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Levels of Discrimination and the Making of the Swan Street District in Bridgetown 1725-1766: Place for the Sephardic Jews of Bridgetown, Barbados Part 2

Martyn Bowden

From the first the Sephardic Jews of Bridgetown faced legal and illegal discrimination that they bore with protest and where possible countered with ingenuity. Their early mercantile experience with Dutch Brazilian sugar and their familiar connections with Amsterdam ensured remarkable success as "great merchants" in the Old Merchant Town on east Cheapside during the years when Bridgetown dominated the sugar export trade of the British Caribbean 1655-1715 and rivalled Boston as Britain's wealthiest port in the colonies. A severe six-year drop in sugar prices 1728-1733 leading into an 8-year period of very low sugar exports 1731-1737 compounded by droughts in 1733 and 1738 (with a cattle epidemic) and serious and widespread soil exhaustion 1734-1740 were coincident with serious competition from Jamaica with its relatively vast and more recently opened rich soils producing high sugar yields, and from the British Leeward Islands and the French Caribbean soon after.

With greatly increased production from the other islands sugar prices fell and in Barbados marginal planters in the northern and south-coast parishes turned to cotton and ginger and there began the last large white emigration of the less efficient and less wealthy planters to other British islands or to the North American colonies that by 1749 led to a loss of 2,551 out of 18,000 whites. They left

Early Swan Street c. 1900 from the postcard collection of Karl Watson

the land for the new planter aristocrats who, as planter merchants, built their own large storehouses on the Bridgetown waterfront and cut out former merchants (Jewish and Gentile) by dealing directly with their agents in London. To make matters worse the War of the Austrian Succession began in 1740 and lasted until 1748. Freight rates doubled, insurance tripled, smuggling became prevalent and major fluctuations in the size of crops were caused by the weather, mainly drought years (Starkey. 1939: 8, 88-100.)

There were major consequences of all these changes reflected in the historical geography of Bridgetown spanning the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and the objective of the first part of this study is to put Bridgetown's Jews in place as accurately as possible 1722-1749. Where did they own property, where did they work, where did they live, how did the place of their living change through time and how and why did these patterns in place happen? The more specific objective in this period is not only to track the Jewish occupying of Swan Street and the creation of the Jewish exchange and communications node in east Swan Street, but also to show the stages in the taking of majority Jewish control of Swan Street via property ownership effected before the Fires of

1766. Any attempt to reconstruct this rapidly changing geography of Bridgetown is, however, faced with a massive problem that did not exist for the period 1679-1725, and does not exist for the second part of this study 1749-1766: None of the annual Levy Books of St. Michael's Parish for 1726-1748 have survived.

The good news is that in the unique and remarkable Levy Book of 1749 the columns of "Houses" (properties) and "Inhabitants" (occupiers paying "personal head taxes", i.e., income taxes) are so perfectly matched that not only is the location of every Jewish family pinpointed with accuracy, but also the "personal head taxes" paid by every Jewish family are recorded for the first time in the Levy Books. This is important because it is in this quarter century of the Big Gap (1726-1748) that the greatest changes occur in the historical geography of Bridgetown's Jews. Furthermore the Levy Books of 1722-1725, the last before the Big Gap, are, from the Jewish perspective, the most comprehensive of all those saved from 1685 to 1725, combining as they do the longest and last Hebrew Nation Levy of 1725 with the 1722-1723 Levy Books which have the most coverage of Jewish occupiers of any of the Levy Books previously saved, 1685-1716 (albeit without recording personal head taxes paid).

Comparison of these two sources at the beginning and the end of a 23-year hiatus goes some way to bridging the gap between 1725 and 1749, and to comparing two data-rich cross-sections in time: 1722 and 1749. Together with wills, deeds, and headstones (and burial registers) of the period it becomes possible to establish generally where Bridgetown's Jews owned property, where they worked, lived, and paid taxes, where each head of household ranked on the socio-economic scale, where and when the big change in property ownership and renting/occupying occurred, and which individuals and families effected the changes that produced and shaped the Jewish district on Swan Street.

After 1749 the main general objective of this study is to establish how the Sephardic Jews fared as heads of household, families, and

as a community in the face of setbacks and disasters: where did the families live and how did they respond to substantial changing circumstances. These questions can be answered more readily than in the first part of the century because nearly all the Levy Books 1749-1765 exist, except for 1750.

The records of Jewish property holders are omitted from the Levy Book of 1751, they are less than complete 1752-1765, and, after the Fires of 1766, not complete again until 1771. There are many gaps in the property tax records but less in the personal head (income) taxes which greatly aid in documenting the very high tax levels inflicted on the Jews compared to non-Jews whose personal head taxes are relatively low and unchanged through this period. Hitherto the St. Michael's Vestry did not record personal head tax for Jews, it was supposedly subsumed in the Hebrew Nation Levies, which the Jews knew to be discriminatory. Measurable levels of discrimination were difficult to prove without a common basis of comparison with Gentile personal head taxes (between Jewish and Gentile property taxes there was no detectable difference). The recording of the personal head tax for individual Jews 1749-1765 does make it possible to measure levels of discrimination against Jewish individuals, families, and the Jews as a whole throughout this period, and it is a major and additional objective of this study to do so.

The Jewish Population 1725-1749

In Part One of this study the Jews of Bridgetown 1679-1680 were counted, listed, and totalled at 77 heads of household, and for 1729 I counted 60 heads of household in the Highway Assessment records of 1728-1729. These were ranked based on the Highway Assessments. I added to this list two householders known from other sources to be resident in Bridgetown during these two years and a further 15 Jewish heads of household named in Faber's 1729 list of Bridgetown slave-holders, and discovered that there were, as in 1679-80, 77 Jewish heads of household known in Bridgetown 1729.

The list presented here is drawn solely from the 1749 Levy Book. It tallies 73 known tax-paying heads of household, 3 property-tax-paying owner-occupiers too poor, too old, and no longer earning enough to be assessed personal head tax, and two property-tax-paying estates of prominent Jews (Rachel Valverde and Aaron Pereira) whose wills took years to be settled in the courts, and another property-tax payer presumed to be the owner of "the Jews Houses" in the Levy Book (the Jewish Congregation). This list of 79 tax payers is presented in alphabetical order to facilitate comparison with the list presented for 1729 – the differences being that all 79 taxpayers are ranked for 1749. Once again the register of tax-paying Jews hovers uncannily in the 70s, but it should be remembered that the 1729 list includes only 60 paying highway/slave-day taxes roughly the equivalent to the personal head tax, which in 1749 is paid officially by 73 of the 79 listed. A rough general conclusion might be that the Jewish population in Bridgetown rather than being uncannily stable for 70 years, being numbered in the high 70s in 1679, 1729 and 1749, was probably lower in 1729 than in the other two years.

Register of Jewish Taxpaying Heads of Household in Bridgetown 1749 (ranked)

Joseph Abarbanel	19–	Isaac Fernandez	66–	Isaac Monsanto	27–
Emmanuel Aboab	32=	Jacob De Fonseca	18	Aaron Moreno	32–
Moses Aboab	4	Hannah Francis	66–	Abraham Nunes	32–
Hezekiah Arobas	71–	Joseph Francis Jr.	32–	Benjamin Nunes Jr.	32=
Jacob Arobas	32–	Joseph Francis Sr.	32–	Ben. Israel Nunes	54=
Aaron Baruch	31	Jacob Frois	6	David Nunes	16–
David Baruch	13–	Isaac Garcia	16–	Judith Nunes	53
Jeremiah Baruch	19–	Moses Garcia	60–	Mordechai Nunes	27–
M.A.C. Belinfante	32=	Abraham Gomez	37–	Moses Nunes	3
Abraham Brandon	37–	David Gomez	71–	Phineas Nunes	19–
Isaac Brandon	71–	Isaac Gomez	32–	David De Paz	32–
Lunah Burgos	1	Jacob Gomez	32–	Moses De Paz	25
Rachel Burgos	79	Abigail Henriques	32=	Abraham Peixotto	51
Isaac De Campos	71–	Jewish Congregation	65	Aaron Pereira (dcd)	54–
Jacob N. De Campos	60=	Jacob Joseph	26	Abraham Pinheiro	19
Abraham Carvalho	27=	Abraham Lindo Sr.	66–	Isaac Pinheiro	54–
Benjamin Carvalho	60–	David Lindo	19–	Moses Pinheiro	5
Jacob Carvalho (Co.)	11	Isaac Lindo	54–	Isaac De Piza	2
Ephraim Castello	66–	Moses Lopez	19–	David Ulloa	52
Judith Castello	66–	Abraham Massiah	32–	David Valverde	8=
David Nunes Castello	54–	Abraham Massiah Jr.	54–	Jacob Valverde s. David	32–
Abraham De Casto	60–	Benjamin Massiah	8=	Ester Valverde	10
Gabriel De Casto	77–	Daniel Massiah	71–	Jacob Valverde s. Elias	7
J. Rodrgz. De Casto	71–	Judah Massiah	32–	Rachel Valverde (dcd)	12
Lunah De Casto	60–	Mordechai Massiah	13–	Rebecca Valverde	32=
Abraham Delyon	27–	Simeon Massiah	77–	Abraham Gabay Ysidro	32=
Jacob Delyon	66=				

1749 Bridgetown Jews

Rank, Total Tax, Street, Property Tax Percentage of Total Tax

Rank	Name	Total Tax	Street	Rates %
1	Lunah Burgos	12.6	S	56
2	Isaac De Piza	7.6	S	61
3	Moses Nunes	4.6	S	20
4	Moses Aboab	4.1	S	88
5	Moses Pinheiro	3.9	S	36
6	Jacob Frois	3.5	S	57
7	Jacob Valverde	3.2	S	38
8=	Benjamin Massiah	2.3	S	35
8=	David Valverde	2.3	S	65
10	Ester Valverde	2.2	S	77
11	Jacob Carvalho	2	S	0
12	Rachel Valverde	1.8	S	100
13=	David Baruch	1.7	S	24
13=	Mordechai Massiah	1.7	S	41
15	Judith Castello	1.6	T	100
16=	Isaac Garcia	1.6	M	38
16=	David Nunes	1.6	T	50
18	Jacob De Fonseca	1.5	S	33
19=	Joseph Abarbanel	1.5	S	0
19=	Jeremiah Baruch	1.5	S	0
19=	Jacob Joseph	1.5	T	23
19=	David Lindo	1.5	S	0
19=	Moses Lopez	1.5	Ch	0
19=	Phineas Nunes	1.5	S	0
19=	Abraham Pinheiro	1.5	S	0
26	Moses De Paz	1.3	Cp	46
27=	Abraham Carvalho	1.3	S	0
27=	Abraham Delyon	1.3	H	0
27=	Isaac Monsanto	1.3	H	0

Family Rank, No. of Households, Total Tax, and Family's percentage of total tax

Rank	Family	Households	Tax Paid	of Jews T
1	Burgos (L)	1	12.6	11.2
2	Nunes	8	12.4	11.1
3	Valverde	6	11.5	10.3
4	Massiah	8	7.8	7.8
5	De Piza	1	7.6	6.8
6	Pinheiro	4	6.9	6.2
7	Aboab	2	5.1	4.6
8	Baruch	3	4.4	3.9
9	Carvalho	3	3.9	3.5
10	Frois	1	3.5	3.1
11	Gomez	4	3.4	3
12	Castello	3	2.9	2.6
13	Lindo	3	2.8	2.5
14	Francis	3	2.5	2.2
15	Garcia	2	2.2	2
16	De Casto	4	1.9	1.7
17	Delyon	2	1.8	1.6
18	De Paz	2	1.6	1.4
19	De Fonseca	1	1.5	1.3
20=	Abarbanel	1	1.5	1.3
20=	Joseph	1	1.5	1.3
20=	Lopez	1	1.5	1.3
23=	Arobas	2	1.4	1.3
23=	Brandon	2	1.4	1.3
25	Monsanto	1	1.3	1.2
	10 others	subtotal	7.7	
	includes #33 Jewish Cong.		0.6	
	& #35 Rachel Burgos		0.2	
35	Jewish Families	Total	L111.6	

S=Swan T= Tudor H= High
Ch= Church M= Maiden Lane
Cp= Cheapside (Broad)

Luna Burgos 84.2 times #35 Rachel Burgos

Tax = Personal Head and Property ("rates") taxes in pounds

As to the 1749 figure, it is drawn from, perhaps the best, most accurate, and most comprehensive Levy Book extant 1679-1801. To this reason for the improbably high Jewish population figure for 1749 at the end of two decades of depression, massive white emigration, and wartime shipping problems, there should be added the boost given to the Jewish population numbers in Bridgetown 1749 by the outflow of Jews from Speightstown to Bridgetown following anti-Semitic "disturbances" in the three decades before 1749, and the burning of the Synagogue in 1730.

The top 30 tax-paying heads of household, the personal head and property taxes, the street where each taxpayer resided, and the percentage that property tax makes of the total of all taxes paid are presented in Table 2. Alongside this is a table showing taxes paid by families, with the number of heads of household indicated in each family, and with a percentage appended indicating each family's contribution to the total tax outlay of the Bridgetown Jews 1749.

The Survivors 1729-1749

Of the 77 heads of household identified in 1729 only 14 survived to 1749 (18 per cent). Three major figures maintained high rankings: the 54-year old Moses Pinheiro who arrived from Nevis in the early 1720s (6th to 5th), and two 64-year old patriarchs, Jacob Frois (11th to 6th) and David Valverde (4th to 8th). Three became patriarchs – Moses Nunes, head of Bridgetown Jewry's largest family (48th to 3rd), Jacob Carvalho with his great shop/store on Swan Street (54th to 11th), and David Baruch, descendant of the great merchant family of the late seventeenth century's last two decades (48th to 13th). Another Baruch, Aaron moved up the rankings (52nd to 30th), as did Judith Castello, matriarch of a 'great merchant' family of the century's turn (29th to 15th) and Aaron Moreno (50th to 32nd).

Two others maintained middle rankings: David Lindo (23rd to 19th) and Abraham Brandon (20th to 32nd). Three of the aged, all ranked 23rd in 1729, paid no personal head tax, a rare thing for Jews, but they still owned the house each lived in: Ephraim Castello, once owner of sea-going vessels (66th), Simeon Massiah, the former wizard of accounting and management for the Joseph Mendes family (77th), and by far the poorest Jew and the most determined to hold on to her hovel on James Street, the legendary Rebecca Burgos (79th of 79) with the lowest property tax paid by a Jew in Bridgetown and possibly by any Gentile. Of the 77 Jewish heads of household listed in 1729 a staggering 63 were no longer listed in 1749. Two decades of depression and difficult times took a large toll.

Emigrants and Immigrants

In addition to the low survival rate of all but 14 Jewish heads of household, the level of Jewish emigration was double the level of immigration during the same period. Thirteen families (20 households) left without trace 1729-1749 never to return in the eighteenth century. The aged Mendes family heads of households

(4) left behind in the migration of the younger family members to London before 1729 either died (Rachel Mendes) or left belatedly for London. The same appears to be true of the three Letub family households, the Marquez and Rodriguez families (2 each) and the D'Azevedo, Dias, Hernandez Dias, Delapena, Lopes Ritson, Lopes Henriques, Namias, Soares, and Mocatta families.

Half as many households (10 in six families) came in to replace them only partially by 1749: De Castos (4), Garcias (2), Belinfante, Fernandez, Hernandez (Abigail), and Gabay Ysidro (the rabbi).

Major Growth Families

The 29 families who carried through from 1729 to 1749 had among them a minority of families (13) who would grow and prosper (as measured by the 21 new households added 1729-1749). They would also effect changes internally that countered in the Jewish community the widespread problems that beset all but the planter aristocracy in the Gentile community in the second quarter of the century. Most importantly some of them would gather the Jews together on Swan Street, and create a Jewish commercial and communications centre (exchange) to promote and manage the emerging focus of retailing and the general importing (wholesaling) business that would supply it. The major increases accrued to 5 successful families of the era: 3 new households each for the Pinheiros (1 to 4); the Valverdes (3 to 6), their allies the Gomez family (1 to 4), and the Massiahs (4 to 7) and their allies the Carvalhos (1 to 3), a total of 14 new households added to the 10 of 1729.

Minor Growth Families

Each of the other 7 growing families with 14 households in 1729 added one more before 1749: Nunes (7 to 8), Lindo (2 to 3), and 1 to 2 for Aboab, Arobas, De Campos, De Paz, and Delyon. The Aboabs owned 4 properties and occupied at least one of them for four decades as did the De Mercados for three decades: a modest

foothold for a gathering that had not occurred in 7 decades. Three members of the Nunes family rented properties from Gentiles on west Swan Street before 1722 and a fourth did so by 1737 before the 'Big Surge' of Jewish owners (and occupiers) made it possible on Swan Street to rent from a Jew. From 1738 onwards during the Big Surge, Moses Nunes, as the patriarch of the Nunes family, the largest Jewish family in Bridgetown and never before much interested in property ownership, saw the need to own a property and be represented at the heart of the emerging Jewish exchange node on east Swan Street. But this also was a modest contribution to the gathering of the Jews on Swan Street compared to those of the Valverdes and their allies, and of the Massiahs and their allies. Arobas (2), De Campos, and Lindo, all rented properties on central Swan Street, also from Gentiles, and the De Paz's lived on west Cheapside and Tudor Street, and the Delyons both rented on High Street.

Fourteen families retained their 18 households from 1729 to 1749 and with three exceptions were uninvolved with Swan Street's goings-on. Seven of these families (11 householders) lived outside Swan Street and four families/households rented on west and central Swan Street, all but one from Gentiles. The Ulloa family proved to be a Speightstown-based owner-occupier of a modest house on central Swan Street bought for a Jewish widow soon after Speightstown's disturbances early in the century. The sometime booster of Swan Street, the aging Jacob Frois rented out his three properties, two of them on central Swan Street to Jews, and rented for himself a Gentile-owned property on west Swan Street. He was 62 in 1749 and in his remaining 8 years on Swan Street must have delighted in the steady Jewish takeover.

Lunah Burgos is the exception that proved the rule that no major contributions to the Jewish takeover could be made by a one-family household. This rule simply did not apply to the exceptional Lunah Burgos whose decision to purchase from the Davis family eight properties in two blocks of four in east Swan

Street, all of them to be occupied by Jews, mainly young ones, was the basis of, and the final inspiration for, the eventual Jewish takeover of the street. But Lunah's story, as does that of her son-in-law, Isaac de Piza, belongs properly with their Massiah and Carvalho relatives and allies.

Suffice to say, the Isaac De Piza family, one of only three families (9 households) to lose one household each between 1729 and 1749, was actively involved in the gathering of the Jews on Swan Street with two properties owned and rented to Jews, a renter himself on the street, the next-door-neighbour and business associate of Lunah Burgos and increasingly in the 1750s her business manager. The 3 Baruchs, all of them renting on Swan Street from Gentile owners, were the second of the three families who lost a family. They were little involved with the developments on Swan Street as were the third family, the Lopez's, who lived and worked on Church Street.

The Jewish Presence as Occupiers in Bridgetown

After being absent from the "Inhabitants " column as payers of personal head tax during the decades of the Hebrew Nation Levy the names of the occupying Jews finally appeared in that column in what would be the last four known years of the Hebrew Nation Levy 1722-1725. In one year in particular, 1722, Jewish names are intercalated with the names of Gentile neighbours in a listing almost as comprehensive as that of 1749. The only difference is that personal head tax is not recorded for each Jewish occupier for all four years, 1722-1725, presumably because it is subsumed in the Hebrew Nation Levies. The existence of these lists does enable a comparison of the geographies of the Jews in 1722-1725 and 1749, and presents a measure of geographical change in a 24-year period lacking detailed information on annual changes resulting from the loss of the St. Michael Levy Books 1726-1748. (To compare 1722 with 1749, see map of Jewish Owners & Occupiers 1722 in Bowden, 2011, p.42).

Comparison between Jewish entries in the Levy Books of 1722 and 1749 shows 54 Jewish occupiers named in 1722 and 72 in 1749, an increase of 33 per cent. On Swan Street, after difficulties in the first two decades of the century that sent many Jews to the lower-rent streets northwest of Swan, there began a drive to re-occupy Swan Street that saw a 50 per cent increase from 20 to 30 Jewish renters there between 1715 and 1722, and, from 1722 to 1749, a further increase of 53 per cent, to 46 Jewish occupiers of the 67 'houses' on the street (actually 20.5 Gentiles to 46.5 Jews as one Jewish father rented half to his son and half to a Gentile). This ensured a better than 2 : 1 Jewish to Gentile ratio of occupiers on Swan Street in 1749 and a probable majority Jewish occupation and presence on the street by the early 1740s. By 1749 on the western third of Swan Street the Jews: Gentiles ratio was 16.5 : 5.5; on the middle third 18 : 5, and on the eastern third there were two discrete blocks: 12 Jews to the west and 10 Gentiles to the east.

Beyond Swan Street: Occupiers

Other changes accompanied those on Swan Street between 1722 and 1749. The proportion of Bridgetown Jews living beyond Swan Street dropped from 44 to 36 per cent and, as on Swan Street itself, there was a detectable west to east shift from the (poorer) streets west of Swan to the nearby and upscale streets east and northeast. Church and Backchurch streets in the west lost one-third of the former Jewish occupiers; Tudor Street and Maiden Lane retained their 9 Jewish families, and the number of Jewish occupiers doubled on the near east side.

Aaron Pereira and the Jews on Lower High Street

Lower (south) High Street, still perhaps the port's upscale retail shopping district in 1749, somewhat ominously to leading Gentile observers, attracted 5 Jewish renters (from Gentiles) by 1722 and this number increased to 7 (10 percent of all Jewish occupiers)

by 1749. Five of these shopkeepers grouped together (#s 14-22) close by the only Jewish owner-occupied property of the period on lower High Street (#13), that of Aaron Pereira, the third-ranked great merchant in the Hebrew Nation Levies of 1722-1725, and the second-ranked (after Mordechai Burgos) in the Highway/ Slaves Levies of 1726-1729. The records suggest that Pereira who was renting from a Gentile on far east Swan Street in 1722-23 was the first Jewish owner-occupier on lower High Street when it was probably the prime retail shopping district. He bought the larger of the two Isaac Mendes & Co. properties in 1726 (#12: just north of the Broad Street intersection and The Landing Place), which he occupied until his death in 1739/1740. At this time he was probably (following the death of Mordechai Burgos in 1736) the first-ranked Jewish great merchant and certainly the last of his generation.

Pereira's house on High Street, willed to his widow who was "to accept rent issues and profits" during her lifetime (to 1746) was still in his name in the Levy Book of 1749 but rented to a Gentile. As the only Jewish owner on High Street in the early 1730s he was soon joined (late 1730s) by the recently-endowed Isaac De Piza who purchased two properties on lower High Street (#s4 & 5) close to the Broad Street intersection. The presence of Pereira's property and his business on lower High Street and of De Piza's two properties nearby undoubtedly strengthened the Jewish foothold there and encouraged others to join them.

The same was true of central James Street (between Swan Street and the Synagogue on Magazine Lane). There the young and wealthy heiress of Jacob and Moses Franco, Rachel Valverde, and her husband David Israel Valverde (who were financially supportive of the Synagogue and its academy), purchased two houses, probably in the early 1740s to accommodate the rabbi and another Synagogue official. This encouraged other Jews to rent in the vicinity. Of the 72 Jewish occupiers of property in 1749, 64% were on Swan Street. High and Tudor streets, bounding

Swan Street east and west respectively, each had 10%; James Street counted 4%, and Maiden Lane, Backchurch St., Church St., and Cheapside (west) each had 3%. In sum, 19% of the occupiers lived on the west-side, 14% on east-side streets.

Merchants Great and Small & the New Planter Economy

By the 1720s there were clear signs in Bridgetown that the Golden Age of the great merchants and of Barbados' economic dominance in the British Caribbean were over. Thereafter, between 1722/1725 and 1749, major changes occurred, made more obvious by the deep economic depression of the 1730s followed by the inevitable mercantile costs and setbacks during the War of the Austrian Succession in the 1740s. The last of the Jewish great merchants died between 1726 and 1739 and, thereafter, the word 'merchant' in the Jewish community meant 'general importer' of dry and luxury goods and hardware mainly for the retail trade increasingly focussed on High and Swan streets, both of which became the foci of demand for rental space and the acquisition of property.

On east and central Cheapside and the waterfront the storehouses of the emerging planter aristocracy became more common as the new planter merchants increasingly by-passed local merchants, dealt directly with agents in London, and, de facto, established an economy essentially separate from the local one. In a world of failing small to mid-sized plantations and struggling urban businesses, opportunities opened up for the purchase of properties and for money-lending to the indebted which led, in an increasing number of cases in an era of marked white emigration, to acquisition of property by default for non-payment of debts.

Some of the Jewish great merchants of the past acquired several rentier properties beyond the house/storehouse where they lived on east Cheapside, often as a source of income/insurance policy for widows and children. In the 1730s and 1740s, however, leading Jewish businessmen (the most heavily taxed) were no longer great

merchants but major property holders/rentiers and moneylenders acquiring property directly or by default of debt.

Jewish Property Ownership

By 1749 there were three Jewish leaders in the top 25 property owners in Bridgetown measured by the rateable value of properties owned. Lunah Burgos ranked sixth in the city with 14 properties with a rateable value of £374; Isaac De Piza, Lunah Burgos's son-in-law, ranked 14th in the city with 10 properties valued at £237, and Moses Aboab ranked 23rd with 11 properties valued at £192. In terms of taxes paid to the St. Michael's Vestry in 1749, these three were first, second, and fourth in the Jewish community (with property taxes making up respectively 56, 61, and 88 per cent of all taxes paid). All three had similar portfolios: high rateable-valued rentier properties directed to the wealthier Jews on Swan Street (and occasionally to Gentiles on High Street) and a similar number of low-valued properties directed to poor Gentile renters in generally non-Jewish areas, e.g., Cheapside and the streets west of Swan Street, sometimes acquired as rentier properties, otherwise as properties taken in default of debts unpaid as part of the money-lending business in which all three of them were engaged. All three had above-average valued properties on Swan Street rented mostly to Jews (Burgos 8, Aboab 4, De Piza 2, with the last having two high-valued properties rented to Gentiles on nearby High Street). They all rented to poor Gentiles on Cheapside (Burgos 4, Aboab 4, De Piza 2) and on the overwhelmingly Gentile streets surrounding Swan Street e.g., Backchurch St. and Marlhill (Burgos 2, Aboab 3, De Piza 4).

In addition to the three leaders and their 35 properties, there were, by 1749, another 26 Jewish holders of the other 41 properties. The number of Jewish property owners increased by 53% from 19 to 29 between 1725 and 1749 and the number of Jewish-owned properties rose 95% from 39 to 76 in the same period. Thirty-eight per cent of Jewish heads of household were property owners by 1749.

The major change on the ground was the remarkable growth of the Jewish presence on Swan Street and the sharp increase in Jewish property-holding compared to the major losses on Cheapside. Of the 66 properties on Swan Street in 1725 the Jews owned only 10. By 1749 the number increased 190% to 29, all but two of these properties occupied by Jews: both properties rented to Gentiles provided special services – doctor and school teacher – for the emerging Jewish district on Swan Street. In a period of depression when average rateable values of Jewish properties in Bridgetown dropped from £31 to £26 (11%) the average value of Jewish properties on Swan Street rose 33% from £27 to £36. Between 1725 and 1749 the total rateable value of all the Jewish-owned properties on Swan Street rose 277% from £274 to £1032, and Swan Street's proportion of all Jewish properties in Bridgetown rose from 23 to 52%.

By contrast Cheapside's Jewish-owned properties dropped 22% from 18 to 14, only two of them recorded as occupied by Jews: both at the far western end of Cheapside in the upscale residential district beyond the City's Main Market. The rateable value of Cheapside's Jewish-owned properties dropped 52% from £627 to £291. Cheapside's share of all Jewish properties dropped from 53 to 15% and the average rateable value of the Jews' properties on Cheapside decreased by 56% from £35 to £21.

The Property Turnaround on Swan Street

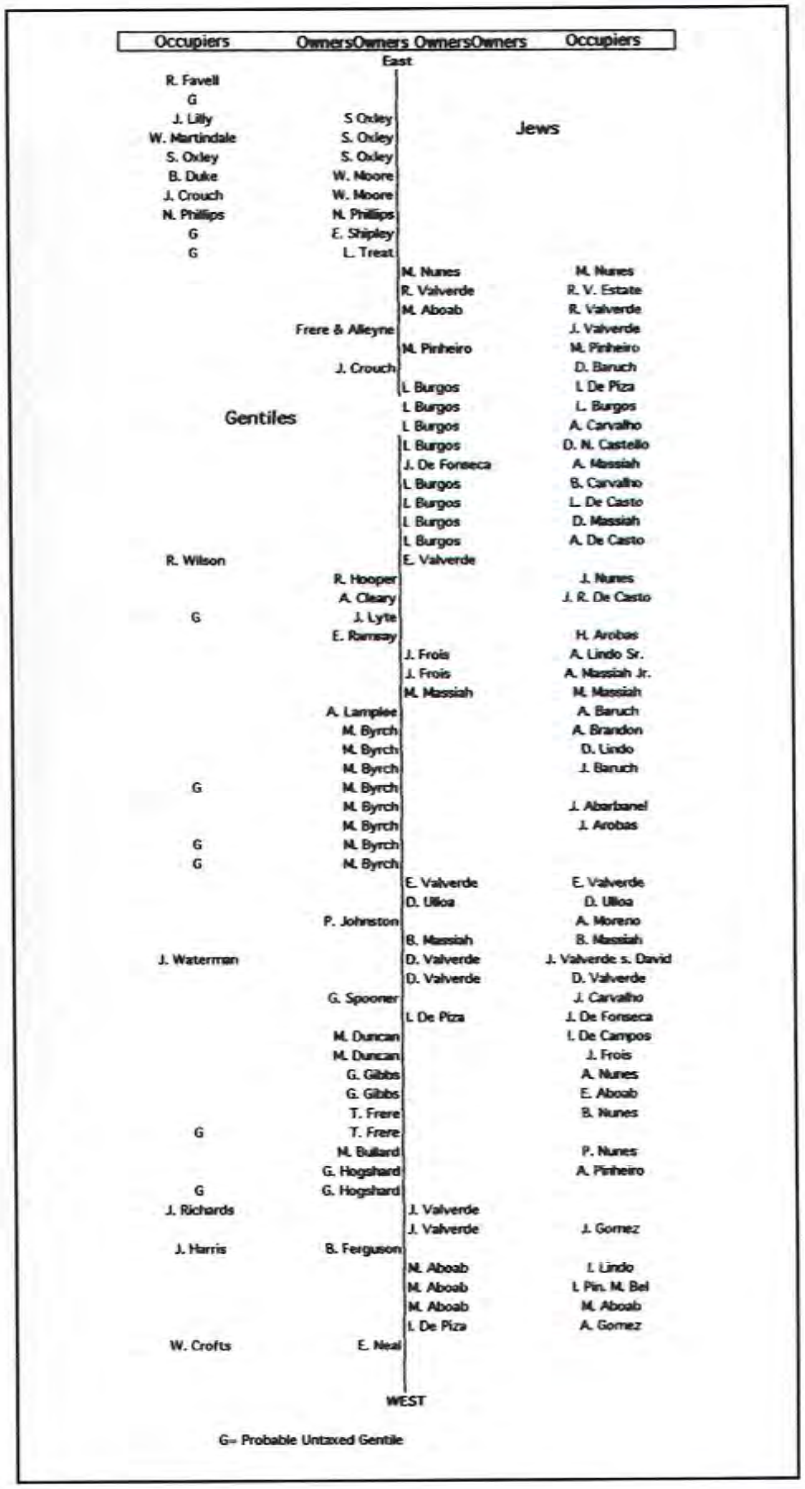
In the mid-1720s there were 10 Jewish-owned properties out of 66/67 on Swan Street: one in the eastern third, 4 in the centre and 5 in the western third (four of them David R. De Mercado's founding land-purchases close to the Synagogue and Jewish cemeteries on the north side that he hoped half a century earlier would encourage his fellow Jews to gather close by on Swan Street). Finally it looked as though his hopes would eventually be satisfied. The 10 Jewish properties of 1722-1725 became 29 by 1749, doubling to 10 in the western third and 8 in the centre.

In the eastern third, closest to the Synagogue, the solitary Jewish property of the mid-1720s exploded to 11 by 1749.

For almost half a century Jewish property ownership on Swan Street lagged far behind Jewish renting (much of which was from Gentile owners). As a result, in the mid 1720s Jewish renters outnumbered Jewish-owned properties by 3: 1 (30 to 10). But this changed from the late 1730s onwards as the number of Jewish property owners increased by 19 (190%) and directly enabled another 16 Jews to extend the Jewish occupation to more than two-thirds of Swan Street's Jewish properties and a majority Jewish occupation in all three thirds of Swan Street. However, the division of Swan Street's houses into thirds obscures an interesting contrast that developed in the east end. In effect, between the 1720s and 1749 the first 25 Swan-Street houses west of the High Street intersection had become distinct and exclusive districts. The Gentile owners of the 10 houses at the far eastern end of Swan Street shed the 3 Jewish occupiers there in the mid-1720s to make the district exclusively Gentile in ownership and occupation. The next 15 houses to the west were by 1749 almost as exclusively Jewish as the district to the east was exclusively Gentile.

The Gathering of the Jewish Leaders on East Swan Street

In this western half of the east end in the 1720s there were only 3 Jewish occupiers and only one Jewish property owner in the mid 1720s (two of whom, David Valverde, an occupier, and Hezekiah Pacheco, an owner, may have handed properties on to two of the Jewish leaders of 1749). Amazingly by 1749 Jews occupied all 15 properties, 13 of them owned by Jews. The decisive change was the acquisition by the Jews of 12 additional properties 1738-1748. The block of 15 contiguous houses became the first sector of the Jewish-owned and occupied district, by far the most exclusive Jewish district hitherto in the history of Bridgetown.



The Jewish Leaders & their Sub-district

Of particular interest is the gathering of the Jewish leaders in the eastern half of this district. Six of the 7 wealthiest leaders of the Jewish community, as determined and ranked by property and personal head taxes paid in 1749, were the occupiers or owners or both of the 8 houses closest to the exclusive Gentile district (Lunah Burgos #1, Isaac De Piza #2, Moses Nunes #3, Moses Aboab #4, Moses Pinheiro #5, and Jacob Valverde #7 (and a seventh wealthy family of David Israel and Rachel Valverde belonged with this group until their deaths in 1745, after which their estate held their Swan Street property and paid taxes on it into the middle 1750s). This tightly-bound group of wealthy Jewish patriarchs and matriarchs, ideally situated in both an emerging ghetto and a growing central retail and business district, close to the Synagogue and to the centre of Barbados government, had already by 1749 become the Jewish 'exchange' node: a centre of communications, information, money-lending and of the unofficial governing body of the Bridgetown Jews. Consequently its members would soon become the butt of heightened levels of discrimination by the St. Michael's Vestry's use and abuse of the personal head tax.

Third-ranked Moses Nunes, patriarch of Bridgetown's largest family of eight households was a powerful (highest ranked) merchant seemingly uninterested in owning rentier property except the very high valued one he purchased to own from the (Gentile) Shepherd family at the eastern margin of Jewish holdings on Swan Street. He positioned himself to be as close as possible to his Gentile neighbours with whom he did much business, and also close enough to the Jewish 'exchange' to pick up mercantile and commercial information that could be passed on to other interested Nunes family merchants. Unlike families leading the Jewish takeover of Swan Street, Moses and the other Nunes family members seemed in the 1740s anxious to maintain good relations with the Gentile majority and, to this end, showed little interest in the gathering of the Jews on Swan Street, no further interest in buying property on the street, or in renting properties from Jews while obviously renting four properties on Swan Street from Gentiles.

Isaac Valverde courtesy Adrian Camps-Campins

The Valverdes

Next door to Moses Nunes a second high-valued property (£50) was rented from a Gentile by David Valverde (ranked 8th in 1749) from the early 1720s to 1739 (or thereabouts) when David purchased his first Swan Street property (1739-1741?) and gave up his rental in the emerging exchange node. He probably arranged with his landlord for his nephew, the merchant David Israel Hezekiah Valverde and his wealthy wife Rachel, to make the Gentile owner an offer he could not refuse for a fine property. They were strong financial supporters of

the Synagogue and its academy school for Jewish orphans and they bought two properties on James Street close to the Synagogue for the rabbi and another Synagogue official. But David Israel died in August 1745 and Rachel died six weeks later at 30, probably intestate. The Rachel Valverde estate continued for almost a decade to pay property taxes on the three properties into the middle 1750s.

The third property, occupied in 1749 by another Valverde wife, Rebecca, was one of the lowest valued on Swan Street (£12). It was probably purchased by Rebecca's husband the young merchant, Isaac Haim Valverde, Jacob Valverde Snr's second son who died at 33 in 1743. A common arrangement of the day was probably made with Moses Aboab (4th ranked and the holder of 10 other properties) to buy the property but allow Isaac's widow to stay on as occupier in her lifetime: a solution that gave the Aboabs a steady rent and a long-term foothold in the 'exchange' node.

The one Jewish-owned property in the mid-1720s within what would become the Jewish leaders' exchange district was that of Hezekiah Pacheco, unusual in his time for owning five quite valuable properties on Cheapside and Swan Street in 1722-25 and for being a strong believer in the Jewish need to own property. (He was surprisingly ranked 38th among Bridgetown Jews in 1729, but this may well be the result of his removal beyond the city's bounds to a plantation near the western boundary of Bridgetown recorded on Bowen's 1747 map of Barbados, probably engraved in the early 1740s from data collected 1739-40). The highly-valued Pacheco property (£75) was probably purchased in the 1730s by Moses Pinheiro, ranked 5th in 1749 and already a successful merchant when he arrived from Nevis in 1721. He married into a prominent family soon after and by 1749 had five sons, two of them already merchants and renting on west Swan Street; a third would join his brothers as a merchant in the early 1750s.

On both sides of Moses Pinheiro, an owner-occupier, were two young occupiers renting high-valued properties from wealthy Gentiles: Jacob Valverde (£60) from Frere & Alleyne, and David Baruch (£55) from John Crouch. The former, 7th ranked, and the precocious son of Elias Valverde was already the young patriarch of the younger generation of the Valverdes, as the latter (ranked 13th) was of the Baruchs. Both owned two properties: Valverde on west Swan Street, Baruch on Middle Street (parallel to and immediately south of Swan Street). Both surely felt that renting high-valued properties in the new and unofficial communications centre and exchange of the Jewish merchants would help their young careers as merchants more than living in one of their properties a short walk of 35-plus houses away.

Interestingly, faced with the same choice, the much older Jacob Frois (ranked 6th) and David Valverde (ranked 8th), both in their 60s in 1749, chose to continue to live in their houses on west Swan Street rather than rent in the exchange district. Alternatively, after the deaths of Rachel and David Israel Valverde in 1745, David Valverde Sr. might well have used as his base of operations the house in their estate, which he had rented previously for 18 years.

The two demarcators of the western margin of the 'exchange' district were the wealthy Lunah Burgos and her son-in-law Isaac De Piza, major property holders and money lenders who came to the fore after the death of the mysterious great merchant Mordechai Burgos, lost at sea in 1736. Soon after this, they became the first- and second-highest Jewish taxpayers. The distribution of Mordechai's wealth, a large part of which was placed in the hands of the widow, enabled the purchase of 8 of the 9 properties sold off by the Davis family in 1739. The two most highly valued and easterly properties of the 8 (£40) and £80) were occupied by Isaac De Piza as renter and Lunah Burgos, as owner-occupier. They were also the prime and most westerly properties of the unofficial communications centre/exchange node of the new merchant era that replaced the informal exchange node of the Jewish great merchants that flourished at Cheapside and High Street by the Landing Place 1680-1720.

Towards the end of the deep depression of the 1730s and early 1740s when many were leaving the island and willing to sell, Lunah

Burgos and Isaac De Piza determined to purchase Bridgetown properties for rent. Isaac De Piza used some of his large inheritance from Mordechai Burgos to buy from the Aboabs one of the 4 original David De Mercado properties at the far western end of Swan Street. Isaac's other property purchase on Swan Street, formerly rented by his in-laws, Mordechai and Lunah Burgos, he bought from the Gentile owner after Lunah moved out to her new property in the exchange node. Interestingly, in what became a recurring pattern, De Piza, rather than live a short walk of 35 houses away from the exchange district in either of the two properties he already owned in the western third of Swan Street, chose to rent a high-valued property (£40) in the exchange node (from his mother-in law Lunah Burgos).

The Agents of Change

Two very different unrelated families were directly responsible for the dramatic Jewish takeover of Swan Street in a very short period, something that from the early 1690s to the 1730s seemed impossible. It needed the deaths of three very wealthy men whose wills presented the major beneficiaries with opportunities to buy enough properties to tip the balance of both occupation and ownership far enough to make Swan Street a majority Jewish district and community. A narrow window of opportunity occurred between 1736 and 1744 for just enough key people among the beneficiaries of three great men to make decisive choices that effected the changeover.

The Valverdes, a merchant/trade family whose male members frequently went by their trading name, the Greens, grew steadily stronger over 40 years and created a platform for five of their number to do their part on Swan Street in tipping the Gentile and Jewish balance toward the Jews. The Massiahs, a family extended by marriage to include the De Pizas and the Carvalhos, began to move southward to Bridgetown in the 1710s, partially in response to a very wealthy man whose will suddenly presented the opportunity for them to acquire property or rent, gather together, and, perhaps incidentally, complete the Jewish takeover of Swan Street.

Creating the Platform for Takeover: the Valverdes

In his will of 1689 the merchant magnate David Israel probably directed his widow to rent their Stone House (#31 Cheapside) to Abraham and Jael Valverde who bought the house after it was significantly damaged in the hurricane of 1695. They returned it to its pre-hurricane condition by the turn of the century. For their 3 boys Jacob, David, and Elias born in 1685, 1686, and 1691 respectively there could be no more auspicious locale for immersing themselves in the world of the great Jewish merchants in their Golden Age at Cheapside than living in one of the landmark houses at the centre of this merchant world where Broad and High streets met. They lived next door to, first, Aaron Baruch Lousada, and then Jacob Franco (Nunes), the greatest Jewish merchants of their eras. Jacob and David Valverde grew up so close to the daughters of Jacob Franco, Rachel and Simha Abigail, who were of similar ages and of the same mercantile rank, that it was perhaps inevitable that they married.

With the death of Abraham Valverde in 1707 when Elias was 15 the remarkable matriarch Jael took over the business and maintained it, as "Jael Valverde & Co." at the same tax level for the next 14 years as measured in the annual Hebrew Nation levies. She set up Jacob and Rachel in the Old Jewish Centre (west Cheapside) in 1707, but apparently by 1708 concluded that there was no future in property there, selling off all but their Stone House home on east Cheapside. She concentrated on the training of her three sons, all working and separately taxed as merchants by 1712 when Elias was 20. In 1713 Jael, Jacob, and David each ranked 10th equal in the Hebrew Nation Levy and the 21-year-old Elias 17th. By this time the family was already paying more taxes than any other single family or company in Bridgetown, and all three brothers had already moved to rental properties on Swan Street (confirmed by the Census of 1715). In 1715, as David had done in 1712, Elias, now 23, traveled abroad, learning the ropes as trader and establishing connections. Thereafter Jael chose to pass the mercantile business on to the two younger brothers. On Elias's return in 1716 Jael deeded the company's base

of operations – the Stone House on Cheapside – to Elias and David jointly (although she continued to live there until her death in 1721 and the sons continued to reside on Swan Street).

There is a five-year break in the Levy Books 1717-1721 in the last year of which Jael died. She had trained them so well that by 1723 they were the fourth (Elias) and fifth-ranked Jewish merchant magnates, chasing (at a distance) the much older merchants of the previous generation: Jacob Franco, Mordechai Burgos and Aaron Pereira. Significantly neither of them cared to move their residences to the Stone House, which they decided to rent to a Gentile, and Elias confirmed his commitment to Swan Street by purchasing the first Valverde-owned house on the street in 1723.

Wills Create a Platform of Wealth

In the 1720s the three Valverde brothers were already in the late stages of securing the great insurance policy against the loss of all the Valverdes had gained since 1679: their siring of 24 children (Jacob 11, Elias 9, and David 4). Over 5 years three deaths of key members of the extended family of the Valverdes led, in their wills, to a redistribution of wealth, particularly to Jacob's 11 children but also to David's four as they all came-of-age 1726-1739. They also led directly to the purchase of two more Valverde houses on Swan Street (Elias having purchased the first in 1723).

The very wealthy Jacob Franco proved to be the doting grandfather to his 15 Valverde grandchildren. He died at 80 in 1726 and in his will gave them as they came of age in the following 13 years substantial settlements of either £270 or £120 each (the latter equivalent to four Bridgetown houses of above-average rateable value (a total of £2100).

Jacob Valverde, the oldest and least successful of the brothers died in 1729 and in his will deeded no property specifically and made no cash settlements. He had 10 years previously partnered Moses Franco in providing 2 sea-going vessels in a slave-importing venture with Mordechai Burgos. As a result in 1729 he was the largest slaveholder among Bridgetown Jews (29 slaves) apparently hiring out most of

them (but employing several in a household without a mother for seven years). Deeding all he had to give he divided the slaves by name among his 11 children as fairly as possible, with what remained of the estate, if anything, to be divided equally also.

The death of Jacob's close friend and relative Moses Franco in 1730 led to even more bequests for Jacob's progeny. Three received a total of £1,000 – two of the awards to Jacob's eldest sons in the hope that one or the other would marry his only child, 13-year- old Rachel at 15 (in 1732). It was the third brother, David Israel Hezekiah, who eventually married the young and very wealthy heiress of both Francos, probably in 1735/36.

The Jewish Takeover of Swan Street 1737-1744: The Valverde Contribution

David I.H. and Rachel Valverde moved as owner-occupiers into a high-valued property at the east end of Swan Street in what would become the Jewish Exchange node probably by 1737. Theirs was the second Valverde property on Swan Street. Isaac Haim Valverde, Jacob's second son, was the beneficiary of all three wills, particularly from Moses Franco's investment in him as Rachel's prospective husband. But he married Rebecca. A low-value property came on the market next door to his brother David Israel's, and Isaac Haim chose to purchase it in the late 1730s. It became the third Valverde property on Swan Street.

There is little doubt that Elias and David were wealthy and successful merchant magnates through the 1720s. Following the deaths of the two Francos and later of Mordechai Burgos in 1736 they were at least the second (Elias) and third wealthiest (ranked) Jewish merchants in the late 1730s. From the middle 1720s David Valverde could have bought property on Swan Street as Elias did but he had not done so before 1726 (and David's longevity ensures that we have no will with which to document his properties 1726-1739). He is recorded in 1749 with contiguous properties of above-average Swan Street rateable values at the west end of the street among the majority

of Valverde properties. Two deeds in the middle 1740s mention his holdings: " a yard adjoining (and) bounding the house and land of David Valverde" and a "messuage and tenement in the possession of David Valverde." These push the likely purchase date back to the early 1740s when David was active in the property-market working with his nephew Abraham in selling their jointly-owned Stone House – the Valverde landmark for half a century on east Cheapside. He also joined with Abraham in buying a rentier property on west Cheapside and probably aided Abraham in turning his "portion" from the will of Elias and his proceeds from the Stone House sale into a second property for Abraham on central Swan Street (later Abraham's widow Esther's rental to Wilson, the Swan Street schoolmaster) and the Valverdes' fourth property in 1740-41 (Abraham already owned Elias's house after Elias's death in 1739 – the original Valverde purchase on Swan Street in 1723).

If David were going to buy property rather than continue to rent, the early 1740s was a good time to do so. He knew what was available from his dealings with Abraham. He was almost as wealthy in 1739 as Elias and he had just sold his half of the Stone House. Prices of property at the end of a dreadful 10-year depression that was propelling an unprecedented emigration of whites must have been very low. And his only surviving child, Jacob Junior, needed his own place (preferably next door). Everything points to his buying on west Swan Street the fifth and sixth Valverde contiguous properties before 1742.

Elias Valverde died in a trading trip overseas and was buried in New York City in 1739. His nine children did not benefit from the wills of the Francos 1726 and 1730 as the children of Jacob and David did, but Elias's will shows that they did not need to. It also proves him to be, by a substantial margin, the leading merchant magnate of his generation and the wealthiest. He gave £600 to his blind son David, and to the other six survivors he gave £450 each (15 times more than the average rateable value of a Bridgetown house). Abraham inherited Elias's house and Elias's half of the Stone House sold to finance the

fourth Valverde property on Swan Street. For the other five children it was their choice what to do with the wealth presented to them by Elias.

Elias' second son Jacob, already a successful young merchant and a rising star as his father was at 26, is recorded in the 1749 Levy Book as owning two contiguous properties of above-average rateable value located in what had essentially become the Valverde west end of Swan Street. A deed of some significance says more: "A certain street there called Jew Street butting and bounding on the lands and buildings of Jacob Valverde, merchant" confirms (1) Jacob's status/occupation, (2) the fact that two properties are involved, and (3) that the purchase of 19 properties and associated rentals by the Valverdes and the extended family of the Massiahs had, in the popular mind, changed the street name from Swan to "Jew Street". The date of the deed shows also that Jacob's purchases were made 1740-1744, greatly aided by Elias's bequests, and that the two properties were the eighth and ninth Valverde properties located on Swan Street in the middle 1740s.

Jacob was the highest ranked of the six Valverdes listed as heads of household in the 1749 Levy Book (his uncle David, the surviving patriarch, dropped to 8th by 1749). As noted earlier Jacob saw it as imperative to live in the new exchange district alongside his merchant cousins David Israel and Isaac Haim and to rent, from a Gentile firm, a high-valued house at the centre of the node of the Jewish leaders.

Three of Elias's daughters appear to have used their "portions" from the will to rent properties close to each other in the west end of Swan Street. Jael (with her husband, Elias's business partner, Abraham Gomez) rented the farthest west of David De Mercado's 4 original Jewish properties on Swan Street. Sarah (married to Jacob Gomez, Abraham's brother) rented from her brother Jacob Valverde, and Rebecca (married to Phineas Nunes) lived two houses east of Sarah. Given the choice by Elias in 1739 to do what they wished with their "portions", his children were proud renters/occupiers of five Swan Street properties and owners of four in 1749.

By 1743 there were eight Valverde-owned properties on Swan Street

and 9 Valverde-born renter/occupiers, but death soon undermined the family's "insurance policy" of having 24 children to ensure the continuance of the family's hard-earned gains. Jacob Valverde Sr's sons, the merchants Isaac Haim and David Israel, died in 1743 and 1745 – the last of Jacob Sr's 5 merchant sons, all of whom died in their 30s or younger. Three of David's children, including 2 sons, died in their 20s, and Elias's eldest son, the merchant Abraham, died at 34 in 1746. Another died young and David was blind (but this did not stop his purchasing and renting of properties in the middle 1750s). Two of 12 Valverde sons of the three brothers, both called Jacob (sons of Elias and David), remained in 1749 to carry on as merchants. All the premature deaths tarnished the achievement of the Valverdes, but not the result – completion of the first stage in the Jewish takeover of Swan Street at the occupier level.

Abraham, son of Elias, in his will of 1746 directed his wife Esther to keep one of their two properties as owner-occupier and sell the other. She chose to keep the second property as owner and rent it to the Gentile schoolmaster as a service to the Swan Street/Jewish community just as Jacob Valverde, son of Elias, did with one of his two properties, renting it to have a doctor on Swan Street: Dr. John Richards. Consequently the 8 properties on Swan Street the Valverdes owned and the 9 they occupied in 1743 appeared in the 1749 Levy Book as 7 Valverde properties owned and 8 occupied – still a massive advance from one property owned and 3 occupied on Swan Street by the three brothers in 1725.

The Coming of the Massiahs

The single most important fact in the Jewish takeover of Swan Street is the death at sea in 1736 of by far the wealthiest Jewish merchant in Barbados at that time, Mordechai Burgos. He appeared in Barbados in 1718, renting on west Swan Street, and immediately involved several of his Swan Street neighbours, including Jacob Valverde and Moses Franco, in a venture importing slaves to Barbados. Little to nothing is known of his early life except that he married Lunah Massiah of

that prolific Speightstown family. Lunah, at 29, bore him a daughter, Rachel, in 1712, seemingly 6 years before his arrival in Bridgetown.

Samuel identifies two well-to-do Burgos families in Speightstown in the last two decades of the seventeenth century. He does not mention Mordechai, but there were strong connections between Speightstown and Amsterdam mercantile families at this time, and the list of beneficiaries of Mordechai's will of 1736 strongly suggests that these were his home ports at various times in his early life. His slave-trading ventures that announced his arrival in Bridgetown 1718-1721 and his connections with Jewish owners of sea-going vessels also suggest slave-trading and smuggling as the longer-term sources of his substantial wealth that marked him by a wide margin in the middle and late 1720s as the wealthiest Jew paying the Hebrew Nation Levy 1724-1725 and the Highway/Slaves levies of 1726-1729.

During the first break in the Levy Books 1717-1721, the Massiahs, whom Samuel labels as "lesser lights" begin to move south from Speightstown to Bridgetown, something Mordechai's will and bequests to the Massiahs shows not to be coincidental. Simeon Massiah, Lunah's nephew, who proved invaluable to the Joseph Mendes family as "trusty steward", accountant, business manager and attorney did the same for Mordechai, setting himself up in the Old Jewish Centre (Cheapside and Maiden Lane) at least by 1720. Soon after, another nephew of Lunah's, Jacob Massiah, established himself as a limited company on east Cheapside (Broad Street) in the early 1720s and soon thereafter took the Company to London as Mordechai's agent/representative there. Mordechai's will singles out for special thanks and an annuity the patriarch of Lunah's family Daniel Massiah, another who moves south to Bridgetown's High Street as a renter/occupier by 1722 (15th in the 1729 ranking of 77 Bridgetown Jews).

Mordechai's unexpected death as an ostensibly healthy man in the prime of his life might have immobilized some wives become widows but Lunah's response and her subsequent decision-making, suggest that she knew a lot about the business, was probably the Bridgetown

manager, and probably had increasing help from her son-in-law, Isaac De Piza. Presented with a large fortune and a renter herself on Swan Street for almost 20 years, she knew of the setbacks and difficulties of Jews particularly as prospective property owners on the street in the previous forty years. She also knew of David De Mercado's purchase of a block of four houses at the West End on Swan Street fifty years before in hopes that other Jews would follow his lead and gather on Swan Street near the Synagogue. The widow of a man who, as a long-term renter on Swan Street, apparently showed no interest in owning property, initiated the second wave of the Swan Street takeover (that of the Speightstown and extended Massiah family) by purchasing 8 of the 9 properties owned by Philip Davis, whose family was at the centre of the setbacks to Jewish ownership on Swan Street particularly in the 1690s and 1700s.

In addition, Mordechai's son-in-law Isaac De Piza (34) received an enormous bequest of £2,000, some of which bought another two properties on west Swan Street: one rented to another Speightstown man, Jacob De Fonseca, and the other to Abraham Gomez, the husband of Jael Valverde (Elias's daughter) and Elias's business partner. Further east at the centre of Swan Street two new Massiah leaders Mordechai (13th ranked in 1749) and Benjamin (a merchant 8th ranked in 1749 and subsequently the hazan and mohel of the Synagogue "for many years") owned and occupied high-valued properties, for a total of 12 Massiah-family properties. (The property splitting up Lunah Burgos's eight properties into two sets of four came to Jacob De Fonseca who rented to Lunah's nephew Abraham Massiah, and another Speightstown man, Daniel Ulloa, owned and occupied a house bought by the Ulloa family before 1721).

Lunah Burgos ensured that all eight of her properties on east Swan Street were occupied by Jews. She took the highest valued (£80) and her daughter Rachel and Isaac De Piza took the other high-valued one. All the other six properties were rated below the average rateable values for Swan Street, all but one rented to young people ranked in the lowest third of the 79 Jewish taxpayers of 1749. Three of them

had Speightstown connections, one a Massiah (a young Daniel) and two were the Massiahs' Carvalho cousins (Benjamin and Abraham) sons of Rachel (Massiah) Carvalho and Jacob Carvalho. Two of the remaining three were De Castos, a new family in Bridgetown, and another, the new David Nunes Castello, was soon to make his mark.

The most famous renter of the Massiah group on Swan Street in the 1740s was Jacob Carvalho. He "came down" from Speightstown to rent on Maiden Lane (the Old Jewish Centre, west Cheapside area) by 1722 and moved, probably in the late 1730s, to Swan Street where he rented a large store/shop. He is described as "merchant" on his headstone, "shopkeeper" in his will, and was known as "His Eminence" as owner of Swan Street's most famous store of this period. He died late in 1749 and his wife, Rachel (Massiah) Carvalho took the shop to greater fame as Carvalho & Massiah Co. (with help from at least two young Massiah males) before "Rachel Carvalho" became the name of the store and of its banner owner: a second Massiah business-woman who contributed greatly to the Jewish takeover of Swan Street in the late 1740s and the 1750s.

Lunah Burgos's eight properties were definitely in her hands by the early 1740s (and probably sooner) because the deeds extant from the middle 1740s name her Swan Street properties as abutting a Swan Street neighbour. It is also quite likely that soon after Isaac De Piza received the unprecedented bequest of £2,000 from Mordechai's will in 1736, at the depth of a terrible depression that was drawing many into indebtedness and an unprecedented white emigration, he capitalized quickly on his good 'fortune' and purchased his two Swan Street properties from Jewish owners (Moses Aboab and Jacob De Fonseca), both apparently willing to sell their west Swan properties so that they could buy into the east Swan Street properties in or close to the new exchange node of the Jewish leaders.

All we know of the two new Massiah properties and of the many Burgos-Massiah-Carvalho renter-occupiers during the two decades without the Levy Books is that they were still there in 1749. In that year there were 19 Valverde and Burgos-Massiah-Carvalho properties

owned on Swan Street by the two groups, 18 of them new (and not including the properties of the Speightstown-born Dominic Ulloa and Jacob De Fonseca). There were also 17 new Jewish owner-occupiers and renters paying personal head tax. Most of this great change occurred in the early 1740s after a second round of key events, deaths, and wills, in 1736 and 1739.

The New Jewish District

The Jews had at several times moved to gather together on Swan Street to create a district of their own there, but all previous efforts were stymied. But the wills of Mordechai Burgos (and later his widow Lunah), of Jacob Franco (and of his son Moses), and of Elias Valverde presented their beneficiaries with the chance of a lifetime (which was taken). All the new Jewish properties were soon occupied by Jews who, as a result, outnumbered Gentile occupiers on Swan Street by almost 2 to 1, and took the Jews to the brink of majority property ownership (46%) of the street by 1749. Furthermore in the eastern third of Swan Street bordering High Street – a section lightly settled by Jews hitherto – there emerged an almost exclusively Jewish exchange-communications node/sub-district reminiscent of a much earlier Jewish merchant node at east Cheapside (Broad Street) around The Landing Place (refer to Distribution of Jewish Owners/ Renters 1749 p. 78).

Levels of Discrimination 1749

The major fiscal change for the Jews between 1725 and 1749 was the termination of the hated Hebrew Nation Levy and its replacement by the annual payment of the personal head tax on earnings (i.e., income tax) that had been levied on individual gainfully employed Gentiles for the previous 70 years and recorded in the St. Michael Levy Books.

The first comprehensive record of Jewish payments of personal head tax is in the 1749 Levy Book, but there are indications that the changeover took place around 1738. Up to this year the leading Jewish families were required to present in a lump sum each year the

taxes demanded of the Jews as a whole. Two or three reluctant Jewish leaders were coerced into using their intimate insiders' knowledge of the financial and other circumstances of the Jewish community to distribute the Hebrew Nation Levy equably, absolve the taxes of the poorer third, and apportion to the wealthier Jewish heads of households each's contribution to the whole, making exemptions of the synagogue officials – hazan (rabbi), hahab (cantor), mohel (circumcisor) etc., the recently widowed (on occasion), and others having short-term difficulties.

The change from this earlier practice is obvious in the 1749 Levy Book (the first to survive since 1729). The personal head tax of every able-bodied, gainfully-employed, Jewish head of household in Bridgetown, however poor, is determined by an impersonal and hopefully unprejudiced Anglican Christian Gentile St. Michael's Vestry committee from which the Jews were excluded by their religion, i.e., they were taxed without representation which would soon be the rallying call of the American colonies in the preface to the War of Independence.

There were other consequences for the Jews of the switch from the Hebrew Nation Levy to the personal head tax. My best efforts to compare the burden of the two levies on the Jews suggest that the Jews on average in the 1720s were paying in the Hebrew Nation Levy about 200% more than the Gentiles on average paying the personal head tax in the same decade, and that in 1749 with both groups paying personal head tax the level of discrimination remained broadly the same (200%) on average. This meant that Jewish earners were paying personal head taxes on a much broader spectrum than the Gentiles and that few if any Jewish earners, even the poorest, could elude the lowest (5 shillings) level of the personal head tax, whereas 60 per cent of the Gentiles (approximately 600 invisible heads of household) eluded this lowest level of the personal head tax.

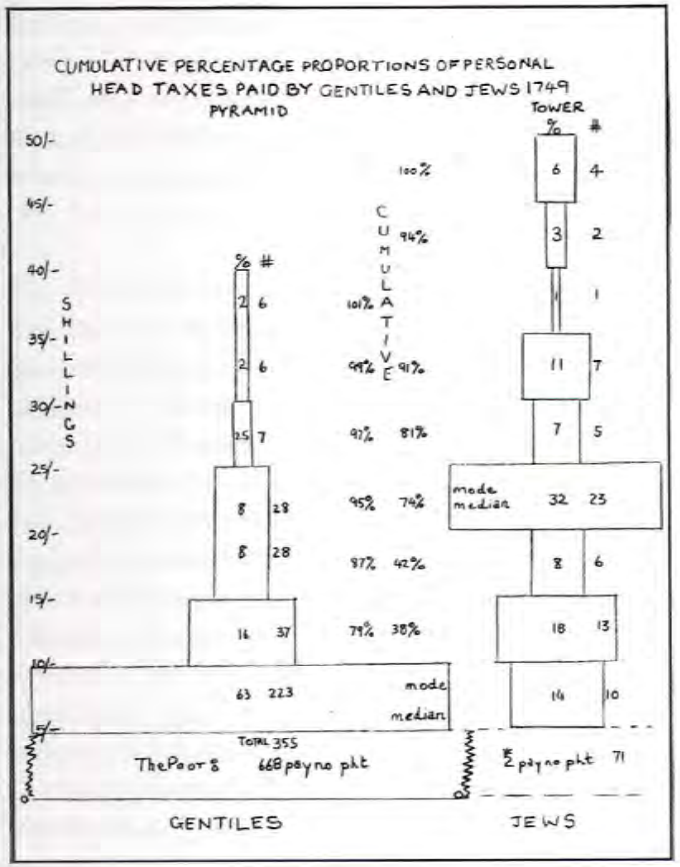
Far more ominously, at the other end of the wealth spectrum were the wealthiest Jewish families at the mercy of the unconstrained Anglicans of the St. Michael's Vestry. They could now be targeted

with far higher personal head taxes than would ever have passed the scrutiny of their fellow Jewish leaders administering the Jewish tax obligations of the Hebrew Nation Levy era.

The Gentile Pyramid and the Jewish Tower 1749

The full scale of the level of discrimination in 1749 (and presumably in the 1740s) is illustrated in the comparison of the distributions of personal-head-tax payers. On the left side is a roughly triangular shape with a long base representing 187 (53%) of the 355 Gentile taxpayers paying 5 shillings (£0.25): the mode (the most common tax) and median (the middle tax) of the Gentile distribution. It also shows the distribution of 167 Gentiles who paid increasingly higher levels of personal head taxes in 1749 up to 40 shillings. On the right side there is a tower shape with a shorter base representing 23 (32%) of the 72 Jewish taxpayers paying 20 shillings (£1): the mode and median of the Jewish distribution (300 per cent higher than the Gentile mode and median). It also shows the distribution of the other 49 Jews, 20 of whom paid taxes on a much broader and higher range than their wealthy Gentile counterparts (up to 113 shillings), and 29 of whom would have been considered too poor to pay taxes in the era of the Hebrew Nation Levy but who now (26 of the 29) paid more than did the 53% who made up the Gentile majority of head-tax payers.

Beneath the base of the Gentile triangle is a truncated base that should be 3.5 times longer than is shown partially. This represents the 668 Gentiles occupying property in Bridgetown and presumed to be too poor to pay the personal head tax. There is no counterpart to this in the Jewish population, all 72 of whom paid personal head tax. (No personal head tax was paid on two properties of deceased owners, on three properties of owners too old and infirm to earn, and on the properties of the synagogue complex owned by the Jewish Congregation).



The Gentile Pyramid and the Jewish Tower 1749

Before 1749 the Jews must have worked out that they were still collectively paying on average 200% more than the Gentiles (as in the Hebrew Nation Levy years) and the 1749 graph proves this conclusively. The graph also suggests that the sky was the limit for the personal head taxes of the Jewish leaders but not for the taxes of the Gentile leaders.

The Jews Versus the Gentile Patricians

In the middle of two decades of deep depression that inhibited change elsewhere, two groups made major advances. The landowning Gentile patriciate benefited from the many failures of smaller and inefficient landowners/planters and a relatively heavy white emigration, and the Bridgetown Jews benefited greatly from the wills of several very wealthy merchants that enabled 16 properties in a 4-year period to be purchased by Jews on Swan Street. During a dozen years 1751-1762 the two groups would engage in a dramatic, if uneven battle, that impacted the Jewish leaders greatly, but which many of the Jewish leaders eventually survived.

The rapid Jewish occupation of Swan Street, the major increases in Jewish property ownership on Swan Street, the sudden emergence of a new almost exclusively Jewish district in the eastern half of Swan Street (the exchange node) reminiscent of the earlier Jewish node on Broad Street (Cheapside) at the Landing Place, and the perceived threat of Jewish expansion into hitherto purely Gentile (patrician) districts, particularly to the east, turned the minds of some to using the one legal means available – very large personal head taxes (up to 350 times more than the average Jew was paying in the late 1740s) – to bring these real and prospective changes to a halt during what turned out to be the only sizeable Period of (Moderate) Prosperity (1748-1765) in the century (Starkey, 1739: 99).

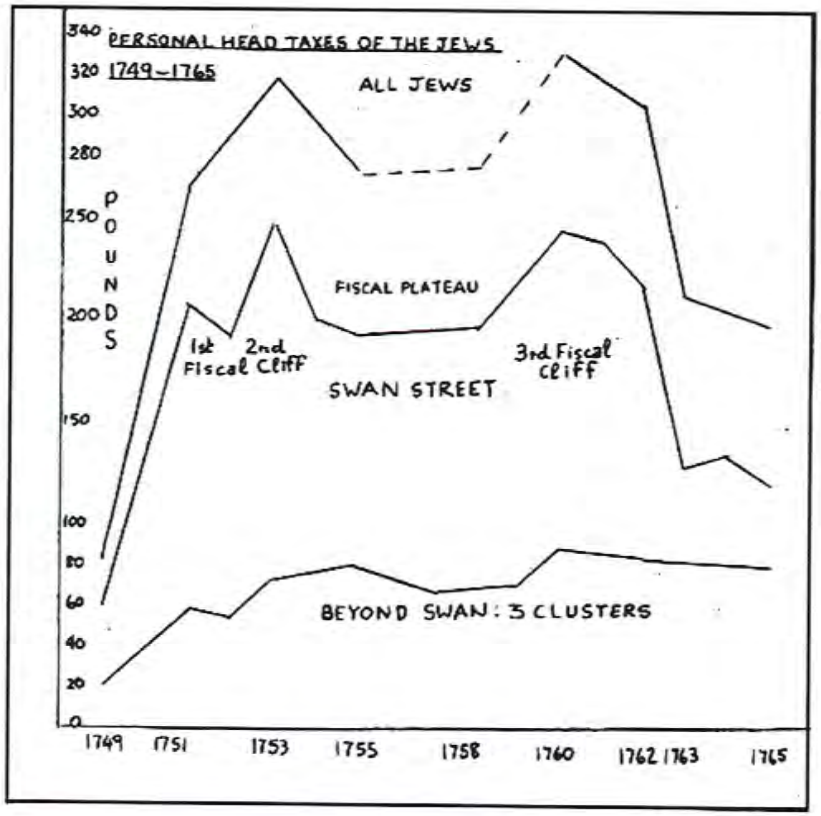
The Quality of the Records 1751-1765

After the remarkably comprehensive Levy Book of 1749, which documents that the Jews paid at least 200 per cent, more personal head tax per capita than the tax-paying Gentiles, there is a gap in the record (Levy Books) in 1750. The Levy Books of 1751 to 1762 show significant omissions, notably in property-holding, but in general through this period the data on personal head tax get steadily better but are never more than 75% complete compared to the unique Levy Book of 1749, for reasons that are mainly recognizable.

The First Jewish High Fiscal Cliff 1751

The amount the new Vestry needed to run Bridgetown in 1751 was about the same as that raised by the old Vestry in 1749 (£801 raised to £826), but the new Vestry reversed the proportions of property tax ("rates") and personal head (income) tax levied on the gainfully-employed. Property taxes ("rates") dropped initially from £550 to £240: 4.5d. (pence) to 2d. in the pound (£1): already the lowest recorded rate in the century by some margin. Then, in what looks like an afterthought, the new Vestry ruled that all those who paid personal head tax and owned property would be forgiven payment of property rates. This, in turn, was apparently interpreted, correctly or not, by the tax collectors to mean that "all properties of those paying personal head tax", were forgiven payment of rates (for example, on all 14 properties of Lunah Burgos, the leading Jewish property owner). As a result of this 'mistake' property taxes collected totalled a measly £156 (19%), the Annual Rateable Value (ARV) of Bridgetown's property dropped by £10,680 to £18,695, and the personal head taxes reached an unprecedented 81% of all taxes collected in 1751: an increase of 167% (2.7 times) over the head tax of 1749.

The main beneficiaries of this uniquely low property tax in 1751 were the non-resident absentee landlords holding many properties paying minuscule amounts of property taxes and the three and only (retired) Jewish heads of household who did not pay personal head tax but did pay "rates" – a grand total of 4 shillings (at 2 pence in the pound sterling). In sharp contrast Bridgetown's 429 gainfully employed were called on to foot a large income tax bill for £670



Jewish Fiscal High Cliffs

(an average of £1.6). In a decision that undoubtedly shocked the Jewish community the new Vestry demanded that the 73 Jewish heads of household (6.7% of Bridgetown's population and 16.7% of the payers of personal head tax in 1751) pay £270 or 40% of this annual income tax, an average of £3.8 (76 shillings), leaving the 357 Gentiles to pay £400 or 60 per cent personal head tax, an average of £1.1(22 shillings).

A comparison of these data for 1749 and 1751 for the Jews on Swan Street is startling. For the 46 Jews listed on Swan Street in 1749 the head tax was L55.63 (average £1.2) compared to the 1751 tax for the 38 Jews listed in 1751 and paying £208.25 (average £5.5): a total increase of 274 % and an average increase of 358%. There was no actual loss of Jewish householders on Swan Street between 1749 and 1751, two new householders were added and six were dropped by the Gentile collectors as too poor to be bothered with when the returns from the wealthier Jews were yielding so much more.

An accurate measure of the change is afforded by the 36 Jews found on Swan Street in both 1749 and 1751: the tax increase was 320% and in the case of the 8 leaders the tax increase ranged from 385 to 789%. On Swan Street the 12 Jewish leaders paid on average 13 times more than the 7 Gentile residents paying head tax. Comparison of the average head taxes paid by 25 rank-and-file Jews on Swan Street and the 7 resident Gentiles shows the former paying three times more. The personal head taxes of Lunah Burgos (£30) in 1751 were large enough for her to have purchased an upscale house on Swan Street, and those paid by her son-in-law Isaac De Piza, given the annual rateable value of an average property in Bridgetown as £26.7 in 1751, could have bought a somewhat smaller house in the West End (e.g. Backchurch Street).

It should be remembered that the Jews in 1749 were already as a group paying 200% more than the Gentiles, and so the 36 Swan Street Jews of 1751, for instance, were paying at least 52% more than their Gentile counterparts. Not surprisingly, in 1749, four of the top 5 payers of head tax in Bridgetown were Jews, as were 14

of the top 21 (67%), but apart from Lunah Burgos paying 112.5 shillings and Moses Nunes paying 75 shillings, the next group of 9 paid 40 to 50 shillings and the next 10 paid 30 shillings in 1749: modest amounts in a narrow range compared to 1751.

Jews made up 3 of the top 4 payers of head tax in 1751 and 8 of the top 11(73%). Isaac De Piza's assessment increased almost 9 times and those of Lunah Burgos, Ben Massiah, Carvalho & Massiah, and Abraham Pinheiro 5 times. The other 3, leaders of the Nunes, Pinheiro, and Valverde families, all formally protested increases of between 4 and 5 times in their assessments of 1749 to 1751.

The Protest 1751

Early in each year the Levy Book, with the property (rates) and personal head taxes listed, was put on display at St. Michaels Parish Church. The final section (a postscript to the annual levy) is the summary which finishes with the usually unchallenged statement that the Levy was "published three several Sundays before the date hereof and --- exceptions taken thereto." In 1751, however, there is a heavy-handed and capitalized "NO" inserted by a different hand in the space usually left blank, and an addition in that hand: "but by Moses Nunes, Moses Pinheiro, Abraham Pinheiro, and Jacob Valverde Jnr." This is the only instance to my knowledge in which any group protested the annual levy. The question of who should be the signers of the protest must have been carefully considered by the Jewish leaders gathered in their exchange node on Swan Street. For a signer of a protest there was the obvious risk that even the Jewish leader most respected by the Gentile establishment would be punished vindictively by an even higher head tax next year.

Conspicuous by their absence from the signatories are the major targets of the Gentile tax assessors, the two main Jewish money-lenders/property holders, Lunah (Massiah) Burgos and her son-in-law Isaac De Piza, several of whose properties were undoubtedly acquired in default of debts in an era of great indebtedness and enforced white emigration. Also absent were fellow members of

the extended Massiah family, owners of the most successful store (Carvalho & Massiah) on Swan Street and perhaps in Bridgetown, and seen as newcomers/outsiders from Speightstown.

By contrast, all three families of the protesters had long-time mercantile connections with Bridgetown Gentiles. Moses Nunes and Moses Pinheiro, patriarchs of long-established and respected merchant families whose members habitually rented from Gentiles, showed little interest in acquiring property as rentiers, and had done what they could to maintain good relations with Gentile businessmen. Abraham Pinheiro and Jacob Valverde Junior represented the younger generation of the Jewish community's future merchant leaders, the latter the healthiest young merchant of the most powerful Jewish family of the 1730s and 1740s recently hard-hit by deaths of too many promising young merchants.

Knowing that the Governor would be presented with the Levy for his signature on the last page and would see that the long-established Jewish families felt aggrieved at the outrageous personal head taxes levelled at them and were asking for relief, the Curate of St. Michaels and the Chair of the Vestry Committee could simply have entered "four exceptions thereto by Moses Nunes...." etc. But in entering "NO" they denied the Jews the right to protest and told them not to protest again, and by prefacing the list of Jewish names with the phrase "but by" they dismissed the protesters (four Jewish leaders) as people of no consequence, fair game for a decade of unrestrained taxation.

Tax Gouging of Jews Beyond Swan Street 1751

Beyond Swan Street there were fewer Jews for whom we have personal head tax records for both 1749 and 1751, but there are 15 and the pattern here is familiar: the 15 paid 280 shillings tax in 1749 and 980 shillings in 1751, an increase of 252 per cent. The average 1749 head tax of 18 shillings rose 261% to 65 shillings and the median levy of 20 shillings in 1749 compared in 1751 with 68/70 shillings. Isaac Garcia and Abraham Peixotto on Maiden

Percentage Increase in Personal Head Tax Paid by 36 Jews Resident on Swan Street in 1749 and 1751(in shillings)

Rank	Name	1749	1751	% Increase
1	Isaac De Piza	45	400	789
2	Ester Valverde	10	75	650
3=	Lunah Burgos	112.5	600	433
3=	Abraham Pinheiro	30	160	433*
3=	Benjamin Massiah	30	160	433
6=	Carvalho & Massiah	40	200	400
6=	David Lindo	30	150	400
8	Moses Pinheiro	50	242.5	385*
9=	Phineas Nunes	30	140	367
9=	Moses Nunes	75	350	367*
11=	Abraham Brandon	20	90	350
11=	Aaron Baruch	20	90	350
13	Jacob Valverde s.David	40	170	325*
14=	D. Nunes Castello	15	62.5	317
14=	Joseph Abarbanel	30	125	317
16=	M.A.C. Belinfante	20	80	300
16=	Isaac Lindo	15	60	300
16=	Benjamin Nunes Jr.	20	80	300
16=	Jacob De Fonseca	20	80	300
16=	Jacob Valverde s.Elias	20	80	300
16=	Mordechai Massiah	20	80	300
16=	David Baruch	25	100	300
23	Daniel Ulloa	10	35	250
24=	David Valverde	15	50	233
24=	J. Rodr. De Casto	7.5	25	233
26	Jeremiah Baruch	30	87.5	192
27=	Abraham Gomez	20	37.5	87.5
27=	Jacob Gomez	20	37.5	87.5
27=	Abraham Nunes	20	37.5	87.5
30=	Daniel Massiah	7.5	12.5	67
30=	Isaac Pinheiro	15	25	67
32	Emmanuel Aboab	20	30	50
33	Jacob Frois (dcd)	30	40	33
34=	Abraham Massiah	20	25	25
34=	Aaron Moreno	20	25	25
36	Abraham De Casto	12.5	12.5	0
	Total	965	4055	320
	Mean	26.8	112.6	320
	Median	20	80	300
	Mode	20	80	300

* The Four Protesters

Lane had a tax increase of 452%; the three on Tudor Street led by Jacob Joseph had an increase of 381%; Mordechai Nunes (25 to 100 shillings) and Moses Lopez (30 to 150 shillings), neighbours on Church Street, had a joint increase of 355%; and on James Street Rabbi Abraham Gabay Ysidro (20 to 100 shillings) and Abigail Henriquez (20 to 70 shillings) together saw an average increase of 325%. Surprisingly the four Jews on High Street 1749-51 experienced a relatively moderate but still substantial tax increase of 121%. (For maps and commentary on the Streets & Byways of mid-century Bridgetown see Bowden 2003: 68 and Challenger 1999: 76-87).

The Jewish High Fiscal Plateau of 1752

Buoyed by three good years climatically and commercially, and after more than two decades of wariness in the face of economic depression, a decision was made for the new Vestry to increase Bridgetown's taxes in 1752 by 49 per cent from £826 to £1230 mainly by tripling property rates from 2d to 6d in the pound and by forgiving property tax to the payers of personal head tax only for the houses in which they resided (i.e., as owner-occupiers). This effectively increased Bridgetown's (property) rates by 4.7 times from £156 to £735 and allowed a citywide cut-back of personal head tax from £670 to £500, of which almost half (46 per cent) was paid by the Jews (compared to 40 per cent in 1751). In absolute terms, however, the Jews paid less in personal head taxes in 1752 than in 1751: being allowed perhaps to recover on a high fiscal plateau on which the Jewish leaders (and Lunah Burgos as the target) on Swan Street averaged 211 shillings in head tax in 1752 after climbing a steep fiscal cliff peaking at an average of 234 shillings in 1751(14 times higher than the average personal head tax of the Gentiles on Swan Street).

Perhaps as a token response to the brave and perhaps foolhardy protest of 1751 directed at the new Vestry, the three protesting Jewish leaders – Moses Nunes, Moses Pinheiro, and Jacob

Valverde – gained in 1752 a collective tax-cutback of 8 per cent (78 shillings) from their tax levels of 1751. Much more substantial was the undoubtedly unexpected response to Isaac De Piza, the third-highest payer of personal head tax in Bridgetown in 1751 (400 shillings, £20) and Lunah Burgos, the highest-ranked (600 shillings, £30) in 1751. Taken together, their 535% personal head tax increase from 1749 was initially treated as if there were two separate businesses when it was commonly known that, since Mordechai Burgos's death, the Burgos business was being run increasingly by son-in-law Isaac De Piza who lived next door to Lunah and would eventually inherit a business that by 1752 he was already running for the 68-year-old aging and ailing Lunah. The drop in the total tax of Burgos and De Piza from 1000/- to 600/- in 1752 meant that the Fairchild Vestry recognized the family business situation. Also recognized at this time was a permanent Burgos-De Piza exemption until 1765 from the relatively minuscule property taxes of the Burgos & De Piza business, which were overshadowed by and to all intents and purposes subsumed in the highest personal head taxes of the era.

The Second Jewish High Fiscal Cliff 1753

After 5 years of moderate prosperity (1748-1752) the new Vestry decided to increase Bridgetown taxes further by another £476 (£1230 to £1706) financing the 39% increase mainly by raising property rates from 6d to 8d in the pound: £735 to £1005 (37%). Head tax rose 41% from £496 to £701, of which almost half (46%) was collected from the Jews, and 75% of this (4900/- £245) came from the Jews of Swan Street. In effect the Jews of Swan Street were forced to climb a second fiscal cliff in 1753 substantially higher than the fiscal cliff of 1751.

Nine of the top 12 payers of personal head tax in Bridgetown in 1753 were Jews who took the brunt of the heaviest tax attack on the Jews in the eighteenth century. The four highest payers of taxes in Bridgetown in 1753 were Lunah Burgos (800/-), the protester Moses Nunes (400/-), the protester Moses Pinheiro (320/-), leaders resident in the Jewish Exchange Node, east Swan Street, and the fourth was Carvalho & Massiah (267/-) Bridgetown's grandest store on central Swan Street. All four experienced increases of head tax of 33 per cent, as did Phineas Nunes and Jacob Valverde, son of David (each paying 187/- and ranked 10th=) and Moses Lopez (200/- and 7th) of Church Street (essentially a western extension of Swan Street). The young protester Abraham Pinheiro (240/- and 6th) was punished with taxes raised 50 per cent higher than those he protested in 1751, while Ben Massiah (160/- and 12th), proved unique among the Jewish leaders in being exempted from a tax increase from 1751 to 1756 (probably as a religious leader).

On Swan Street an 18 per cent increase (332/-) 1751-1753 was asked of the 10 Jewish leaders taxed for a total of 2140 shillings in 1753, and an even bigger percentage increase came from the other 30 (rank-and-file) Jews on Swan Street who paid 1960/-, 49 per cent (645/-) more than in 1751. Compared to the Gentile taxpayers on Swan Street whose average personal head tax was 18 shillings in 1753, their 30 rank-and-file Jewish neighbours on the street averaged 120/-: 567 per cent more.

The Jewish Clusters Beyond Swan Street: Eastern Cluster

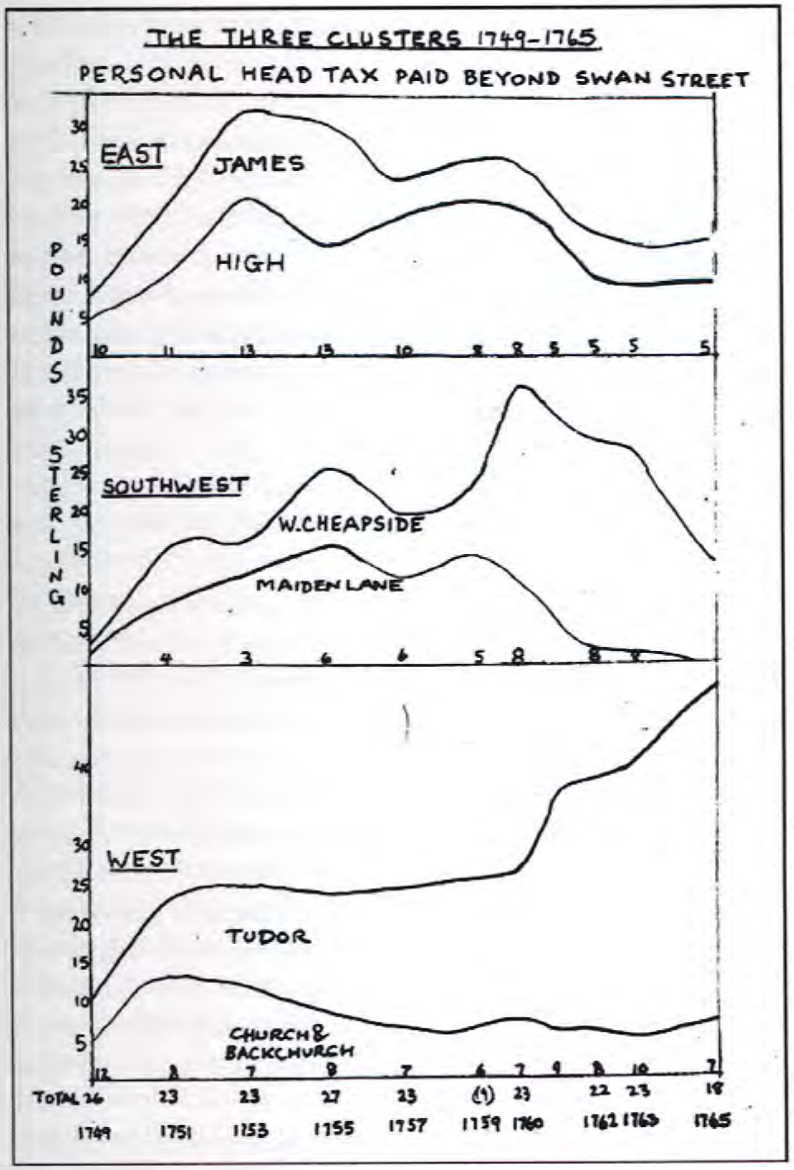
With the Jewish leaders reeling and vulnerable on Swan Street 1751-1754 the Fairchild Vestry set up the Jewish High Fiscal Plateau for the next several years and gave their attention to the two worrisome Jewish eastern clusters which the young Jewish payers of low personal head taxes perhaps hoped might become eastern extensions of the Swan Street exchange district.

The James Street district in the Levy Books also included Magazine Street, the Synagogue, and Synagogue Lane. The wealthy heiress Rachel (Franco) Valverde poured money into the synagogue complex and bought properties on James Street making the lands east of the Synagogue attractive to wealthy Jews. Rachel's

death, intestate, following closely upon her husband's, did not make this district less attractive for Jews and, as a consequence, the Vestry, in apportioning head taxes to the Jews living beyond Swan Street, leveled the second-highest tax on Rabbi Abraham Gabay Ysidro (£5 in 1751-2 increased to £6.7 in and after the Second Fiscal Cliff 1753-1756), and on the nearby and wealthy Abigail Henriquez, the 8th highest tax beyond Swan Street (£3.5 in 1751 and £4.7 from 1753 to 1756).

With the arrival of the young and upward-bound Moses Franco on east James Street in 1754, the Vestry was obviously worried and taxed him £6 for each of his three years of residence on James Street, making the tax on the three Jewish principals (£17.3) higher than on any other street outside of Swan Street in 1756. Any attraction of James Street to eastward-looking Jews ended after 1756, with the settling of the Rachel Valverde estate, the disappearance of the rabbi (Ysidro), and the inevitable departure of the high-flying Moses Franco to a Swan-Street partnership with his cousin, Jacob Valverde, son of David.

To the Vestry the incipient Jewish cluster on lower High Street was the more worrying. Isaac De Piza had purchased two prime properties on High Street near the Cheapside intersection, would soon own another and take on two more on nearby Marlhill, and the largest clustering of Jews beyond Swan Street was taking place on lower High Street. There were 6 in the cluster, 3 of them substantial, with another close by in 1751, and by 1753 they were joined from the Roebuck section of High Street by the High Street leader Isaac Monsanto (taxed 75/- in 1751, 133/- in 1753) and another substantial taxpayer, making in numbers 13% of Bridgetown's head-tax payers in an incipient Jewish district on lower High Street (paying £20.4 in head tax). But by 1755 the high taxes took their toll, there were still 9 in the cluster but only 2 of the 5 substantial taxpayers remained and the total tax levied dropped 30% to £14.3.



The three clusters

Thereafter the total High Street tax was maintained at this level in 1756 only by the Fairchild Vestry's destructive tax, equalling the highest so far beyond Swan Street, levied on the leader, Isaac Monsanto (£10, an increase of 82%): a disaster compounded by the Carrington Vestry's levying the same tax in 1757. Monsanto's taxes in 1758 and 1759: £6 in both years, prefaced and perhaps caused the departure from lower High Street of almost half of the Jewish taxpayers 1756-1760: the end of a district that could not be saved by the arrival of the Swan-Street leader, hazan Ben Massiah, taxed at £7.5 in 1759 and 1760 on lower High Street, before returning to a property battle being won, with his help, on Swan Street.

The Southwestern Cluster: Maiden Lane & West-Cheapside

Over the entire length of Cheapside (Broad Street) in 1749 there was only one Jewish business-owner-occupier: Moses (Garcia) De Paz on west Cheapside close to the intersection with Maiden Lane and the major City Market. This was the area where the Jews first congregated after Oliver Cromwell gave the De Mercados permission to settle in Bridgetown. It became the "Old Jewish Centre" with the first "Jews Houses" (proto-Synagogue) at its centre – a district essentially abandoned by Jewish families by the late 1720s. Known as Moses De Paz to distinguish himself from his close relative Moses Garcia, he had two Jewish near neighbours on adjoining Maiden Lane in 1749: Isaac Garcia another member of the extended De Paz-Garcia families, an occupier, and Abraham Peixotto, a Jewish owner-occupier, something rare so far from Swan Street.

The Garcia and De Paz families were relatively recent arrivals in Bridgetown whose houses and business activities were peripheral even in 1765, with no representation on Swan Street, but by 1765 with houses and tenements in the western periphery–Reeds Rents, Backchurch Street, Maiden Lane, and west Cheapside.

These three Jewish businessmen were barely noticed by the Duffey Vestry's tax collector in 1749. Isaac Garcia was taxed £1; Moses De Paz paid £0.625 (12.5/-), and Abraham Peixotto paid £0.5(10/-): a total of £2.125 (42.5/-). But when the Esquires Vestry got to them two years later in 1751 they paid 479 per cent (5.8 times) more: 12.3 pounds (246 shillings). Isaac emerged as the most successful (as measured by head taxes) by 1752, and by 1754 he was second only to Moses Lopez in personal head tax paid (£7) beyond Swan in 1754, and he crossed the £10 (200/-) threshold in 1755 and 1756 ranked 13th and 14th in payment of Bridgetown head taxes, surpassing Moses Lopez. As the family patriarch in these early years he probably had a friendly rivalry with Moses De Paz. When setbacks in the eastern district presented opportunities to revivify the southwestern district, both set out to attract other Jews to join them. Isaac was able to attract two family members – Moses Garcia and Aaron Garcia De Paz (and a Delyon) – to join him on Maiden Lane (from High Street) and Moses brought in Jacob Massiah and Joseph Francis Sr. by 1755. (Although, tellingly, Isaac lost the ambitious Abr. Peixotto to a successful career on Swan Street via Tudor Street 1757-1759).

The Western Cluster (Tudor, Church, east Backchurch streets)

The Western Cluster was quite different from the other two Jewish clusters in that it was far from the main holdings and districts of the Anglican patriciate and to most members of the Vestry and posed no threat to them. This lower-cost rental district, compared to west Cheapside/Maiden Lane and the eastern district (High and east James streets) had long been the nursery for aspiring Jewish merchants/ business men aiming eventually to set up shop or residence on Swan Street. The west was in many ways an extension of west Swan Street, straight across to Church Street or turning right or left on Tudor to east Backchurch or Middle Cheapside. As a consequence of this there were in 1749 on Tudor Street 10 would-be Swan-Street owners and 7 would-be Swan-street renters on Tudor: far more of these types than there were in the east and southwest clusters 1749-1765.

Church Street, the western extension of Swan Street, was the base of Moses Lopez Snr. the highest-taxed Jewish merchant outside Swan Street 1749-1754. He paid 150/- in 1751 and 1752, 200/- in 1753 and 160/- in 1754 and 1755, and ranked in the Bridgetown top 15 personal head tax-payers 1751-1753 (top 8 1752-1753) and in the top 20 1754-1755. In this early period the western cluster had far more Jewish owners and owner-occupiers than the eastern cluster but fewer renters, (at least two had moved from Tudor to High Street 1749-1751), but in the 1750s the westerners individually paid more in personal head taxes led by Moses Lopez. Living next door and working alongside him 1749-1753 was Moses's heavily-taxed (£5) son-in-law Mordechai Nunes who moved on to High Street for a couple of years (taxed £3.75) and then disappeared from the tax records. Moses Lopez remained active and successful right up to the time of his death at 69 (taxed £2.5). Nearby on east Backchurch Street near Tudor, Matthias Lopez, aged 24, opened shop in 1760 and was taxed between 62 and 71 shillings p.a. 1760-1765.

The cluster of 7 Jews renting on lower Tudor in 1749 dropped to 3 led by Jacob Joseph before the first of the Swan Street transplants–Phineas Nunes–aiming to escape the high taxes of Swan Street, arrived in 1755. Formerly one of the 10 heavily-taxed Swan Street leaders, he moved just round the corner onto Tudor presumably to get a lower tax. But he does not appear to have received a tax-break immediately upon his arrival, paying on Tudor what he did in 1754 on Swan Street (£8.33). But he does disappear from the records for a while!! And when he does reappear, he pays far less for a while than he did on Swan Street. His transfer to Tudor Street in 1755 did establish a trend not only for Swan Street people leaving but also for those in-bound. Abraham Peixotto moved from Maiden Lane to Tudor after 1755 and then to Swan by 1760, and Matthias Lyon came from Swan circa 1757 and soon moved back to Swan. David Nunes Castello came from east Swan in 1758 and Phineas Nunes returns to a surprisingly low tax (£4.5) in 1760/1761.

Lindo & Belinfante moved their store just round the corner from Swan to lower Tudor by 1761 leaving behind their Swan Street rival and neighbour, Carvalho & Massiah and a tax of 180/- p.a. only to pay 175/- on Tudor in 1761. Moses Aboab rents out the family's long-term owner-occupied (former De Mercado) property at the west end of Swan and takes his owner-occupier status just round the corner onto Tudor, which makes the Swan Street transplants the majority Jewish land holders (taxed £18.33 compared to £8.6 for the locals: 133% more) increasing the taxes 45% to heights never before attained by Jews living beyond Swan Street.

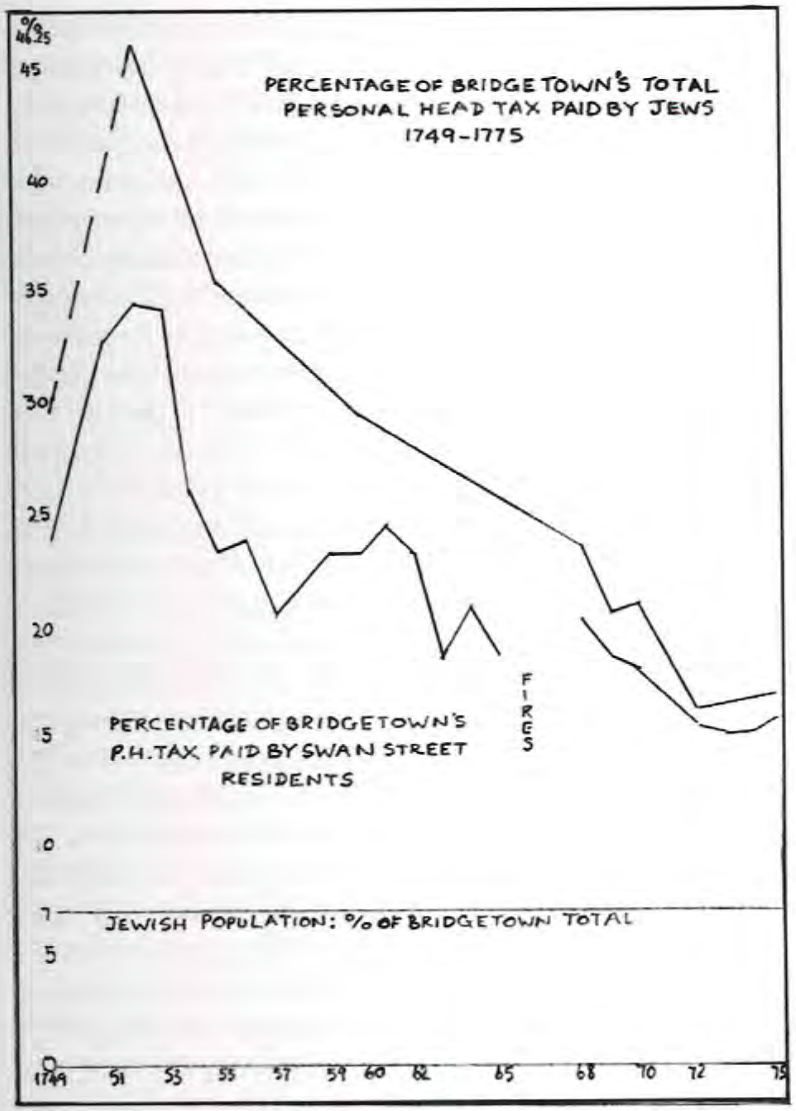
Up to 1761, the Esquires Vestry seemed content to collect ca. £24/25 between 1751 and 1760 from resident Jews, gradually increasing taxes on Tudor as the Lopez's on Church and Backchurch streets paid less and less annually. But that all changed radically in 1762 when Phineas Nunes (£15) became the most heavily taxed merchant beyond Swan, a title he held thereafter until 1765.

The Anti-Semitic Vestry Controlled by the Urban Esquires

Who, precisely, is responsible for the massive increase in personal head (income) taxes demanded from the leaders of the Bridgetown Jews 1751-1762 for whom the sky became the limit when their taxes were compared not only to the taxes collected from the Gentiles but also to the Jews of 1749 and earlier? And what were their objectives? The first answer lies in the differences in property holdings and the personal head taxes paid by the five retiring vestrymen (mainly upper middle class business men) and the holdings of, and taxes paid by, the five who replaced them in 1751. All were prominent members of the propertied upper classes, urban members of the island squirearchy and gentry who resided, worked, and owned property in Bridgetown. The total value of (1) property held and (2) the personal head tax paid by the five newcomers to the vestry was almost twice (95% and 94% respectively) that of the five rotating off the vestry.

All five newcomers (and another esquire who carried over from the 1749 vestry) were entitled to be addressed as "Esquire" and to have their names in the St. Michael's Levy Book and other public documents followed by "Esq." In Barbados each was "a man belonging to the higher order of English gentry, ranking next below a knight."(TNSOED, Vol. 1,1993, p. 851) There were 40 esquires named in the Levy Books 1749-1757, most of them members of what Watson calls the "upper upper class" and the island's "42 principal families"(1,000 strong). The others were undoubtedly of Watson's "lower upper class" numbering 1,500: most of them members of the 164 "Eighteenth Century Elite families of Barbados." Watson reminds us that his tally is "composed basically of planter families, (but) there are included some mercantile families of Bridgetown." (Watson, 1979, 33-43, 137-138). Most, if not all, of the 14 Bridgetown families of urban esquires were of this type and therefore qualified by property ownership and residence (paying personal head tax) to be on the vestry committee running the local government of Bridgetown. They were in effect the spokesmen for the Bridgetown squirearchy and the Barbados patriciate.

For the other 26 (rural) esquires I found no evidence of residence in the town and concluded that they and a much larger group of rural upper class absentee owners of Bridgetown property (the patriciate) were ineligible to serve on the vestry. They were of two main types: (1) absentee planter-merchant owners of storehouses and yards for their plantations (owning properties valued often well above the city average of £26.7 and localized mainly in east and east central Cheapside, Canary Street-west-central Cheapside, and the Roebuck District (High, Palmetto streets and Marlhill) and (2) absentee upper-class landlords supplementing their real-estate portfolios with income from rentier properties valued generally below the city average, and more widely distributed in Bridgetown. The 40 urban and rural esquires were probably the most powerful social group in Bridgetown. They



Fiscal Cliffs of 1751 and 1753

owned 16 per cent of the 1,100 Bridgetown properties; and 15 of them (numbered among the port's top 60 property holders) owned 11 per cent of the port's annual rateable value of property. The urban and rural esquires were particularly powerful in east Cheapside where they owned 60 per cent of the property value (30 per cent for each group), while many of the other 40 per cent of the properties were owned by absentee members of the principal and elite families resident in rural Barbados. The other two districts with large numbers of esquire property-owners were the Roebuck and Canary districts where, respectively, 39 per cent and 33 per cent of properties were owned by esquires.

Fiscal Attack upon Jewry 1751

Seven urban esquires who resided in and represented these three districts dominated the St. Michael's Vestry for 36 man-years 1751-1762: John Fairchild (6 years, died in office), Codrington Carrington (9), Jonas Maynard (2), John Lane (8), William Sturge (8), John Harrison (1) and Richard Hall (2). Led religiously and zealously by Fairchild and Carrington, members of the island's principal families, they forced the Jewish community and particularly its leaders to climb the two very steep fiscal cliffs of 1751 and 1753 and afterwards to continue to pay taxes for the next 5 years at a high flat rate far above the tax rates for Gentiles: the Jewish high fiscal plateau 1754-1758. The Carrington Vestry then fashioned a third Jewish high fiscal cliff/peak 1759-1760 meant not only to replicate the cliff of 1753 but to extend it to 1761 and 1762.

In this crusade they were aided particularly by three non-esquire members who served 32 man-years on the vestry (1749-1764): Hamlet Fairchild (8 years), treasurer, lawyer with London connections, and son (and heir after 1756) of John Fairchild; John Thomas (13 years), merchant of central Cheapside, 3rd to 14th-ranked Bridgetown property owner 1756-1762, church warden 1757; and John Thody (11 years), owner of several small properties in the vicinity of the port's main market (west Cheapside), and church warden 1758.

It had taken a few years to organize, perhaps, and some frustration at the inaction of the vestries of the late 1740s before the patriciate got to mount this counter-offensive on the Swan Street Jews, but it is clear that this was under way after 1749 and by 1751. With control of the personal head tax amount allotted in the hands of the Vestry all that remained for the patriciate was to take control of the Vestry, which it did by stacking it with Esquires 1749 to 1751, the highest socially and politically ranked Barbadians below a knight of the realm (Britain), who were also residents and property holders in Bridgetown. There was one Esquire of the 11 vestrymen in 1749, but 6 of 11 in 1751 (no records for 1750) led by John Fairchild Esq. whose Vestry did not disappoint the patriciate immediately in 1751 with the personal head tax increase of 789% for the hated Isaac De Piza.

The Esquires Vestry would tax the Jewish leader ("target") with the highest head tax for which it could get voting support in the initially stacked Vestry for as many years as were needed to effect their ends. They would identify and hit as hard as they could the top 10/12 "leaders" (mainly on Swan Street) presumably bearing in mind the story of the goose that lays the golden egg. And they planned to tax all the "other Jews" as much as they could bear (and as much as the Vestry could afford to collect, given the rule of worthwhile diminishing returns), but they hit these rank-and-file Jews for at least 2 or 3 times as much as the lowest level Gentile tax payer had to pay (5 shillings), while forgiving 600 rank-and-file Gentiles from having to pay any head tax at all!!

Objectives of the Esquires Vestries

Once in control of the Vestry, the Fairchild (1751-1756) and Carrington (1757-1762) vestries never wavered from their

planned commitment although in retrospect there were some substantial differences in detail as the Fairchild and Carrington vestries realized that their tenure might cover, and did, the first decade of prosperity in the century.

First, the Jews already occupied two-thirds of Swan Street, and that needed to be cut back or contained if possible, but the main developing situation, the Jews' rapidly increasing property ownership, now at 29 of 67 properties, had to be stopped and reversed, particularly in the newly established communications/exchange node and its surrounding district in east Swan Street.

Second, but perhaps the most important for the Esquires and their main urban constituency – the patriciate/propertied classes heavily represented as property owners in the eastern third of Bridgetown (east of, and including High Street) – the Jews had to be kept out of (1) the eastern approaches to central Bridgetown of areas of intervening retail and wholesale opportunity (no foothold in the interceptor), (2) government/administrative and legal districts and the associated inns and hostelries, (3) the main area of middle- and upper-class Gentile residences, (4) mercantile import-export streets handling goods from the American colonies, and (5) the major import and export (sugar) storehouses of the wealthier planter merchants mainly on east Cheapside, some of which were vacated as recently as the 1720s by Jewish merchants. (For maps of some of mid-century Bridgetown's "Landholders" and "Principal Businesses" see Bowden 2003: 75-76, followed by elaboration on pages 77-87).

The southwest with its upper class residences on Canary Street & Maiden Lane, specialized import-export streets, and the approaches to the main City Market on west Cheapside was a smaller version of the eastern district and, more particularly, home to Codrington Carrington Esq. and John Lane Esq. and two other long-serving Vestry members – John Thomas and John Thody. The local Esquires and their dedicated allies had a clear interest in preventing the re-emergence of the Old Jewish Centre in their midst.

The Jewish High Fiscal Plateau of Income Taxation 1754-1758

During the years of the steep Jewish fiscal cliffs 1751-1753 the Bridgetown Jews paid 40, 46, and 43 per cent of Bridgetown's income tax. Thereafter the Fairchild Vestry 1754-1756, held the income taxes of the 9/10 Jewish leaders to a steadily high average rate of taxation (180-203 shillings p.a.) but below the average rate of the highest fiscal cliff attained in 1753 (214 shillings). Even though the Fairchild Vestry established the highest property rates of the pre-fire era (8d in the pound 1753-1756), which yielded an average annual property tax revenue of close to £1,000 p.a. in Bridgetown, the Vestry also kept the annual level of income tax collected high and stable at ca. £850. Of this the Jews still paid far more than their fair share: 34-38 per cent of Bridgetown's income tax in the first three years of the Jewish high fiscal plateau 1754-1756 which also were the years of the highest tax totals of the pre-fire era (1745-1832).

Nine of the top 20 taxpayers in Bridgetown in 1754 and 10 of the top 20 in 1755 and 1756 were Jewish leaders, mainly from Swan Street. In these three years also Lunah Burgos (£40), Moses Nunes (£20), and Moses Pinheiro (£16) were the first, second, and third or fourth-highest payers of income tax in Bridgetown, all three based at the centre of the exchange node on east Swan Street.

The Esquires of the Carrington Vestry 1757-1762

With the death of John Fairchild Esq. in 1756, his close associate and fellow esquire Codrington Carrington Esq. took over the Esquires-Vestry leadership, serving in 1757, 1759, 1760 and 1762 (the last esquire to serve, he died 1764 or 1765). He was strongly supported in pressing the Esquires' agenda by William Sturge Esq. 1757-1760 (Church Warden 1755), and John Lane Esq.1758-1760 (Church Warden 1759), Hamlet Fairchild 1759 and 1761, John Thomas 1757-1764 (Church Warden 1757) and

John Thody 1757-1760 (Church Warden 1758). Interestingly three of them not only taxed the Jews but taxed themselves as property owners to high ranking (£10 to £20) among the top 20 payers of personal head tax 1754-1762: Sturge for 7 years 1754-1760, Thomas for 7 years 1756-1762, and Carrington for 4 years 1754-1755, 1757 and 1759.

At first there was little difference in the tax demands made upon the Jewish leaders on Swan Street by the Fairchild Vestry and the Carrington Vestry. The tax records of the leading Jews of 1755 and 1758 are remarkably similar. The Carrington Vestry was able to maintain the high fiscal plateau for the Jews through the middle 1750s. The Vestry, seemingly happy in 1757-1758 to carry on the high fiscal plateau established in 1754 for the Jewish leaders, covered the minor tax losses following the inevitable deaths and departures of Jewish leaders with a 200/- increase to 1,000/- in the personal head tax of Isaac De Piza in these two years. There were substantial setbacks for the Carvalho & Massiah store 1757-1758 and the deaths of Moses Pinheiro and his son Abraham in 1755 led to lower tax demands of their widows, Lunah and Rebecca, who continued the two family businesses. And there was a tax increase of the Lindo & Belinfante store after 1755 which meant that the average tax on the 23 rank-and-file Jews on Swan Street remained at 52/53 shillings, that the average tax on all 33 Jews resident and taxed on Swan Street remained at 116 shillings, that the total taxes in 1755 and 1758 were essentially identical (3823 to 3820 shillings), as were the average taxes of the 10 leaders (263/- and 261/-).

There were early signs that the Carrington Vestry would favor the absentee property holders of the patriciate over the business community (including the Jews) which mainly paid personal head tax. The Vestry dropped the property tax/rates from 8d to 7d in the pound in 1757 and then to 6d in 1758 and this produced a 27 per cent drop in property taxes collected by 1758.

This demanded a steady compensatory increase in personal head tax from 48% (1756) to 68%(1760) of the total Bridgetown tax (£1149 of £1730). For the Swan Street Jewish leaders the increase in personal head tax was 32% 1758-1760 and for the leaders and the target (De Piza) 58%. However the "other Jews" either went untaxed or were taxed below the well-established tax levels of the fiscal plateau and as a consequence the Jewish proportion of the increasing total of personal head tax paid dropped relatively from 34 to 30% 1756 to 1759 and to 28% by 1762.

The major increase in personal head tax to be collected meant that for the first time the income tax contributions of the Gentiles increased substantially. The Swan Street Jewish leaders who had seen their proportion of the Bridgetown personal head tax drop from 35 per cent to 20% 1753-1757, suddenly, following the large citywide increase in personal head tax and theirs, found their proportion rising steadily again from 20 to 24%1757-1761 at the top of the third fiscal cliff.

Swan Street Property and the Jews

The Swan Street Jewish leaders were powerless to do anything about personal head tax, and they had no way to respond directly to the tax gouging of the Christian Vestry on which, as taxpayers, they had neither representation nor voice, but they did respond elsewhere through property acquisition. Obviously many properties are missing from the Levy Books even in 1764-65 (with probably the most comprehensive record) when 24% (16 of 67 Swan Street properties) are unrecorded. At the other extreme, because all the Jews on Swan Street paid personal head tax in 1751 and all who owned properties were exempted from paying rates on all their Bridgetown properties, no Jews are named in the property columns of the 1751 Levy Book for Swan Street.

This fiscal 'mistake' was rectified thereafter, 1752-1765, by exempting the property tax for the residences of the owner-

occupiers who paid personal head tax. As there were many owner-occupiers among the Jews of Swan Street (9 of 29 in 1749: 31% of all Jewish properties) and few among Swan Street Gentiles (2 of 38 in 1749), it means there are as many as 11 gaps in the record, mainly for the Jews. The other property tax exemption was only for the Jewish payers of the largest personal head taxes: Lunah Burgos 1751-1756 and Isaac De Piza 1757-1762. Their relatively minuscule property rates were subsumed in the much larger personal head tax levied on them.

For reasons presented above, in no year between 1749 and 1769 was it possible to be as precise about the Jewish: Gentile property ratio as in the unique 1749, but there are enough data, generally about 50 properties (75%) recorded each year 1752-1765, to establish broad trends and to identify the key figures in the history and geography of the Jewish takeover of Swan Street. After the major strides in Jewish property ownership and occupation of Swan Street, led by the Valverdes and Lunah Burgos in the 1740s, the Jews occupied two-thirds of the street but still owned only 43 per cent of the properties: 29 to 38. In the early 1750s, the 75 per cent samples of property data show the Jews to Gentiles ratio remained basically the same: 21: 27 (44%) in 1752; 21: 31 (40%) in 1753, the year of the second fiscal cliff; and 23 : 29 (44% again) in 1755.

By combining the Levy Book records of 1764 and 1765, the last before the Fires and the rebuilding of Swan Street by 1770-71, we find 50 owned-properties and two known owner-occupiers, a total of 52 properties: 35 Jewish-owned and 17 Gentile-owned, 67 to 33 per cent. In what years did this 10-year (1756-1765) historically important change of control occur? What inspired it, and how was it effected and by whom? What were its immediate and long-term consequences? And why was it necessary and so important to the Bridgetown Jews?

The Loss of Jewish Leaders – the Valverdes and Pinheiros

The first tasks of the Jewish leaders were to protect the advances in Jewish property ownership, largely made by the Valverdes in the 1740s. The death in 1753 of the surviving patriarch of the older generation, David Valverde, owner of two properties on west-central Swan Street: one as owner-occupier the other occupied by David's only surviving son (Jacob Valverde son of David) must have worried the Jewish leaders. And there was a further concern for the two rentier properties of Jacob Valverde, son of Elias on west Swan Street. He rented an expensive property in the wealthy eastern half of the Exchange Node, but his health deteriorated rapidly and he no longer paid personal head tax in the early 1750s and died in 1755. The property of Rachel Valverde in the wealthy vanguard of the Exchange Node, long in litigation, was not yet resolved, and Esther Valverde, owner-occupier of a west central Swan Street property and owner of a property marking the western margin of the Exchange Node and rented to the Swan Street schoolmaster, Richard Wilson, also died in 1755. One of the major families of the previous three decades was literally decimated, with the only remaining adult male already experiencing reductions in personal head taxes by 1756 and showing little interest in becoming a property owner. All 7 of the Valverde properties acquired in the previous decade of recent Jewish advances in Swan Street were obviously in jeopardy 1753-1755.

The very successful son of Moses and Lunah Pinheiro, Abraham Pinheiro, protester of the high taxes of the first fiscal cliff and, as a consequence, subject to even higher taxes, appears to have purchased the late David Valverde's two properties in 1754, occupying one and retaining David's son as the other renter. But his father Moses Pinheiro died early in 1755, and Abraham died late in that year. The deaths of these two of the top 10 leading Jewish (and Bridgetown) taxpayers in the same year (1755), and of the new patriarch of the younger Valverde generation, Jacob Valverde son of Elias, and of Esther Valverde, each with two properties, must have worried the Jewish community.

Personal Head Taxes Paid on Swan Street by Jews and Gentiles 1751-1765 (shillings)

Targets	1751 1st Cliff	1753 2nd Cliff	1755	1758 Plateau	1760 3rd Cliff	1762 Extended Cliff	1765 Post Cliff
L. Burgus	600	800	800				
I. De Piza	400			1000	1740	1558	
Leaders							
M. Nunes	345	400	400	I.J.N. 400	390	384	
P. Nunes	140	187	to Tudor		D. Nunes 125		
M. Pinheiro	243	320	dcd 320	Lu. P. 220	215	210	200
A. Pinheiro	160	240	dcd 80	Re. P. 80	145	138	126
M. Franco					296	278	200
C & M	200	267	267	210	406	323	300
A. Peixotto					240	234	240
L & B	140	140	140	160	180	to Tudor	
I. Pinheiro							200
J. Pinheiro							120
D. Lindo	150	100	& A. L. 160	160	A.L. Jr. 125	125	
B. Massiah	160	160	160	160	to High	158	105
M. Delyon					125	225	240
D. Baruch	100	140	120	120	dcd		
J. Valverde Jr.	110	187	180	100	108	103	95
Jews:Nos & Avg							
Target (s)	500 (2)	800	800	1000	1740	1558	
Leaders	181 (10)	214 (10)	203 (9)	179 (9)	214 (11)	218 (10)	183 (10)
Others	53 (25)	65 (30)	52 (23)	53 (23)	46 (16)	47 (17)	43 (13)
Ldrs & Others	89 (35)	103 (40)	95 (32)	91 (32)	115 (27)	110 (27)	104 (23)
All Jews	111 (37)	120 (41)	116 (33)	119 (33)	173 (28)	162 (28)	104 (23)
Gent. Nos. & Av.	17 (7)	18 (7)	28 (7)	22 (9)	25 (12)	28 (11)	26 (13)
Jews Av. Tax Greater than Gentile Av. Tax	588%	567%	314%	439%	592%	479%	300%

There must have been a meeting or two somewhere in the Exchange Node in 1755-56 of the leaders of the major Jewish families – Moses Nunes, Lunah (Massiah) Burgos (at 73), her son-in-law Isaac De Piza, and the Massiahs including Rachel (Massiah) Carvalho. There must have been an agreement to own more property on Swan Street to safeguard and make permanent their Jewish occupation of two-thirds of the street achieved by 1749, and to take advantage of the lower property tax rates and the increasing Gentile demand for rental space (and willingness to pay higher rents) on what was rapidly becoming Bridgetown's main retail shopping axis. Beginning in the Levy Book property records of 1756 and 1757 we find they did all that.

Once before, in the late 1730s, the Valverde vision of a Jewish Swan Street was saved by the death of a Burgos (Mordechai) whose will empowered his widow, Lunah, to purchase 8 properties on east Swan Street that almost singlehandedly established the Jewish Exchange Node and took the Jews, along with the 7 Valverde properties to the brink of majority ownership of the street. Once again the fates conspired in the middle 1750s to take the Jews this time well beyond the brink. Lunah Burgos died on June 17, 1756 and her great wealth passed to her son-in-law Isaac De Piza, as did her 8 Swan Street properties at the heart of the Exchange Node (and 6 other Bridgetown properties) added to De Piza's 2 Swan Street properties and 8 more elsewhere in Bridgetown. Beginning in 1756 and by 1765 Isaac De Piza would add 8 new Swan Street properties to his name, the Moses Nunes family would add 5, and the Massiah-Carvalho family would add 4.

Isaac De Piza and the Pinheiros

In 1756-57 Isaac De Piza purchased the 2 properties of David Valverde bought initially by Abraham Pinheiro (deceased), thereby securing his widow Rebecca and Jacob Valverde, son of David, as long-term occupiers. He purchased the Moses Pinheiro property in the wealthy half of the Exchange Node at the same time, and, as landlord, maintained Moses's widow Lunah as the occupier. Both

Pinheiro widows continued the family businesses with increasing success to 1765.

A New Role for Moses Nunes: Man of Property

As his part of the presumed agreement, Moses Nunes the patriarch of the Nunes family by 1757 bought for himself as an owner (and eventually as owner-occupier?), the Gentile-owned property in the wealthy eastern half of the Exchange Node occupied 1755-56 by Jacob Valverde, son of Elias (deceased) and thereafter by his widow who carried on the business until 1760. He purchased the property of Rachel Valverde (deceased) also in the wealthy part of the Exchange Node for his son Moses Nunes Jnr, and passed on his former property next door in the Exchange Node to I. I. Nunes who occupied it 1757-1761 before leaving for London and passing it on eventually to Phineas Nunes (returning from 10 years on Tudor Street). The possibility of purchasing Gentile rentier property in the western third of Swan Street was probably mentioned at the meeting of the leaders and Moses Nunes picked up a Gentile property there in 1757 for Ben Nunes (to be followed by 2 more, one in 1760, the other in 1764, both rented to Gentiles).

Property Purchases by the Massiahs

The Massiah-Carvalho wing of the larger Massiah family were a little slower in contributing to the surge in Jewish ownership, but in 1758 Rachel (Massiah) Carvalho took the important first step. The remarkable co-owner of the Massiah & Carvalho store, purchased from a Gentile a property she rented to Ben Israel Nunes. It was separated from the 17-property Jewish Exchange Node district by one Gentile-owned property. As a result of her critical purchase 1758 definitely marked for the first time a Jewish majority of properties on Swan Street: 28 Jewish to 23 Gentile (54 to 46%). The other Massiahs, initially in the name of Ben Massiah, merchant (and mohel and hazan in the "Jews Synagogue") completed the family's "obligation" and purchased the 2 rentier properties of the late Jacob Valverde, son of Elias, on west Swan Street. He rented them to Gentiles by 1759. The sale ensured that all the endangered Valverde properties would stay in Jewish hands.

Soon thereafter Ben Massiah sold his property on central Swan Street to Isaac De Piza and moved to High Street before 1759 probably in apprehension of the wrath of a Carrington Vestry tax-attack on the Jewish leaders whose saving of vulnerable Jewish properties was turning to purchase of properties not only to consolidate and expand the Jewish Exchange Node of east Swan Street and the smaller Jewish clusters on west Swan Street but also to increase the number of Jewish-owned properties offered for rent to both Gentiles and Jews on west Swan Street. Ben may also have moved to help stabilize the faltering Jewish cluster on High Street and/or get on High Street a lower head tax than he had paid for 7 years on Swan Street. Whatever the reason, Ben Massiah passed the ownership of the two former Valverde properties on west Swan Street to Abraham Massiah who, in the early 1760s, bought the adjoining property. All three were rented to Gentiles by 1764.

Interestingly, Ben Massiah returned in 1761 as a renter of a property just purchased from the Gentile Church-Warden (chairman) of the Vestry by I. De Piza that completed his 4-property Jewish cluster in west Swan Street. A year later Jacob Valverde vacated his rental of the fourth De Piza property to move next door with his cousin Moses Franco in joint ownership of Ben Massiah's former Swan-Street property. In 1762 Ben Massiah's son Mordechai not only took his place as renter but incidentally kept in tact a cluster of 5 properties owned and occupied by Jews. To add further weight to the Gentile problem of losing the property ownership battle of west Swan Street (15 of the 18 properties of west Swan Street by 1765 were Jewish owned), Moses Nunes bought two more rentier properties (from Gentiles) in 1760 and 1763 adjacent to those of the Massiahs. Both were let to Gentiles, thereby creating something new on west Swan Street: a Jewish-owned sub-district of 10 properties, and a majority of Gentile renters (6 of the 10, all 6 renting from Jewish owners).

In the 1760s Isaac De Piza apparently decided to strengthen and extend the Jewish-controlled Exchange Node district. He purchased from a Gentile an expensive property rented by David Baruch who died in 1759. This was let to the promising Isaac Pinheiro, long-time renter from Moses Aboab in Swan Street's far west, but now in 1760 renting alongside Lunah Pinheiro at the wealthy (eastern) end of De Piza's 13 contiguous properties of the Exchange District.

Two more newcomers with different backgrounds came in at the other (western) end of the Exchange Node following De Piza's late purchases of properties from two Gentiles in 1761 and 1765/66. Matthias Lyon, an obvious future leader, was the only young merchant paying a steadily increasing personal head tax 50/- in 1758 to 230/- in 1762 (12th ranked in Bridgetown), and 6th-ranked with 240/- tax in 1765. I find no record before 1765 of his new neighbours, Massiah & Pacheco who at least had the right name to open a store at the western extremity of the Exchange Node district made possible by Lunah (Massiah) Burgos.

The results were quite dramatic. The Jews occupied 70 per cent of Swan Street but owned only 43 per cent of it in 1749, and the attack upon them by the Esquires vestries, using personal head taxes threatened their hard-fought occupation/ hold on the Street that they had made the shopping and retail focus of Bridgetown. The Jewish leaders, mainly based in the Exchange Node embarked on a costly plan to own the street, essentially fulfilled during the middle years of the Esquires Vestries, such that by 1764-6 the Jews owned all but the Gentiles' 30 per cent and falling.

The Jewish occupation level surprisingly dropped from 70 per cent in 1749 to 61 per cent in 1764-65, but this was probably a profitable (retailing) advantage for the Jewish property owners who could and undoubtedly did charge higher rents from Gentile shopkeeper/renters more able to pay than their Jewish contemporaries burdened with much higher personal head taxes which forced some of them to move beyond Swan because of the growing importance of that street. The statistics provide some

support for this conclusion. The proportion of Gentiles paying personal head tax on Swan Street rose from 30 to 39 per cent even though the percentage of Gentile property owners dropped from 57 per cent to 30 per cent between 1749 and 1765. Furthermore the number of Jews renting to Gentiles on Swan Street rose from 3 to 18 per cent 1749-1765 while Gentiles renting to Jews dropped from 29 to 11 per cent (refer to Distribution of Jewish Owners/ Renters 1764-5 p. 78).

The Third High Jewish Fiscal Cliff 1759-1760

It is not clear whether the Carrington Vestry determined in 1758 to keep the Jews in their place and create a third fiscal cliff for them, emulating the high cliffs of 1751 and 1753 (particularly the latter), or whether the Vestry reacted negatively to signs of the Jewish leaders' acting together in 1757 to gain majority control of the 67 properties on Swan Street that would go along with their majority control of occupation attained by 1749. Whether this was one or the other or both may never be determined but the two events are synchronous and appear to be related.

Perhaps the most remarkable part of the six years of the Carrington vestry is the final determination of the Esquires for the third time in the decade to put severe pressure on the Jewish community by creating for the Jewish leaders not only a third high fiscal cliff in 1760 but one of four years' duration 1759-1762 with a peak in 1760, unlike the first (1751) and the second (1753) which were followed by high fiscal plateaux in 1752 and 1754-1758.

For the third fiscal cliff the three remaining vestry esquires, Carrington, Lane, and Sturge (serving his eighth consecutive year) were joined by Hamlet Fairchild in organizing the first phase (1759). They substantially increased the taxes on the Jewish leaders by 27% above the plateau level of 1758 calling on De Piza for an extra 200/- and increasing the taxes of the main Jewish store on Swan Street, Carvalho & Massiah, from 210 to 375/- (79%). Smaller but significant increases were demanded of I. I. Nunes

(40/- 10%), Rebecca Pinheiro (60/- 75%) and David Lindo (40/- 25%).

When they realized what was happening on the property front the Carrington Vestry embarked on an attempt on Swan Street to revivify in 1760 (with a preface in 1759) the high fiscal cliff for the Jews of 1753. Carrington and Lane made sure that 1760 was equal in revenue to what the Jewish high fiscal cliff of 1753 had been. A comparison of the totals of taxes paid by Jewish leaders paying income tax on Swan Street in 1753 and 1759-60 reveals that the statistics of the second fiscal cliff of 1753 proved to be the guidelines for the tax groups of 1760. The 10 Swan-Street-Jewish leaders of 1753 paid an average of 214/- personal head tax as did the 11 leaders of 1760 following a 213/- average for the 9 leaders of 1759. Further, the total personal head tax of the Jews on Swan Street's second fiscal cliff of 1753 was 4900/- and the total personal head tax on the second year of the third fiscal cliff of Swan Street 1760 was 4833/-.

The Carrington Vestry increased the personal head tax of the Carvalho & Massiah store on Swan Street even further from 1759 to 1760 by 93 per cent (210/- to 406/-), raised the tax on the second largest store on the street, Lindo & Belinfante by 20 per cent 1759-1760, after which the store quit Swan Street presumably for lower taxes on Tudor Street, and they scraped together an extra 500/- from the long-term Jewish leaders (Nunes, Pinheiros, Lindo, Valverde, Peixotto). Failing miserably to collect taxes (741/- only) from most of the 30+ rank-and file Jews who paid 1960/- in the 1753 high fiscal cliff, the Carrington Vestry in this third fiscal cliff increased the personal head tax of the presumed organizer and exemplar of the property revolt: I. De Piza to 1, 200/- in 1759 and when in the following year he purchased two more properties on Swan Street: numbers 15 and 16 (with 14 in the rest of Bridgetown) the Vestry followed with a head tax more than enough to prevent the purchase of three properties of above-average rateable value.

However, the 41 Swan Street Jews taxed in 1753 averaged 120/- whereas the 28 Jews recorded on Swan Street in 1760 averaged 173/,

which suggests two differences between the two major fiscal cliff First, the Carrington Vestry was not willing to collect personal hea taxes of almost half of the "other Jews"(the poorer ones) living o Swan Street in 1760 presumably because of prospectively small yielc and much time needed for collecting. Secondly, they intended fror the first to make up much of any loss incurred by forgiving the tax o the poor among the "other jews" by fixing the personal head tax o their prime target of 1757-1762 Isaac De Piza: a six-year total person: head tax of 8,038/- or £402 of which 1,740/-(£87) was collected i 1760. This enormous tax proved to be 218 per cent greater than th second-highest personal head tax collected in Bridgetown in 1760.

The minor difference between the taxes lost from the "other Jews and taxes gained from De Piza was at least partially made up by th tripling of the amount of personal head tax paid by the increase number of Gentiles renting on Swan Street beginning in the lat 1750s, several of them renting from Jews particularly on west Swa Street presumably recognizing the advantage in locating on what ha become the dominant retailing street in the city. The course of ver heavy taxes visited on the Jewish leaders of the Southwest distric beyond Swan Street, paralleling the course of head taxes visited o Isaac De Piza, also helped to make up the tax losses resulting from th Carrington Vestry's abysmal record of tax collection from all but th 10 Swan Street leaders.

The Extended Jewish High Fiscal Cliff 1761-1762

The surprise in the personal head tax data 1761-1765 is that th high level of the third high fiscal cliff (1760) is maintained in a extended cliff in 1761 and 1762, unlike the aftermaths of the first an second fiscal cliffs: the lower fiscal plateaux of 1752 and 1754-1758.

Given the success of the Jewish property counter-attack, th leadership role of Isaac De Piza in its organization and drive, an his purchases of expensive Swan Street properties from prominen Gentiles, the surprise is not that the unprecedented head taxes loade on him in 1760 (£87) continued to be loaded on him to 1762 bu

that they ended abruptly in 1763, ushering in a "return to (an earlier) normal" for tax-paying Jewish targets and leaders: the tax level of the fiscal plateau of 1752.

Six of the 7 Jewish leaders living and working on Swan Street in 1761 and 7 of the 8 there in 1762 had the doubtful honor of being ranked in the top 18 taxpayers in Bridgetown: I. I. De Piza (1st), I. I. Nunes (3rd), Massiah & Carvalho (4th) and Moses Franco (6th) recently of James Street, all ranked in the Bridgetown top 10. Abraham Peixotto (11th) recently of Maiden Lane and Tudor, Lunah Pinheiro (15th) and young Matthias Lyon, who had a year or two on Tudor and worked his way up the Swan Street hierarchy made it to 12th ranked in Bridgetown in 1762. Five of the 7 lived in the Exchange Node district. From beyond Swan Street (west Cheapside) were Moses De Paz (16th), and Phineas Nunes (14th) in 1765. The ranked tax-payers maintained their 1760s tax levels above 200/-. The other 5 Swan Street leaders had tax levels above 100/-.

Beyond Swan Street

Jews living in the streets beyond Swan Street were hit less hard by the tax demands of the new vestry than were the Jews of Swan Street 1751-1753. Personal head taxes increased 19 per cent over all, with the greatest increases of 67 per cent for the eastern district (High and eastern James streets) and increases of less than 1 per cent for the southwestern district (Maiden Lane and adjoining west Cheapside, the Old Jewish Centre), and for the western district (mainly Tudor and Church streets). The Carrington Vestry's tax overkill left only 4 Jews on High Street (5 in the East District as a whole) in 1765; Monsanto paid 82% of the High St. taxes and the entire East District paid a mere 19% of Jewish personal head taxes generated beyond Swan.

There were 7 Jews in the Southwest 'district' by 1755 counting Jacob Garcia on nearby George Street). Isaac's tax increase of 350% 1749-51 was topped by further outrageous tax increases (44% in 1752-53 and 54% by 1755 and 1756) to 200/- (£10): a worrying signifier of the Fairchild Vestry's recognition of him as the top Jewish

merchant and prime tax target beyond Swan (12th and 13th on the list of Bridgetown's top 20 tax-payers). Moses De Paz also had success 1751-1755 marked by a 56% tax increase and an early high peak of the up-curve as both the east and west districts recorded down curves. The revival of the Old Jewish Centre was under way and it seemed to be complete by 1759 when Isaac & Moses Garcia combined (as a company?) and were taxed at £12.75: by far the highest tax yet paid by Jews beyond Swan Street. Everything seemed to come together in an unprecedented peak in 1760 with Isaac & Moses each having an Isaac & Moses store, one in Maiden Lane, the other on west Cheapside each rated at £8.75 (an unprecedented company total tax of £17.50!!). Nearby the latter was the Moses De Paz store rated at £10.57 and ranked 17th in Bridgetown. In 1760, with a grand total of 8 in the district, (4 of them Garcia-De Paz family members), and with the outrageously high tax peak of 36 pounds sterling (720/-) the Southwestern district overtopped the east and west districts in taxes collected by 44% and 42% respectively.

Isaac, the patriarch, died in 1761, and apart from Abraham Garcia who remained on Maiden Lane, the other 8 clustered together on west Cheapside. The creation of an 8-person west Cheapside Jewish district in 1762 saw Moses De Paz (taxed £10) combine with Moses & Jacob Garcia (£9.75), Jacob Massiah (£4), Abraham Delyon (£2.5), Aaron Garcia De Paz, David Garcia and 2 others to create a seemingly tight Jewish district. But they were overextended and had been systematically overtaxed. After the final year of the Carrington (Esquires) Vestry that had taxed them so heavily there were 7 still there during the New Vestry's sharp downturn of their taxes, which was extended to 1765. Moses (Garcia) De Paz's death at 48 must have brought home to the 5 of them recorded in the 1765 Levy Book on the eve of the Great Fires, if they did not already know, that they were in a fight for survival.

The New Vestry

The tax statistics prove that a major and comprehensive change 1762 to 1763 in the Vestry's tax structure and policy attended the demise of the last Esquires Vestry of 1762 and the departures from the head-tax battlefield of 60-year old Isaac De Piza and his esquire nemesis Codrington Carrington who for 9 of the Esquires Vestry's 12 years was there to maintain the hard line against the Jews and to head-tax De Piza out of 15 average-valued (£26.7) Bridgetown properties that he might otherwise have added to his 35 Bridgetown properties valued at £1,000 for which he was paying paltry property 'rates' of £14.3 pounds a year at 3.5d in the pound sterling 1763-1765.

The New Vestry initiated and supervised a massive 44 per cent drop in the Swan Street Jews' total head taxes from £696 (1760-1762) to £393 (1763-1765). There was a single-year (1762-1763) tax drop of 41 per cent (£216 to £128) after the demise of the Esquires Vestry, and there was a 47 per cent tax-fall from the fiscal peak of 1760 to the post-Esquires Vestry fiscal plateau of 1763-1765.

The most significant change for the Jews was the termination of the 'target' policy of a highly discriminatory personal head tax directed exclusively at the Burgos-De Piza family that generated in personal head tax 12,838 shillings or 642 pounds sterling between 1751 and 1762 (not forgetting the 1749 tax of 158 shillings (£8) which rounds out the total tax to 650 pounds). This divided by £26.7 (the average value of a Bridgetown property) is the equivalent of 24 Bridgetown houses. When the new vestry discontinued this tax on Isaac De Piza, they removed from the personal head tax record over the next 3 years (assuming an average from the previous 3 years of his taxes) 4,848 shillings or 243 pounds (enough to purchase 9 Bridgetown properties). Was the tax terminated because a decade of De Piza's property purchasing had revealed no serious threat of his purchasing properties to extend the Jewish exchange node and district eastwards to High Street? Or was there simply a sentiment in the new vestry that the attack on the leading Jewish family had gone far enough?

From the last 3 years of the Esquires Vestry compared to the 3 years

after the Esquires there was a 35% decline in property rates collected by the New Vestry, and an abrupt change between 1762 and 1763 of 30%. As a group the 9/10 Jewish leaders present on Swan Street 1760-1765 averaged an 11% tax decrease from 1760-1762 to the last 'normal' years (1763-1765) before the Great Fires. Only the rising star Matt Lyon, 11th to 6th in Bridgetown tax rankings 1762 to 1765, got a tax increase, and in the year of change (1762 to 1763) all the Swan Street leaders experienced an immediate average tax decrease of 7% (22 shillings) with the passing of the Esquires Vestry.

The "other Jews" paying head tax on Swan Street averaged 49/- personal head tax 1760-1762 and 41/- 1763-1765, a drop of 16 per cent. The greater part of that drop, 13%, occurred at the1762 to 1763 change-over (refer to Jewish Owners/Renters Swan Street (Partial Register for 1762-5 p. 79). The New Vestry's tax reduction of 64 per cent for the Jews in the Southwest 'district' 1763-1765 followed an unwarranted overtaxing contemporaneous with the Carrington Vestry's third fiscal peak and extended cliff, largely funded by the outrageous 4,848 shilling tax attack on I. De Piza. It just might have saved a family district that began so well.

A similar history for the Jews in the eastern district in the early 1750s, and an unwanted and unnecessary elevation of the leader, Isaac Monsanto to the £10 tax peak in successive years, led him and his High Street district to falter, lose numbers, and warrant a 40% downturn in taxes that the New Vestry clearly hoped would encourage re-growth.

In 1763 the New Vestry obviously felt they could cut taxes and stimulate growth, courageously starting with a cut-back of Bridgetown tax revenue by 20%: £310 from £1517 to £1,207. The latter was the lowest annual tax since 1751 (the first fiscal cliff) and £23 lower than the £1230 collected in 1752 (the first year of the high fiscal plateau) and the last and only year of (futile) Jewish protest. In 1752 the tax breakdown was 41% personal head tax to 59% property rates. In 1763 the ratio was 67% personal head tax to 33% property rates: a reversal established by the Carrington Vestry in 1760, which was well out-of-line with the fiscal history of the eighteenth century.

This fiscal policy of two parts personal head tax to one part property rates was surprisingly maintained without change by the new post-Esquires Vestry 1763-1765 for which their fellow members of the propertied classes undoubtedly thanked them profusely, while wondering how they were going to do it. This meant that the New Vestry had to decrease personal head tax by £190 (much of this the decrease of Jewish taxes recounted above) and cut already low property taxes by £120. The latter was largely taken care of in the New Vestry decision, calculated to endear the New Vestry to the patriciate/ propertied classes, to decrease the Bridgetown property rates from 5d in the £(1761-1762) to 3.5d in the pound sterling (£), which takes to a final conclusion the lead, taken immediately by the Carrington Vestry, to drop the property rate maintained by the Fairchild Vestry 8d (1753-1756) to 7d (1757), 6d (1758-1760), and 5d (1761-1762). What regularly undermined these property rates was the Carrington Vestry's failure on its watch to monitor and maintain the Annual Rateable Value (ARV) of property, which was allowed to drop to £23,262, at the peak of the third high fiscal cliff in 1760.

The 3.5d rate was the third lowest in the eighteenth century (the vindictive and retributive 2d in the pound 1751 was the lowest). But the seeming unfairness of this figure is deceptive. With an obviously comprehensive property re-assessment that restored the Annual Rateable Value (ARV) of Bridgetown property from £24,648 in 1762 to a 'normal' £29,682 in 1765 (an increase of 20%) and from the ARV average (1760-1762) of £24,018 to a near-normal £28,483 (1763-1765), an increase of 19 per cent, what seemed like a New Vestry sellout to the propertied classes who had for a decade paid appreciably less than the designated rate because of the low rateable values, led to a rare increase in property revenue of 6% above the rates 1763 to 1764 and 10% 1763 to 1765 rather than the steady drop below projected property tax yields during the previous spells of 7d, 6d, and 5d property rates (losses made up in the last decade by increases in personal head taxes paid by the gainfully employed business community).

Who Effected these Major Changes?

In the four years of the extended fiscal cliff 1759-1762 the Vestry was heavily stacked with strong supporters of the Esquires' (Carrington) agenda beginning with the 12-man 1759 vestry with 3 Esquires and the long-serving lawyer and son of the founding father John Fairchild, the two Johns (Thomas and Thody) each with at least 10 years service on the Vestry. Nine of the 12 were former church wardens (annual chairs) or would soon become so. For 1760 the stacked Vestry remained basically the same – 2 Esquires, the 2 Johns and 11 out of 12 with at least 3 years of experience on the Vestry (the new church warden was the surprising exception). Seven of the 9 on the Vestry in 1761, including John Thomas, Hamlet Fairchild, and the long-serving church warden Guy Spooner, were among those with much Vestry experience. For the final Esquires Vestry of 1762 the star-studded cast was led by Codrington Carrington who returned for his ninth and the Esquires' final bow. Hy Hassell was church warden in his 7th year and 5 more had at least 4 years of experience including John Thomas for his twelfth time and Guy Spooner for his eighth. Clearly this committee of the final four years stuck together to make the extended fiscal cliff 1759-1762 a miserable experience for many Jews, particularly Isaac De Piza who was taxed for 6048/- (or 302 pounds).

The names of the Vestry of 1763 by contrast suggest that there was no longer the will to support future attacks on the 'target' and perhaps a rejection of the prejudice and discrimination embedded in the practices and policy of the Carrington Vestry 1759-1762. In the New Vestry of 1763 there were no Esquires, neither John Thody nor John Thomas. Henry Hassell alone had served as a Church Warden (but only in the previous year), and the new and inexperienced Church Warden, William Dowling, was serving his third year on the Vestry. Of the remaining 7 two were freshmen and another was in his second year. Two others, Valentine Jones and Thomas Hothersall, would be the church-wardens of the last

two years before the Fires. The other two members were Dr. Ben Carleton who served on the Vestry in 1749 before the Esquires and sampled the Fairchild, Carrington, and New vestries, and Thomas Ostrehan was a veteran of 8 vestries. Both of these men, tellingly, long servers without ever being a church warden completed a committee that set out to rectify problems, right wrongs, and establish a new tax policy and tax structure.

The Fires of 1766 & the Rebuilding

The maps of the fires of May and December 1766 show somewhat different extents of the May Fire but both agree that most (90%) of the main (northern) waterfront was lost and that the same was true of Cheapside (Broad Street). Only the low-density houses of the wealthy and the Butchers' Shambles Market on far west Cheapside evaded the May Fire The Main City Market was lost. (For a map of the perimeters of the "Fires of 1766" see Bowden 2003: 68).

Most of the high-density Central Mercantile Triangle that made up 52% of Bridgetown was also lost, excepting northeast Bridgetown east of the two fire starts, saved by the steady northeast trade winds. There were few Jews living and working in this area, but in the eastern half of Swan Street just to the north of the May Fire's course, most, if not all of the 20 Jewish-owned buildings of the extended Exchange & Communications Node were probably saved. This included the 13 of Isaac De Piza, 3 of the Nunes family, 2 of Jacob Frois (possibly lost) and one each owned by Rachel Carvalho and Moses Aboab.

Most, if not all, of the buildings of the western half of Swan Street were lost which meant that Isaac De Piza lost only 5 of his 18 buildings on Swan Street and about half of his 35/36 buildings in the port at large. The other leading Jewish families were proportionally less fortunate, although 3 of the 8 Nunes family buildings were spared by the fires.

It was a good time for owners of properties in optimal areas to sell to former occupiers eager to get back into business. In this, for the Jews, Isaac De Piza led the way. He bought many properties

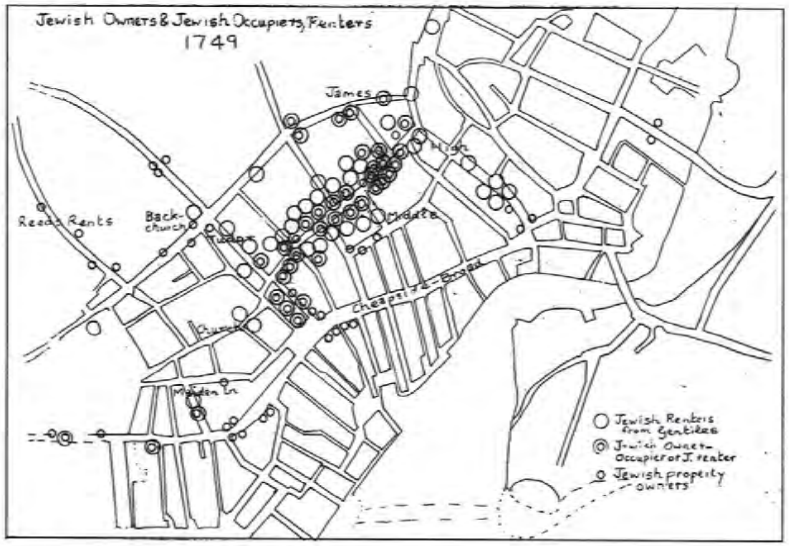
1756-1765 on Swan Street to expand the Jewish presence, and he took the opportunity to sell off most of his Swan Street properties particularly to his former tenants in the burnt western section, but also to several of his Jewish former tenants in the preserved eastern Exchange District of Swan Street. Interestingly by 1769, towards the end of the rebuilding, the number of Jewish-owned properties in Bridgetown had already increased from 1765 by 10 (11%). The several new properties acquired on Swan Street further increased the Jewish control of the Street.

No Levy Books survived from 1766 and 1767, and 60% of the 1768 Levy Book (8.5 pages) was lost (including Cheapside, Marlhill, High, Palmetto and Swan streets, among others). The 1769 Levy Book is the first to record an Annual Rateable Value of Property (£41,505) that would be in the normal range for the remainder of the century and certainly before the Hurricane of 1780. Small increments in 1770 and 1771 were followed in 1772 by the highest Annual Rateable Value of Bridgetown Property (£45,342) in the remainder of the eighteenth century, suggesting that the rebuilding of Bridgetown was complete by that date, 6 years after the Fires.

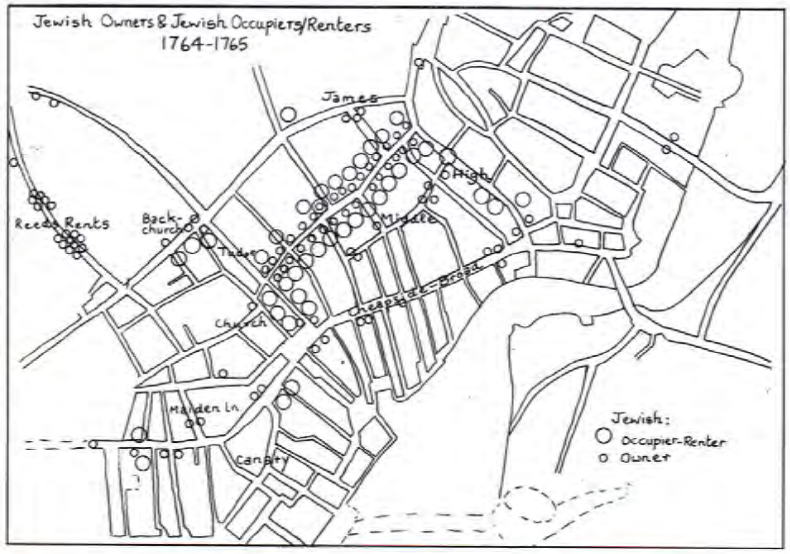
Partial Register of Jewish Taxpaying Heads of Household in Bridgetown 1762-1765

Simmy Abarbanel	48	Isaac Garcia (dcd)	47	Aaron Moreno	30
Moses Aboab	19	Moses (& J) Garcia	12	David L Navaro	57=
Abigail Arobas	49=	Jael Gomez	37=	Ben Nunez	45=
Hannah Arobas	61	Raphael Gomez	43=	Ben. Israel Nunes	39=
David Baruch (dcd)	63	Sarah Gomez	37=	I. I. Nunes	9
Jeremiah Baruch	42	Rachel & Sarah Henriques	18	Moses Nunes Jr.	32
Simon Baruch	22=	Jacob Joseph	16=	Moses Nunes Sr.	2
Solomon Baruch	45=	Jewish Congregation	54	Phineas Nunes	3
M.Belinfante (L&B)	22=	Abraham Lino Jr.	7	Lunah Pacheco (M&P)	49=
Elias Burgos	28	David Lindo (L&B)	22=	Aaron G. De Paz	49=
Rachel Burgos	55=	Mathias Lopez	31	Moses De Paz et. Al.	25
Abraham Buzaglo	34=	Aaron Delyon	49=	Abraham Peixotto	5=
Rachel Carvalho (C&M)	13	Abraham Delyon Jr.	57=	Isaac Pinheiro	10=
D. Nunes Castello	26=	Isaac Delyon	26=	Jacob Pinheiro	16=
Joseph Rod. De Casto	43=	Matthias Lyon	5=	Lunah Pinheiro	10=
Isaac Fernandez	55=	Abraham Massiah (C&M)	8	Rabecca Pinheiro	15
Jacob De Fonseca	49=	Benjamin Massiah	20	Aaron De Piza	34=
Moses Franco	4	Jacob Massiah	34=	Abraham De Piza	57=
Jacob Frois	39=	Mordechai Massiah	29	Isaac De Piza	1
Abraham Garcia	41	Simeon Massiah (M&P)	33	D. Valverde s. Elias	60
David Garcia	62	Isaac Monsanto	14	Jacob Valverde s. David	21

(See text for the several omissions, particularly of owner occupiers)
Rank based on property (rates) and personal head taxes paid



Distribution of Jewish Owners/Renters 1749



Distribution of Jewish Owners/Renters 1764-5

Occupiers	Owners	Occupiers
	East	
	T. Drake	I. Delyon
M. Duce	A. Worrel	
H. Morris	A. Callender	
McNeill & Morrison	A. Callender	
		Jews
	M. Nunes	P. Nunes
Gentiles	M. Nunes Jr.	J. Valverde s. D.
	M. Aboab	Marbiah (fn)
	M. Nunes	M. Nunes
	I. De Piza	I. Pinheiro
	I. De Piza	L. Pinheiro
	I. De Piza	Massiah & Carvalho
	I. De Piza	I. De Piza
G. Southam	I. De Piza	
J. Fluria	I. De Piza	
C. Fillibank	I. De Piza	
	I. De Piza	vac.
A. Sampson	I. De Piza	
M. Waters	I. De Piza	
	I. De Piza	A. Arobas
	I. De Piza	Massiah & Pacheco
	I. De Piza	M. Lyon
A. Speight	J. Lyte	
	R. Carvalho	B.I. Nunes
	J. Frois	A. Peixotto
	J. Frois	vac.
	A. Lamplee	A. Lindo Jr.
	J. Luke	S. Abarbanel
	J. Luke	J. Baruch
C. Wilson	J. Luke	
	J. Luke	J. R. De Costa
Thorne	J. Luke	
D. De S.	J. Luke	
	J. Luke	A. Moreno
J. Morris	J. Luke	
	J. Val. & M. Franco	M. Franco
	I. De Piza	M. Massiah
	I. De Piza	R. Pinheiro
	I. De Piza	B. Massiah
	I. De Piza	J. De Fonseca
T. Jackson	G. Gibbs	
J. Stevens	M. Robinson	
F. Mann	M. Nunes	
H. Clarke	M. Nunes	
	M. Nunes	B. Nunes
J. Piggott	A. Massiah	
W. Cunningham	A. Massiah	
M. Lynch &.Co.	A. Massiah	
	M. Aboab	J. Pinheiro
J. B. Harriss	M. Aboab	
	M. Aboab	S. Gomez
	I. De Piza	R. Gomez
	J. Richards	J. Gomez
	West	

Jewish Owners/Renters Swan Street (Partial Register for 1762-5)

Acknowledgements

During my five-plus years wedded to Part 2 of this study and the Levy Books, Mary Hartman and her colleagues in the Clark University's Goddard Library have tracked down many relevant secondary sources and given me valuable advice, as have my cartography colleagues in the Graduate School of Geography, Harry Steward and Ann Gibson. Christopher Markman of the Clark University Computer Centre also helped me through the newest version of transmitting documents.

My wife Margaret has shown the patience of Job in dealing with my endless hours trying to discover shape and to track omissions and annual changes in the personal head tax records in particular and has rallied me through a litany of major and minor tragedies with my old faithful Mac 9.2 computer. My son Jonathan saved me when I despaired with my lists and tables and sometimes lost them. He showed me ways by which my data and writing could be safely backed up and transmitted, for which I am eternally grateful.

As for almost two decades the staff of the Barbados Department of Archives at Black Rock were always cordial and helpful.

Primary Sources:

Levy Books. The Levy Books are indispensable to this study, see pages 2-3 and 27, and also Bowden 2011: 50-51. For the years of the study there are no street-by-street, comprehensive Levy Books extant 1726-1748, 1750, and 1766-1767. The 1749 Levy Book is the most comprehensive of the eighteenth century. Those of 1751-1765 have significant omissions discussed on pages 2-3, and elsewhere in this text. Most of the 1768 Levy Book is lost or indecipherable. Those of 1769 and 1770 show a city still recovering from the Fires of 1766. The first comprehensive post-Fires Levy Book is 1771.

Wills. The Wills of the Jews 1685-1847, copied in the Department of Archives by Dr. Karl Watson and his students, provide a sample of Jewish lives, wealth, occupations, family connections, North Atlantic trade links, and much more. I thank them for their copying, and for allowing me to copy their valued work.

Deeds. For Jews and Gentiles the Deeds are far from complete in the eighteenth century, but I tracked down some for 1730-1734 and 1740 that were helpful. Those for the middle 1740s proved to be a god-send in establishing the size, nature, and location of Jewish holdings, particularly on Swan Street, see Counter Deed Index (Department of Archives) RB 3/35/335-565 (1745), RB 3/37/54-497 (1746) and RB 3/38/40-552 (1746-1747). There are no deeds extant for 1748-1762 and 1766-1771.

Monumental Inscriptions et al. Eustace M. Shilstone's Monumental Inscriptions in the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown, Barbados, with Historical Notes (Barbados: Macmillan Publishers, 1988) with 3 supplemental Appendices adding Registry details is essential to any study of the Bridgetown Jews. Shilstone's timely work/

research is itself monumental: He made possible a high level of precision in dating the lives of many of the Jewish leaders and rank-and-file throughout the eighteenth century.

Map. Bowen, Emanuel. An Accurate Map of the Island of Barbadoes. Drawn from an Actual Survey containing all. the Towns, Churches, Fortifications, Roads, Paths, Plantations, &c. London: 1747

Note: In 2016 I intend to place some of my reconstructions of houses and inhabitants by street 'address', particularly Swan Street, in one of the Barbados libraries for use by other scholars.

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