some items of Anglo-Jewish interest in the Rev. G. Margoliouth's valuable "Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum," of which Part III. has recently been completed. The following brief notes indicate some of the more significant of these Anglo-Judaica which attracted my attention during a study of Mr. Margoliouth's great work.

(1) Several manuscripts are described as the gift of Solomon da Costa. Thus No. 3 (Add. 1407) is a scroll of the Pentateuch presented on June 2, 1759. Similarly he gave No. 95 (Add. 4709), a MS. containing various parts of the Scripture. On the upper cover of the binding of this MS. is the owner's name: "Solomon da Costa Athias, London, 1719." The same benefactor presented No. 135 (Add. 4708), a vellum copy of the Latter Prophets. See also entry (9) below. Then, again, No. 30 (Add. 8132), the Book of Esther, was presented on May 11, 1822, by David Israel Brandon; No. 31 (Add. 11691), also containing Esther, was given by D. Mocatta on March 19, 1840. Nos. 45, 47, 49, and 51, fine specimens of modern Hebrew writing, were originally in the possession of Sir Moses Montefiore. Among those from whom the Museum acquired MSS. are named Dr. Neubauer and Dr. Löwy.

(2) On the 16th of Marḥeshvan 5503 (=November 13, 1742) Samson Segre covenants with Jacob London and Isaac Berechiah Kanton to print the *Or Sarua* "in Amsterdam, London, or some other printing press possessing similar excellent type." The witnesses to the contract are Jacob Foa and Raphael Luzzatto. The Jacob London was probably

Jacob b. Judah London, born in London early in the eighteenth century, a traveller in Holland and Italy. He was a scholar of parts and editor of several publications. This entry is in No. 530 (Or. 2859). As owner of No. 632 (Add. 19666) is written (year 1845) Abraham Asher b. Isaac London.

(3) A Polish scribe, Aaron b. Moses, born in Novogroden, came to London, and in 1714 wrote No. 652 (Harley 5713) for Humphrey Wanley, Librarian to the Earl of Oxford. It contains selections from the Prayer Book, Tobit, and the Scroll of Antiochus. It is a handsome work, and is illuminated. See also entry (8) below.

(4) On fol. 185 b of No. 667 (Harl. 5701) is a quotation from Maharil, "who has seen a reason in Midrash Yelamdenu why one does not say in *Angla* (= Anglia?) the Selihah beginning אַבֵּל אֶמְנוּנוֹ."

(5) Ephraim Luzzatto's Hebrew poems are contained in No. 940 (Add. 27004). The MS., however, is of little import, since it was copied by Joseph Almanzi in 1827 from the second London edition of 1768. None the less Almanzi's habit of making copies of rare MSS. and prints is one which deserves the flattery of imitation by others. The same Codex contains the well-known account by Moses Edrehi of the Ten Tribes and the River Sambatyon. Moses Edrehi lived during the latter part of his life in England (possibly in Edinburgh; see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v.), and printed in London in 1834 his quaint *Historical Account*, as entertaining for its astonishing English as for its naïve acceptance of legend for fact. In this same Codex (No. 940) there is a note written by Almanzi in 1847, copying a Tiberias Jew's Hebrew note (of which the date is not clearly given, though it cannot have been earlier than 1839, when the British occupation of Aden began) which may be summarised thus: "Recently I was in Aden, and, when about to leave, I went to get my passport signed with a man who could speak English. The Governor asked me to take a chair, and conversed with me as to my country and business. I told him that I was an envoy from Tiberias engaged in collecting money from our brethren. He answered: 'Why goest thou not to the newly-found kingdom of Israel, which I discovered. I have already written to London on the subject. These Jews are near here.' . . . He also told me that there is a kingdom of Israel in China."

(6) There are several references to Christian Hebraists, as in No. 987 to Bulstrade Whitelock, No. 994 to Dr. Rudd and P. Smart. See also entries in (10) below. There is, further, the curious seventeenth-century Hebrew Grammar of Richard Paxton, who in 1676 wrote this rhymed entry: "Richard Paxton his book God give him grace on it to looke and when he['s] deade the bells shall knowle God save his body and his soule" (No. 1000, Sloane 3385). On the other hand, No. 995 (Add. 4377) is an eighteenth-century MS., which contains "A Scheme whereby any Person of the meanest Capacity may in a very short time perfect himself in the Hebrew Language, without the assistance of a Master." At the end there is this statement: "This Scheme, with the verbs in Buxtorff's Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon, is sufficient to answer the Title; as many Gentlemen have experienced to their entire Satisfaction. Invented by Moses Marcus." From the title page, as well as from the Preface to the English translation of Carpzov's *Defence of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1729), it may be gathered that Moses Marcus was a Jew converted to Christianity.

(7) No. 1045 (Harley 3427-8).

Two paper volumes, consisting of 269 and 230 leaves, dated 5394 (= 1634). Mr. Margoliouth fully describes the work (pp. 377-378), and alludes to the ascription of its authorship to Menasseh ben Israel in these terms:

"Porta Veritatis," a controversial work in Latin directed against the tenets of the Christian religion, and laying special stress on the merits of Judaism. The author was probably Manasseh b. Israel.

On the title page of vol. i. (fol. 1) is the following (besides some scriptural verses): "Porta Veritatis sive Compendiaria via ad Beatitudinem. Authore Jacob Aben Amram Judæo (forte Manasseh ben Israelis). Anno ab orbe condito 5394."

The wide learning (including references to both ecclesiastical and classical authors) shown in the treatise, as also the manner of addressing highly-placed persons . . . would seem to favour the idea that this is an early work of Manasseh b. Israel (1604-57), probably copied immediately after composition. The pseudonym Jacob Aben Amram would have been chosen from prudential motives, and the conjectural form in which the author's real name appears might not have been considered sufficient to neutralise the pseudonymous character of the work. Manasseh b. Israel was always careful to avoid attacks on Christianity in works published under his name.

This last fact would rather militate against the theory that the "Porta Veritatis" was written by Menasseh, who cannot be charged with lack of courage in expressing his opinions. The problem of this attribution will no doubt be discussed by those more familiar than I am with Menasseh's Latin style. So far as I have observed, the "Porta Veritatis" is not ascribed to Menasseh by Kayserling; but the latter's silence would be due to ignorance of the existence of the manuscript as much as to doubt as to its authorship.

Towards the end of the Introduction (fol. 21) comes the division of the treatise into three parts: on the Divine Unity, on the Eternity of the Law and the Election of Israel, On the Messiah.

"Primus Art(culus) de simplicissima, et omnino immultiplicabili unitate Dei, fejecta scilicet distinctione personarum. Secundus, de perpetua duratione legis Moysaicae: et aeterna electione populi Israel, nempe Judaeorum. Tertius, de unico, eoque futuro adventu Messiae; puri-hominis de virile semine David" (quoted by Mr. Margoliouth, p. 378).

(8) No. 1049 (Harley 7013).

Ten letters, "partly in Hebrew, partly in Yiddish, and partly in a mixture of both," followed by a document in Spanish (but written in the Hebrew character).

Mr. Margoliouth (p. 399) explains that the first five, and the seventh and eighth letters are addressed to Aaron Moses, *Sofer* (Scribe). The first three (dated 1713) "were sent to London (in the first it is stated that he 'livth in shoemakeroo near al gat')." The fourth letter (apparently dated ten years later) was sent to Dublin. "The fifth, seventh, and eighth (the first two without date, the third 1715) were sent from Amsterdam to London."

The next letter (1714) "was sent to כמר היים from Amsterdam to London." The Hebrew letter was addressed to Simon Ockley of Cambridge (Adams Professor of Arabic 1711-1720). "The writer mentions that he had received a letter from the friend he was addressing by the hand of one יוסף וואס. The Spanish document at the end of the series (dated 1715 and addressed from Gibraltar) is described on the side as 'A testimonial of a Jewish priest in favour of another.'"

On the Aaron Moses here alluded to, see the notes on "Rabb Aaron, Sophair of Dublin" in *Transactions J. H. S.*, vol. v. p. 234.

The same scribe is probably referred to in the item extracted under entry (3) above. The name in the ninth letter may be Hess or Haes, and in the Hebrew letter to Ockley, Joseph Vaes or Vos.

(9) No. 1053 (Harley 4710-11).

Two small paper documents, dated London 1759, containing the list of Hebrew MSS. (Add. 4707-9) and printed books presented to the British Museum in the year named by Solomon da Costa. The printed books are 180 in number, collected by Charles II., and purchased by the donor in his youth. On Solomon da Costa and his enthusiasm as a collector, see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. iv. p. 292.

(10) Briefly, attention may be drawn to such points as these :

(a) On fol. 1 b of a fifteenth-century Latin MS. (No. 1058, Add. 19668) is the entry "Friderici Mieg, jam vero Samuelis Andreae 1664 Emi a R. Jacobo Abendana pret. 6" (p. 429). On the intimacy between J. F. Mieg and Isaac Abendana see *Trans. J. H. S.*, viii. pp. 99, 101, and the reference given at the latter place.

(b) Items (No. 1062) from the "Correspondence of Dr. John Covell" (1638-1722) of Cambridge, on whom see *Trans. J. H. S.*, v. pp. 184 *seq.*, and viii. p. 119; (i.) Latin tract on the study of Hebrew, entitled: "קריאה, h.e. Programma quo SS. Theologiae studiosi φιλόλογωται ad Privatas Praelectiones Hebraicas Linguae Sanctae amanter et officiose invitantur." At end: "Dat. e museo meo Cantabrigiae sub Bicipitis Aquilae signo in Angiportu Delphini, anno aeris Messiani MDCLXXXVIII" (quoted by Mr. Margoliouth, p. 435); (ii.) "Some Account of the Jews, Karaims, and Rabanaim"; (iii.) List of twenty-seven Karaite works.

(c) Some exciting references to the Hefes family, Gorizia 1761-2, members of which are alluded to in Ephraim Luzzatto's Hebrew poems, printed for the first time in London in 1766.

(d) Important references (No. 1140) to Kennicott's collations of Hebrew Bibles (p. 567-8) for American Hebraists; interesting are the allusions to Cooper, President of King's College, New York, and to Joseph Simpson, of the same city. With regard to the oaken board with inscriptions, from the ancient synagogue of Old Cairo (No. 1145), it may be well to remind readers of the Ark from the same place now in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

(e) Some Hebrew translations (No. 1156) of parts of the Koran

(from the Italian), made in India. The books and MSS., now in Cambridge, brought from India by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan a century ago, give further evidence of the interest of Indian Jews in the literature of religions other than their own.

(11) No. 1095 (Or. 1434).

A series of thirteen marriage documents, dated between 1804-1814. They are all London documents, and I may add a further point to the information given by Mr. Margoliouth. As may be seen from the descriptions by the officials, these Kethuboth belong to the New Synagogue. A full note on these will be published by the Rev. S. Levy, M.A., in our *Transactions*. Hence it is superfluous to enter into fuller details here.

(12) Nos. 1177-1206.

A series of Anglo-Jewish Charters, mostly of the thirteenth century. Most of these have already been published by Mr. M. D. Davis in his *Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290*; London, 1888.

There are six documents (Nos. 1179, 1196, 1197, 1200, 1204, and 1206) not included in Mr. Davis' collection. The whole have now been re-collated, and some notes are in preparation for our *Transactions* by the Society's President, the Rev. Dr. H. P. Stokes. It is hoped that the Latin documents, which in many cases accompany the Hebrew entries, will also be published by him for the Society.

No. 1203 (Add. Ch. 1998) does not really belong to this series. It is a marriage document, the parties being Israel b. Jacob b. Joseph Ferrares and Gimulya d. of Mas'ud b. Jacob Benadi. Dated 1786, Gibraltar. There is a coloured design of some artistic pretensions. The bridegroom signs besides the witnesses.

I. ABRAHAMS.

November, 1915.

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