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Ezra Stiles and the Jews

SELECTED PASSAGES FROM HIS

Literary Diary

CONCERNING JEWS AND JUDAISM

WITH CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

BY

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To
Newman Cowen, Esq.,
these pages are reverently inscribed.

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EZRA STILES AND THE JEWS.*

INTRODUCTION.

The fact that Yale College, which celebrated its bicentennial at New Haven last week (Oct 1901) with so much eclat, has on its corporate seal, in addition to a Latin inscription, one in Hebrew, is a significant as well as a curious circumstance. It represents an open book, upon which are inscribed the symbolic words, אורים ותמים (*Urim v'Tummim*). It illustrates the influence of the Old Testament upon the thought and policy of New England—an influence more paramount in the colony of New Haven than possibly anywhere else, if we may judge from the following passage of an enactment, bearing the date 1644, which proclaims that

“In the beginning of the foundation of this plantation and jurisdiction, upon a free debate with due and serious consideration, it was agreed, concluded and settled as a fundamental law, not to be disputed or questioned hereafter, that the judicial laws of God, as they were delivered by Moses and expounded in other parts of Scripture, so far as they are a fence to the moral law, being neither typical nor ceremonial, nor having a reference to Canaan, shall be accepted as of moral equity, and as God shall help, shall be a constant direction for all proceedings here and a general rule for all courts in this jurisdiction, how to judge between party and party and how to punish offenders, till the same be branched out into particulars hereafter.”

This vigorous avowal of the binding force of Old Testament doctrine had much to do in shaping the destinies of the colony and university. The study of Hebrew was not only encouraged, but,

* The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles. Edited with notes by F. B. Dexter, three volumes, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

under President Stiles' incumbency, made compulsory for a time, no doubt the deeper to impress the students with a sense of the importance and sublimity of Holy Writ, and to induce a profounder view of the spiritual. Dr. Stiles was too sturdy a churchman to suffer himself to abate in his zeal, either in biblical study or in the instruction of Hebrew, which he considered a vehicle of salvation, or, as Cotton Mather so eloquently said, "the fiery chariot to carry one heavenwards." From the Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, just published with valuable notes by Professor F. B. Dexter, of Yale University, we learn that no man's education was considered quite complete without an adequate knowledge of the sacred tongue and, whoever pretended to scholarship at all, was constrained, whether he willed it or not, to be "a good Hebrician," as Ezra Stiles terms it. He has preserved for us the names of such of his learned contemporaries who have attained proficiency in the study of Hebrew, and on one or two epitaphs, probably composed by Dr. Stiles, the necrologic formula of the Old Testament, usually inscribed on Jewish tombs, *Zeher Tsaddik Livracha*, is added in Hebrew characters. There were even women Hebraists in his day whose accomplishments are commemorated in his Diary. Not only his sons, but his second wife and daughter as well, studied Hebrew. A knowledge of the Bible was the *sine qua non* of all culture, and we need not be surprised to find his wife attending one of his classes (cf. Vol. III., p. 526). The following entry under date of July 21st, 1793 (cf. Vol. III., p. 499) is significant:

"My wife died 1775 She read thro' the Bible, five times the last four years of her life, once in about 9 or 10 months. Kezia [his daughter, born September, 1760,] died 1785, she read it thro' five times the last five years of her life.

"Besides, read^s in course privately in my study, I read thro' the Bible, in my Fam^y at family Morning Prayers from 1760 to 1791, eight times, or once in four years. My fam^y have had full opportun^y of being acquainted with the sacred Contents of the Bible."

The graduates of the college received on graduation a copy of the Bible, "a small edition in *Hebrew* and *Greek*," as Dr. Stiles states in his diary (cf. vol. iii., p. 41). The Bible was a household-book in New England, and its people loved it and read it diligently.

Before remarking on Dr. Stiles' scholarship in the Semitic languages, it is worth noting that he was a man of wide and varied attainments.* In addition to being versed in the classics, he had a rare fund of "polite learning," and displayed an aptitude for natural and physical science most remarkable. His studies and researches cover quite a long range of subjects: Meteorology, astronomy, physics, silk-culture, horticulture, political economy, philosophy, ecclesiastical history, race problems (sociology), languages, etc. As an evidence of his force of character and mental capacity be it mentioned that in 1784, at the age of 57 years, he began to study French. Judging from his very exhaustive and accurate accounts of battles, sieges and engagements during the Revolutionary War, and his numerous charts and diagrams, he appears to have had more

*For biographical data concerning him, see an interesting article on "Ezra Stiles and the Jews," by Rev. W. Willner (a graduate of Yale), in the "Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society," No. 8 (1900), p. 120; and the "Literary Diary," vol. i., pp. 1-2; ii., pp. 524-5 (autobiographical). His son-in-law, the Rev. Abiel Holmes, A.M., pastor of the First Church in Cambridge, published in 1798 "The Life of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.," Boston. Printed by Thomas & Andrews, May, 1798—8^o, 403 pp. [The preface is signed, Cambridge, April 5, 1798]. See also J. L. Kingsley, "Life of Ezra Stiles" (Boston, 1855).

than a meagre knowledge of the "art of warfare" and, from his love of detail and incident, we would judge him to be an admirable war correspondent.

He was an omnivorous reader and, perhaps to preserve more carefully what interested him most, he transcribed hundreds of pages from various books treating of history, travels, ethnology and the like, thereby preserving a number of valuable items which might otherwise have been lost. He was an eager and exact correspondent, wrote fluently in Latin, French and Hebrew, and his epistolary style in English is full of strength and beauty. His literary activity was very great and, though he published little, the enormous mass of unpublished material testifies to his marvelous diligence. Stealing leisure from his onerous official duties, he has compiled material for a number of works which were destined not to be issued during his lifetime. A few sermons and addresses were printed under his eye (cf. *Diary*, vol. i., p. 53; vol. iii., pp. 81, 182, 201, 272-3, 276, 278-80), and his "History of the Three Judges" [of King Charles, who found asylum in Connecticut: Whaley, Goffe and Dixwell (cf. vol. iii., p. 485 and Index, p. 634^a.)], appeared in 1795. Among his most remarkable efforts may be reckoned his impassioned plea in behalf of the negroes, of whose return to Africa, under a protectorate, he was a zealous champion.

An idea of his stupendous industry may be gleaned from the following entry in his *Diary*, vol. iii., p. 336 (Dec. 16th, 1788):

"Last week I had brot home from the Book Binders Eight Volumes of Mss. bound, of which one folio & rest Quartos, 3 of which Letters received. I have now thirty four Volumes Mss. bound, 3 of w[hi]^e [h] others Letters the rest my own Writing."

Thirty-one bulky volumes of unpublished material

are indeed a rare testimony of scholarship and a worthy heritage of learning to the institution over whose fortunes he presided with such tact and dignity from November 6th, 1777, until his death, May 12th, 1795.

Dr Stiles' interest in Old Testament study was manifested early in life. While at college he compiled a "copious chronological compendium of the Old and New Testaments" (Holmes, *Life of President Stiles*, p. 13). In his earlier years he was somewhat narrow and intolerant in his theological views and not at all predisposed in favor of the Jews, but he emerged from the waves of skepticism which swept over him, shortly before he reached his majority, with not only a larger faith, but a meeker spirit and, far from regarding the Jews with distrust and bitterness, he began to seek for evidences of their whereabouts in far-away places to test the truth of prophecy—and, what seems more remarkable in those days of rigid exclusiveness, he delighted to cultivate their friendship. In 1759, then aged 32 years, he began a series of inquiries concerning the fate of the Ten Tribes since their Dispersion, tidings of whom had come to his ears from time to time, and whose spiritual state gave him no end of concern. "By a learned Jew from Saphat, in Galilee," writes his son-in-law and biographer, Rev. Abiel Holmes (p. 85 et sq.), "he addressed a letter in Latin, to some Greek priest, or bishop, living in the Holy Land, or in Syria. Its design was to obtain an exact description of the Holy Land and of Syria; a map of the lake of Galilee; of the lake of Sodom and Gomorrah, and of the rise and course of the river Jordan; information concerning the inhabitants of the various nations on that territory . . . whether any nations practice circumcision, who anciently observed that rite,

without a derivation from Jews or Mahometans, etc." The purpose of this inquiry, says Holmes in a footnote, where a Latin extract from the letter is given (p. 86), was, to discover, if possible, the Ten Tribes of Israel, a favorite subject of his researches. We find him taking up the same theme with renewed eagerness, seven years later, in a letter addressed to J. Z. Holwell, Esq., author of "Historical Events relative to the Empire of Hindustan" and an old resident in Bengal, to whom he applied for information respecting the Jews of Cochin and Patna and their probable identity with the lost "Ten Tribes" (See Holmes, pp. 112-114, and W. Willner in the *Publications of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, p. 122). In August, 1772, he continued his investigations and despatched a lengthy letter in Latin to the Rev. Dr. Busch, a Moravian minister in Astracan, near the Caspian Sea, soliciting particular information concerning the habits and religious observances of the Tartars, their language, ritual, traditions and other matters pertaining to their rites and usages. A summary of this interesting epistle, which is not mentioned in the *Diary*, and which covers *ten quarto* pages, is given by Holmes (cf. pp. 158-161; see also Willner, *l. c.*, pp. 122-123), who, in a note, refers to Henry Vansittart's *Secrets of the Afghans*, written in Pushtoo, and translated into English by Sir William Jones, in 1784, as affording corroborative evidence of Dr. Stiles' theory of the Jewish origin of the Afghans. Since his day a number of similar researches have tended to confirm the probability that some of the Asiatic tribes, notably the *Falashas* of Abyssinia, as proven by Ladd, Halevy and others, may be of Hebraic descent.

From an entry made in his *Diary*, July 11th, 1771 (vol. i. p. 121), we learn that others in America,

besides Dr. Stiles, were interested in the relations of the "Kalmuck Tartars and the Ten Tribes." Four years later, Aug. 23, 1775 (vol. i. p. 607), we read this curious item: "Conversing with a learned Jew lately come [to] Town, who says last year there was a report at New York of the discovery of the X Tribes among the Tartars." Seventeen years later, April, 1792, in a letter to the famous traveler, Bruce, whose work he had read with much relish and satisfaction, he returns to the subject again: "Have the Jews of Samen any synagogues, or places of worship? Have they the anniversary feasts, as well as Sabbaths? Have they a liturgy and priests, and sacrifices?" (Holmes, p. 318; Willner, p. 123.) One year before his death he was intent on the same topic of inquiry connected with the Lost Tribes of Israel, a theme which has engaged the attention of many scholars, at various times, all over the world.

He had read in recent histories of Hindustan new accounts of the Jews on the Malabar coast; he had seen and examined a fac-simile of the famous Indian edict engraved on a copper plate by one of the Malabar princes (see the only correct transcript and rendering of the curious charter of privileges in Dr. Gustav Oppert's article in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Alexander Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 396-419 and the bibliographic notes thereto by the present writer, pp. 420-34. 613.), setting forth the rights granted to the Jews, *ca* 379 C. E.; and he was so impressed by what he had read that he was eager to learn more details pertaining to their history and chronology. Accordingly he set to work and addressed a long literary epistle of more than 70 pages in quarto to Sir William Jones, which was sent to Calcutta soon after it was written, bearing the date of January 18th, 1794, and was destined never to

reach the hands of Sir William Jones, for that eminent scholar died April 27th, 1794.

In his *Diary* (Jan. 25, 1794; vol. iii., p. 514) he has jotted down the following modest note: "Writing a Letter to Sir Wm. Jones at Calcutta in Bengal, President of the Society there, request^s him to procure me an Extract of the patriarchal ages from the Heb. Pentateuch with the Jews of the X. Tribes at Cochin on Malabar Coast." This is his way of referring to an epistle whose proportions were almost monographic. It is curious to observe how naïve and childlike was his faith in the reports and fancies of travelers and adventurers. His veneration for traditional evidence was profound. To substantiate his argument as to the possibility of discovering fragments of Biblical Books in MS among the Jews in Cochin, he adds that "St Thomas found a Hebrew darsel singing Hebrew Psalms at the court of an Indian prince, at Cranganore, near Cochin." He desired that a more thorough and effectual search should be made after the lost tribes; as, from the prophecies which he always had in mind, he had no doubt of their future re-gathering and of the re-establishment of the Twelve Tribes in Palestine. "Every part of the terraqueous globe," says this early American Zionist, "has been so thoroughly travelled and examined, that we know they are not to be found in Europe, Africa, *America*, nor in any part of Asia unless upon the territory between the Caspian Sea and the empire of China, and north of India and Persia; unless, perhaps, on the extensive territory between Persepolis and the Indus. I have long wished to have this territory, especially from the Caspian eastward and north of India and Tibet, travelled by some persons of Hebrew literature and of sagacious discernment of national character who may discover such national

distinguishing traits, as you Sir [William Jones], have in the Afghans; who, from your account; I doubt not are of Hebrew original, and of the Ten Tribes. . . ." (See the quotations in Holmes, pp. 325-338.)

It is plain from the above extract that Dr. Stiles was no adherent of the theory of the Hebraic origin of the American Indians, as were a number of his contemporaries. Their opinions he has occasionally recorded. Thus, on January 6th, 1770 (vol. i., p. 32., he writes that he has read a letter from the Rev. David Imrie of Anandale in Scoland, dated April 25, 1754 and printed in 1755, wherein he supposes that the "Return & Conversion of the Jews, the Destruction of Antichrist, and beginning of Millennium,—will all be accomplished within *fourty* years fr. 1754 or by A. D. 1794. . . . Mr. Imrie has written a piece to prove the Indians of America to be the Ten Tribes, & sent it over in MS. to be communicated to the Indian Missionaries, but not to be printed." In another place he refers rather dubiously to an American missionary zealot, who, like John Eliot, the "Apostle of the Indians," proposed to dedicate his life to the dusky aborigines of America, under the delusion that they were remnants of the lost Tribes of Israel. His own theory as to their origin may be learnt from incidental references (vol. i., pp. 163, 233). "The American Indians," says Dr. Stiles, "I suppose sprang from the Canaanites or Phoenicians" and, in another connection, he writes, of "the prospect of introducing Christianity among the Kalmuks and Tartars in general, from whom. . . I supposed the American Indians sprang."

His Semitic Scholarship and his Jewish Friends.

Dr. Stiles was forty years old when he began to study Hebrew. In May, 1767, he knew but ten letters of the alphabet; in July, 1778, on the occasion of his inauguration as president of Yale College, he delivered a Hebrew oration. It is interesting to note how he acquired proficiency in the sacred tongue:

"Though the Hebrew language was taught at Yale College when Dr. Stiles was a student," says his biographer, Rev. Abiel Holmes (p. 128 sq.), "yet, not then expecting to enter the ministry, to which profession only this language was thought to be of use, he greatly neglected it. After his settlement in Newport, when he was curious to investigate the sense of some capital Hebrew words, he used to find in Montanus' Hebrew Bible, first the Latin word, then the Hebrew over it; then he compared the same word in different texts, and guessed the sense. This, with the help of *Poli Synopsis*, gave him what trifling assistance he could obtain from the Hebrew. Some light, indeed, he derived from the Jews at Newport, particularly from their Huzzans or teachers, by asking them the import of those Hebrew words which stood for particular passages in the Bible. Proceeding in the study of the Scriptures and of divinity, he felt the necessity of the knowledge of the Hebrew. His frequent attendance at the Jews' synagogue increased his wish to possess at least as much of it as to see a little into their books and service. On receiving a diploma from Edinburgh [March, 1765], his 'ambition was touched, or rather a sense of shame excited, that a *Doctor of Divinity* should not understand a language,' so important and so easily acquired. But the delight of other studies, and the drudgery of learning a dead language, conspired to the con-

tinuance of his neglect. At length, however, in May, 1767, though advanced into the fortieth year of his age, he concluded to attempt at least to read the language. At this time he knew but ten of the Hebrew letters. Having walked a few times on the parade with the Huzzan, who gave him the true power of the letters and vowels, he began to spell and read the Psalter. In the five first days he read the 19th Psalm. Encouraged by his success, he soon found himself able to read about ten pages every morning after breakfast. Not long after, the Huzzan [the Rev. Isaac Touro, who arrived about 1758 from Jamaica; cf. *Publications of Am. Jew-Hist. Soc.*, No. 6, p. 78; No. 8, p. 120; *Literary Diary*, vol. i., p. 20; ii., p. 290, Editor's note] wrote for him the alphabet, with the vowels; gave him the sounds, and heard him spell most of the 1st Psalm. He also gave him the rabbinical letters. This was his chief assistance. When he had read the Psalter, he began to translate it into Latin, and finished it in one month. After translating a number of Psalms into English, he began to read and translate Genesis.

"During this period he examined many passages and critical, important words, by comparing them as used in different places of scripture, 'with great profit and satisfaction.' He also examined other writings in Chaldee and Rabbinical Hebrew, and the Samaritan character, in which the Scripture Hebrew was originally written. . . Having read part of Genesis, all Exodus and the Book of Ezra for the sake of the Chaldee in it, and much of the Chaldee in Daniel; on the last of January, 1768, he began the translation of Genesis, and finished that book and Exodus by the 12th of May. Thus almost entirely unaided, within one year he 'unexpectedly accomplished the translation of the Psalms, Genesis and Exodus.'"

This year, continues his biographer, he read much Arabic and learned Syriac. "I doubt not," writes Dr. Stiles, "it is easier to acquire all the oriental languages, especially the dialects of the Hebrew, than any one modern European language. I could learn Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian with less pains than the Latin only. . . . If we study the Hebrew, only with the view to the Bible, it will repay us. It is a glorious language, and throws more light on the Old Testament than all the commentators." Such a testimony, adds Holmes, from an accomplished classical scholar, united with his example, should encourage the study of the Oriental languages, especially of the Hebrew, a language of singular importance to every theologian, but too generally neglected at the present day

On the first day of January, 1769, he commenced a *Literary Diary*, which he continued at regular intervals until a few days before his death, May 6th, 1795. It comprises 15 quarto volumes in MS., each consisting of above 300 pages. The timely publication of the greater part of this Day-Book enables us to catch glimpses of President Stiles as he meditates upon the meanings of different Hebrew texts referring to Messianic prophecy; it shows him dipping into the intricacies of Rashi, whom he, in common with others more learned in Rabbinics than he, erroneously calls *Jarchi*; he even ventures to read Maimonides in the original; to correspond in Hebrew with Jews and Gentiles, notably with his good friend Rabbi Hayyim Isaac Carigal, who arrived in Newport, direct from Palestine, in March 1773; he takes us into the synagogue, whose structure and appointments he described minutely in another volume of his numerous MS. records; he discourses eloquently on the Chosen People in the

presence of a Rabbi in his Church, and afterwards discusses with him and other Newport Jews the Messianic expectations of the Jews. He takes us, through the medium of a volume of published travels, into the Dutch synagogue in London; introduces us to some otherwise unknown Jewish apostates at home and abroad; furnishes valuable statistics on the Jews in Newport, New Haven, Philadelphia and Palestine; quaint items about the habits and observances of his Jewish neighbors, one of whom, Aaron Lopez, his intimate friend, he eulogizes in no uncertain tones on the occasion of his death by drowning;—in short, he has preserved for us what is most striking and valuable for a knowledge of the history of his day; he has written a precious phase of American—and, incidentally, of American-Jewish *Culturgeschichte*.

To return to his progress in Semitics, it is significant to note that almost the very first item in his *Diary* records his diligence in the study of Hebrew. It were useless to gather all the passages in that daily chronicle referring to his close application to the reading of the Bible in the original. He made it an invariable practice in 1769 to read one chapter or more in Hebrew, and a portion of Arabic every morning before breakfast. One of his biographers tells us that he read as much as ten pages in his Psalter each day, except, singularly enough "on the Lord's Day" Holmes, p. 133; Willner, p. 121; *Diary*, i., 4.). On January 9th. 1769, he informs us that his elder son, Ezra, then ten years of age [born March 11, 1759], began to study Hebrew. On the 10th he commenced the Book of Joshua in Hebrew and read some Arabic; by the 31st of the month he had finished Joshua: on February 1st he read the first chapter of Judges and finished the whole by the 27th; on the fol-

lowing day he continues to read I. Samuel, which he finished by the 1st of April. On the 3d we find him taking up the 2d Book. His perseverance and industry were equally amazing. As we proceed to chronicle his doings, according to his *Diary*, seriatim, we shall have frequent occasion to marvel at his energy and singleness of purpose. On the 16th of March, 1769, we have the first allusion to Jews in Newport, though he refers to them copiously in other places of his voluminous MS. papers. Thus, for example, he gives an exhaustive description of the synagogue in Newport—built in 1762-3, and situated in the immediate neighborhood of Dr. Stiles' residence—on the occasion of its dedication, Friday, December 2d, 1763 (*Diary*, vol i., pp. 5, note 3; 6.); elsewhere (cf. *ibid.*, p. 11 note 2) he furnishes us valuable statistics on the "Jews in Newport in 1760." The Rev. Wolf Willner, in his interesting paper on "Ezra Stiles and the Jews" (*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 8, 1900, pp. 119-26), has extracted from his unpublished papers much useful information respecting the Jews, from 1747-1762. His quotations need not be repeated here. It is noteworthy that in 1755 he estimated the number of Jewish residents in Newport to consist of 15 families. "They have no minister," he writes to an English friend. "New York has many Jews who have Alhazan from Amsterdam." His knowledge of Hebrew must have been very scant, for he combines a Hebrew word with the Arabic article *Al*. The Hazzan mentioned is, no doubt, *Isaac Pinto*, the translator of the Portuguese Prayerbook into English (see my notes in *Publications*, No. 3, pp. 118-22; cf. also No. 4, pp. 129, 227-28), to whom he refers in one or two places in his *Diary* (cf. vol. i., p. 386; iii., 392).

On March 16th, 1769 (vol. i., p. 5), he writes:

“Examined with the Jew priest Jacob’s prophecy of the scepter departg. from Judah, . . . Most of this day with the Jews.” The allusion is very likely to the Rev. Isaac Touro, one of his intimate friends, who came to Newport about 1758 from the West Indies. Under the same date, Dr. Stiles says that he is reading Cotton Mather’s *Magnalia*, written in the last decade of the 17th century, where Newport is designated as “the common receptacle of the convicts of Jerusalem and the outcasts of the land” (Book 8, p. 20, *Publications*, No. 6, 1897, p. 65–66). Such intolerant and bigoted views do not seem to have influenced Dr. Stiles in the least in his attitude toward “the elect harbingers of God.”—On the 18th he states that he visited the synagogue in company with a Mr. Austin. The Christian residents of Newport were evidently no strangers at Jewish services. Four years later, on May 28th, 1773, not only Dr. Stiles attended divine worship, in celebration of the *Shabuoth* festival, but a number of state dignitaries as well. “The synagogue was decorated with Flowers, etc.,” writes he (vol. I, p. 377; see *infra*, the chapter on “Rabbi Hayyim Isaac Carigal and Ezra Stiles”); “About the time the Rabbi began Sermon which was a few minutes before X^h three of the Commissioners came in, viz., Gov. Wanton & Judge Oliver and afterwards Judge Auchmuty and were seated in the Seat of the Parnass or President of the Synagogue.” The Parnass was Aaron Lopez, Merchant in that city, and universally beloved for his benevolence. This is a striking instance of the cordial relations existing between Jews and non-Jews in New England. Such intimacies are only recorded in the chronicles of the Jews of Surinam in the XVIIIth century. We have preserved, to this day, a number of published and unpublished poems, by Jews, in Hebrew and Hollandish, in praise of

their governors and other high officials, whose almost uniform kindness towards the Jews is a matter of history. (See my notes in *Publications*, No. 3, 1895, pp. 127-31; in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. xxxi, pp. 293-7; and in Simon Wolf's *American Jew as Patriot. Soldier and Citizen*, Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 471-2). Samuel Nassy, called the "Citizens' Captain," was candidate for the governorship of the colony of Surinam in the last half of the XVIIth century; a number of others held important commissions in the army;—and so catholic was the intercourse between Jew and Gentile, that two Christian friends of the Jews wrote eulogistic verses in honor of the centenary of their synagogue in 1785. These Dutch poems were reprinted by the present writer in the *Menorah*, Sept. 1895, vol. xix, pp. 149-52. As a further instance of good will toward the Jews on the part of the Hollandish Government, it is significant that in July, 1835, Prince William Frederick Henry had put the first stroke to the new synagogue in Paramaribo, consecrated in 1836. (cf. *Publications*, No. 4, 1896, p. 7.) Such amenities are, unfortunately, all too rare in the tragic history of the Jews, and it is well to record them when we can.

But let us return to the *Diary*:

On the 22d of March he writes: "In Even^s heard book of Esther read out in synagogue:" then, the following day: "Read Magnalia. Purim today." This sounds almost grim, though the mention of Cotton Mather's book in connection with the Jewish Festival is purely accidental. On the 28th, he addressed a communication to Rev. Mr. Whittelsey, "on the Import of יהוה and the Trinity of the Zohar." April 1st finds him conversing with a "Romish priest," and writing a letter to Dr. Francis Alison, D.D., of Philadelphia, "upon the plurality of Elohim in

Jehovah, and the rabbinical Trinity in [the Zohar." Professor Dexter (vol. I, p. 7) points out that Dr. Stiles believed the *Zohar* to have been composed in the 2d century. An item on the same subject, jotted down three years later, Oct. 29, 1772 (vol. I, p. 298), is worth quoting: "This day I received from London the *Zohar*, a Hebrew Folio Volume of 800 or 770 pages, Sultzbac Edit. 1684, and published at Nuremberg. It is a mystic or cabbalistic Commentary upon the *Penteteuch* [sic!] by Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai" Altogether he was deeply interested in "transcendental lore," chiefly because of his speculations upon the coming of the Messiah—a subject which he loved to discuss at great length with the Rabbis whom he knew in later years. His computations on the prophecies of Daniel concerning the Millenium are given at length by Holmes (pp. 137-39) and a number of passages in the *Diary* would seem to indicate that these vague prophetic forecasts and mathematical puzzles in the Bible gave him no little concern.

He continued his daily readings in the Hebrew Bible and devoted considerable time to Arabic. He already copied, writes Holmes (p. 133), "Eutychii Origines Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ," in the Arabic letter, and translated it from the original (cf. *Diary*, vol. I, p. 21.) This copy, in Arabic, beautifully written, and the translation as well, are preserved in a manuscript volume, devoted to Hebrew and Arabic, still extant in the University Library. He now "learned somewhat of the Syriac, and dipt into Persic, Coptic, and the other oriental languages." On the 11th of April he copied and translated the thirteen Articles of the Jewish Creed (*Diary*, p. 8); by the 29th he had finished the second Book of Samuel in Hebrew; and on the 30th he has the following entry:

"Read Instit. of Sanhedrim in Ainsworth on Pentateuch; and Rabbi Judah Monis's Discourses at his Baptism in 1722" (p. 10). Concerning the latter he gives us this information, in a note penned four years later, Dec. 2d, 1773 (vol. I, p. 423; cf. also p. 620, Oct. 3, 1775): "Mr. Levi, the Xtian Jew aet. 60 circa, told me he went to School when a Boy to Rabbi Judah Monis who 1722 renounced Judaism became a Christian, and was made Hebrew Professor at Harvard College Cambridge. Mr. Levi says Mr. Monis was an Italian, he thinks a Venetian Jew was truly a Rabbi and a learned Man."

Of Levi, or as he is elsewhere called, Levy (Nov. 30, 1773; *l. c.*), nothing is known beyond the mere fact that he was "a London Jew Convert to Xtianity." Judah Monis, M.A., (1683-1764) was the first instructor in Hebrew at Harvard University, who was baptized at Cambridge, Mass., March 27, 1772, preparatory to his call to office. On that occasion, a Discourse was delivered in the College Hall, by the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman, which was published in a volume with three Discourses by Monis himself, entitled respectively: *The Truth, the Whole Truth, and Nothing but the Truth*, 12mo, Bstn, 1722. Copies of this rare tract are still extant; one is in the collection of the American Jewish Historical Society. For fuller particulars concerning this early American convert and Hebraist, author of the first American Hebrew Grammar (Boston, 1735), I may be permitted to refer to my articles in *Publications*, No: 3, pp. 112-14; in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago, July, 1898, vol. xiv, pp. 217-26; vol. xv, Oct. 1898, pp. 56 et seq., where accurate titles and copious extracts and references are given. Fac-similes of the *Discourse* (two) are to be found in an article by the Rev. Louis Meyer, himself a Jewish Christian, entitled "The

First Jewish Christian in North America—Judah Monis," reprinted from the missionary quarterly, *The Jewish Era* (Chicago, 1900), p. 5. There are a number of other references to Jewish converts in the Diary which we shall mention in the sequel. On the 1st of May, Dr. Stiles began the first Book of Kings in Hebrew. On the 19th he makes the following interesting statement: "This Evening went to the Synagogue and saw two Copies of the Law deposited there. One a new Vellum Roll given by Mr. Lopez £40 ster. The other a present from the Portuguese Synagogue in London. Both with Silver Tops and bells washed with Gold. They have now Six Vellum Rolls of the Law. There are now in Town about Twenty-five Families of Jews" [vol. I, p. 11; see also further below the chapter on "Statistical Notes," where the subject is more exhaustively treated.] Under date of July 26th, we read this curious item: "Mr. Treat [Rev. Joseph Treat of New York; see *Diary*, vol. I, p. 14, note 2] tells me that the Jews in New York expected the Messiah 1768, and are greatly disappointed. That this expect^a was excited by some comput^a on the prophetic numbers by the Rabbins of the present day; that two Jews from Constantinople visited New York last year" [p. 17]. To this absorbing theme of Messianic expectations he returns again and again in his learned discussions with Rabbis and laymen. The very next quotable entry is on this topic, and it is curious to note the allusion to the customs and usages of the Newport Jews in support of their belief in the advent of the Messiah:

"This day" [August 10, p. 19], says he, "one of the Jews shewed me a computation of one of the present Rabbins of Germany: wherein he makes *Time, Times, and half* to denote the space from the last Destructⁿ of the Temple to its Restor^a and

Return of xii Tribes. Time he calls 'Seventy Semitots', or 490 years, Times 980, half 245, total 1715 years, ending, he says, A. D. 1783, when the Messias is expected. N.B. The Jews are wont in Thunder Storms to set open all their Doors and Windows for the coming of Messias. Last Hail Storm, 31 July, when Thunder, Rain and Hail were amazingly violent, the Jews in Newport threw open Doors, Windows, and employed themselves in Singing and repeating Prayers, etc., for meeting Messias."

On the 13th of the month he remembers the "Anniversary of Destruction of second Temple celebrated at the Synagogue"; on the 21st he "Examined with Mr. [Isaac] Touro an hebrew Commentary on 'the scepter shall not depart from Judah, etc.' but," he adds, "without Satisfaction" This is the first nominal mention of the Rev. Isaac Touro "the priest of the Newport Hebrews," as Professor Dexter, following the diarist, calls him. From 1758 until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he was Hazzan of the Portuguese Synagogue, and died in Jamaica, in December, 1782. See Mason's *Reminiscences of Newport*, pp. 61-64; *Rhode Island Historical Magazine*, vol. VI, p. 100; Kohler's ed. of Daly's *Settl. of the Jews in N. America*, N. Y., 1893, p. 85; *Publications of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, no. 6, 1897, pp. 78, 139; Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. IV, 1855, where the first copy of his epitaph is given.

His Hebrew studies continued at regular intervals. By the 19th of September, 1769, he had finished translating the Book of Isaiah, and states in his *Diary*: "I have read the Hebrew Bible thus far in course (p. 24)." On the 22nd of November he had finished Jeremiah and the following day was deep in Ezekiel. On December 10th he has this touching entry in his Day-Book: "Read three chapters in

Ezekiel in the Hebrew Bible this day, which is my Birth day, being now by the patience of a merciful G^d, fourty-two years old" (see Prof. Dexter's note on p. 29). It remains to be recorded for that year that Dr. Stiles had visited the Synagogue on New Year's Day, which occurred on October 2nd (cf. p. 25).

On January 12th, 1770, he writes: "Went to the Synagogue this Evening and heard a Son of M^r Moses Lopez deceased,* Æt. 13, read the Evening Service, M^r Tauro the Chuzan present. It is the Custom in the foreign Synagogues to initiate Boys Æt. 13, thus to read publicly. This is the first Instance in the Synagogue at Newport."

We may rely upon the accuracy of this interesting statement, as Dr. Stiles was too keen an observer and too careful a chronicler to err in the most trivial matter. The custom of a *Bar-Mitzvah* celebrant chanting the weekly portion is characterized as *foreign*, and the diarist adds that this was the first public reading of the Law by one who had attained his religious majority, in Newport. It is a surprising fact in view of the otherwise strict traditionalism of the early Portuguese Jewish settlers. Moses Lopez, a nephew of Aaron, was naturalized either in 1740 or 1741, in New York, together with a number of others, some of whom afterwards drifted to New England (cf. *Publications*, No. 5, p. 116). He appears to have been the first of the Lopez family to reach Newport, and was exempted in 1750 by special Act of the Assembly from personal tax in recognition of his past and prospective services in translating letters and papers from Spanish into

* Cf. Daly, ed. Kohler pp. 80-1; 89; *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 1, p. 124; No. 2 pp. 102, 101; No. 3, p. 132; No. 5, p. 116; No. 6 pp. 70, 72, 74, 102, 138; No. 8, p. 123. He is not identical with the Moses Lopez who, in 1806, edited the first American Jewish Calendar.

English for the use of the Government (see Bartlett's *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island*, vol. v., pp. 307-8; Kohler in *Publications*, No. 6, 1897, p. 72). Among the "Names of Redwood Library Comp^a," incorporated in Newport, August 29, 1747, we find recorded, in Dr. Stiles' notes, those of "Ab^m Hart and Moses Lopez" (cf. Willner, in *Publications*, No. 8, p. 123). Jacob R. Rivera, frequently mentioned in the *Diary*, was one of the stockholders of the Library in 1758 (see Kohler, *l.c.*, p. 74-5). On the 13th of the month he again visited the Synagogue (*Diary*, p. 32). On February 8th we read this curious statement: "At the Synagogue, where upon asking a little Jew Boy the use of the strings at the Corner of the White Surplice worn by all Jews in their Worship:—he said, they kissed the strings three times at the Repetition of the great שמע [*sic*] or Hear o Israel the L^d our God is one Lord. Quere. Did this originally denote acknowleg^t of Trinity in Unity?"

In common with other churchmen and theologians, Dr. Stiles was fond of reading Christological meanings into the Hebrew Bible and of interpreting Jewish customs and traditions according to the tenets of his faith. The threefold mention of the name of God in the Jewish confession of faith, called the *Sh'ma*, has given rise to the belief that the author of that prayer was a trinitarian. This view has been accepted by Schudt, Eisenmenger, Wagenseil and other anti-Jewish writers and by not a few renegades, whose chief stock in trade was to discredit their former co-religionists. In view of Dr. Stiles' proficiency in Semitics, the incorrect spelling of the Hebrew word, given above, must be held to be a *lapsus calami*, if, indeed, it is not a typographical error.

On March 1st he writes (pp. 39-40): "Last Even-

ing I spent in Company with Mr. Tauro the Jew priest or Chuzzan here. We discoursed on sundry things—on the 70 Weeks of Daniel. He said that this had puzzled all the Rabbins, nor did any understand it—that it was agreed by all that Daniel's whole Book was to continue sealed & unintelligible till the Time of the End. That however they gave forth conjectural tho' unsatisfactory Interpretations: as particul^r of this prophecy that the Messiah or anointed prince here was the Prince of the Armies of Gog and Magog, *who should be cut off*. I asked him where he found a Text that favoured the Jewish Purgatory? he replied there was none in the sacred Books that was decisive, but that it was a Doctrine immemorially held and believed among them." . . . On the 10th, it being *Purim*, he again visited the synagogue to hear the reading of the Book of Esther. There is no doubt that his frequent attendance there was not so much an evidence of friendly interest in the Jews as a proof of his zeal to familiarize himself with the correct pronunciation of Hebrew and to acquire an accurate knowledge of the Jewish ritual, of which, some time later, he made a special study. On the 15th and 16th he records the visit of a Polish Jew from Lissa, with whom he conversed freely upon his favorite topic, the Advent of the Messiah: "The Jew visited me again to-day. His name is *Abraham Levi*, *æt.* 44. . . . [Here, unfortunately, the editor has abridged what seems to be a description of the visitor's personality] I shewed him the Comput^a, made by a german Rabbi placing the Appearance of the Messiah 1783. He smiled, & said they looked for him every day—I accidentally sneezed, & he prayed instantly. At sunset he excused himself & rose up & went to my East Study Window & prayed by himself: & then returned & sat down again to Discourse. He seems

to be a man of Sobriety, spake of the Deity with uplifted hands & Eyes & with the most profound Reverence" (p. 42).

On the 14th of April he records that he has resumed his "dayly reading a chapter in the Hebrew Bible and a portion of Arabic," which practice had been intermitted for nine days, according to a marginal note in the *Diary*. On the 19th of May he finished reading the Book of Job in Hebrew p. (52).

JEWES CHARGED WITH TORYISM.

On May 31st we read: "Yesterday the Merch^{ts} in this T^o met at the Courthouse & agreed to store their goods lately imported—to remove the late Resolutions of Boston to Phila^{da} to break off all commerce with us, & to engage the other Colonies to desist Trad^y with us: because we had violated the salutary Non-Importⁿ Agreemt. An Instance, that five or six Jews & three or 4 Tories may draw down Vengeance upon a Country" (p. 54).

Professor Dexter explains, in a note, that Newport traders had agreed, in concert with other American merchants, to refrain from importing British goods at this time; consequently, when violations of this agreement were reported, public meetings were held in Boston (May 18) and in Philadelphia (May 23rd), at which it was resolved to break off all dealings with Newport until its inhabitants, who had not expressed their resentment at this duplicity, should have given full satisfaction. How far Jews were implicated in this breach of faith we are not in a position to judge. That some of them were involved is evident from Dr. Stiles' indignant reference. Aaron Lopez, Newport's foremost merchant, whom Dr. Stiles eulogizes so warmly, was a notorious Whig, and the majority of his co-religionists were bold champions of the American cause.

It does not seem plausible, in view of the fact that on the approach of the British, at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, most of the Jews, being in hearty sympathy with the colonies, were compelled to flee on the eve of the occupation of Newport by the enemy—that any of them could have been guilty of disloyal acts even prior to the commencement of hostilities. The feeling against the mother-country ran high long before the actual rupture took place, and Jews were among the most pronounced opponents of her policy. If Aaron Lopez's espousal of the American cause almost wholly wrecked his business, nearly all of his vessels having been lost, it is altogether unlikely that he or his associates would have favored any policy whereby commercial profit could accrue to England, either directly or indirectly. (See on the loyalty and patriotism of the Jews in Newport, the references in Kohler's article, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 6, 1897, pp. 73-74.)

In a petition presented on behalf of Aaron Lopez to Congress in April, 1780 it is pointed out that "the character of Mr. Lopez as a friend to the liberties and independence of the United States is clear and unimpeached, as will be testified by some Honorable Members of this House" (See *Publications*, No. 2, pp. 126-7; No. 3, p. 74.). Singularly enough, however, just he is specially mentioned, in a subsequent portion of the *Diary* (August 25, 1772: vol. i., p. 270), as one of the merchants of Newport who did not join the boycott against England, thereby arousing the ire of other cities of New England. "In the late Combinations of the American merchants against Importations &c. and against the exorbitant Fees of the Customhouses—some Merchants kept themselves from the Combinations. Mr. Aaron Lopez a Jew Merchant in this Town is one. For

this the Collector &c. shew him all Lenity and favor. He has above twenty Sail of Vessels [Daly, p. 78, mentions 30, and his Captains are all exempted from Swearing at the Customhouse, and make their entries &c. without Oath. But the Oath is strictly exacted of all who were concerned in the Non-Importation Agreement. This I was told yesterday by one of Mr. Lopez's Captains long in his Employ. The Man o' War yesterday seized his Vessel and Wines by Accident and Folly of the people who in 5 row Boats were endeavoring the night before to run 41 Quarter Casks of Wine. The Vessel and Wines will be condemned—but it is said they will be set up at a Trifle and Lopez will bid them off at far less than Duties; so that he shall make his Voyage good. Favor and Partiality! And yet these Customhouse Men are perpetually clamoring on cheating the King of his Revenue. . . . "As Dr. Stiles was an intimate friend of Aaron Lopez, referring to him in his graceful obituary notice (June 8th, 1782; vol. iii., pp. 24-25; see *infra*, the chapter on *Miscellaneous Notes*, where the full quotation is given), as "a Merchant of the first Eminence; for Honor & Extent of Commerce probably surpassed by no Merch^t in America"; who did business "with the greatest Ease & Clearness"; who was "without a single Enemy & the most universally beloved . . . of any man" he ever knew,—it is difficult to understand that he could have been engaged in any enterprise not thoroughly honest, particularly as the integrity of his fellow-citizens was at stake in the principle involved. That he should have connived to enrich himself at the cost of his honor was something so utterly unworthy of the character of the man that we refuse to entertain it for a moment. Judge Daly (*Settlement of the Jews in North America*, ed. Kohler, pp 79-80) attributes the success of New-

port to the remarkable capacity and industry of the Jews, and, more particularly, to the confidence inspired by their scrupulous integrity and delicate sense of mercantile honor, a touching incident of which he cites in speaking of Jacob Rodrigues Rivera.

What Dr. Stiles reports a few pages later, in his *Diary*, under date of August 23rd, is none the less puzzling, and it seems almost incredible that a man, who was in all things so explicit and accurate as Dr. Stiles, should have chronicled a piece of idle rumor without the desire to investigate its origin. This curious bit of information reads as follows (p. 65): "Capt. W^m Augustus Peck [of London] tells me there is a secret *Intelligence office* in London in street where the Jews live. It has subsisted about four years & has thirty clerks: it is supported by the Ministry: and has settled a correspondence in all parts of America—has four Correspond^{ts} in Boston, & two in Newport, one of which is Mr. Geo. Rome [an agent of British creditors of Newport houses, who fled from the colony late in 1774, being a violent Tory; see Prof. Dexter's note, *Diary*, p. 65] Mercht. to each of whom the Ministry exhibits Stipends. *As it appears in London, it is entirely a Jew affair—a Jew Compting House*, & is unknown in London, Capt. Peck sailed to London in a Vessel of the Jews & by this fell into the hands of the Jews there, dined with sundry, and not being strong for American rights, they used to open before him; in comp^a he heard one Mr Clark I think speak of their secret *Intelligence office*—& upon Peck's questioning, &c. he colored up and diverted the Discourse. Capt. Peck says, that this office boasted of having *Intelligence* of every Occurrence of any consequence in America. . . ." This item, if true, is worthy of more than a passing notice. It is sig-

nificant of the attitude of British Jews towards the struggle for freedom in the American colonies. That there was a tacit understanding between the Jews of New England and those of the mother-country may be possible, but not very probable in view of the silence of history on the subject. That British Jews should have been zealous Tories is not at all extraordinary; it would be remarkable, indeed, had they been otherwise inclined; but that their coreligionists in the New World should have been purveyors of secret information favorable to the British cause is hardly credible, if we consider the sacrifices many of them have made in behalf of the land of their adoption. The existence of a Secret Intelligence Bureau in the Jewish Quarter of London, directed by Jews, and supported by the moral and material sympathy of the Jews in America, is further discredited by a letter, addressed to Dr. Stiles, February 26-27th, 1772, from London, by Henry Marchant, in whose *Travels* Jews figure very prominently. A disclaimer coming from such a distinguished source is not to be despised: He was a member of the Continental Congress, an eminent lawyer of Newport, born in 1741, and died in 1796. In or about 1771 he was appointed Attorney-General of the Colony and also served in the capacity of Agent at the Court of Great Britain (cf. Prof. Dexter's note in vol. i., p. 117, of the *Diary*). He had the entire confidence of Dr. Stiles, whose diligent correspondent he appears to have been, and it is evident, seeing that the subject is not referred to again in the Day-Book, that Dr. Stiles deemed his testimony, concerning the Secret Intelligence Bureau in London, quite conclusive. "I think you must be mistaken," writes Mr. Marchant (*Diary*, p. 224, *note*), "about the ministerial Jew-store, 30 Clerks employed, &c., if you meant literally so. They have

Intelligences from secret Quarters undoubtedly, but with such a Staff of Officers, Dependants, and growling Expectants, there can be no great Occasion of a particular Set of Men for that Purpose. . . ." Dr. Stiles had, presumably, written to Mr. Marchant, to inquire more closely into the matter, and while the reply does not entirely *disprove* the existence of such an alliance, it offers no *corroborative* evidence either. On the other hand, it does seem as if the Jews of Newport had sympathized with the enemy to some extent from one isolated statement in the *Diary* which has very nearly escaped my attention. On March 20th, 1777 (vol. ii, p. 151) we read the following important entry: "It is very Sickly both in the Army & among the Inhab. of Newport. Lordsdy [Lord's Day?] before last five of the Inhab. were buried. The Jews are very officious as Informing against the Inhabitants—who are one & another frequently taken up & put in Goal So that the Inhab. are cautious & fearful of one another. . . ." Then Dr. Stiles goes on to describe the rigorous treatment of several American sympathizers by the Tories in town: A laboring man, who refused to turn out on an alarm "was ordered 1000 Lashes—received 200 and was remanded to Goal. Every psuasive has been used to get him to enlist, to avoid the Cruelty of the remain^s 800 stripes—but he resolutely refuses every offer, & says he will lie and die there before he will joyn them. . . ." It must have required no small amount of courage, in the face of such penalties, to be loyal to the American cause. That Jews there were, who remained Tories in the great and unequal struggle, is not a whit surprising. The colonists were never unanimous in their political creed, and, surely, what was the privilege of the native American was likewise the unquestioned privilege of the alien Jew, once he has become a

citizen of the commonwealth. But that some among them should have lacked the courage of their convictions and, in espousing the Tory cause should have turned *informers*, as Dr. Stiles strongly insinuates, is hard to believe; nay, it is absolutely false. The patriotism and spirit of self sacrifice which the Jews have shown in the Revolutionary War are beyond suspicion. The Sheftalls, Salvadors and Haym Solomons will, in time, become illustrious in American history, as they are recorded for righteousness in Jewish annals; and Newport, too, has furnished her quota of martyrs and heroes, professing the faith of Israel, who have championed the rights of the colonists with fiery word and gleaming sword. Aaron Lopez, owner of thirty vessels engaged in European and West India trade and the whale fisheries (cf. Daly, p. 78; Kohler in *Publ. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 6, p. 73)—whose enterprise extended to the shores of the Falkland Islands, and whose extensive interests in Newport were jeopardized by his attachment to the American cause, did not turn Tory when misfortune threatened to overwhelm him. He paid the penalty of losing nearly all he had for his fealty to the colonies (cf. Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, vol. ii., p. 447; *Publications, op. cit.* p. 74.) The names of two Newport Jews at least have been preserved as serving in the Army of the Revolution: Aaron Isaacs and Salomon Rophe. There must have been a number of others enlisted to fight for their country, but, unfortunately, no record of them is extant, as all the official registers of Newport were destroyed on the approach of the British, "and the long occupation of Newport made American service impracticable." The Rev. Frederick Dennison, in an address on the Jews of Newport (*op. cit.*, p. 73-4), admits that the Jews were liberal supporters of the patriot cause, and adds that "in

some cases they served in the Continental armies.' Dr. Stiles has preserved the name of one of these Jewish patriots, *Sol Pinto*, of New Haven, who was among those captured by the British in that city July 5th and 6th, 1779 (cf. *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 365). He was one of two brothers, the other being Jacob Pinto, of whom Dr. Stiles speaks as having "renounced Judaism & all Religion" (*MS. Itinerary*, September 13th, 1772; *Diary*, vol. i., p. 283; vol. iii., pp. 107, 109; see also, below, the chapter on *Statistical Notes*). A bad Jew but a good patriot! As to the Tories, who were no less patriotic than the *American loyalists*, the tragic end of Isaac Hart, a Jewish Tory, in Newport, is an evidence of their devotion to the King's cause. The following account of his death is taken from *Rivington's Gazette*, December 2nd, 1780 (cf. *Publications*, No. 4, 1896, p. 89): "Mr. Isaac Hart, of Newport, R. I., formerly an eminent merchant and ever a loyal subject, was inhumanly fired upon and bayoneted, wounded in fifteen parts of his body, and beat with their muskets in the most shocking manner in the very act of imploring quarter, and died of his wounds a few hours after, universally regretted by every true lover of his King and country" (*Publications*, No. 6, p. 76). He is mentioned by Dr. Stiles (*Diary*, March 1st, 1777; vol. ii., pp. 131, 132, 133) in the "List of Names of some of the Inhabitants left in the Town of Newport when it was taken 8 Dec. 1776," together with a number of other coreligionists, who may have had Tory sympathies, else they would, most probably, have fled on the approach of the enemy along with the rest. Those who remained at Newport were: Nathan Hart, Isaac Elizur, Isaac Hart, Moses Satias (Seixas), Hyam Levi, Moses Levy and Rev. Mr. J. Tauro (*sic*). Whether the Mr. Jacobs cited in the same list was a Jew we have no means

of ascertaining. A Joseph Jacobs is mentioned in another list from the seventeenth century, and a namesake of his figures as a member of the Redwood Library Company in 1747 (cf. *Publications*, No. 6, p. 67; No. 8, p. 123). The others quoted are likewise referred to in some of Dr. Stiles' unpublished papers. See Willner in *Publications*, No. 8, p. 124; *Diary*, vol. i., p. 11, and the chapter on *Statistical Notes*, subjoined to this paper. The diarist adds the names of the "Principal & Active Tories" in a separate list, but no mention is made there of Jews. He himself was an uncompromising "Son of Liberty" if we may judge from his eloquent and inspired utterances, in a letter addressed to the Rev. Jn^o Rodgers in New York, dated August 14, 1776, which is full of fervid enthusiasm for the American cause. It is a noble literary effort, if nothing else, and I regret that I cannot quote it in full:

"How beautiful were the Hosts of Israel in the view of Balaam? and before that how animating to behold their Hosts in Actual Exertion and Conflict with Amalek, especially while Moses's hand was held up? Let our Hosts go forth in the name of the Lord, in our unquestionably righteous Cause: and at the same time let all the Moses[es], Joshuas, Aarons, & all the People keep the hand of Prayer lift up to God, till our Enemies shall be discomfited, and our Country and the Chh of God, gloriously delivered. And then let him have all the glory. . . ."

The Moseses, Joshuas and Aarons did more than pray; they fought for the land of their adoption with the sword as well as the spirit, and History has writ their names in gold.

On the 16th of July, 1770, we find him delivering "a Short Speech in Chaldee" at the end of a "Dialogue in Chaldee held between three Bachelors—taken out of Daniel," which seems to have been a

regular feature at the Commencement exercises of Harvard College (vol. i, p. 59). On the 3d of August he records that he "received a Letter written entirely in Hebrew, from William Olive, æt 60. now living in S^o Kingston, Narragansett." We are told that this Hebraist was born in London, educated at Halle, in Germany, "in Hebrew, but no other of the learned Languages." As to the contents of this rather unusual correspondence, Dr. Stiles confesses that "some of it was English Words only in Hebrew Letters." From this fact the diarist judges him to have been of "Jewish Extract" (*ibid.*, pp. 60-61). Of other Semitic scholars, whose names and doings are chronicled in these pages, more will be said later on.

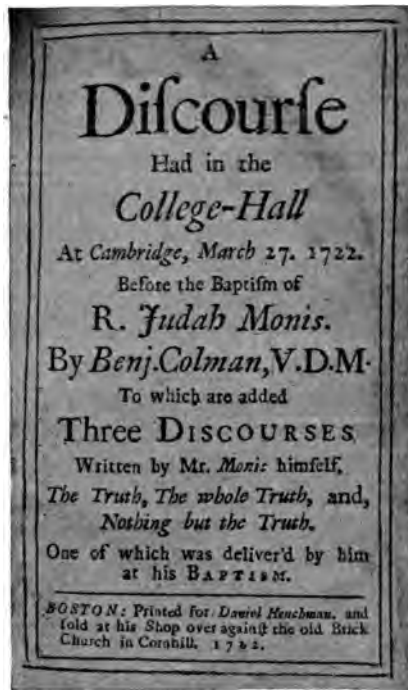
CONVERSIONS OF JEWS IN NEW ENGLAND AND ELSEWHERE.

Concerning Jewish apostates in colonial times we have but scant information. From occasional references to be found in the intimate correspondence of early writers, it would seem as if apostasy were not so uncommon among our brethren in England and America as we might be led to suppose. Indeed, from the few notices scattered throughout the *Diary*, we may conclude that the conversion of a Jew to Christianity was not such a singular event as to call for special comment. To a man of Dr. Stiles' religious temperament, however, the fact denoted something more than a passing event; it was, to him, significant of the triumph of the truths of Christianity. Yet, his remarks on such occasions were, invariably, dignified, and even indifferent. He strove to ascertain, in each instance, particulars as to the convert's origin and personality, and, where materials were at hand, to furnish biographical data. Here and there, owing, no doubt, to exigencies of space, the editor of the *Literary Diary*

ventures to abbreviate the account of some incident which could give us a clew to the identity of the person of whom it treats. Sometimes (as in vol. i., pp. 42; 354; 422, etc., etc.) the narrative breaks off in the midst of an interesting description of the man's personality, dress, habits, etc., which, judging from the single instance in the case of his friend, Rabbi Carigal, must have been exhaustive and accurate. Be this as it may, we are grateful to Prof. Dexter for even these fleeting glimpses into the lives of our coreligionists in New England, since they serve to verify and illustrate not a few obscure phases of American Jewish history. One of these is the progress of missionary labors among the Jews. A perusal of the herewith subjoined items touching a few of our brethren, "gone wrong," will convince the student that the proposed "Catalogue of Jewish Christians in America" is not only not quixotic, but has become a desideratum. The Rev. Louis Meyer, a neophyte in the Christian Church, now a Presbyterian minister at Hopkinton, Iowa, has taken upon himself the onerous task of preparing such an Index, which will be incorporated in the present writer's *Bibliotheca Americana Judaica*. As a meagre contribution toward a historical sketch of Jewish conversions in America, we beg to offer the following data:

INCREASE MATHER: *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation explained and applied; or a Discourse concerning the general conversion of the Israelitish Nation . . . Being the substance of several Sermons preached by Increase Mather [with recommendatory epistles by J. Davenport, W. G., and W. H.]* London: J. Allen, 1669—24 pag. 1.; 181 pp. 5 l.; 8°. (See *Catalogue of the British Museum's Printed Books*, s. v. "Mather, Increase.") —A copy of this rare tract, on which a separate article could well be written, is to be found in the New York Public Library.

In this connection it is curious to note what the Rev. Increase Mather has to say on the subject of the conversion of Judah Monis, Professor of Hebrew at Harvard College for many decades, concerning whom we have already spoken at length (see above pp. 22, 23). We are glad to be able to reproduce his words, together with two interesting facsimiles of tracts pertaining to Monis, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of Rev. Louis Meyer.



The title of one of these discourses, delivered by Monis at his baptism, reads as follows:

"The Truth, being a Discourse which the Author delivered at his Baptism, containing nine principal Arguments the modern Jewish Rabbins do make to

prove, the Messiah is yet to come: with the Answers to each, not only according to the orthodox opinion, but even with the authority of their own authentic Rabbins of old. And likewise, with the confession of his Faith, at the latter end. Dedicated to the Jewish Nation, and Prefaced by the REV. INCREASE MATHER, D.D. By Rabbi Judah Monis. Boston, 1722." [Size 6½ inches by 4 and containing 36 pp.]

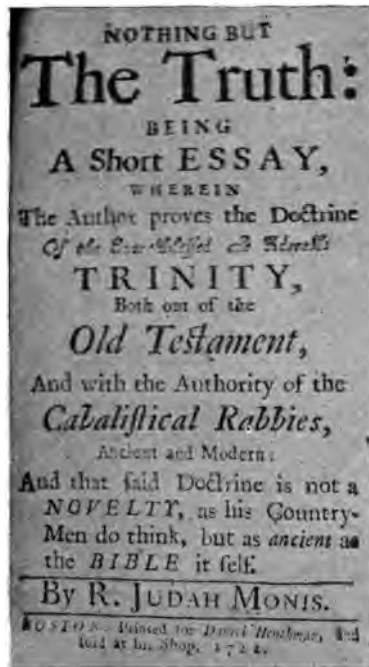
The Preface, signed Boston, May 1st, 1722, reads as follows:

"The conversion of Mr. Monis to Christianity, is an effect of divine grace. The truth and reality of his conversion appears in what is here exhibited, in that he has notably confuted the Jews, from the Scriptures in the Old Testament, which they pretend to believe. Here is also asserted and proved, the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ. And that although he is a man, yet more than a man. And here also is asserted and proved, the glorious mystery of the Trinity, that that God whose name is Jehovah, is the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. These are the main principles whereby Christianity is distinguished from Judaism and other false religions. There will a time come when there shall be a general conversion of the Jewish nation. There have been some of that nation brought home to Christ, who have proved blessings to the world. In special, Emanuel Tremellius was such an one, whose dying words were, Vivat Christus et pereat Barabas; Let Christ live, and let Barabbas die. There were two Jews, viz.: John Alexander, and Theodore John, who joined themselves to the German Lutheran congregation in the city of London. A learned man, viz. Dr. Kidder, gives an account of two hundred Jews lately converted in the city of Frankford. The blessed day is coming, when all Israel shall be saved, as I have evinced in a Discourse on that sub-

ject, written in the year 1667, and also in my answer to the Rev. Mr. Baxter and Dr. Lightfoot, printed Anno 1695. And the providence of God seems to intimate this: The miraculous manner of God's preserving the Jewish nation is an invincible proof hereof; for it is an unprecedented and incomprehensible thing, that God should for two thousand years preserve this people, dispersed among other nations, without being confounded with them in their religions and customs, as is usual among all dispersed people; this clearly demonstrates that God has preserved them for some great design, which can it be but their conversion?

"God grant that he (who is the first Jew that ever I knew converted in New England) may prove a blessing unto many, and especially to some of his own nation, which is the prayer and hearty desire of,

INCREASE MATHER."



The wholesale conversions, said to have taken place at Frankfurt, must, of course, be taken with a goodly grain of salt. No such record-breaking event has, to my knowledge, ever taken place. Kidder was bishop of Bath and Wells, very much interested in the evangelization of the Jews, and the author of a defence of the Christian religion against the Jews (London 1684-1700). Close upon Mr. Mather's preface follows a "Dedication to my Brethren according to the flesh," written by the neophyte, Judah Monis, M.A., and signed by him, Cambridge, May 1st, 1722. This introductory epistle is much too long to be reproduced, even in part. It has been reprinted in full—together with the preliminary discourse preached on the occasion of his baptism by Rev. Benjamin Colman, and the text of the three Discourses (each with a separate title)—in *The Jewish Expositor and Friend of Israel*, etc., vol. vi., London, 1821, pp. 41-56; 79-96; 125-34; 165-74; 245-57; 285-91; 325-32.

Cotton Mather, too, if we may accept the testimony of Samuel Sewall, was zealous to convert the Jews to his faith. I have before me a facsimile reproduction of a pamphlet said to have been written by the latter, reprinted in the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," vol. vi., fifth series, Boston, 1879, entitled: "*A | Modest Enquiry | into the | Grounds and Occasions of a Late | Pamphlet,—intituled, a | Memorial | of the | Present Deplorable State | of New England. | By a Disinterested Hand. | London | Printed in the Year, 1707.*" On p. 80 we read the following curious item: "I find him [Cotton Mather] in Spirituals as failable as in Politicks, or he would not have attempted a *Pretended Vision*, to have converted Mr. Frasier a Jew, who had before conceiv'd some good Notions of Christianity: The Consequence was, that the *Forgery* was so plainly detected

that Mr. C. M. [Cotton Mather] confest it; after which Mr. Frasier would never be perswaded to hear any more of Christianity." If this charge against the Reverend Cotton Mather be true, it speaks ill of his integrity.

Who Mr. Frasier, the Jew, could have been we have no means of ascertaining. Perhaps he is identical with "Joseph Frazon the Jew," of whom we read, in the *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1624-1729* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. vi., 5th ser., Boston, 1879), vol. ii., p. 95 *ad annum* 1703-1704, that he "dyes at Mr. Major's, Mr. Joyliff's old house; Feb. 5th Satterday, is carried in Simson's coach to Bristow (Mass. ?); from thence by Water to Newport, where there is a Jews-burying place" (see the editor's note thereto *l.c.*).

Judge Sewall quotes (*ibid.*, p. 13) an "Account of a Jew lately converted and baptis'd at the Meeting near Ave-Mary—Lane [England?]," and, in another place (*ibid.*, p. 65) of his *Diary*, has the following entry: "7^r [= September] 13. 1702. Lords-Day, Mr. Bradstreet baptiseth Simon, the Jew, at Charles-town [S. C. ?], a young man whom he was Instrumental to convert."

Judge Sewall himself appears to have cast covetous eyes upon Jewish souls, if the following stanza, written at the end of a small tract, entitled *Proposals touching the accomplishment of Prophecies humbly offered by S. S., M.A.* Boston, 1713, were meant in all sincerity:

"From hard'ned Jews the Vail remove;
Let them their Martyr'd Jesus love;
And Homage unto Him afford,
Because He is their Rightfull Lord."

(See his *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 393.) We remark, in passing, that the Judge was interested in the whereabouts of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel; in the resettle-

ment of the Jews in the Holy Land and in other matters pertaining to the Jews (see the *Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall*, Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. i., sixth series, Boston, 1887, pp. 22-3; 176, 177; 197-8; 268-293, 294, 300, 302 *seq.*; see also his *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 141, note). Among his books was a copy of Buxtorf's *Hebrew Lexicon*, which he loaned to his cousin in New York, who inquired concerning a Hebrew word (*Diary, l.c.*, p. 52; Jan. 30, 1701-2).

Our next point of information on this head is to be found in Dr. Stiles' *Diary* (vol. i., p. 61; August 4th, 1770). It concerns a fair coreligionist in Newport: "There is a young Jewess in Town," says he, "born here, one Miss Pollock, æt. phaps 15, that with other young Misses attended a Writing School for two years past where the Master often gave religious advice and exhort^a to the children; by which she became so affected that she often said she wished she & and her Family were Christians. This at length alarmed her Friends & they kept her at home. She heard Mr. Whitefield [Rev. George W, of New York] to day, and greatly admired his preaching the Gospel of Christ." Several months afterwards we hear of her again, together with another coreligionist, who appears to have been interested in kindred subjects, and who desired nothing better in life than to court Miss Pollock and to accept Christ. "Mr. [blank] a Jew came to my Study this Even^s to converse on the New Testam^t After he was gone I was told, that he is courting Miss Pollock a young Jewess much inclined to Xtianity, & who has expressed her Wishes that her Mother & family would become Christian. That they had both got an English New Testament & read it privately together; & were surprized in the Fact by her Friends, who were highly displeased."

The young lady here referred to was, most likely,

the daughter of Issachar Polloc, or of—"Polloc, junior," mentioned in a list of Jews in Newport in 1760, still extant among Dr. Stiles' papers (see *Diary*, vol. i., p. 11, note 2; and the *Appendix* subjoined to this paper, containing "Statistical Notes"). Whether "Polloc Junior" was identical with Myer Pollack, who is described as heavily interested in the West India trade in molasses, and as the owner of a number of vessels plying between Hispaniola, and Newport, about that time, we cannot determine (see *Publications of Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 6, pp. 69, 73). It does not follow, from Dr. Stiles' silence on the subject, that Miss Pollock embraced the Christian religion. It is almost safe to conclude that, had she done so, we would have heard further particulars of her apostasy in the diarist's pages.

On November 18th, 1770, he mentions (p. 77) "a Pamphlet on the Conversion of Rabbi Jachiel Hirshel," sent to him by the Rev. Mr. Zubly of Savannah, Georgia (cf. also p. 236), a wealthy preacher, who was born in Switzerland. The publication gives an account of the baptism of the Rabbi at Zurich. According to Dr. Stiles, "R. Jehiel was born . . . in Swabia A.D. 1706, fell under convictions 1743: was converted, and made profession Monday May 23, 1746, & Thursday after was baptized by the protestant Minister, Mr. Werdmiller, at Zurich in Switzerland." Of this Rabbi and his alleged conversion I can find no record anywhere.

The next quotable entry pertaining to the subject is to be found under date of September 5th 1771 (p. 151). "I was told last week," writes he, "that Mr. Hayes, a Jew of Philad^a, was lately converted to Christianity, was baptized by Rev. Morgan Edwards & become a member of the Baptist Chh at Philadelphia. Mr. Hays Brother lives here in Newport. Two days ago I asked him about it. He said he

knew nothing of it, & did not believe it: and added, if his Br had become a Xtian it was only to answer his Ends, he was not sincere, for he never knew one sincere in changing his Religion and becoming Christian—& added there were many covert Xtian Jews in Spain and Portugal—& that the Jew was spread among them all—& that it could be proved that the King of Spain or Portugal was of Jew Extract. But I suppose the Thing is true; for Mr. Edwards is now here at Commencem^t at Providence, and told this story in Town last Week. It is said that the other of Mr Hays (the Family lived in N. York) once became a Xtian but afterwards renounced Xtianity for Judaism.”

Miss Reyna Hays (*Diary*, vol. iii., Index, p. 600; cf. vol. i., p. 393), who married Hazan Touro, of Newport, in 1773 belonged to the same family. She was a sister of Moses Michael Hays, an eminent merchant of Newport and Boston (See Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, 2d ed., p. 81, n. 87; 90; *Publications of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 6, pp. 76, 102), who was not only a man of great wealth and business acumen, but of the broadest philanthropy, says a recent writer. Moses M. Hays was the uncle of Judah Touro. For other members of this family and for references to contemporaries, who bore this name, see Daly, *l. c.*, p. 164, and the Indices to all the nine volumes of the *Publ. of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, especially No. 2, pp. 63-72. A Draft of Exchange, signed by Hays & Polack, and dated Newport, Aug. 18, 1770, is printed in No. 2, p. 55. They are the very two, of whom mention has been made above. Intermarriage with Christians about this time was not uncommon in New York and protestants were made in goodly numbers. “At that time,” says Mr. N. Taylor Phillips (*Publications*, No. 4, p. 198), “among the Jewish community in

New York, though a man were even to publicly renounce Judaism, nevertheless he could not become a Christian in the full sense . . . for he was, notwithstanding, always regarded as a Jew . . . something in the nature of a 'dead-wall between church and synagogue, or like the blank leaves between the Old and the New Testament,' being to the Jews always a Christian, and to the Christians always a Jew." On July 25, 1772 (vol. I, p. 255), Dr. Stiles reports, through the medium of a Jew, who had spent the afternoon with him, and who gave him a somewhat curious digest of Jewish ceremonial life (pp. 254-256), the wholesale conversion of a Christian family in England to Judaism. (See *Appendix* to this paper, the chapter on "Miscellaneous Notes" for further particulars of these proselytes.)

Of "Mr. Levi, the Xtian Jew" from London, and Judah Monis, M.A., first Hebrew Instructor at Harvard College, we have spoken in the first part of this paper.

On March 2d, 1787 (vol. iii, p. 256), Dr. Stiles records that he wrote a letter "to Rev. Mr. Hideck at Charlest^o S^o Car^o lately converted from Judaism—from Europe." A few pages later (May 4th, 1787; p. 262) we are told that "the Rev. Heidek (*sic*), a lately converted Jew Rabbi, is gone from Charles; t^o S^o Car^o to convert the Cherokees to Christianity—hav^g a Belief that the Amer. Indians are the Ten Tribes of the Hebrews." This zealous Jewish Christian missionary may possibly have been a descendant of Juan Joseph Heydeck, who, according to Hannah Adams (*History of the Jews*, London, 1818, p. 531), was "a learned Jewish convert in Spain," and published, in 1797, a work entitled, *A defense of the Christian Religion*, in four quarto volumes. The Abbé Gregoire states, in his *Histoire des Sectes Reli-*

gieuses, that he was professor of oriental languages in Spain. A Juan Jose Heydek published in Madrid, 1815, an account of the Napoleonic Sanhedrin in Paris, entitled *Faith Triumphant* (see Kayserling's *Bibl. Espan.-Portug.-Judaica*, Strassburg, 1890, p. 53.) But, according to the last named historian, he was a Christian.

The last item concerning Jewish Christians in the *Diary* is to be found under date of March 1st, 1795 (vol. iii, p. 556): "Read^s Levy's address to the Jews 1788 an octavo Vol. in English, but I think written by a Jew converted to X^{ty}, & a roman Catholic. It is a confused & indigested Composition, in ungrammatical English, but seems to be written by an honest & sincere & zealous Man—with much Transl^a of Scripture, & in some passages esp^y of the O. T. with Critical Lights & Illustr^a of the Hebrew Prophecies as applied to J. Christ."

I can find no reference to this *Address* in any of the bibliographical material at my disposal. He is not to be confounded with David Levi, the prolific controversial writer, who was a contemporary of this author.

It is very likely that the work referred to is Levi's *Discourses to the Nation of the Jews*. Flexneg, 8vo, 1790, mentioned in Jacobs-Wolf, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, London, 1888, p. 202, No. 1889. A few pages before (p. 547), he records that on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of November, 1794, he was "reading David Levi's acc^o of the Rites & Ceremonies of the Jews written & pub. in England about AD 1780 [editor's abridgment]. The book alluded to is *A Succint Account of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews*, etc., etc., London, 1782, written in answer to Dr. Prideaux (for fuller title see *Bibl. Anglo-Jud.*, p. 201. No. 1886; cf. also my notes on him in *Publications of the American Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 3, p. 132). This

author's incisive *Defense of the Old Testament, in a Series of Letters to Thomas Paine*, first issued in London, 1797, was reprinted in 1798 at Philadelphia.

HIS PROGRESS IN SEMITICS AND SOME NOTES ON THE NEWPORT JEWS.

On the 22d of October, 1770, Dr. Stiles finished reading the Old Testament in the Original Hebrew, which he began to read in course nearly three years before, or January 30, 1768. After comparing the Hebrew with the English translation then in use, he comes to the conclusion that it is very excellent and very just, "and was it again to be translated," he could not "expect it would be better done." He prefers the King James to all other versions, concerning which he offers some critical comments (vol. i. p. 73). On November 1st he began to read the Psalter (in Hebrew) with a keener eye, considering its author as "conversant in sublime & unerring Illumin^a, not only as some of the prophets were, . . . but as one exalted into high real Commun. with the fountain of Light" He adds, by way of giving point to this view of sublime illumination, that "all the Rabbins ascribe the second Psalm to the Messiah"—a statement hard to substantiate (*ibid.*, pp. 74-75). On the 10th of November we find him busy "reading the Lives of Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon, R. Solomon Jarchi, R. Aben Ezrae, & R. David Kimchi," and two days later, that of "R. Abarbinel" (pp. 76-77). On January 1st of the following year he begins a new line of study, "the Examination of the Rabbinical Commentators, particularly at present of Rabbi David Kimchi" (p. 82). He deems "the Hebrew of Moses & Isaiah purer than of Jarchi or Maimonides, tho' these last are excellent" (p. 99). On March 7th he compares the famous Messianic chapters of Isaiah in Hebrew and English

(*ibid.*); on the 11th he reads Basnage's *History of the Jews* and writes "a Latin Letter to a Moravian Minister at *Astracan* on the R. Volga, to inquire after the Ten Tribes among the *Kalmucs & Usbeck* Tartars about the Caspian sea" (p. 100). This epistle is not mentioned in our previous notes on the subject of Dr. Stiles' correspondence concerning the whereabouts of the "dispersed of Israel" (see this essay, pp. 9-13). On the 19th of April he translates an appeal for financial aid sent to one of his Jewish friends from Palestine, from Hebrew into English (p. 102). The original of this letter is copied by the diarist under date of March 26th, and, a few pages later, he jots down his version (see note 2 on p. 97). May 14th, he reports with evident pride and relish that his son Ezra, then twelve years of age, "having spelt & read to the 52^d Psalm in the Hebrew Psalter, this day began to translate the first Psalm. I purpose," adds he, with unconscious humor, "he shall translate only a verse or two a day before Breakfast" (p. 105). The Kalmuck Tartars and the Ten Tribes are again the subject of an enquiry—this time he is led to speak of his pet theme through the interest in it of a Moravian minister in New York, who desires him to send 'a Letter of Interrogatories' concerning them, that he may "forward it and procure an Answer" (July 11th; p. 121; see above, p. 10). August 1st is a gala day: His portrait, painted by Samuel King, begun in 1770, was finished. It is the same of which the frontispiece to vol. i. of the Diary is a reproduction. He seems to be inordinately vain of this likeness and describes it with much circumstantial pedantry. He is proud of the bookshelves displayed on his left, on one of which, containing folio volumes only, the Babylonian Talmud, "Aben Ezra, Rabbi Selomoh Jarchi" and "R. Moses Ben Maimon Moreh Nevochim" keep friendly

company with Livy and Eusebius. The Hebrew collection is to him symbolical of the "Rabbin. Learn^s part^y in the two most eminent Periods of it; the first before & at the Time of Christ contain^s the Decisions of the house of R. Eleazar at Babylon, and those of the Houses Hillel & Shammai at Jerusalem; the second period was at the Revival of the Hebrew Learning in the XIth & Twelfth Centuries, when arose those Lights of the Captivity, Jarchi, Maimonides &c. I prize this Learn^s only for the scattered Remains of the antient Doctrine of *the Trinity, & a suffering Messiah*, preserved in the Opinions of some of the Rabbins before Christ—the very Labors of the modern Rabbins to obviate or interpret them into another sense & Application evincing their Genuineness & Reality. The Moreh Nevochim which was originally written in Arabic, is curious for many Reasons; it was a capital Work, & became an Occasion of the greatest literary Dispute among the Jews since the days of Hillel—it contains great Concessions, which have recommended it to Xtian Divines" (p. 131).

What these great concessions may be it is difficult to conjecture, unless Dr. Stiles read his own Christological views into Maimonides. If he did, it is not surprising that he should have prized his Hebraica so dearly, for he solaced himself with the idea that they contained fragments of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Hereupon follows a somewhat vague symbolical description of the various objects to be seen on the portrait, all emblematic of some high and celestial thing. "In a central Glory is the name יהוה," says he, and, true to his bent, he brings it in connection with the Trinity before the paragraph ends (p. 132).

On the 26th of October he begins to read "the Jews Heb. Prayer-Book," (p. 179) from which, on

November 4th, he read 20 pages (p. 182). On January 1st, 1772, he has the following entry: "Continue reading daily a portion of Hebrew, both in the Chaldaic & Rabbinical Letters; sometimes the Bible, sometimes the Jews prayer book; sometimes Examining passages in the Targums, or the Exposition of R. David Kimchi. I have nearly finished the Hebrew Liturgy in Course. This abounds with Repetitions, as our Savior speaks" (p. 195). He finished reading "the Jewish Liturgy in Hebrew, above 300 pages," February 7th of the same year (p. 208), but begins another volume on March 2d—it being "a Collection of Jewish Prayers and Service for the *Beginning of the Year*, and the great *Fast or Day of Atonement* in a thick octavo . . . [editor's abridgment]. Among other Things this Book contains descriptions of the Worship of the Angelic Hierarchies, i. e. the grand Divisions under which they worship God. Also the Keter Malkut" (pp. 214-15). A Hebrew prayer-book of the Sephardic rite, printed by Athias, and bearing on p. 325, after the Psalm for Pentecost, the note "Legi July 28, 1782, Ezra Stiles," was presented to Yale College Library by W. Davenport (no doubt a kinsman of those bearing that name enumerated in the *Diary*, Index, vol. iii., p. 587), in 1792, and is still there. Rev. Wolf Willner has reproduced some of the marginal notes of the diarist, which, if they do not attest his scholarship, show, nevertheless, an easy familiarity with Hebrew (*Publications of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, 1900, pp. 121-22). That was the identical book used by him in his readings. May 18th, 1772, finds him examining "R. David Kimchi on 2^d Psalm" (p. 236); June 14th, in a learned discussion on Philo and the relations between Platonism and Judaism (p. 243); November 25th, studying the *Zohar* all day (p. 303), which he had received

from London on October 29th (see this essay, p. 21), and showed with much satisfaction to a Polish Rabbi, who visited Newport in 1772 (p. 299), and with whom he had many a chat about his favorite themes before his departure for the West Indies (p. 322). It is interesting to note that this edition of the Zohar (Zulzbach, 1684) cost Dr. Stiles "22/6 sterling" (p. 302). It continued to form a part of his studies for some time (see pp. 325, 329), until the arrival of his friend, Rabbi Carigal when, together with him, he pursued nobler investigations.

Dr. Stiles' friendly interest in the Jews of Newport increased year by year; his visits to the Synagogue became more frequent and his reports concerning its inmates more and more interesting. Thus, on August 27th, 1770, he writes: "This Even^g I went to the Synagogue, & heard Mr. Sati^{us} [phonetic spelling of *Seixas*] perform prayers. He is a young man of about 22 æt. & a Chusan of the Synagogue at N. York" (p. 66). A few days later (September 1st; p. 68) he tells us of another visit to the Synagogue, where he "heard Mr. Sati^{us} read the Law & Service. How melancholy to behold," adds the pious diarist with a sad shake of his head, "an Assembly of Worshippers of Jehovah, Open & professed Enemies to a crucified Jesus . . . [editor's abridgment]."

The Reader, here alluded to, was the Rev. Gershom Mendes Seixas, who for fifty years officiated as Hazan of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York. He was born January 14th, 1745; installed in office on the 1st of Tamuz, 5528 (1768), and died July 2d, 1816, in the 71st year of his age. He was a learned man, an ardent patriot and an important educational factor in the city, where he dwelt for so many decades. It is said that he was so vehement in the espousal of the colonist cause that, rather than

permit the Synagogue to be recognized as a Tory organization, he caused its doors to be closed during the great struggle for liberty. He left New York, in August, 1776,—after delivering himself of a passionate appeal from the pulpit, wherein he attested his unswerving fealty to America,—removing to Stratford, Conn., where he lived in retirement until 1780. Then he went to Philadelphia to officiate there as Hazan of the congregation Mickvé Israel. On March 23, 1784, he returned to New York, having visited that city on two occasions, in the interim, when he was called to solemnize the marriage of two of his former flock. From 1787 to 1815 he served as a trustee of Columbia College, being the first Israelite to occupy such a post of duty and trust in America. He stood well with his colleagues of other denominations, in whose pulpits he was a frequent and an honored guest. With thirteen other clergymen, he participated in the inaugural ceremonies of Washington as the first President of the United States, held at New York, in 1789. Panegyrics were delivered at his obsequies by a number of noted men, among them by Dr. Jacob De La Motta, M.D., of Savannah, Ga. (cf. my notes in *Publications of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 133-34), by the Rev. Emanuel N. Carvalho (*A Sermon on the death of Rev. Mr. Gershom Mendes Seixas*, Philad., 1816, 8vo), and by Mr. Naphtali Phillips, then president of the congregation (New York, 1816, 8vo), delivered at the request of the board of trustees. Interesting biographical and genealogical data concerning this excellent preacher and Son of Liberty may be found in the *Publications*, above quoted, No. 4, pp. 204-13; No. 6, pp. 129-133, by Mr. N. Taylor Phillips,—who also gives a facsimile likeness of the Hazan, from an old medallion—and in the *Jewish Comment*, January 10th, 1902, by Mr. Leon Huehner,

who gives detailed information pertaining to this "Patriot Jewish Minister of the American Revolution."

On the 29th of September, "this being the great Day of Atonement" (p. 70); on the 25th of October (p. 74), 1770; February 2d; March 29th and 30th, 1771, "it being the Even^g of the Passover," he visited the Synagogue (pp. 86, 97-8). The last reference in the *Diary* reads as follows: "Went to the Synagogue, it being PASSOVER. They read from two Vellum Copies or Rolls of the Law in the Forenoon. In the Afternoon they began by reading a Portion out of *Solomons Song*. This was new to me. I knew not before that the Canticles were ever publicly read in the Synagogue—& least of all that it was a usage at the Passover. They showed me a Copy of the Canticles with a Spanish Translation: & also subjoyned was a Spanish Translation of the Chaldee Targum on the Canticles." His next visits are recorded on May 25th, September 9th (New Year's Eve) and 30th, 1771—"being the last day of the Feast חג הסוכה [*sic*]"—February 29th, April 18th—"it being שבת פסח Sabbath of the Passover"—May 30th and June 6th, 1772. On the last two occasions (pp. 239, 242), a Mr. Turner and a Mr. Colton and his wife accompanied him, it being the Feast of Weeks. "Fasciculi of various Flowers were fastened about the Candles and on different Parts of the Synagogue, tomorrow Evening being Pentecost." As we have seen above (p. 19), distinguished visitors at the Synagogue in Newport were cordially received and assigned seats of honor during divine services.

Dr. Stiles was fond of attending worship on special occasions, and the descriptions he gives of these ceremonies are very interesting indeed. Thus, we are told by Rev. Abiel Holmes, his biographer (p.

173), that he was present on the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple—July 29th, 1773. His comments on that service are all the more important because they are given only in brief by the editor of the *Literary Diary* (cf. Holmes, p. 171, note), in vol. i., p. 403. "Went to the Synagogue, it being the Anniversary Fast for the Destruction of the Temple both by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus. They began at VII and held till noon. The place of the ark was covered with a black curtain, and the lamp was put out. A table, covered with black, stood before the *Tabauh*: and on a low bench sat the Parnass and Huzzan. The prayers were exceedingly melancholy, particularly when the Huzzan rose up, and went to the place of the holy of holies, or the ark and mercy-seat; where he wrapped himself up in the black curtain, and slowly mourned out a most solemn weeping, and doleful lamentation, for the absence of the *Debir* and *Shechinah*, for the cessation of the oracle, and for the destruction of the holy of holies. The roll of the law was brought out, without any ceremony, covered in black, and read at the foot of the *Tabauh*; the portion was from Deuteronomy. Then the fourth chapter of Jeremiah was read, and three or four other chapters; then the book of Lamentations; then the beginning and end of Job." (See also Willner, *Publications of the Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, p. 125. For other accounts of services in the Synagogue written by the diarist, see the *Appendix*, chapter on "Rabbi Hayyim Isaac Carigal and Ezra Stiles.")

Just ten years before, in another volume of papers, still unpublished, Dr. Stiles gave a graphic description of the Synagogue itself, which we subjoin herewith. Since his day others have written about the imposing colonial edifice, but none so exhaustively as he. Mr. A. W. Brunner, in his in-

structive article on "Jewish Architecture," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. i., New York, 1901, pp. 506-7, has this to say:

The building, which is an excellent example of the colonial style of the period, is constructed of brick, and has a carved-stone cornice and porch. The plan is rectangular, with windows on all four sides and a projecting north wing, containing a vestibule and the only entrance to the women's gallery. The porch is on the west side and the Ark on the eastern wall. The latter is neatly paneled, and its cornice is surmounted by the two tables of the Law. It is raised above the main floor; it has high railings all along it, with a space at the left for the pulpit. The reading-desk is in the centre of the building; and there are no stationary seats. Twelve Ionic columns support the gallery, which extends on three sides of the building and is faced by a balustrade high enough to shield the occupants from view. The ceiling is flat, with a deep cove above a modillion cornice. This little building was designed by Peter Harrison, an architect whose work in Boston and Newport is well known: it is treated in his customary style, and is a typical American synagogue of the earlier times. The columns, cornices, pilasters, balustrades, all of which are painted white, with some of the carving sparingly gilded, are good examples of the best work of the day; while the plan of the interior is exactly adapted to the requirements of an Orthodox Jewish synagogue.

This edifice is still intact; and no alterations have been made except for the introduction of gas lighting. At the side of it is a two-story building, in which are rooms for a sexton, for meetings, or for the purposes of a school. In the lower room are to be seen, at this day, the slab and roller for making unleavened bread for Passover and various articles

used in preparing the dead for burial. (For other data and illustrations relating to this synagogue, see the special number of *THE AMERICAN HEBREW* issued May 21st, 1897, where, among other interesting details, extracts from the *Literary Diary* are given; the bibliography in *Publications of the American Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 6, p. 78, note; an article by Rev. Dr. H. P. Mendes in *Helpful Thoughts*, vol. ii., No. 10; New York, February, 1898, p. 136; the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. i., 1901, pp. 496-7; 506-7; a sketch by Eugene Schreier, Esq., of Newport, in a pamphlet, entitled "Convention of Jewish Societies for Promoting Physical Culture among the Jewish masses . . . called by the Touro Cadets . . . July 28, 1901," Newport, 1901, pp. 6-7.)

Dr. Stiles' account reads as follows:

The Synagogue at Newport.

"Dec. 2, 1763, Friday. 'In the Afternoon was the dedication of the new Synagogue in this Town. It began by a handsome procession in which were carried the Books of the Law, to be deposited in the Ark. Several Portions of Scripture, & of their Service with a Prayer for the Royal Family, were read and finely sung by the priest & People. There were present many Gentlemen & Ladies. The Order and Decorum, the Harmony & Solemnity of the Musick, together with a handsome Assembly of People, in a Edifice the most perfect of the Temple kind perhaps in America, & splendidly illuminated, could not but raise in the Mind a faint Idea of the Majesty & Grandeur of the Ancient Jewish Worship mentioned in Scripture.'

"Dr. Isaac de Abraham Touro performed the Service." The Synagogue is about perhaps fourty foot long & 30 wide, of Brick on a Foundation of free Stone; it was begun about two years ago, & is

now finished except the Porch & the Capitals of the Pillars. The Front representation of the holy of holies, or its Partition Veil, consists only of wainscotted Breast Work on the East End, in the lower part of which four long Doors cover an upright Square Closet the depth of which is about a foot or the thickness of the Wall, & in this Apartment (vulgarly called the Ark) were deposited three Copies & Rolls of the Pentateuch, written on Vellum or rather tanned Calf Skin : one of these Rolls I was told by Dr. Touro was presented from Amsterdam & is Two Hundred years old ; the Letters have the Rabbinical Flourishes.

" A Gallery for the Women runs round the whole Inside, except the East End, supported by Columns of Ionic order, over which are placed correspondent Columns of the Corinthian order supporting the Cieling of the Roof. The Depth of the Corinthian Pedestal is the height of the Balustrade which runs round the Gallery. The Pulpit for Reading the Law, is a raised Pew with an extended front table ; this placed about the center of the Synagogue or nearer the West End, being a Square embalustraded Comporting with the Length of the indented Chancel before & at the Foot of the Ark.

" On the middle of the North Side & Affixed to the Wall is a raised Seat for the Parnas or Ruler, & for the Elders ; the Breast and Back interlaid with Chinese Mosaic Work. A Wainscotted Seat runs round Side of the Synagogue below, & another in the Gallery. There are no other Seats or pews. There may be Eighty Souls of Jews or 15 families now in Town. The Synagogue has already cost Fifteen Hundred Pounds Sterling. There are to be five Lamps pendant from a lofty Ceiling " (See *Literary Diary*, vol. i., p. 6, note ; p. 62, note 2, where Dr. Stiles gives the measurements of the Synagogue as " 40x 39½. ").

There is an excellent diagram of the Town of Newport in the *Diary* under date of October 3d, 1775, drawn by Dr. Stiles (p. 622 of vol. i.), which gives the site of the Synagogue and the location of Touro Street very distinctly.

The foundation of the structure was laid on the first of August, 1759; it was dedicated December 2d, 1763. Rev. Isaac Touro was the first officiating minister, and he remained in office until 1775, when he sailed for Jamaica. For a period of 108 years (1775-1883) there was no Rabbi appointed in Touro's place. From the outbreak of the Revolutionary War until the early decades of the last century the Synagogue and cemetery were practically neglected. In 1820, Abraham Touro, son of the Rev. Isaac Touro, had a wall built around the ancient burial ground, which his brother Judah, the noted philanthropist, whose benefactions to the city and country were numerous, afterward replaced with the beautiful iron railing and handsome gates, now so much admired.



THE NEWPORT SYNAGOGUE

The Scrolls of the Law, often referred to in the *Diary* as of very ancient date, have a history. One is said to have been brought from Spain during the Inquisition (see Schreier, *l.c.*, p. 7) by the first Jewish settlers, who arrived in Newport in 1658. Another, according to Dr. Stiles (see above, p. 23), was a gift from the Portuguese synagogue in London; the third of these Rolls, we are told, was presented from Amsterdam and is 200 years old, the first of these being even older by *circa* 150 years. A fourth is mentioned in vol. i., p. 11 (see above, p. 23) as the donation of Mr. Lopez, and valued at £40 sterling. These rolls had silver tops and bells washed with gold. In 1763 the congregation owned but three Scrolls of the Law; in 1769 there were six copies deposited in the Ark. In the early part of the last century the Newport Jews entrusted these sacred relics to the custody of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of New York, "whose members became guardians and proprietors of the Newport Synagogue, as the members of the latter became merged with their own" (cf. Mendes, *l.c.*, p. 136). It remains to be said, in connection with the interior equipments of the edifice, that in the centre are five massive bronze candelabra, two of which are the gift of Jacob Rodriguez Rivera and his son Abraham, and are dated 1765; one by Isaac Pollock, dated 1760; one by Naphtali Hart Myers, dated 1760; and one by Aaron Lopez, dated 1770 (see Schreier's sketch, *l.c.*, p. 7).

The British evacuated Newport, October 27, 1779. The General Assembly met for the first time after the evacuation in the ancient Newport Synagogue, in September, 1780. The Supreme Court of Rhode Island also convened in that sacred place after the departure of the King's troops, the State House not being habitable (cf. Schreier, *l.c.*, p. 9).

By far the most distinguished visitor to the Synagogue was President Washington, in 1790. On that occasion he was the recipient of an address presented on behalf of the Hebrew Congregation by Moses Seixas, Warden of the Synagogue. As the letter bears the date of August 17th, it would seem plausible that the noted visitor was welcomed either on that or the following day. Washington's Reply to this well-worded document was equally dignified and carried with it all the grace of majesty as he accentuated the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which the Government of the United States holds out to all alike. It contained the guarantee that this liberal policy shall remain unchanged and unassailable. The *Reply* first appeared in the *Newport Herald*, Sept. 9, 1790, published by Peter Edes (see Schreier, *l.c.*, p. 11), and reprinted frequently elsewhere. Mr. Lewis Abraham, in his article on the "Correspondence between Washington and Jewish Citizens" (*Publ. of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 87-96), copies the President's address from the *United States Gazette*, of 1790, and remarks that "it is strange that the letters are not all to be found in books in which the Washington correspondence is compiled." In this he is mistaken, for they are all contained in the following volume: 'A Collection of the Speeches of the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress at the Opening of every Session with their Answers also the Addresses to the President with his answers, from the time of his Election, with an Appendix containing the circular letter of Gen. Washington to the Governors of the Several States, and his farewell orders [address?] to the Armies of America, and the Answer. Dedicated to the Citizens of the United States of America. . . . Printed at Boston. . . . July, 1796," pp. 227-30; 231-233. (To the bibli-

graphy may be added *The Israelite* [now *American Israelite*], Cincinnati, 1856; German translation in Frankl's *Monatsschrift fuer die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. vi., pp. 359-64; THE AMERICAN HEBREW, Jan. 13, 1893, p. 357 *seq.*; *American Jews' Annual* for 1894; my article in the *Menorah Monthly*, vol. xviii., No. 4, &c., &c.). Dr. Stiles too, in his *Literary Diary*, June 22, 1790 (vol. iii., p. 397), quotes from one of these letters. His entry there is significant because of his interpretation of the President's views: "An Address was lately presented to G. Wash^e by the Synagogue or Heb. Cong^a at Savanna in Georgia; to which the Presid^t in his answer says,

May the same wonderworks Deity, who long since delivering the Hebrews from their Egyptian Oppressions planted them in the Promised Land—whose providential Agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an Independent Nation—still continue to water them with the Dew of Heaven & to make ye Inhabitants of every Denomin^a, participate in the tempo & Spiritual Bless^{gs} of that people whose G^d is Jehovah.

G. WASHINGTON'

(Hence Wash. a Revelationist.)"

(For some minor variations in the text of this Reply, see Abrahams, *l.c.*, pp. 89-90.)

Moses Seixas, the warden, who signed the Newport address of Welcome to Washington, was Grand Master of the Masonic Fraternity of Rhode Island, and cashier of the Bank of Rhode Island from its commencement until his death. He was prominently identified with all that tended to advance the interest of the town of Newport. He died on Nov. 29th, 1809 (cf. Schreier, *l.c.*, p. 10). Mr. N. Taylor Phillips, who possesses some relics of the Seixas family, gives some interesting details of his family and genealogy in *Publ. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 4, pp. 203-24. His kinsman, Benjamin Seixas, a prominent Hebrew citizen, was clerk of the Newport

Volunteers in 1811. We record in this connection, the name of Mordecai Myers, of Newport, who held the rank of captain during the second war with England (1812-14), and was wounded at the battle of Chrysler's Field (cf. *Outlines of Jewish History*, by Lady Magnus, Philadelphia, 1890, p. 351; he is missing in Hon. Simon Wolf's book).

Dr. Stiles did not confine his visits to the Synagogue alone. He was on intimate social footing with the members of the Jewish fraternity, especially with Aaron Lopez, whom he characterizes as "the most universally beloved . . . of any man I ever knew." Then we learn from the Diary (pp. 74, 260) that on the 25th of October, 1770, and on Aug. 12th, 1772, he visited "Mr. Tauro [elsewhere called Touro] the Jew Priest or Reader, and discussed with him on sundry Texts in Hebrew." It will be remembered that it was Touro who taught him the first rudiments of the sacred tongue (see *supra*, p. 15) in 1767, when he was forty years of age. On June 23d, 1773, he visited Rabbi Carigal in company with Mr. Delisle, conversing with him from 3 o'clock to sunset (vol. i., p. 388). On one occasion he sent his son to wait upon the Rabbi and to escort him to a religious Meeting. The Rabbi came with two other Jews and Dr. Stiles had them put into his pew. He visited him again on July 5th of the same year and spent many pleasant hours with him often afterwards, as we shall see later. His relations towards other Jews, though not so cordial, were uniformly friendly.

A LETTER FROM THE HOLY LAND.

On March 26th, 1771 (vol. i., p. 97) he writes: "Last evening Mr Isaac Hart, a Jew of this Town, sent me, to read, a Letter in Hebrew he lately received from *Macpelah* in the Holy Land. . . . [Edi-

tor's abridgment.]” Four days later he says: “The preceding letter contains a Represent^a of the Jews suffering in the holy Land, It is dated from *He-born* in the year of the Creation 5523 corresponding with A.D. 1763, Signed Aaron Aliphander, Hijam [Hayyim?] Jeudah alias Gomez Peto, Isaac Hajja [Hiyya?] Zabi the priest, Elias Son of Archa, Phinehas Mordecai Bag Ive [?] Abraham Gedelia the younger. They represent that they are taxed or amerced 25,000 Pieces of Eight & send forth two Brethren to collect it by contribution. This letter was sent to Mr. Isaac Hart of Rhode Island” Here again the account breaks off abruptly and it is to be regretted that the editor of the *Diary* omitted both the Hebrew of this letter as copied by Dr. Stiles, under the first date above given, and the English translation he made under the date of April 26th (cf. vol. i, pp. 97 note 2; 98, 102). The Isaac Hart, here mentioned, is the same Tory patriot whose tragic death in 1780, has been already described (see *above*, p. 35).

It is somewhat difficult to identify all the names signed to the petition from Jerusalem. The first on the list is *Aaron Aliphander*. This I amend into Aaron ben Moses *Alfandari*. He was a Talmudical author who emigrated to Palestine in his old age; born in Smyrna, ca. 1700, and died in Hebron, in 1774. The bibliographer, Hayyim Joseph David Azulai knew him personally, enumerates his works, and recounts his antecedents, according to Alfandari's own testimony, in his *Shem ha-Gedolim* (ed. Ben Jacob, Wilna 1852, vol. i., p. 16, No. 119. For other data relating to Alfandari, see H. J. Michael's *Or ha-Hayyim*, Frankfurt a. M., 1891, p. 144, No. 302; and the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. i., N. Y. 1901, p. 373^a). The second name signed to the petition may either be the *Hayyim Yehudah* mentioned by Azulai (*l.c.*, i.,

p. 58, No. 28), or a kinsman of *Samson Gomez Patto*, one of the Rabbis of Jerusalem, whose approbation to Hiskiyah de Silva's *Peri Hodesh* in 1705 is cited by Kayserling (*Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 260, note). Dr. Stiles, in his accurate *Memoir of R. Isaac Karigal*, mentions among his teachers the name of *R. Haijm Jehudah Gomez Pato*, who is, unquestionably, the same person quoted in the letter (see *Diary*, vol. i., p. 395 and *Appendix II.*). The third I cannot identify at all. *Elias son of Archa* is, without doubt, *Elieser ben Yizhak ben Arha*, one of the Rabbis of Hebron, who died and was buried in that city, in the same tomb with Abraham Azulai, author of *Hesed le-Abraham*. He is the author of several works, for the most part unpublished, all of which are enumerated by the bibliographers Azulai and H. J. Michael (cf. *Shem ha-Gedolim*, i., p. 23, No. 186; *Or ha-Hayyim*, Frankfurt a. M., 1891, p. 205, No. 432). He is not to be confounded with the Elieser b. Archa mentioned in Fuerst's *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i., 232, who lived in the preceding century. Who the others are, I am at a loss to conjecture. By consulting the Hebrew original of the letter preserved in the *Diary* in Ms., we might be enabled to trace the identity of the Rabbis with more certainty.

TWO NEWPORT JEWS.

Under date of July 18th, 1771, we find in the *Diary*, (p. 124) some statistical data concerning the Jews of Philadelphia which, together with other items, are relegated to *Appendix I.* of this paper.

The next entry gives us a new name: "In the Forenoon I went to the Synagogue," writes he (Feb. 29th, 1772; p. 214). "In the Evening, though Saturday Evening which I keep as holy Time, Mr. *Enoc Lyon* a Jew came to visit me desiring some religious Conversation. He spent four hours with me

conversing upon the Things of God. We freely conversed on Things respecting Judaism and Christianity. I shewed him from the Rabbins, that by Quotations from the Talmud, some of them allowed the first appearance of Messiah was to be in Humiliation and particularly that they applied 53^d Chapter of Isaiah to Messiah, Also that by the Jewish Writings the Messiah was Jehovah ; As he allowed original sin and the infinite Evil of sin, I labored to shew the necessity of punishment in the persons of the sinner, or of him that should bare the Iniquities &c. He allowed Jesus to be a holy and good Man giving a holy Law. But did not see the necessity of Satisfaction or a Messiah's Atonement, God being infinitely merciful."

About a year afterwards (Feb. 22d, 1773 ; p. 352) he had a similar conference with another Israelite, whose name is not given : " This Evening a Meeting of Young Men at my House where I discoursed to them on Eccles. xi, 9. A Jew was present having asked Leave ; he tarried with me and we discoursed an hour afterwards concerning a suffering Messiah (editor's abridgment)."

SOME FEMALE HEBRAISTS.

Dr. Stiles was so profoundly interested in Hebrew and Rabbinic literature, that he instinctively looked for such knowledge in others. In speaking of the accomplishments of the different scholars he met, he would unconsciously gauge the value of their learning by their proficiency in Semitics. To this curious predisposition we are indebted for the preservation of a number of items which would otherwise have remained unmentioned. The moment he found some one well versed in Hebrew, he paid his respects to him in his *Diary*. Sometimes, as in the case of William Olive, who, in 1770, sent him a

letter half in Hebrew (see above, p. 37), he suspects in these Hebraists Jewish descent. There were "Hebricians," as he quaintly calls them, in his own family. His wife and children all took upon themselves the yoke of the Torah, philologically speaking. "This day," writes he, on April 22, 1788 (vol. iii., p. 315), "my Wife finished Read^g translating & parsing the first Psalm in Hebrew. It is about 3 Weeks since she first took the Hebrew Alphabet & Grammar in hand. And she has accurately parsed & resolved every word, looking out each Radix & declining it." We hear of her, later on, as attending one of his recitations in Hebrew (vol. iii., p. 526; June 25, 1794; see *supra*, p. 6). His son Ezra, too, seems to have made some headway, if we are to credit the diarist's pardonable boast (March 11, 1773; vol. i., p. 355): "This day my son Ezra is fourteen years old: he has read out Virgil, Tully's Select Orations, &c. in Latin—and in Greek the four Evangelists & Acts—in Hebrew 48 Psalms" (see also *supra*, p. 50). About the study of Hebrew at Yale College we shall speak later. It is not necessary, in this place, to refer more fully to all the "Hebricians" and Orientalists whose names are honorably mentioned in the diarist's pages. We shall content ourselves with quoting the passages which chronicle the accomplishments of women in this field of inquiry.

On the 7th of April, 1772, he speaks of a Hebrew and Greek Bible having been presented to the Rev. Mr. Russmeyer, also a Hebraist, "by a German Countess who understood Hebrew," in 1727, when he was a boy (vol. i., p. 220).

It may not be out of place to refer, in this connection, to other noted women, members of royalty among them, who were said to have been excellent Hebraists. Steinschneider, in his list of "Hebra-

istinnen" (*Hebraeische Bibliographie*, vol. xx., 1880, pp. 65-69), mentions over forty and gives brief biographical details. To the literature on the subject may be added the data in Johann Jacob Schudt's *Juedische Merkwuerdigkeiten*, Supplement to vol. iv., Frankfurt-a.-M., 1717, p. 27. Perhaps the most celebrated of them all were Anna Maria de Schurman (*ob.* 1675), the accomplished linguist, and Antonia, Princess of Wuerttemberg, who died in 1699. The latter was the daughter of Duke Eberhard III. of Wuerttemberg (1629-1674). Besides knowing Hebrew, she was well versed in rabbinic and cabalistic lore. Her praise has been sung by many a Christian Hebraist, and there is extant among the papers of John Euxtorf, who presented her with a copy of each of his books, a poem of 24 stanzas with her acrostic. She is said to have composed a series of cabalistic diagrams in Hebrew and German, still in manuscript (see Kayserling in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. ix., 1897, pp. 509 *et seq.*; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. i., 1901, p. 656¹). Anna Maria von Schurman, the world-renowned scholar, was an eccentric character. She was born November 5, 1607, and, at a very tender age, had tried her skill in all manner of things. She composed poetry and music, painted, engraved on copper; spoke Latin at the age of seven, translated in her tenth year Seneca's writings into Flemish and French, took up, in addition, the Greek, Spanish, Italian and Hebrew languages. She even tried her hand at Hebrew poetry. Several of her Hebrew letters are contained in the Hebrew periodical, *Bikkure ha-Ittim*, 1825, p. 31 *et seq.* She corresponded with Manasseh ben Israel, John Buxtorf, and other scholars of the period. Elisabeth, daughter of Frederick V. (died 1680), who is called "a miracle of learned women," and understood Hebrew well, was one of her friends. In a copy of David Kimhi's

Hebrew Grammar (ed. 1651), formerly belonging to her, the name of Manasseh ben Israel (died 1657) is inscribed (see Steinschneider, *Cat. Cod. Hebr. Bibl. Acad. Ludg. Batav.*, Leyden, 1858. p. x, note 1). She remained unmarried, and died on the 5th of May, 1675, in Vinwarden, West-Friesland (see concerning her Steinschneider's article in *Hermann Gerson's Mode-Zeitung*, Berlin, 1857, vol. ii., No. 11, pp. 175-176; *Hebr. Bibl.*, xx., 67; Kayserling's *Life and Labours of Manasseh ben Israel*, translated into English by Rev. Dr. F. de Sola Mendes, in *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, vol. ii., second series, London, 1877, pp. 18, 78-9, notes 82^a-83; Steinschneider says that she died at Altona in 1678, aged 71 years). Anna de Rohan, daughter of Prince Renari de Rohan of Paris, who died September 20, 1646, at the age of 62, is spoken of as proficient in Hebrew, and a zealous student of the Bible (Schudt, *l.c.*).

Lack of space prevents a more complete catalogue of noted female Hebraists. The list prepared by Steinschneider, above quoted, is still the only available one on record, and we beg to refer to it for particulars concerning the two score others there mentioned.

In the *Diary*, under date of April 3, 1772 (vol. i., p. 220), Dr. Stiles reports the following:

"There was one Woman in New England who was an Hebrician, perfectly understanding the Hebrew Bible, which she used to carry with her to Meeting; and also would frequently have Recourse to it in Conversation with Ministers. She was taken off a wreckt Vessel, as I understand near Plymouth in New England. After this she returned to England while a Girl, and there *lived in a Jew Family and was taught Hebrew*. After this she returned to New England and settled and died here. She married Mr. Parker, by whom she had a Daughter *Paltah*

Parker, whom she named Paltah or the *Deliverance of God* in memory of her being saved from the Wreck. . . . She died about 1722. . . . I suspect there is some defect in the story—but I conclude so much is true, that she had an Ancestor brought up in a Jew Family and able to read the Hebrew Bible."

Maria Antonio de Verona, an English Hebraist, concerning whom information may be obtained from the *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic series of the reign of Charles I., ed. by J. Bruce and W. D. Hamilton, vol. iii., (1628-1629), p. 26; see also J. E. Thorold Rogers and Lucien Wolf, "Antonio de Verona," in *The Athenaeum*, London, Sept. 3, & 10, 1887; *apud* Jacobs-Wolf, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, London, 1888, pp. 38, 45, No. 2341), has written a Hebrew eulogy of Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College, whom Dr. Stiles conceived to be "the most truly and extensively learned of all the N. England Fathers, especially in the Sciences, . . . the learned Languages, particularly Greek & besides Hebrew, its several Dialects as Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan. . . ." (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 133; see also the references to him in *Index*, vol. iii., p. 582').

Unfortunately, the original Hebrew of Maria Antonio de Verona's panegyric, composed in 1626, has not been preserved by Dr. Stiles. The English translation, written nearly a century later, is copied by the diarist under date of Dec. 31st, 1779 (vol. ii., pp. 399-400) and reads as follows:

"CHARLES CHAUNCY

ANAGRAM

His Shadow is Without Deceit

Arise and look into the Book this learned author has written, the pains he has taken in it deserves a great Reward: Or, his Work therein is its own Reward.

He is a powerful preacher, knowledge proceeds out of his

month, he abounds in reproof proper to bring all men to a sense of their Sins.

He delights in (the) fear (of God) he excels in humility, it is his delight to speak the Words of Wisdom

His name is famous & renowned among the wise and prudent; he excels amongst the upright; & is great and illustrious among the Doctors of Divines.

Blessed is the man who hearkens to the Instructions of his speech: for he teacheth sound Doctrine, & all this is the desire of his soul.

He hath planted his Vine among the learned, good works are his secrets, he is a man mighty in the Knowledge of divine things; none is equal to him in Scholastic disputations.

He is just & righteous in his Actions, & speaks Truth from his heart.

She was happy who brought him forth, a person so good & wise as he is.

May his days be prolonged, & those of his Relations: may he live to raise the honour of his house; and may they (or the world) bless him in the Name of the Lord.

In the honour of Charles Chauncy, Written by Maria Antonio de Verona. An. 1626.

Translated by T. Russel, An. 1712."

To this the diarist adds the information that Pres. Chauncy died at Cambridge, Feb. 19, 167½ Æ. 82. And so he was Æt 36 when this Encomium was written. He came from England to New England after 1635. . . . " The translator might have been one of his pupils. We have not been able to discover a copy of the original Hebrew of the above. The authoress deserves a place in Steinschneider's catalog of learned "Hebricians."

A WORD ON JEWISH CEREMONIALS AND PROSELYTES.

April 18th, 1772 (vol. v., pp. 225-6):

A.M. I went to the Synagogue, it being שבת פסח, Sabbath of the Passover. They read in the *Law* the passages which give an Account of the Exodus and Institution of the passover; and also a passage about Vth of Joshua concerning Circumcision and rolling away the Reproach of Egypt. Several mentioned

over the Names of their dead friends, for whom Prayers were immediately made. Large offerings or Alms were made to probably fourty dollars as one of the Jews estimated, and I believe true; for sundry offered Chai Livre i.e. £16 or two Dollars—and I judge Mr. Aaron Lopez offered ten or a dozen of these Chai. I asked one when they should have Killed the Pascal Lambs if they had been at Jerusalem; he replied, too day [*sic*]. But I doubt it; he was ignorant."

Aaron Lopez, being the wealthiest member of the Jewish community, no doubt excelled all the others in his benefactions (see *supra*, p. 28 *et seq.*).

On July 25th he writes that a Jew spent the afternoon with him. Name and particulars are not mentioned, or else the editor of the Diary has omitted them. From this Jew, it is evident, Dr. Stiles derived his minute, though not quite accurate information concerning certain observances among the Jews, notably the Abrahamitic rite. We are told that his visitor was a *Mohel* by profession, who "in America got a Living by it; but not so in Europe where he had no Fees, but accounted it an honor" to serve, inasmuch as "it was highly rewarded in heaven" (pp. 254-256). Then follows an account of Jewish proselytes in England, to whose admission into the fold his informant was an eye-witness. Instead of relegating the brief extract to the *Appendix* (as promised above, on p. 47), we will quote it here in full:

"He said he knew one Family in Engl'd (I think Coventry) not of Jew Blood, but English & a Xtian, viz., a Man, his Wife & two Daughters—they came to London & he saw them renounce Xtianity & profess Judaism, & that they became more strict in daily Synagogue Prayers &c. than the other Jews. He gave me an Account &c. The Man was first cir-

cumcised, afterwds. baptized in a Bagnio [bath]—in which there are Stairs to the Bottom where one stands to his Neck in Water. The Women were baptized in the same Manner. I asked if this was performed in the sight of the Congreg.^a He said no; but some Jewesses took the Women aside by themselves; & so as to the Man. He added, that the more strict Jews, baptize religiously by trine Immersion three Times a year, at Passover, & I think *Pentecost*, & Day of *Atonement*: that is, it is a religious Purification with them. But such a Strictness is not exacted."

I have not been able to find any record of this event. Conversions to Judaism in England and elsewhere were not infrequent. Altogether, the subject deserves fuller treatment at the hands of some competent historian. Materials thereto are not wanting in the invaluable reference works of Wolf and Schudt. The most celebrated instance of such a proselyte in England is that of the unfortunate nobleman and zealot, Lord George Gordon, the leader of the "No Popery Riots," now universally known through Charles Dickens' thrilling romance, *Barnaby Rudge*. James Picciotto, in his excellent *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (London, 1875, pp. 183-189; ch. xxiii.), does him full justice. We are told that he rigorously underwent all the rites imposed upon proselytes before he was admitted within the pale of Judaism. He acquired some knowledge of the Hebrew language and of Jewish ceremonies; attended divine service, where, upon being honored with a benediction at the reading of the Law, he offered £100 as a gift to the Hambro Synagogue in London. He lived as a Jew until December, 1787, when he was apprehended at the house of an Israelite in Birmingham on the charge of "promoting mutiny and sedition and of undermining the laws

of his country." He was condemned to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £500 for libelling the Queen of France, and to an additional term of three years for another political offence, besides being compelled to furnish bond for £10,000 to keep the peace. His religious zeal suffered no abatement, for he issued political pamphlets, interspersed with Scriptural texts, levelled at the King and the State, while he was confined in prison. Nor was he lax in the observances imposed by his new faith. He prayed every morning with the phylacteries on his arm and head, and with a quorum of ten Polish Jews, two of whom had agreed to bail him out on another occasion (though, ludicrously enough, they were penniless), he held Sabbath services in his cell. Inscribed on its walls were the Ten Commandments, along with the *Talith* and *Tefillin* as adornments. His diet was strictly *rite*, and when, on the 18th of January, 1793, he appeared in court to give satisfactory guarantees for his future good behavior, he wore a huge patriarchal beard, and though enjoined to remove his large slouched hat, he refused to uncover, as being contrary to his religious scruples. The hat being forcibly removed, he deliberately donned a white cap which he had in reserve. His two Hebrew friends failing to redeem their pledge and not having the amount necessary to safeguard his liberty, he was again committed to prison, where he died, some say of a fever, others, of a broken heart, in November of the same year, aged forty-three years. This is the romantic story in a nutshell, some details of which are still further embellished by England's greatest novelist, who introduces a Jewish heroine into the drama. The chief elements in the above narrative are true, and are vouched for by Picciotto and other trustworthy historians. Robert Watson wrote a readable biography of this

Quixotic character two years after his decease, in 1795 (see Wolf-Jacobs, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, p. 132, No. 999).

We hear of another candidate seeking admission into the Jewish fold in London at about the same time: A certain Louis da Costa, a native of Portugal, appeared in 1789 before the Wardens of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, stating that he was desirous of being admitted to the Covenant of Abraham; that he had sailed in a ship from Bordeaux to Amsterdam for that purpose; that the vessel had been wrecked off Dover, and he begged to be dispatched to Amsterdam to fulfil the longings of his heart. The petition was refused (see Picciotto, *op. cit.*, p. 188).

There seem to be no evidences of such conversions in America. The one curious exception is that of *Warder Cresson* of Philadelphia, who was a fervent nationalist, and who became zealous in the advocacy of Jewish colonization in Palestine. His agricultural projects (as part of his Zionist propaganda) are set forth by Mr. Max J. Kohler in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 8, pp. 81-83 (to the authorities there cited add the communication from Philadelphia published in the *Israelite*, Cincinnati, 1863, vol. x., No. 12, pp. 92-93, and a biographical sketch by Herbert Friedenwald in the *Jewish Comment*, Baltimore, 1901). After his conversion he called himself Michael Boaz Israel. He was a prolific writer on his favorite theme of Jewish Restoration to Palestine, and, in 1851, he published his reasons for becoming a Jew. He had been United States Consul at Jerusalem prior to his change of faith, and familiarity with Eastern conditions, no doubt, convinced him of the efficacy of the work which he afterwards undertook. His earnest and unselfish labors on behalf of his new spiritual kin-

dred should merit more recognition than has been, hitherto, accorded him.

To return to the *Diary*: On July 27th, 1772 (p. 256), Dr. Stiles writes: "It is customary with the Jews for Parents to lay their hands on the Heads of their Children and give them their Blessing. If it be a son, the father laying his hand upon him says 'The Lord make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh.' Gen xlviii, 20. If a Daughter 'The Lord make thee as Sarah, Rachel and Leah.' This is frequently done at Meals and Friday Evening after Supper, when the Children come to the parent for the Blessing. I have seen old Mr. Moses Lopez do it to his Boys in the Synagogue, after Service."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

Among a packet of pamphlets, sent to the diarist (July 21st, 1772; vol. i. p. 252) by a friend, is mentioned "A Tract of *Abram Jagel the Son of Hananiah* Entituled, Good Doctrine, lately translated by a Jew in New York."

The author's full name is Abraham Yaghel ben Hananyah De'Galicchi (or Gallichi), of Monselico, Italy, who flourished in the last decades of the XVIth century. He has often been confounded with Camillo Yaghel, the apostate who, as early as 1611, was official Censor of Hebrew books. There are numerous editions of his famous Hebrew Catechism, *Lekah Tob*, some undated ones appearing as early as 1587 and 1595 (see the bibliographic data in Steinschneider's *Cat. Bodl.*, col. 694; his *Jewish Literature*; London, 1857, p. 224; J. Fuerst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. ii., Leipzig, 1851, pp. 10-11; D. Oppenheimer, in *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, vii., 1864, pp. 19-20; and especially vols. xix., 1879, p. 56, note; xxi., 1881, pp. 76-79. Dr. S. Maybaum has written a separate monograph on Yaghel's Catechism, in German, a

few years ago. See also the interesting remarks of Mortara, in his *Indice Alfabetico dei Rabbini e Scrittori israeliti . . . in Italia*, Padova, 1886, pp. 25-26, note 3). Several German and Judæo-German versions are mentioned by bibliographers, and it is interesting to note that the first Latin translation was printed in London in 1679, octavo. The translator was L. Compeigne de Veil, M.A. Jacobs-Wolf in their *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, p. 116, No. 788, have the following entry:

Catechismus Judaeorum in disputatione et Dialogo Magister ac discipuli scriptus a Rabbi Abrahamo Jagel. 12mo, 58 pp. Hebrew and English. 1679. Neither title nor format corresponds to the one described by Fuerst (*l.c.*). Are they identical? The English version, published (anonymously?) in London 1721, is practically unknown to bibliographers. According to S. van Straalen (*Catalogue of Hebrew Books in the British Museum acquired during the years 1868-1892*, London, 1894, p. 7^a) the title is:

The Jews' Catechism, containing the thirteen articles of the Jewish religion; formerly translated out of Hebrew (into Latin by L. Compeigne de Veil, and thence into the English). xx, 168 pages octavo (see also *Bibl. Anglo-Judaica*, p. 223, No. 2076^a).

This translation was made from the Latin, not the Hebrew, and it would be important to ascertain whether the American edition, alleged to have been prepared by a Jew in New York, is merely a reprint of it or is an original work. In any case, it is an important item in American Jewish bibliography.

THE RABBIS WHOM DR. STILES KNEW.

Being a zealous Hebraist and ever eager to seek for fresh corroborative proof of New Testament truths from "the Rabbins," it is but natural that he sought out an occasional learned visitor to Newport.

whose superior knowledge of Jewish tradition would inevitably be enlisted in aid of his untiring quest for the Messianic interpretation of Prophecy. A Jew come to town was a great event for Dr. Stiles, especially if the Jew happened to be a rabbi, "a truly pious man." Upon hearing of the new arrival, he, impatient of a formal introduction, would sometimes honor him with a visit, as we shall see later on, and an exchange of amenities would follow which is quite refreshing to note in a man otherwise so orthodox in his views. It forms a new chapter in the history of Literary Friendships between Jews and Gentiles, instances of which are pointed out by Schudt, in several places in his learned compendium, *Juedische Merkwuerdigkeiten*, and later writers (see for bibliography on the subject, Steinschneider in *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, vol. xi., 1871, pp. 52-54; xxi., 1881-82, pp. 61 *et seq.*; 80-1; 94; Berliner's monograph *Persoenliche Beziehungen zwischen Christen und Juden im Mittelalter*, Halberstadt, 1881, 29 pp. octavo; Guedemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur in Italien waehrend des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1884, pp. 23-26; 104-106; 137-140; 150-54; 155; 156; 159, *note*; 161; 168; 226-29; 238; 275; 276. I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 1896, ch. xxiv, pp. 419-23; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. i., New York, 1901, pp. 53, 75, 99; 120, 122, 412, 562-4; see also my article "An Unpublished Chapter on Books," in the *AMERICAN HEBREW*, Dec. 6, 1901, p. 72). The history of such friendships is yet to be written and Ezra Stiles will be awarded an honored place in its pages.

"Upon Recollection," says the diarist (vol. iii., p. 77; July 5, 1783), "I find I have been acquainted with six Rabbis

R. Moses Malki in 1759.

R. Moses Bar David [Ashkenazi], æt 52, 1772,
Nov.

R. Haijm I. Karigal, æt 40, 1773, June.

R. Tobiah Ben Jehudah, æt. 48, 1773, Nov.

R. Bosquila 1773 or 1774 [æt. 61, June 15, 1774].

R. Samuel Cohen [æt. 34, June 29, 1775, first mentioned in *Diary*, vol., i., p. 578]."

The first one on the list, according to information given in a note by Prof. Dexter, was in Newport in December, 1759. He was born and educated at Saphet (Saphed) in the Holy Land and there are preserved among Dr. Stiles' papers some data supplied by his Jewish friend. A search through the unpublished correspondence of the diarist may reveal something more of this Rabbi's identity. The name *Malki* is quite uncommon in Jewish literature. That of Ezra ben Raphael Malki (מלכי), brother-in-law of Hiskiyah de Silva (cf. *supra*, p.66), is the only one mentioned by bibliographers. He is the author of a number of works, and Azulai says (*Shem ha-Gedolim*, part ii., No. 133) that the last years of his life he spent as rabbi of the congregation in Rhodes (see also Steinschneider, *Catalogus*, p. 973; Zedner's *Catal. of the Hebrew Books in the British Museum*, London, 1857, p. 508; he spells the name *Mal'ei*; Fuerst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. ii., p. 320).

Of R. Moses bar David, we have more particulars. The first entry concerning him in the *Diary* is on Nov. 9th, 1772 (vol. i., p. 299):

"This Forenoon I visited a learned Jew in Town and on his Travels. He is really a Rabbi. His title is [editor's abridgment] 'The Doctor our Doctor the great Rabbi, *Moses the Son of David* an Ashcanazin of little Poland, of the holy Synagogue at Apta.' He is now Æt. 52 born at Apta in Poland" Here the editor of the *Diary* again omits what would seem to be a personal account of the rabbi. It is interesting to note that Dr. Stiles visited R. Moses first. Nor was his Jewish friend

wanting in courtesy for he returned the call the same day :

"In the Afternoon Rabbi *Moses* came to my house in Company with Huzan *Touro* of this Town. We had much Conversation both of his Travels and on the Talmud and Rabbinical Literature. I shewed him the Zohar, with which he was delighted, speaking with raptures of the Sublimity and Mysteries of its Contents ; he told me if I could comprehend that Book I should be a Master of the Jewish Learning & of the greatest philosophy in the World. [editor's abridgment]."

Three days afterwards this disciple of the Kabbalah spent the afternoon with him (*ibid.*, p. 300) and on the 23d and 30th of the same month and on Dec. 7th, the visit was repeated (cf. *l.c.*, pp. 303, 322). On Nov. 23d we read :

" This afternoon visited by Rabbi Moses and Mr. Tauro [*sic*]. The Whimsical Visionary though I hope honest Mr. Pipels being present, I told Rabbi Moses that this Man had seen Visions of Angels. R. Moses smiled and Mr. Pipels began to relate his Extraordinaries with Warmth. R. Moses asked him the Color of the Angel, said he was mistaken as to his vision, for that he was the Angel that appeared to him, but was sure he told him no such Thing. This humor & sarcasm touched and a little confounded Mr. Pipels who after some Talk took Leave and departed to cross the ferries and return to Pennsylvania. R. Moses spent the rest of the Afternoon in my study, explaining the Zohar to me This day I paid for my Zohar 22/6 sterling" [see *supra*. p. 53]. This account is abridged by the editor in two places ; no doubt the subject of their discussions was described at length in the original manuscript. The object of the rabbi's satire was Mr. Jacob Pipels, an old man, aged 73 years, who

hailed from Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, an Irishman, who came to America in 1736 and seems to have been a spiritualist. His fancies and hallucinations are reported in detail in the *Diary* (*l.c.* pp. 300-302). He expected to attain the age of 218 years and to witness "some great purposes, particularly . . . *the return of the Jews*, the Fulness of the Gentiles and Downfall of Anti-Christ." Such mystics were at large in different parts of New England, and some curious examples of their conceits and vagaries are preserved in this contemporaneous chronicle. The most grotesque personality of all seems to have been a woman, Jemina Wilkinson by name, who had many followers and concerning whom much has been written (see Cleveland's *History of Yates County, N. Y.*, vol. i., pp. 38-138; *Literary Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 374, 380-2; 510-11; vol. iii., pp. 289-90; 334). She believed herself to be "the son of G^d and the Messiah re-appear^s in flesh" and preached her ravings about, as successfully as her contemporary Johanna Southcote, in England, an aged lunatic, heralding herself forth as the destined mother of a yet unborn Messiah (concerning the latter see the *London Quarterly Review*, vol. xxiv., p. 496; McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopedia*, s.v., vol. ix., pp. 896-7; and Lord Byron's *Vision of Judgment*, stanza xxviii, with note thereto). She died in 1815.

Being somewhat of a mystic himself, Dr. Stiles was profoundly interested in visionaries, though he did not care to admit it and condemns all these pseudo-prophets in no uncertain tones. He was fascinated by the doctrines of the Zohar, which, in common with most scholars of the age, he believed to have been composed by Simeon ben Yohai (see *supra*, pp. 20, 21, 52, 53) and he loved to penetrate into its lore with the aid of his Jewish friends. Nov. 23d and 25th, 1772 find him deep in study: "This

Forenoon I spent read^s Dionysius Areopag. whom I find to have the same sublime mysteries as the Zohar."

In R. Moses, he seems to have found his affinity so far as fondness for the Kabbalah is concerned. On the 8th of Dec. he had the last interview with him and "conversed much upon the Messiah" (p. 322); on the 14th the rabbi sailed for the West Indies (entry under same date in *Diary, l.c.*), having so-journed altogether about five weeks in Newport.

In view of the vast number of rabbis and scholars bearing the name *Ashkenazi* and hailing from Poland or Russia, an attempt at identification would be a thankless task. The diarist was so exact in his statements, especially when furnishing biographical data, that it is safe to assume, that had the rabbis whom he met written any books, he would have mentioned them. That would have made identification comparatively easy. As it is, the meagre items, given here and elsewhere, pertaining to the rabbis and laymen with whom he had come into contact, will have to suffice until fresh material, possibly accessible among his unpublished papers, is forthcoming.

"He now [1773] commenced" says Holmes, his son-in-law and biographer (*Life of Ezra Stiles*, Boston, 1798, p. 168 *et seq.*), "an acquaintance with Haijm Isaac Carigal, a Jew rabbi, who had lately come to Newport. Having travelled very extensively in the eastern world, and being a man of observation, learning, and intelligence; his conversation was highly entertaining and instructive. He was born at Hebron, and educated there and at Jerusalem. He had travelled all over the Holy Land, and had visited Damascus, Aleppo, Grand Cairo, Bagdat, Ispahan, Smyrna, Constantinople, Salonica, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Venice, Vienna, Prague, Paris,

London. The Doctor was greatly delighted with his society, and had frequent interviews with him, for the purpose of acquiring the pronunciation of the Hebrew; of ascertaining the meaning of ambiguous expressions, in the original of the Old Testament; of learning the usages of the modern Jews; of conversing on past events relating to this extraordinary nation, as recorded in sacred history; and of tracing its future destiny, by the light of prophecy. They cultivated a mutual friendship while together, and corresponded in Hebrew when apart. One of the Doctor's Hebrew letters on the divinity of the Messiah, and the glory of his kingdom, consisted of twenty-two quarto pages.

"The rabbi, not long after his arrival, attended his worship, by agreement, and heard him discourse, in an affectionate manner, on the past dispensations of God's providence toward his chosen people; on his promised design of rendering them an exalted nation, in the latter day glory of the Messiah's kingdom; and on the duty of Christians, and of all nations, to desire a participation in their future glorious state. The rabbi had never heard a Christian preach a sermon before. Though he attended church at St. Peter's, in Rome; at St. Paul's, in London; at Venice, and various other places; and had been at the Christian churches in Jerusalem, he never heard any service, excepting prayers.

"So catholic was the intercourse between this learned Jew, and learned Christian! They often spent hours together in conversation and the information, which the extensive travels of the Jew enabled him to give, especially concerning the Holy Land, was a rich entertainment to his Christian friend. The civilities of the rabbi were more than repaid. The Doctor very frequently attended the worship of the synagogue, at Newport, not only

while Rabbi Carigal officiated, but at the ordinary service, before his arrival, and after his departure.

“With six [five; see the list above] other rabbis of less eminence, he became acquainted and showed them every civility; while he maintained a friendly communication with the Jews in general, at Newport. Such rare and unexpected attentions, from a Christian minister of distinction, could not but afford peculiar gratification to a people, conscious of being a ‘proverb and a by-word among nations.’ To him, they, accordingly, paid every attention, in return; and expressed a peculiar pleasure, in admitting him into their families and into their synagogue.

“His civilities and catholicism toward the Jews, are worthy of imitation. It is to be feared, that Christians do not, what ought to be done, toward the conversion of this devoted people. While admitted into most countries in Christendom, for the purposes of trade and commerce, instead of being treated with that humanity and tenderness, which Christianity should inspire, they are often persecuted, or contemned as unworthy of notice or regard. Such treatment tends to prejudice them against our holy religion, and to establish them in their infidelity. Besides this ‘the study of the Hebrew language hath been too much laid aside, and we have by that means, been less able to convince the Jews. It is certain that this study hath not only been neglected, but ridiculed; whereas nothing could be of greater use to us than a great skill, not only in the Biblical Hebrew, but the Rabbinical and Talmudical also, to enable us to convince the Jews. By such a skill we might be enabled to use their own weapons against them; and to dispute against them from the avowed principles of their ancient wise men, for whom they are prone to profess a profound regard.’ Such was the use which the Doctor made of his Hebrew learn-

ing." (See also Hannah Adams' *History of the Jews from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Present Time*, London ed., 1818, pp. 461-63; my notes in *Publications of the Jewish Historical Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 122-125 and the authorities there mentioned; No. 6, p. 79; No. 8, pp. 121, 124-5.)

The foregoing summary of the relations between these two divines is perhaps not as full as it should be, in view of the wealth of material which may be found collected under one caption, in *Appendix II.*, but, owing to exigencies of space, it is not possible here to do more than to hurry over the points elaborately set forth in the subjoined chapter, bearing upon the Rabbi's personality, his correspondence with the diarist, and some minor details appertaining to the subject. For other essential features of this remarkable friendship the reader is referred to the chronicler's own words which render the record of this mutual kinship far more valuable than a general *resume* by another hand would be.

The first reference to Carigal in the Day-Book is under date of March 5th, 1773 and the last mention of him is on November 3d, 1775. Altogether, the rabbi's stay in Newport did not exceed five and a half months, during which time he does not seem to have left the city once. From the wonderfully accurate chronological *Memoir* of the rabbi, given in the *Diary* under date of July 7th, 1773, it appears that besides travelling extensively through the Orient, he visited Italy, Austria, Germany, Holland and England, and, what seems to be a very important fact, that he made two previous journeys to America; one in 1761, when he officiated for two years in Curacoa, W. I., in place of the rabbi who was finishing his studies abroad, and another in 1771, to Jamaica, where during a residence of only twelve months, he is said to have been able to save

as much as one thousand dollars out of his earnings, certainly *not* as rabbi, to send to his wife in Palestine. From the West Indies he travelled in the summer of 1772 to Philadelphia, and thence to New York; staying about six and a half months in both places, and arriving at Newport, March 3d, 1773 (according to a previous entry in the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 354, the rabbi arrived on March 4th). He seems to have had a desire to live in the West Indies, for after a brief sojourn in Newport, not as the officially recognized spiritual head of the Jewish community, but as its guest, he returned to Barbadoes by way of Surinam, where he died, about 1778, aged 46 years, having been born in 1733. Dr. Stiles gives a very full account of his studies and travels; names all his teachers some of whom may be identified by bibliographers; mentions the cities and countries he visited, including two journeys to London, where, we are told, he earned the respectable salary of £100 sterling as teacher at the "*Bit Madrash*"; refers to his family, living at Hebron, consisting of a wife and two children, a son and a daughter; and scatters, here and there, other bits of curious information regarding his Jewish friend, which attests his keenness of sight and his extraordinary zeal for accuracy. With an eye for things singular and picturesque, he describes with much evident relish the rabbi's person, his official and ordinary habit and gives such minute details of dress as even a woman might envy. That portion of the *Diary* is quite an interesting contribution to Jewish *Costumkunde* and, if space allowed, I would be tempted to quote the passage in full (*l.c.*, pp. 362-363). He makes many curious statements which others would call absurd in this connection, as for example that the rabbi, on the eve of *Purim* (March 8th, 1773), wore phylacteries and "the white silk Surplice," or *Tallith* (p.

354), and "other Jewish Talismans" (p. 362). The most conspicuous article of dress the rabbi wore, was the enormous headgear, which Dr. Stiles describes as a "high brown furr cap, exactly like a Womans Muff, and about 9 or 10 inches high" (pp. 354, 363), in evidence on all occasions, even in the synagogue.

The diarist's first impression of him seems to have been quite favorable. "He is a large man, neat and well dressed in the Turkish habit," says the author, and comments on the rabbi's "ingenious and sensible" appearance. "He had a long black Beard," says he later on, "the upper lip partly shaven—his Head shaved all over." That does not seem plausible, in view of the rabbi's piety; it is more likely that he was bald and wore the ungainly sable helmet, which is to be seen in his portrait, to disguise this deficiency. As to his upper lip being partly shaven, it is very evident by looking at the likeness before us, that his moustache was of a tender growth. This is all that the author has to tell us as to his physical appearance. The rest may easily be supplied by the reader, who scans the rabbi's physiognomy, which he now has the opportunity of doing for himself. It is an expressive, intelligent face; the forehead broad and receding; the ears large, the eyes somewhat dreamy and lustreless; the beard apparently well trimmed and tapering to a point. He seems to be attired in a coat of many colors, fitting closely to the neck, where it is relieved by a white collar, or narrow scarf, as also at the cuffs, which are trimmed with some white material. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of all is the hand, whose delicately shaped fingers are almost like a woman's. The pose is one natural to a scholar, who is about to expound with uplifted forefinger some intricate passage from an

open book, possibly a volume of the Talmud, which he holds on the palm of his left hand. He looks to be of powerful build and there is a kindliness and a suspicion of benevolence lurking about his lips, which would bespeak him a gentle temper, quite in accord with the tidings his Christian biographer gives of him. The portrait of Rabbi *Karigal*, as the diarist sometimes spells his name, is mentioned (vol. iii., p. 94), by him on September 19th, 1783, as being in the college library at Yale. Upon inquiry I was told by Prof. F. B. Dexter, of that University, and editor of the *Literary Diary*, that it was no longer there. He referred me to the Rev. J. L. Jenkins, of Jamaica Plain, Mass. a great-grandson of Dr. Stiles, in whose possession the portrait now is, and to whose kindness I am indebted for the privilege of reproducing it in this place. In answer to my request to furnish me with some account of this rare and interesting relic he wrote as follows: "The picture I have of the Rabbi is an oil painting—what I think is called life size. . . . I fear I shall not succeed in describing it. It has been greatly admired and much curiosity has been felt as to who painted it and where. The robe of the rabbi is red and his fur head dress, such as Rev. Stiles called a 'lady's muff.' On the painting is the following inscription—part of it shows, I think on the photograph you had made:

RABBI RAPHAEL HAIJM ISAAC HARGAL
Born at Hebron educated there and at Jerusalem
Ætat —

MDCCLXXII

I know little of the painting itself. In my childhood it was in the home of my grandmother, Rev-Stiles' daughter Emelia [*vide* vol. iii., p. 633^a of the *Diary*, for references to her], and was some years ago given to me. At one time it was sent to . . .



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RABBI HAYYIM ISAAC CARIGAL.
(1772.)

Boston to be restored and it attracted much attention. It is not known who painted it. It is thought I believe to have been painted in Europe."

If the date 1772 on the painting is genuine, it might have been done by an artist in New York, for he was in that city during six months of that year, having come direct from Jamaica. As to the spelling of his name on the portrait, it is significant to note that in no other instance is he called Raphael, and *Hargal* is possibly the phonetic form of *Car'gal* (see above *Satius* for Seixas, p. 53). Dr. Stiles himself spells it variously, and the title-page of one of the Rabbi's sermons, done into English by Abraham Lopez, Newport, 1773, has the form *Karigel*. Furthermore, we find the following spelling by bibliographers: Karigol, Carregal and Kragol (see, besides the sources mentioned in my essay, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 3, p. 123; *Zedner's Catalogue*, pp. 167, 182). Our Rabbi was, most probably, the son of R. Hayyim Moses ben Abraham, a prolific author, who flourished in Palestine at the beginning of the XVIIIth century, and who, strangely enough, is omitted in Azulai's *Shem ha-Gedolim*. The only other Karigal (קראגאל) known to bibliographers (*vide* Michael's *Or ha-Hayyim*, p. 108, No. 220) is Abraham Karigal, a contemporary of Mardokhai ha-Levi of Kahira, Egypt, in whose collection of Responses called *Darke Noam*, Venice, 1697-98, §§ 46 and 52, his name is mentioned. He was, in all likelihood, the grandfather of our Rabbi.

Dr. Stiles seems to have stood in some awe of his friend's learning, and records with much wonderment that he began his studies at the age of seven and that in his seventeenth year he was ordained Rabbi. Carigal understood, besides Hebrew, his native tongue, both vulgar and classical Arabic (the

latter not so well), the Syriac and Chaldaic dialects and Spanish. It is plausible to suppose that he spoke English, too, for it is hardly possible that the diarist, however proficient in Hebrew, could carry on an intelligent conversation in the holy tongue with a Palestinian Rabbi. Of Spanish, as he himself confessed upon one occasion, when listening to his friend's discourse in the synagogue (p. 377), he understood very little; it is, therefore, not unlikely that the Rabbi, who had spent some years in England prior to his coming to America, spoke to his Christian friend in English. Apart from the experience derived from his extensive travels, this itinerant *Maggid* was a man of deep culture, and orthodox as he was in his religious views, he had catholic sympathies. He once told Dr. Stiles (cf. p. 387) that "he wished well to others besides his own Nation, he loved all Mankind," quoting Leviticus xix. 18 in support of his liberal opinions. His wisdom and diffidence are more than once praised by his friend, who never tires of adding yet another sheaf to the harvest of his tribute. He gives an interesting account of the Rabbi's style as an orator, his fervor and vehemence in a discourse of three-quarters of an hour being particularly noted; criticises his manner of reading and his pronunciation of Hebrew as compared to Hazzan Touro's, and vouchsafes us, now and then, a glimpse into their more intimate moods and conferences. It is impossible to summarize, however briefly, all that the *Appendix* (No. II.) holds: the visits they exchanged, the topics they discussed, the letters they wrote when together and apart, some of the diarist's being quite voluminous, even after Carigal had, so to speak, completely passed out of his life. This latter phase, their correspondence in Hebrew, will be duly considered by the present writer in another place. It remains to be said, in

conclusion, that it was Carigal's intention to settle in Antigua, W. I., after leaving Newport, there being at that time, according to his own knowledge, three Rabbis settled in the New World, "one in Jamaica, another at Surinam, and another at Eustatia or Curacoa" (p. 392). Carigal's farewell visit to Stiles sounds a tender note: He "took leave of me very affectionately," writes the diarist (pp. 399-400), "praying God to bless me. I told him I parted from him with great Reluctance, and should ever retain an affection for him—that it was probable we might never see each other in the Land of the Living and wished we might after Death meet together in the Garden of Eden. . . . He wished me reciprocally and my Family every blessing and . . . said he loved me from the heart, had my Name in his Book, and should send it to Jerusalem, where I should be soon known as I was here."

The Rabbi's book is, no doubt, lost to the world, but the memory of the man he would fain have honored is preserved along with his own *aere perennius*!

The fourth on the list of the diarist's Rabbinical acquaintances is *R. Tobiah Ben Jehudah*. He first met him on visiting the synagogue, November 19th, 1773, on which date he writes that he "was introduced to a new Rabbi from Poland." Three days afterwards we read: "Visited this Afternoon by Rabbi Tobiah Bar [*sic*] Jehudah late from [blank space follows] near Cracow in Poland æt. 48. We had much Conversation on the Zohar. . . ." The following day we are told that the Rabbi called again, but Dr. Stiles was not at home, and being a man very punctilious in matters of courtesy and etiquette, the visit was returned before many hours had passed. The Rabbi appears to have been a guest of Mr. Touro's, the Reader of the synagogue,

for it was there that the author paid his respects to the Rabbi and honored them with his company at supper. It being "the only Time" he "ever happened at Meal with a Jew," the impression made upon him on that occasion is of more than passing interest. "Just before they sat down to supper Water was bro't by the Maid, in a white earthen Bottle which stood in a Vase or Bason: they two washed their hands, taking up the bottle and pouring the Water on the hand. I asked if this was טביל (because the Baptists say this word denotes total not partial Immersions) they said yes—& quoted a passage of the Talmud that none can eat till they had thus washed themselves in which I recollect the word טביל was twice repeated. I did not wash, but sat down & eat with them. After sitting each in a whispering voice said Grace for himself. The Rabbi said, that in the days of Messiah, it would be allowed to the Jews to eat Swines Flesh—. I said that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob when they come with Messiah, would not eat Food as formerly; he said they would I asked him the Value of a couple of Pearls I had & of the dimensions I described; he said if good, 500 Ducats which is about £100 sterling. . . . He is a great Cabbalist and Philosopher; which two Branches of knowledge are far more to his Taste than the Talmud. He has a son of about 13 years age—when æt. 12 he had read thro' the Talmud. This Rabbi was educated and spent 26 years in Amsterdam, whither he was sent æt. 8. He told me was of the Family and ninth Descendant of *R. Selomoh Ishaaci* the celebrated Commentator who died A.D. 1180" (cf. pp. 421 and 422).

Such amenities between Jews and Gentiles were not so isolated as one might suppose; many instances illustrative of this interchange of civilities in all ages are pointed out by Israel Abrahams, in

his fascinating book on *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, 1896, pp. 422-29. A striking example is that of John Buxtorf, senior (1564-1629), the distinguished Christian Hebraist, who, from the year 1617 on, gave one or two Jewish scholars, together with their families, food and lodging. On one occasion, Abraham b. Elieser Braunschweig, his collaborator on the Basel edition of the Bible, invited him to be present at the initiatory ceremonies of his eight-day-old son. He came attended by his son-in-law and two other citizens, all of whom were heavily fined for the offense; the father of the infant had to pay 400 gulden, Buxtorf 100 and the others, in lieu of money, had to suffer a three days' imprisonment (cf. the article in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1847, p. 811; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.*, vol. xxi., p. 99, and sources cited). A Jew of Frankfurt in the 18th century stood god-father to a Christian child (Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 354), and Schudt relates, that being called to account for this breach of law, the Christian parent blandly admitted that he appointed the Jew to that sacred office simply to wheedle him into giving a silver cup for a baptismal gift (*Pathen-Geschenk*). This same author tells us moreover, that at the beginning of the same century, on the island of Zante, the relations between Greeks, Romans, Englishmen and Jews were of so cordial a nature, that a Jew was *often* asked to be god-father to a Christian child (see *Juedische Merkwuerdigkeiten*, 1715, vol. i., p. 223, where authorities are given).

In the above account, here and there curtailed by the editor of the *Diary*, we have a curious *resume* of the Rabbi's accomplishments and ancestry. That he was a descendant of Rashi (who, by the way, died in 1105 not 1180) need not be seriously considered; Jewswere never sure of their lineage and genealog-

ical trees, improvised to order, were a pastime for the most scrupulous of them. They loved to date back their lineage to some distinguished scholar and this is but another instance of such conceits.

Dr. Stiles was naturally more interested in him because of his leaning towards mysticism than he otherwise would have been. Being a "great Cabalist and Philosopher," he made good his opportunity and inquired into such things for example as alchemy and other transcendental lore (*vide* vol. ii., pp. 173-74; iii., 348, 470, etc.). On one occasion (July 1st, 1777) he seems to have felt the need of apologizing for his interest in such subjects and states most emphatically that he is no "Adept" of what he terms the "Rosacruzian Philosophy," adding this bit of information touching our rabbi: "The only Man that I ever suspected as a real & true Adept was Rabbi Tobias [*sic*] of Poland, but he evaded my Interrogatives & communicated to me nothing—I believe he was only a conjectural speculative Philosopher" (cf. vol. ii. p. 174). Of another man, whom he believed to be an "adept," he says (*ibid.*, p. 216) that "he might have passed among the Chemists for a בעל שם . . ."

The evening of the 30th of November he again spent in the Rabbi's society "at Mr. Touros," and he records the fact that the former preached on Nov. 20th, 27th, and December 4th. The last time he too attended, and heard him discourse in Dutch for 56 minutes (*ibid.*, p. 423). The visit of this Polish Rabbi put him in mind of his friend Carigal for on the 3d of December he finished a Hebrew letter of 22 pages to him.

Now we come to the fifth rabbi, whose name the diarist has preserved in his journal. The single reference to him, under date of June 15th, 1774 (*ibid.*, p. 443) is as full as one may expect:

"Yesterday, visited a new Rabbi come to Town. Rabbi Bosquila from Smyrna in the Levant where he was born and educated. He resided with his Family 14 years in London, is now æt. 61, for many years has followed Traffic & laid aside his rabbinical Studies. He says he has not read the Talmud, which I was surprised at, as by the Certificate under the hand of a London Rabbi he appears to be indeed a Rabbi—but he has read the Zohar. The Bible and Zohar he is versed in and few other Books. He is of contracted and limited Literature—he is among the Rabbins, as a Minister whose Reading has been limited to the Bible and Willards [Ridglys] Body of Divinity among the Ministers of New England."

The *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* does not mention either Bosquila or Carigal, though both of them claimed to have spent some years in London, the latter as teacher at a *Beth ha-Midrash* (see above). The name itself is quite unique, in its peculiar orthography in Jewish literature. It is possible that here, too, we have a case of phonetic spelling, and that *Bosquila* is identical with *Boshal*. Such an identification is made plausible not only by the various ways in which that name is pronounced (see Steinschneider *Bodleian Catalogus*, p. 1780, No. 6440), but by reason of the fact that both our Rabbi Bosquila and Moses ben Solomon dei Boshal (or Buschal) hail from Smyrna. The latter flourished about the middle of the XVIIth Century (see the bibliographers) and the date of Bosquila's birth is 1713. There is no other known person bearing that name.

The last one of the six Rabbis, whom the diarist knew personally, was Rabbi Samuel Cohen, who is mentioned, under date of June 29th, 1775 (*ibid.*, p. 578), as arrived from Jerusalem 3½ years ago. Him too, as was his custom, the worthy Doctor visited

first. The call was soon afterwards returned by the Rabbi, in company with the Reader of the synagogue, who seems to have taken all such dignitaries of the temple under his wing. The Rabbi is "æt. 34," writes the diarist (*ibid.*, p. 584) on July 10th; "was born & educated in the Holy Land, & came from Hebron about 3 years ago. He is a *Priest*, being of the Family of Aaron. Very agreeable. His learning rather general than profound. . . ." The account, owing to exigencies of space, breaks off again abruptly, and the only other items recorded of his Jewish friend are that the latter preached in the synagogue on the occasion of the Continental Fast ordered by Congress at Philadelphia and appointed by Proclamation by the General Assembly of the Colony, July 20, 1775 (p. 591); and that he visited him August 16th (p. 601), after the Rabbi had paid his respects to him some three weeks before (July 26th, p. 594). Their chief topic of conversation was on some seeming inconsistencies of the Biblical code, the decipherment of certain rock-inscriptions on Mt. Sinai and some minor points in the topography of Jerusalem—all of which are too unimportant to be reproduced. During the Rabbi's residence at Newport he attended worship once, on the 15th of July (p. 585).

This is the long but uniformly interesting story of the literary friendship between Ezra Stiles and the six Jewish wise men from the East, whose name and fame are so faithfully chronicled for righteousness in the journal of one of the most learned and loyal Americans in New England. It forms a precious chapter in the history of human culture.

FURTHER PROGRESS IN SEMITICS AND THE STUDY
OF HEBREW AT YALE.

The arrival of Rabbi Carigal in Newport was an epoch in the life of Dr. Stiles. It was not without influence upon his Hebrew studies. At the very first interview with his Jewish friend he conversed on the difference of the dialects of the Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical Hebrew, on the Targums, Talmud and kindred subjects (vol. i., pp. 357-8). Before long we find him corresponding at length in fluent Hebrew and filling a score of quarto pages, addressed to the Rabbi, with a dissertation on the divinity of the Messiah, composed in the sacred tongue (see *supra*, p. 84). This interesting correspondence, together with other Hebrew and Arabic papers, are preserved among his literary remains at the Yale University Library and, it is to be hoped, will soon be made accessible by the present writer elsewhere. They afford ample material for a special chapter, setting forth the attainments of Dr. Stiles in Hebrew and other Semitic languages. On the 19th of June 1773 (vol. i., p. 388) he finished reading Abulfeda's *Description of Africa* in Arabic; on December 10th, then entering into his 46th year, he "began to read a daily portion of the Targum of Onkelos in Chaldee" (*ibid.* p. 424); on the 31st he wrote another long letter of 29 pages in Hebrew to Rabbi Carigal and he records the interesting fact that Rev. Dr. Samuel Locke, President of Harvard College, whom he lauds as a "Hebrician," made an "Oration in *Chaldee* at the first public Commencement after his Election to the Presidency," which he heard (p. 390). At one of these academic functions in July, 1773, there was, besides the other scholastic tournaments, "a Dialogue in Arabic" (p. 400) which speaks well for the Oriental department of that in-

stitution. January 18th of the following year finds him examining the Syriac translation of the New Testament (p. 431); February 2d, the Targum on Psalm XLV. (p. 435), and by the 14th of May, he "finished reading the Targum on the last 16 Chapters of Isaiah by Jon^a Ben Uzziel" (p. 440). On November 16th he consults the Targum on Zechariah (p. 476); on the 18th he is busy comparing New Testament passages in Syriac (p. 485); and on the 16th of December he records with much joy the receipt of a batch of Rabbinical commentaries from New Haven via New York, and adds that he has now "a feast of Hebrew" (pp. 501-2). On February 15th, 1775 he is reading a dissertation "on the Hebrew Points," concerning the antiquity of which he addresses a letter to a tutor at Yale. A copy of this is preserved among his papers (p. 517). March 23d finds him deep in the perusal of "the History of Hai Ebn Yohdhan, written in Arabic by Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophail about A.D. 1150" (p. 528). On May 18th, having finished the Bible, he began again with critical reference to the Greek and Hebrew versions and occasional use of the Zohar, the Syriac text and the Rabbis (p. 555). His critique of the comparative utility of all these aids to interpretation (pp. 556-58; 591-2) is highly entertaining. On July 19th he is writing another letter in Hebrew to his friend Carigal (p. 589); on the 27th he is "reading in the Talmud" (p. 594). Then follows quite a significant pause in his Oriental studies, owing, no doubt, to the strenuous times through which the country was then passing. On the 11th of July, 1778, he resumes his pastime, for such it was to him, only now his attention turns to *Armenian* (vol. ii., p. 282) instead of Syriac.

On the 27th he enters upon a new phase of his scholastic career as teacher of Semitics at

Yale. Though this service was not required of the college president, he volunteered, wishing to benefit the college to the utmost of his power. The entry he makes in his Day-Book under this date is highly interesting, inasmuch as he makes us acquainted with some "Hebricians" among the tutors and students, the latter numbering a little over a score, all mentioned by name. The 31st of the month finds him duly installed in his new dignity (*ibid.*, pp. 290-291). A little less than a year afterwards (June 28, 1779; *ib.*, p. 350) a Hebrew oration is a feature of the exercises connected with the public examination of the candidates for the degree of A. B. at Harvard College. On the 30th he jots down some complacent reflections on the excellent progress made by the freshmen in Hebrew. "I began with the Alphabet" says he "& carried the whole Class thro' more or less accordg to their Arrivals. I divided them into 2 parts—one have recited the first & part of the 2^d psalm; the other & principal part have finished translating the seven first psalms and parsed the first & part of the 2^d psalm." No wonder then, that in the full glow of pride, he should exclaim: "I do not find that any Class have been carried thro' half so much these many years" (p. 350). For over a year we hear nothing more of his classes; on July 24th 1780 (p. 452) the freshmen are again under his charge in Hebrew and it would seem from an entry in the *Diary*, under date of August 21st, that they had a daily recitation (p. 459). The next year he began his instruction on June 20th, only half of the Freshman Class participating (p. 541). On September 12th, 1781, though "in constant fear that Commencement will be interrupted by the Enemy," elaborate exercises were held, which were all the more interesting because it was the first public ceremony after an intermission of seven

years. The duties of the President on that occasion were arduous, including "an Oration upon the Oriental Learning, in Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic." The manuscript of this Hebrew oration, we are told by the editor of the *Diary* (p. 554, note 2), is preserved among Dr. Stiles's papers. It appears that it had, originally, been written in 1778, this being the first opportunity for its delivery. That day must have been a great intellectual feast for Dr. Stiles. On the 10th of October he is deep in the Babylonian Talmud (p. 558), and January 4th, 1782, finds him engaged in teaching "two Hebrew Classes at separate Recitations" (vol. iii., p. 1). The study of Hebrew at Yale seems to have been encouraged by a special endowment-fund of "£22 Silver Money per ann. to the President & Fellows of Yale College for . . . a Professorship of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages." The donor was the Rev. Richard Salter (*Diary*, May 15th, 1781; vol. ii., p. 533; vol. iii., p. 262). On the afternoon of a hot summer day, July 22, 1782, Hebrew recitations were resumed (*ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 32); on the following day he instructed two classes, and thenceforth two Hebrew exercises a day were quite the rule (*ibid.*, pp. 33, 36, 51, 81, 88, 89, 90 *et passim*). Sometimes, in his zeal for Hebrew studies, he taught three hours at a stretch (p. 88). By the 3d of September, 1783 (p. 91), the Freshmen had gone through three Psalms in the original. The next year there were several flourishing Hebrew classes (p. 127). In the meanwhile the diarist sought recreation in reading Ethiopic texts (p. 117) and acquiring French (p. 130), besides indulging in occasional disquisitions upon Biblical themes, quoting all the learned data at his command. Sometimes, too, as in vol. iii., p. 88, he calls our attention to Semitic scholars and Orientalists, concerning whom the present writer has a word

to say in another place. We even hear of a balloon-ascension, the chief attraction of which, to the diarist, appears to have been "a flag of the United States," with the legend, "Nil Intentatum nostri liquere afixed to it in seven different Languages—viz Latin Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic French & German" (May 10, 1785; vol. iii., p. 161). Prizes were evidently offered to Hebrew classes as an inducement to study (*ibid.*, p. 134), although the Doctor's own children, out of pure devotion, read their Bible through five and six times, as in the case of his two daughters, 17 and 19 years old respectively (*ibid.*). The Hebrew recitations were continued at regular intervals. On one day the journal records three exercises. It is needless to do more now than refer to the entries on the subject of the progress of his classes, the quotations being altogether too numerous to reproduce (See pp. 141, 144, 148, 164, 167, 174, 175, 176, 183, 200, 232, 234, 236, 237, 255, 257, 258, 267, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276, 278, 279, etc., etc.). Occasionally a tutor examined his Freshmen in the sacred tongue (cf. p. 272). It is not to be assumed that Dr. Stiles's pupils were all enthusiasts in their work. Quite to the contrary. We have on record a characteristic confession from the pen of one, who was then, in 1788, a Senior, and who (the Hon. Jeremiah Mason) writes thus in his *Autobiography*: "During our Senior year . . . the President insisted that the whole class should undertake the study of Hebrew. We learned the alphabet, and worried through two or three Psalms, after a fashion; with the most of us it was mere pretense. The President had the reputation of being very learned in Hebrew, as well as several other Eastern dialects. For the Hebrew he possessed a high veneration. He said one of the Psalms he tried to teach us would

be the first we should hear sung in heaven, and that he should be ashamed that any one of his pupils should be entirely ignorant of that holy language" (*Diary*, vol. iii., p. 306, note 2).

The diarist was too sagacious not to know that his students were not all uniformly devoted to Semitics. On June 30th, 1790, he writes under the burden of this knowledge: "From my first Accession to the Presidency 1777 to 1790 I have obliged all the Freshmen to study Hebrew. This has proved very disagreeable to a Number of the Students. This year I have determined to instruct only those who offer themselves voluntarily, and that at subsecivis horis only without omitting any of the three daily classical Recitations to their Tutor. Accordingly of 39 Fresh. 22 have asked for Instruction in Heb. and these Accordingly I teach at iv. P.M. Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays. I have besides several of the other classes at other times" (*ibid.*, p. 397). And yet, despite the revolt against the study of Hebrew, some of the students gained proficiency in Semitics and at college-commencements, Sept. 14, 1785 and Sept. 12, 1792, one of their number "delivered an Hebrew Oration" (*ibid.*, p. 184; 474). Dr. Stiles must have been a wonderful pedagogue, for in less than two week's time, he says, that he taught a Freshman, wholly ignorant of Hebrew, almost the entire grammar, including the translation and parsing of Psalm I. in the original (see p. 410).

Though his time was well occupied, the genial diarist did not for a moment neglect his own private studies. His critical researches and exegetical notes, scattered throughout the pages of the journal, would vindicate for him quite a prominent place in the ranks of American Orientalists (vol. ii., pp. 465-7; 508; iii., 3; 32-33; 347). To a lengthy passage from

the Book of Tobit, which he quotes in full, he appends a rather tedious, if learned, dissertation on Messianic prophecy, and fixes the approximate date of the Return of the Jews to Jerusalem to rebuild the Third Temple, which, he maintains, will take place A.D. 2370. "They will accomplish this effectually about perhaps 20 miles North of it [Jerusalem] & elect themselves a King whose Name shall be David or Beloved." There is much more in this strain, showing that Dr. Stiles was really one of the forerunners of Zionism. He called himself a "Millennialist," and was always gratified to find similar views and convictions in others (cf. vol. iii., p. 393). The Hebrew phrases, generously interspersed here and there in his remarks (sadly misprinted in the *Diary*, as, for instance, in vol. ii., pp. 465, 466, 508; vol. iii., pp. 32, 534), would indicate his easy familiarity with certain idioms and colloquialisms current among Jews (cf. vol. iii., pp. 33, 35). He is very fond of using Hebrew characters, and, once or twice (pp. 35, 36), he employs them as a sort of cipher-code. The name *YHVH* was never absent from his speculations on mystic emblems (vol. iii., p. 470), and he actually believed, judging from a significant passage in his Day-Book (February 11th, 1781; vol. ii., p. 509), to have spread new light on Messianic prophecy by his own interpretation of Jewish authors: "So the Christians with their Lights can better understand the Rabbinical Writ^{gs} than the Rabbins themselves." All his zeal and enthusiasm in examining original Hebrew texts (vol. iii., p. 201), passages in the Syriac version (*ibid.*, p. 208), in the Targum and other Jewish commentaries (p. 342) were directed toward the attainment of one object—to glorify Christian doctrine. He was not narrow in any sense, not even in theology, but yet his constant insistence upon Jewish proofs of New Testament truths is a bit trying.

"Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew" must have lent him much food for kindred thought (*ibid.*, p. 345). On March 25th, 1790 (*ibid.*, p. 386), he records that he has "finished the Transl^t of the Life of Joseph the Father of Christ into Hebrew twenty eight Pages Quarto. I translated it from the Latin," adds he, "which was a Trans^t from the Arabic, which had been translated from the Hebrew or Syriac. As a curious Experiment I translated it into Hebrew." Three years later (January 5, 1793; *ibid.*, p. 483) he writes: "Yesterday I finished translat^s the Hist^y of Joseph the Carpenter in English. It was originally written in Hebrew by the Apostles: thence translated into Arabic: thence by Willen in 1722 into Latin: from thence I translated it into English." I leave the solution of this curious bibliographic puzzle to learned specialists.

Besides delivering several discourses on the Oriental languages (*ibid.*, pp. 213, 236, 335, 341, 421); "reading Josipus [*sic*] Ben Gorion" (*ib.*, p. 237) and a large quarto volume by Bayerius on "Hebrew-Samar. Shekels & Coins," sent to him by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, an occasional donor of Hebrew books (*ibid.*, p. 388; cf. vol. i., p. 70), he made some study of vulgar Arabic, as spoken by negro slaves in Trinidad, in the West Indies (vol. iii., p. 276), and in July, 1793, devoted much time to "read^s the Alcoran" (p. 498; cf. also p. 518). Nor was this all; on September 9th, 1781 (vol. ii., p. 553), he wrote a "Letter in Hebrew to Mr. Simpson [*sic*] the aged Jew at Wilton in Norwalk" [Connecticut], concerning whom Prof. Dexter's abbreviated text tenders no other information save that he was an old man, "æt. 86 circa . . . a Refugee from N. York." The diarist visited him on January 18, 1782. (vol. iii., p. 3), and describes with much care a MS. Bible, written on parchment and held to be 1200 years old, which

the owner's son, Mr. Simson [*sic*], Jr., had brought to him for inspection (*ibid.*, pp. 3, 32-33). Owing to exigencies of space, I shall reserve this interesting bibliographic note for publication elsewhere, together with other critical items from the *Diary*, here omitted.

Dr. Stiles had other Jewish correspondents besides those already mentioned in these pages. Under date of May 3d, 1790 (vol. iii., p. 392) we read: "Last week I rec^d a Lett. from Mr. Isaac Pinto a learned Jew at N York, dated 14 Apr., upon the Heb. Inscription which I found at Kent last fall. He adds no Light upon the subject being as much puzzled as I was. . . ." Here the editor of the journal breaks off abruptly and we learn nothing more of these Semitic antiquities, but elsewhere he refers quite often to other alleged inscriptions in Punic or Phœnician character graven on a Rock at Dighton, Mass., the identity of which puzzled him a good deal. The eager diarist had made two copies of the rock-engraved legend, one in 1766 and another in 1788. He mentions other Hebrew inscriptions in Rhode Island and Connecticut, one of which he assumes, because the "characters are good Hebrew" and well executed, to have been the work of "Jews who have been visiting the Kent & New Milfd. Mountains for Gold Mines for 30 y. past" (cf. p. 368). The date on one of them is 1733. Mr. Pinto's letter to Dr. Stiles is upon the elucidation of this mystery (see, concerning Pinto, the references in *Appendix I.*, No 2: "Jews in New Haven and elsewhere in Connecticut"). The diarist appears to have written a dissertation upon these Hebrew antiquities (*ibid.*, p. 396) and to have corresponded with a number of learned archæologists on the subject (see also pp. 19-20; 72; 330; 366; 402). Similar finds have been made in Brazil, in the West Indies, in Newark, N. J., and New York, and there is quite an extensive controversy extant as to their authenticity.

APPENDIX I.

STATISTICAL NOTES

1.—THE JEWS IN NEWPORT.

Among Dr. Stiles' papers is a list of "Jews in Newport in 1760," as follows [*Literary Diary*, vol. i., p. 11, note 2]:

2 Harts,	4 souls
Moses Levy & Brother,	7 "
— Sarsidas,	6 "
Aaron Lopez,	7 "
Moses Lopez,	11 "
Jacob Isaacs,	5 "
Isaac Elizur,	2 "
old Polloc,	6 "
Issachar Polloc,	1 "
— Polloc, junior,	2 "
Rod. Levarez [<i>Alvarez?</i>],	5 "
— Hart,	2 "
— Lucina,	— "

To this list is appended the note, "Moses Levy reckoned 56 souls of Jews Mar. 2, 1761, and 10 Families."

From the draft of a letter of Dr. Stiles to the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, of London, dated June 20, 1764, and preserved among the Stiles Papers:

We have 15 or 20 Families of Jews here, almost the only ones in New England (& perhaps there are not so many more on this Continent). They have erected a small synagogue in New York; and another at Newport, met in for the first time in December last; it is superbly finished withinside at a cost of £2,000. sterling; in the place of the Ark they have deposited Three Vellum Copies, Rolls of the Law, one of which is said to be above Two hundred years old, which I judge true from the Aspect & Rabbinical Flourishes. They have a Chuzzan from Amsterdam [on the Scrolls of the Law, see our notes *supra*, pp. 59, 61].

In 1755 Dr. Stiles, writing to a friend in England, reports fifteen Jewish families in Newport (*vide* above, p. 18).

In 1760 the number remains the *same* (see Willner, in *Publ. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 6, p. 124).

The following is a "List of owners of vessels in Newport in 1762, according to the diarist (Willner, *l.c.*):

" Mr. Lopez.....1 brig
 " Hart.....1 ship.....2 brigs
 " Jacob Isaacs.....1 brig
 " Elizur.....2 sloops.....
 " Meyers.....1 sloop"

Aaron Lopez, as we have seen above (p. 30), had, in 1772, about 20 vessels.

In 1773 he wrote: "There are now in Town about Twenty-five Families of Jews" (cf. *supra*, p. 23).

Although Ralph Isaacs, Jr., frequently mentioned in the *Diary* (cf. Index, vol. iii., p. 605^a), is said to have been of Jewish descent (see *Publications*, No. 6, pp. 151-53), he need not be taken into account in this paper.

2.—JEWS IN NEW HAVEN AND ELSEWHERE IN CONNECTICUT.

In 1760, Dr. Stiles found, on inquiry, that there were no Jews in the colony of Connecticut.

In 1762 he records that a list of all families in Bristol contains no Jews. On January 6th, 1762, he writes: "I learn in conversation with Capt. Jno. Nichols that there are no Jews in New Haven." One year later, January 27th, 1763, he says: "Dr. Hubbard of New Haven [father-in-law of Dr. Stiles] writes me that five Papists, but no Jews live there" (Willner, *l.c.*).

On the 7th of September, 1772, he set out on a journey to Connecticut, and in a separate volume, called *Itinerary*, under date of September 13th, we read the following item (vol. i., pp. 283-84):

"The Summer past a Family of Jews settled here, the first real Jews (except two Jew Brothers Pintos who

renounced Judaism & all Religion) that settled in N. Haven. They came from *Venice*, sat down some little Time at Eustatia in W. Indies, & lately removed here. They are three Brothers (Adults) with an aged Mother, and a Widow & her Children, being in all about 10 or 8 Souls Jews, with six or 8 Negroes. Last Saturday they kept holy; Dr. Hubbard was sent for then to see one of them sick:—he told me the Family were worship^d by themselves in a Room in which were Lights & a suspended Lamp. This is the first Jewish Worship in New Haven. . . . [editor's abridgment] These Jews indeed worship in the Jewish Manner; but they are not eno' to constitute & become a Synagogue, for which there must be 12 Men at least. So that if there shd. hereafter be a Synagogue in N. H. it must not be dated from this Besides these there is a few [Jews?] in Town that belong to none of these Meetings but are Separates & associate with others scattered in the neighboring parishes."

The two brothers, whose estrangement from the synagogue is noted by the accurate diarist, were Jacob and Solomon Pinto, the latter being among those captured by the British in 1779 (*Diary*, vol. ii., p. 365; cf. *supra*, p. 35). They are both included in the "Roll of the Citizens of New Haven Feb. 5, 1784." At their first incorporation, as among the "Persons Quallified according to Law to be made Free of this Corporation" (*Diary*, vol. iii., pp. 107, col. 2; 109, col. 2). Whether they were related to the Pintos of New York, who are likewise mentioned by the diarist, it is difficult to determine.

A Jacob and Samuel Pinto are signed as witnesses to the will of Joshua Isaacs dated July 13, 1744 (*Record of Wills* in N. Y. Surrogate's office, vol. xv., Nos. 245 and 246, pp. 235-37; see my notes in *Publications Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, p. 143, note 20), and members of the same family, no doubt, lived in Surinam and in the West Indies.

Isaac Pinto, who is most likely identical with the English translator of the Sephardic prayerbook (see my notes, *l.c.*, pp. 118-22; and also in Bishop Wright's *Early Prayerbooks in America*, New York, 1896, where a facsimile of the title-page is given; see furthermore an article in the *Israelite*, Cincinnati, 1863, vol. x., No. 13, p. 100: "An American Hebrew Translator"), corresponded in Hebrew with Rabbi Carigal in Newport, in June, 1773, with reference to some Arabic words in Ibn Ezra (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 386; see Appendix II., entry: "June 14th"). In May, 1790, Dr. Stiles received a letter from Mr. Isaac Pinto, whom he describes as a learned Jew in New York, upon some Hebrew rock-inscriptions which taxed the diarist's ingenuity (vol. iii., p. 392). It is evident from all this that at least learned Jews in colonial America kept pretty well in touch with one another.

3.—JEWS IN PHILADELPHIA.

"Mr. Tauro the Jew priest or Chuzan of this Town tells me," says Dr. Stiles, under date of July 18th, 1771 (vol. i., p. 124), "there are about a Dozen Jew Families in Philadelphia, and that they are opening a Synagogue there. He is lately from New York, but did not see the York Chuzan because he was gone to Philad^a upon that affair. I suppose therefore that he has gone to form them & begin the Synag. Worship there. They have no Edifice as yet. But I conclude this may date the Beginning of the Synag. Worship in Philad^a."

Of the alleged conversion of Mr. Hayes, a Jew of Philadelphia, who had a brother living in Newport, we have already spoken (cf. *supra*, pp. 45-46).

On February 20th, 1789 (vol. iii., pp. 341-2), Dr. Stiles drew up a comparative table of "Births & Burials in the City of Philadelphia from Dec. 25, 1787 to Dec. 55, 1788." The list is too long to be copied in full. The largest number of "christenings" among German Lutherans was 421; burials, 157; among Jews, *five* of one and *two* of the other.

“Remark 1. Say Totals of Deaths in the year 1161 or 1200, and this 30th part, then the Number of Inhab. in the City may be estimated 35 Thous^d Souls. Rem. 2. As 1200 : 35 or 3600 :: 100 : 3000 Souls. At which rate the Sects stand thus:

Germans.....	229 + Swedes 15 = 244
Eng. Episc ^o	152
Quakers	148
Romanists.....	145
Presbyterians	101 but 173 incl. Germ. Calv.
Baptists.....	4
Sweeds.....	15
JEWS.....	2
Moravians.....	6”

4.—JEWS IN GEORGIA.

According to the account of the Rev. Mr. Fink (quoted by Dr. Stiles, vol. i., pp. 353-4), there were in Savannah, Georgia, in 1770 or 1771, the following denominations:

	Families	Men	Negroes	Total
Chh of England.....	180....	664....	521....	1185
Lutherans.....	35....	134....	59....	193
Presb. & Independ'ts....	92....	327....	172....	499
JEWS.....	6....	27....	22....	49
Infidels.....	11....	23....	7....	30
Negroes besides.....	40
[Total:].....	324	1175	782	1996

I think this is not accurate. The 324 families cannot yield many more than 1175 souls, which he calls “Men.” The third item in the total count ought to be 781, not 782. It is interesting to note that the Jews owned 22 negro slaves. In New Haven, too, as we have seen above (see this Appendix, No. 2), “10 or 8 Souls Jews” had “six or 8 negroes.” We remark in passing that the Jews in New York and New England, as has been pointed out elsewhere (see my Essay, *The Jamaican*

Anti-Slavery Movement and the Jews, 1902), were large slaveholders. Isaac Rodriguez Marquise, a Jewish merchant of New York, who carried on an extensive trade in the West Indies, makes it one of the provisions of his will, dated October 17th, 1706, that in case his "dear mother, Rachel Marquise . . . cannot agree with them [his children] or likes to live by herself, she is to receive £50, and a good serviceable negro woman shall be purchased for her" (see *Abstracts of Wills*, vol. i., 1665-1707, in "Collections of New York Historical Society for the year 1892," New York, 1893, p. 439; also *Jewish Messenger*, June 28th, 1901, p. 11).

For statistics of the Jews in Jerusalem in the year 1773, communicated to Dr. Stiles by Rabbi Carigal, see *Appendix II.*, entry: "July 16th."

APPENDIX II.

RABBI HAJIM ISAAC CARIGAL AND EZRA STILEŠ.

[*March 5th, 1773*, vol. i, p. 354.]: "Visited . . . two young gentlemen returning home from Philadelphia. They arrived here yesterday from New York, and tell me there came with them from New York a hebrew Rabbi from Macpelah in the Holy Land." [This is the first reference to Carigal, or as he is sometimes called, R. Isaac, in the *Diary*.]

[*March 8th, ibid.*]: "This Evening I went to the Synagogue, it being the Eve of *Purim*. The Chuzan read thro' the Book of Esther. There I saw Rabbi Carigal I judge aet. 45. lately from the City of Hebron, the Cave of Macpelah in the Holy Land. He was one of the two persons that stood by the Chuzan at the Taubauh [*sic*] or reading Desk while the Book of Esther was read. He was dressed in a red Garment with the usual Phylacteries and habiliments, the white silk Surplice; he wore a high brown furr Cap, had a long Beard. He has the appearance of an ingenious & sensible Man. . . ."

[*March 30th*, pp. 357-8.]: "This Afternoon the Rabbi came to visit me in Company with Mr. Lopez. The Rabbi is aet. 39, a large Man, neat and well dressed in the Turkish Habit. We conversed largely on the Gemara, the 2 Talmuds (of which he preferred the Babylonish), the Changes of the Hebrew Language in different Ages &c. &c. He was born in Hebron, where he says are only 107 Families of Jews. From aet. 7, has followed his Studies. He says, one may breakfast at Hebron and dine at Jerusalem, which are but six hours apart. He has been at Samaria, Tiberias, and thro' the Holy Land, at Constantinople &c. &c. He spake of Aly Bey, and shewed me a passage in the *Zohar* which he said predicted that the *Russians should*

conquer the Turks. I observed that in the Original it was that *Edom* should conquer the *Ismaelites* — he replied that Edom there denoted a Northern Power, and the Ismaelites those of their Religion. He said he did not understand *Arabic* to read it, upon my showing an Arabic Extract from Eutychius. Yet he said it was the common Tongue now in the Holy Land, and only the Jews were not allowed to learn the Writings. I shewed him the first Psalm in Arabic but in Hebrew Letters — He read it off freely — and I suppose I then for the first Time heard the true pronunciation of Arabic. He said the vernacular Arabic now was different from the antient. We talked upon the difference of the Dialects of the Chaldee, Syriac, and rabbinical Hebrew, on the Targums &c. Evening coming on he took Leave in a polite & friendly manner.

[*April 6th*, pp. 360-1.]: “In the Afternoon I visited Rabbi Haijm Isaac Karigal aet. 39. He was born at Hebron near the Cave of Macpelah. Has travelled all over the Holy Land and to Aleppo, Ezekiels Tomb, and Bagdat [*sic*] the Extent of his Travels Eastward: — Constantinople — Holland — London — Amercia. We conversed much freely — he is learned and truly modest, far more so than I ever saw a Jew. I asked him how he approved the LXX Translation? He said he had never seen it: but the Gemara spake of it as made for King Ptolomy and allowed it to have been done by Learned Jews or 72 persons sent by the Sanhedrim”

[*April 8th*, pp. 362-3.]: “This day is Passover with the Jews. I went to the Synagogue. The Chocam [*sic*] Rabbi was there; he was one called up to the Reading of the Law — but I observed he *did not read his own portion* of the Law — which I wondered at; however he audibly pronounced the short prayer instead of the Huzzan before reading his part, and after the Huzzan had read the portion, the Rabbi alone and without the Chuzan lift up his voice and pronounced

the Blessing. This is repeated by the Chuzan usually for every one of the 7 persons — but this part the Rabbi did for himself; and he performed no other part of the Service as distinct from the Congregation.

The Rabbi's Dress or Apparel: Common English Shoes, black Leather, Silver flowered Buckles, White Stockings. His general Habit was Turkish. A *green Silk Vest* or long under Garment reaching down more than half way the Legs or within 3 Inches of the Ankles, the ends of the Sleeves of this Vest appeared on the Wrists in a foliage Turn-up of 3 inches, & the Opening little larger than that the hand might pass freely. A Girdle or Sash of different Colors red and green girt the Vest around his Body. It appeared not to be open at the bottom but to come down like a petticoat; and no Breeches could be discovered. This Vest however had an opening above the Girdle—and he put in his *Handkerchief*, and *Snuff-box*, and *Watch*. Under this was an inner Vest of Calico, besides other Jewish Talismans. Upon the vest first mentioned was a *scarlet outer Garment* of Cloth, one side of it was Blue, the *outside scarlet*; it reached down about an Inch lower than the Vest, or near the Ankles. It was open before, no range of Buttons &c. along the Edge, but like a Scholars Gown in the Body but plain and without many gatherings at the Neck, the sleeves strait or narrow and slit open 4 or 5 Inches at the End, and turned up with a *blue silk Quarter Cuff*, higher up than at the End of the sleeve of the Vest. When he came into the Synoguge he put over all, the usual *Alb* or white *Surplice*, which was like that of other Jews, except that its Edge was striped with *Blue strais*, and had *more Fringe*. He had a White Cravat round his Neck. He had a long black Beard, the upper Lip partly shaven—his Head shaved all over. On his Head a high Fur [Sable] Cap, exactly like a Woman's Muff, and about 9 or 10 Inches high, the Aperture atop was closed with green cloth. He behaved mod-

estly and reverently. Some part of the Singing in the Synagogue this day was exceeding fine & melodious.

[*April 17th. p. 367*]: "Went to the Synagogue, Mr. Rivera began and read the Prayers &c. till the Taking out of the Roll of the Law, which Rabbi Hajim Isaac held up and turned around and shewed to all parts of the Synagogue, and then went to his place and the Chuzzan proceeded & read the Law,"

[*April 22nd & 23rd, p. 368*]: "At Synagogue Evening prayers."

"I visited the Rabbi. He shewed me the form of the Candlesticks of Moses and Zechariah. We discoursed on many Things. . . . I asked him whether Moses wrote all the Pentateuch, particularly the Account of his own Death? & also Gen. 36, 31?—he answered, yes; that he wrote of Things future and present, so Isaiah wrote of Cyrus. I asked him whether by the usual Intercalation, the *hebrew chronology* was perfect—the Jewish year exactly solar?—yes. How long their chronology had been reduced to perfection, & whether antiently there were no Errors or Deviations from Solar Time? He said it *was perfect from the Beginning*, the principles of it were laid down in the six Days Creation, & had been delivered down from the earliest Antiquity. I wanted more closely to attend to this Matter, as he spake with the deliberate Confidence of Demonstration—and he is a Man of great Modesty and Candor, and most remote from a disposition to obtrude his own Assertions without being ready to offer the Reasons. But we had not Time."

[*April 26th, p. 370*]: "This afternoon *Rabbi Isaac* with Mr. Tauro [elsewhere spelt *Touro*] visited me, and sat with me in my Study till Evening. . . . We viewed a large sheet of antient Characters of the original Oriental Paleography; & examined some Medallions or Coins with Samaritan Letters, one of Simeon the Maccabean Prince. Upon which a Dispute arose, whether Moses wrote in Samaritan or Chaldee? The

Rabbi said he wrote in the present Letter of the Heb. Bible—that Ezra did not change the Letter, & would by no means allow that the Samaritan was original. He had never seen these Sheckels & Coins, & was unacquainted with the Reasoning upon them. He attempted to consider them as spurious, but at length seemed to grant them genuine; yet knew not how to account for Inscriptions in Samaritan with *Jerusalem the Holy*, which a Samaritan would not say after the Return from Babylon. He was puzzled yet spake like a Man of Candor, & dissented in such a manner as was pleasing and noble. I asked him whether Lots Wife was still standing in a Pillar of Salt on the Shores of the Dead Sea? or whether this Fable was without Truth. He said he had not seen it, having never been there, nor even to any part of that Sea, tho' Hebron was but 6 or 7 miles off from the Sea. For the Turks do not suffer the Jews to travel all the holy Land—they are allowed to visit Jerusalem & some other places—but restricted as to others; which was the reason that though he lived so near the Dead Sea of Sodom, he had never visited it."

[*May 10th, pp. 373-4.*]: "This Afternoon R. Isaac visited me again. I shewed him the Inscriptions on Mt. Sinai, which he had never seen nor ever heard of before—but he could not read them—yet seemed much pleased with them. I shewed him my Drawing of the *Writing Rock* at Dighton, but neither could he decipher this [*vide above*, p. 108.] I asked him what age the oldest Copy of the Hebrew Bible was he ever saw? He said the oldest he ever saw was one at Hebron, which was nine hundred years old. I observed there was a Copy of the Lxx in the Kings Library in England 1400 years old written in Egypt by a Christian Lady Thecla; and this was the oldest Book I knew of in the World.* He said he had never heard of this.

* EDITOR'S NOTE: "The famous *Codex Alexandrinus*

As he had been at *Bologna*, having lived six years in Italy, I told him Montfaucon said that there was a very antient Copy of the Law in the University of Bologna, which had been bought of certain Rabbins who asserted it to be the very copy written by Ezra the Scribe.* I asked him, whether he saw it when he was there; he said he had heard nothing of it, & did not believe it true."

[*May 15th, ibid.*]: "Went to Synagogue—while the Huzzan read the Law, the Rabbi sitting at the upper end of the Synagogue, the Huzzan pronounced a Word wrong Levit. 25, 29, upon which the Rabbi corrected him publicly, and called out *Gaulto, Gaulto*, and obliged the Huzzan to correct himself. The Rabbi appears to have great Authority."

[The words underscored have, no doubt, reference to the Hebrew *ge'ulatho* (גְּאֻלָּתוֹ) in the passage cited. It is interesting to know how Hebrew was pronounced by a Palestinian Rabbi of the xviiith century.]

Prof. F. B. Dexter informs us, in a footnote, on p. 375, that under date of May 24th, 1773, there is inserted in the Diary *a letter in Hebrew to Rabbi Carigal, with an English translation*. The subject is the antiquity of the Hebrew letters. Two years later, on Feb. 16, 1775, he is found writing a letter on the same subject (Antiquity of the Points) to Mr. Tutor Lewis of Yale College. "The more I consider the subject, the more I am inclined to judge the Points co-eval with the Hebrew Language," says he. Prof. Dexter states, in a note on p. 517 of vol. i., that Dr. Stiles has preserved a copy of this letter (see *supra*, p. 100). We read in the Diary under date of Sept. 30th, 1773, that he "Finished Transcript of Letter to the Rabbi," and on December 3d,

transferred from the King's Library to the British Museum in 1753; now referred to about A. D. 450. The inscription upon it which makes Thekla the scribe is not credited."

*A like antiquity has been claimed for almost all the Biblical codices in the world. G. A. K.

that he had written a Hebrew Letter of 22 pages to Karigal. On Dec. 30th of the same year, he writes : "Finished another Copy of my Lett^r in Heb[rew] to R. Carigal in 29 pages"; and on July 19th, 1775, we read this entry : "Writing a Hebrew Letter to R. Carigal of Barbadoes." He had received but two from the Rabbi since his removal to Surinam and thence to the West Indies ; one, on Dec. 25, 1773, and the other, on Nov. 3d, 1775. All this correspondence, as well as the letters of the Rabbi to Dr. Stiles, are preserved at the Yale University Library.]

[*May 28th, pp. 376-7*]: "Pentecost. Went to the Synagogue at ix h. A.M. At reading the Law the Rabbi was desired and read the Ten Commandments. But before reading the Law and the Prophets the Rabbi went to the Desk or Taubauh and preached a Sermon about 47 minutes long in Spanish. It was interspersed with Hebrew. His Oratory, Elocution and Gestures were fine and oriental. It was very animated. He exhorted them not to perplex themselves with Traditions and Criticisms, but to attend to certain capital points and principal points of Religion—he expatiated upon the Miseries and Calamities of their Nation in their present Captivity and Dispersion and comforted them under their Tribulations by the assured Prospect of the Messiahs Kingdom—he exhorted them not to be discouraged but persevere &c—he shewed that Calamities and sufferings were not Evidence of their being forsaken of God—that Adversity and Judgments were the common Lot of all Nations Kingdoms and Countries—and instanced in the Desolation made by the Eruption of Mt. Vesuvius near Naples in Italy which he said he had seen, and beheld the Deluge of liquid Matter, flowing and carrying all before it, overwhelming Villages, Houses, Temples, people &c—yet Christians did not consider this as an Evidence against their Religion: neither was the Destruction of the Temple and City of Jerusalem by the Romans &c any argument against the

Truth of the Jewish Religion. They were chastised for their Sins, but not forsaken of God, who was the common Parent of all mankind, while he had chosen Israel his peculiar Treasure. Then he enlarged with Fervor on the Divine Benevolence and seemed to be elevated with very sublime Ideas of the divine Benevolence Mercy and Love; which he converted into an argument for their loving one another, which he earnestly pressed upon them—and closed with a serious Prayer. The Affinity of the Spanish and Latin enabled me to understand something of the Discourse—but after all I have but an imperfect Idea of it. He wore Spectacles thro' the whole Sermon, and frequently looked down on the Desk before him as if he had the Discourse written, but I dont know that he had any Writing. The Jews intend to print it. He was dressed in his Fur Cap, scarlet Robe, green silk Damask Vest, and a chintz under Vest,—girt with a Sash or Turkish Girdle—besides the Alb. with Tzizith. The Jews dont admire his *reading* (the X Commandments) and indeed he speaks off with much greater Fluency and Ease than he reads, tho' he reads correctly. There was Dignity and Authority about him, mixt with Modesty. After the Sermon, two Rolls of the Law were brought forward with great Solemnity, and after Elevation the parasang [*parashat*] including the xxth Chapter of Genesis was read as usual: at reading the X Commandments the whole Congregation rose up and stood. After which Mr. Rivera's little son 8 or 9 æt. read the first Chapter of Ezekiel—then Prayers for all Nations, for the Jews, for the King and Royal Family, for the Magistrates of Rhode Island.—The Law was then returned in solemn procession singing the usual Psalm: then Alms Prayers and Singing concluded the Whole. The Synagogue was decorated with Flowers &c. About the Time the Rabbi began sermon which was a few minutes before X^h three of the Commissioners came in, viz. Gov. Wanton & Judge Oliver and afterwards Judge Auch-

muty and were seated in the Seat of the Parnass or President of the Synagogue. The whole service ended a quarter after twelve.—I have often found that I can better understand the English pronunciation of Hebrew than the Spanish, German or Polish; every nation pronounces a little differently. I mean that the Jews whose Vernacular Tongue is English pronounce so that I understand it better than when pronounced by a Jew whose vernacular Tongue is dutch &c. Accordingly I easily perceive the Words, when Riveras son (born here) reads, tho' he is taught by a Dutch Master. But when this Jerusalem Rabbi read the Law I could understand it as well as if I read it myself, and much better than I can understand Mr. Tauro the Huzzan, tho' I have been used to his reading 13 or 14 years. I must say, however, that tho' the Rabbi reads more correctly than Tauro, yet the latter exceeds him in a certain Grandeur of Utterance, and a more bold and lofty Sonitus Verborum. (The Sermon was translated and printed.)”

[The full title of this sermon is: *A Sermon preached at the Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, called "The Salvation of Israel," on the Day of Pentecost, or Feast of Weeks, the 6th day of the month SIVAN, the year of the Creation 5533, or May 28, 1773; being the Anniversary of the giving of the Law at Mount Sinai. By the Venerable Hocham, the learned Rabbi, Haym Isaac Karigel (sic), of the city of Hebron, near Jerusalem, in the Holy Land. Newport, Rhode Island: Printed and Sold by S. Southwick, in Queen Street, 1773.* A copy of this rare publication is in the Leaser Library in Philadelphia and in the collections of the American Jewish Historical Society. See *Publications of the A. J. H. S.*, No. 1, p. 123; No. 3, pp. 122-3; No. 6, p. 79. From a MS. note in the copy in Philadelphia, which was a gift from Rebecca Gratz to the Rev. Isaac Leaser, we learn that the English translator of the sermon was Abraham Lopez. The only local fact to be gleaned from its pages is that Aaron Lopez was the Parnass of the congregation.

On June 27th, 1773 (vol. i., p. 392), Dr. Stiles writes

that Carigal brought him a copy of his sermon, translated into English, and on the 29th he was already copying it. (See also entry under June 8th.)]

[*June 7th, p. 378*]: "Last Monday just before I set out on my Journey [to Woodstock] I received a Letter in Hebrew from Rabbi Isaac Karigal, in answer to mine. To-day I sent a Note to him, and this Afternoon he made me a Visit accompanied with Mr. Lopez. We spent the Afternoon very agreeably. We had much Conversation upon the Antiquity of the Hebrew Letters [see *supra*, under May 15th.] . . . We went to the Redwood Library.* He admired the Writings of *Selden*."

[*June 8th, ibid.*]: "The Rabbi told me that he had nothing written when he preached at the Synagogue—but that he had *sealed* it first in his head and so delivered it—that he was able to recollect it and to gratify the Jews here he should write it in Spanish, and they would translate it into English, and then he would give me a Copy. But he would not consent that it should be printed. He said that none but Rabbis preached, and they usually preached on all the Holidays, but not every Sabbath, & always without notes."†

[ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE NAME OF EGYPT:]

[*June 11th, — p. 385*]: "Speaking of the Circumcision of the Copti christians, I observed R. Is. Karigal pronounced it not Copt but Kipt. I suppose this is a relict of the old Name in Homer's Day. *Egypt* which the English pronounce Ejipt, the Germans nearly

* Among the "Names of the Redwood Library Compa.," incorporated August 29, 1747, we find Abm. Hart and Moses Lopez. Cf. Willner, in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 8 (1900), p. 123.—G. A. K.

† Another homiletic publication issued subsequently by Rabbi Carigal is said to be extant in the library of the New York Historical Society. Cf. my paper on "Early Jewish Literature in America," in *Publications of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, p. 144.—G. A. K.

Ecipt or Ekípt—the English accent the E, the Germans the y and almost suppress the E. If we consider y as Y or ui; and accenting i assume the power of vi in Guipt as wi in wit, at the same time using u as a vowel and not as V, we shall come nearly to the original sound of Eguipt or 'Guilt or 'Kuilt or 'Gipt or 'Cypt or 'Gypt—Thus *Eguipt* armed. Homer wrote it αἴγυπτος—The Hebrews called that country Mitzraim, but if we write Egypt in Hebrew Letters and point the Vav with hirak it will show not Egopt nor Egupt but Eguipt or Egipt not Ejipt but Ekipt or *Kipt*, as the Rabbi called it."

[June 14th, — pp. 386-7.] "In the Forenoon I went to visit the Rabbi—discoursed on Ventriloquism & the Witch of Endor & the Reality of bringing up Samuel. He had not heard of Ventriloquism before and still doubted it. He showed me a Hebrew Letter from Isaac Pinto a Jew in N. York,* in which Mr. Pinto who is now reading Aben Ezra desires R. Carigals Tho'ts. upon some Arabic in Aben Ezra. But the Rabbi says he supposes Aben Ezra wrote in the Coran Arabic which he doth not understand. The Rabbi . . . is extremely fond of persuad^g himself that there has been no change in the Pentateuch since Moses left it; and shewed me a Passage of St. *Austin* de Civitate Dei in a Hebrew book of *David Nieto*; it was rendered into Hebrew to this Effect, that there was an Impossibility that the Jews shd. have corrupted their holy Books, since in all Dispersions they were found the same. He was much pleased that he was able to shew me something out of our Fathers for my Extracts out of his Rabbins.—I turned him to the strong Expression in his

* On Isaac Pinto of New York, author of an English translation of the Portuguese Ritual (a facsimile of whose title-page is given in Bishop Wright's *Early Prayerbooks in America*, New York, 1896). cf. my notes *supra*, Appendix I., and in *Publications*, No. 3. pp. 118-122; cf. also, No. 4, pp. 129, 227-228.

Letter "your Love has made such an indelible impression upon the inmost Tho'ts. & Affections of my Heart that Volumes of Books are not sufficient to write the thousandth part of the eternal Love wherewith I love thee"—and asked him how he could use so strong an Expression of Friendship? He in reply said he wished well to others besides his own Nation, he loved all Mankind, & turned me to Levit. xix, 18,—*thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyself.*"

[June 23^d, pp. 388-9.]: "In the Afternoon Mr Delisle and I went and visited the Rabbi, and conversed with him from III o'clock to Sunset. Then I went to a monthly Evening Meeting at Col. Daytons and preached on Col. I, 12, 14 I asked him [Carigal] wether a Man losin'g his Wife by Death, might marry her Sister afterwards?—requesting his Exposition of Levit. xviii, 18. He asked what should forbid it? and added, it was frequently practiced with the Jews—it was plain from the Words of Moses, "*in her Lifetime*" that the prohibition extended no longer, and that after the Lifetime and at the death of his Wife the prohibition ceased. I asked him whether a man might Marry his Wife's Sister's Daughter? he asked what should forbid it? it was often done so with the Jews. I said Moses forbid an Aunt marrying the Nephew, or a Woman to marry her Sister's Son, and why not a man to marry his (Wife's) Sisters Daughter. He said there was a difference—the Aunt and Nephew mentioned by Moses were of Kin i. e. one blood and one flesh; not so the Wifes Sisters Daughter.—I ought to have stated the Case a little otherwise, and put the parrallel Question, on a Woman or Aunt marrying her *Husbands Brothers Son*, where there is no blood."

[June 27-8th, pp. 391-3]: "Rabbi Isaac Carigal was at Meeting in the Forenoon, having asked me Liberty before hand. I sent my son to wait upon him to my house before Meeting and he came accompanied with

two Jews—I put them into my Pew. These are the notes or leading Thoughts in the Sermon I preached.

Ps. cvi, 4, 5.

1. The Seed of Jacob are a chosen and favorite people of the most High, and the subjects of the peculiar Care of Heaven, and of most marvellous Dispensations. 11. That notwithstanding God's Chastisements of their Iniquity & Imperfection in Calamities, Captivities and Dispersions; yet God hath not forgotten his Covenant with Abraham and his posterity, but intends them great Happiness and will fulfill his promise in making them a very glorious Nation and a Blessing to the World in the latter Day Glory of the Messiahs Kingdom. 111. It should be the Desire of Christians and of all Nations, to partake hereafter with Israel in their future glorious state, that we may share & rejoyce in the Gladness of God's people & the Glory of his Inheritance.

IMPROVEMENT.

1. Hence how highly privileged was Israel in being chosen &c.? 2. Hence learn the Design of Providence in still preserving a Remnant of this people, that of this seed he may make a glorious Nation hereafter. Jer. xlvi, 27, 28. 3. Hence learn the Dignity and Glorious Character of the Messiah. He is worthy of all Honor and Obedience and Love and Praise from all the Nations on Earth, yea from all Worlds. 4. Live so holily here, that we may all come together united in one glorious Body before the Throne of God; and joys in the endless Hallelujahs of the Eternal World.

These are only Minutes which I had written before me; but I enlarged in Delivery, being an hour and quarter in Sermon. The Rabbi came home and staid with me till 1 h. o'clock. He said *he had never heard a Christian preach* a Sermon before—and yet he had been at Church in St. Peters in Rome and St. Pauls in London, and at Venice &c. &c. but never heard anything

but prayers. He had been in the Christian Chhs at Jerusalem, but heard only Prayers. Thus he said, I was the first Minister he had ever heard preach in all his Travels. He said the Latin Church at Jerusalem had an Organ, but none other; neither Greek or Armenian &c. Churches in the East have any Organ. I asked whether Davids Organ was like the Organs in Churches? he smiled and said, he did not know. I asked him whether they had organs in the Synagogues? he said he never saw *but one*, and he knew not of any other—in the *Synagogue at Prague he saw and heard an Organ*. He brought me a copy of his own Sermon at the Synagogue, translated into English. He said he understood near half my Sermon to-day.

This Afternoon the Rabbi visited me. We spent the Afternoon very agreeably. He told me that there was one Rabbi at the Synagogue in *Jamaica*, another at *Surinam*, and a third at Eustatia or Curacoa. Thus there are now *three Rabbis* settled in America. There are none on the Continent of No. America. The Rabbi has a prospect of settling in the Synagogue at Antigua, and this will make a fourth in America. Isaac Carigal says he was made a Rabbi when he was about 19 or twenty years old. He said the Ceremony of Imposition of Hands was not used in these Days—that after an Examination and Approbation by other Rabbies they gave him a written Certificate in which he was declared a Rabbi. He wants now 3 or 4 months of being forty years old, so was born A. D. 1733, and was made a Rabbi about A. D. 1753. He began to travel æt. 20. and has visited Damascus, Aleppo, Grand Cairo, Bagdat, Ispahan, Smyrna, Constantinople, Salonica, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Venice, Vienna, Prague, Paris, London, &c. Of all Cities he gives the preference to Venice & London.”

[*June 29th, ibid.*]: “Copying the English Translation of R. Carigal’s Sermon at Pentecost.” [*Vide, supra.*]

[*June 30th*]: "This Afternoon Mr. Abraham de Isaac Tauro the Hazan or Reader in the Synagogue here was married to Miss Hayes a Jewess. Rabbi *Isaac* performed the Ceremony." [Cf. *Daly's Settlement of the Jews in N. America*, 2nd ed., N. Y., 1893, p. 81, note 87.]

[*July 5th, p. 394*]: "Visited the Rabbi."

[*July 7th, pp. 394-6*]: "This Afternoon I spent with the Rabbi. . . . I asked him when he expected the Messiah? He said daily, probably within about 40 years—but they had no Reckoning in which they were agreed. I asked if he had any knowledge of the Relicts of the Tribe of Manasseh at Patna or the Ganges in Bengal? He said no—and was surprised with the account I related to him given by English Merchants I told him I had written a Letter to Astracan to inquire after the X Tribes [cf. *supra*, pp. 9-13, 50], and the Queries I sent—as Circumcision on 8th Day, Aversion to Swine's flesh, Marriage Leviri cum Glore &c. This brought on the Question about the Countenance of the Usage of marrying a Brothers Wife. He said the Rabbins had for a long Time been against this practice, except under a perfect state of their Inheritance and Religion: that they recommended the pulling off the Shoe &c—and that this was usually done, especially at Constantinople—that sometimes the Brother would not give up his right, and then the Widow was held not to marry any else—that this particularly was the Case of his own Daughter, who had been married to her Husband but a few months, and he dying his Brother insists on her as his Right, but she refusing to marry him, is however so tied to him (as the Rabbi expressed it) that she cannot marry to another: tho' she would be glad to cast away the shoe.

MEMOIR OF R. ISAAC KARIGAL.

A. D. 1733, Oct. 15 or Tisri 15 A. M. 5493 born at Hebron; & studied under R. David Malamed, R. Meir Gedalia, R. Mordecai Zabi, R. Haijm Jehuda Gomez Pato, R. Haijm Rechamim Bajaiú Brother of Mordecai, and R. Isaac Zedeka; the three first dead, the others now living.

1750. Ætat. 17, created and entitled Hocham & Rabbi by the above Rabbins at Hebron. The Honor pronounced and declared by R. David Malamed. Read half the Talmud. Began to preach. Some created at reading a quarter of the Talmud.

1754. Æt. 20 ½ began his Travels. Went first to Egypt, visited Damiata, Alexandria & Cairo 2 or 3 months;—thence by Water to Smyrna, resided there 2 or 3 months;—thence to Constantinople, resided there two years;—thence by Land to Adrianople and Salonica and by Water again to Smyrna, about 3 months;—from Smyrna by Land in a Caravan thro' the lesser Asia by 'Cogni, and Aleppo to Damascus;—from Damascus to Aleppo again, thence across Euphrates to Ur of Chaldees, Bagdat and Ispahan, which terminated his oriental Travels: From Ispahan back to Aleppo.

1757. Embarking on board ship at *Scandarone* he arrived at *Leghorn* in Italy Oct^r 1757. Spent two years in travelling Europe. From Leghorn he went to Florence, *Rome*, Bologna, Milan, Padua, Venice (twice), Vienna, Prague, Nuremberg, Ausburg, Frankfort, Mentz, Holland and London.

1761. He came to Curacoa in America, & tarried there two years, taking care of the Synagogue in room of one gone to Holland to finish his Studies and be made a Rabbi: upon whose Return R. Isaac went about.

1764. From Curacoa for Amsterdam—& thence over Land to Frankfort, Nuremberg, Ausburg, to Leghorn. At Leghorn took ship for the holy Land, landed at Joffa or Joppa, thence rode to Jerusalem in one day, and in

half a day more the next day to Hebron (in Aug. 1764)—*arriving at Hebron 21 Days after he sailed from Leghorn.* He has a Wife, a Son and a Daughter at Hebron. He tarried at Hebron almost four years; and then

1768. Shipt at Joppa and landed at Marseilles;—thence by Land through France, resided at Paris 4 months; thence to England. He resided at London 2 ½ years, and taught the scholars in the Bit Madrash there, receiving an annual Salary of £100 sterling. There was but one Rabbi in Office in London R. Moses Cohen Azavado now living: R. Nieto was indeed living then, but Emeritus or out of Office.

1771. From London R. Isaac came a second Time to America and went to Jamaica, where he staid one year, and remitted thence Via London and Leghorn 1000 Dollars to his Wife in Hebron.

1772. He came from Jamaica in the Summer of 1772 to Philadelphia where he staid one month; and came to N. York where he staid 5 ½ months; and arrived at Newport March 3, 1773. He goes from hence to Surinam.

Ex Ore Rabbi

(Died in Barbadoes 1778 circa.)

[*July 12-19th, pp. 398-400*]: “The Rabbi came and spent the Afternoon with me. . . . He said, when he was a Boy æt. 10, there came to Hebron a Samaritan, who spent the Sabbath I think at the House where he lived—that the Samaritan kept the Sabbath very strictly & soberly continually reading his Prayers, but did not go to the Synagogue with the Jews at the Time of their Worship, but went there afterwds.—that he supposes they must have a considerable Collection of Prayers, & thinks the most of them may be probably like the Jews, & so very antient.”

[*14th*]: “Writing an Hebrew Letter.”

[*15th*]: “Spent the Afternoon with the Rabbi, partly at the Redwood Library and partly at my House. I asked him whether the Rabbins of this Age thought

themselves to have any particular Reasons for expecting the Messiah immediately? He said not; but he thought it was high Time for him to come; He added, that if all Nations were in War and universal Tumult and Confusion, then he should expect him immediately, but this not being more the Case now than in every current Age, &c. . . . The Rabbi has the Zohar in 3 vol. 4^{to}, printed at Constantinople. . . .”

[16th]: “Comparing my Zohar with the Rabbi’s. In company with the Rabbi. He told me he rode over the River Jordan on Horse-back against *Jericho* which was near the River: he said it was a very shallow River and almost dry in Summer. He had been at all the twelve or 13 Synagogues in the Holy Land, and gave me the following account which I wrote from his Mouth.

One Thousand Families Jews in all Judea or Holy Land A. D. 1733.	5 Synagogues at Jerusalem, large	
	2 at Saphat large	2 at Damascus
	1 at Tiberias small	1 at Sidon
	1 at Hebron large	107 Families, 1 at Aleppo, large
	1 at Gaza large	Only 12 Synagogues
	1 at Shechem small	in the Holy Land
	1 at Acco—large	
	12 and 1 at Jaffa only a Chamber for Worship occasionally, but not every Sabbath.	

He said there were more Synagogues in Syria than Palestine. . . .”

[18th]: “In the Evening Rabbi H. I. Karigal came to take his Leave of me and my Family, which he did very affectionately. He is to sail the first Wind for Surinam.”

[19th]: “Finishing a Hebrew Letter to the Rabbi. In the Afternoon I visited the Rabbi, and shewed him my Letter which I had not Time to copy it being four leaves or eight pages. He desired me to copy it and send it to him, and to correspond with [him], telling me he would always write to me from any part of the World wherever he should be. As he had told me that he had rode over Jordan against *Jericho*, I observed to him that he had then seen the place where Joshua led Israel thro’ Jordan on dry Ground; and asked him if the stones Joshua put in the Bottom of Jordan were still in

being—adding that if they were there they might easily be found, as the water was so shallow. He said he did not think of it when he passed Jordan, but that he believed the place of the Passage was a little higher up. . . . Mr. Rivera* shewed me a Marriage Contract of his Wife to her former Husband. Conversed upon their Customs as to Matrimony. . . . I asked the Rabbi whether there would be any marrying, any Relations of Husbands and Wives in the Resurrection? he said yes. Whether Sarah would then be Abraham's Wife? yes. If a woman had had more Husbands than one, whose wife would she be? particularly whose Wife would Mrs. Rivera be then present, whether Mr. Rivera's or her former Husbands—in the Resurrection? The Rabbi was at a loss and could not determine. He said there were various opinions about it—God Almighty could only could determine—he was contented to know that the Resurrection state would be happy and glorious, though he did not pretend to be able to answer and solve all Questions and mysteries concerning the Circumstances of the Resurrection state. He again took leave of me very affectionately praying God to bless me. I told him I parted from him with great Reluctance, and should ever retain an affection for him that it was probable we might never see each other in the Land of the Living and wished we might after Death meet together in the Garden of Eden and there rejoyce with Abraham Isaac and Jacob, and with the Soul of the Messiah till the Resurrection. He wished me reciprocally and my Family every Blessing and desired me to write him by every opportunity—said he loved me from the Heart, had my Name in his Book, and should send it to Jerusalem, where I should be soon known as I was here."

* Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, one of the most prominent of the early (Portuguese) Jews in Newport. He was a large importer, particularly of dry-goods. He died Feb. 19, 1789, aged 75 years.

[Editor.]

[*July 21st, p. 400*]: "This day Rabbi Haijm Isaac Karigal sailed for Surinam."

[*Sept. 30th, p. 414*]: "Finished Transcript of Letter to the Rabbi."

[*Dec. 3rd and 30th, pp. 423, 427*]: "Finished a Hebrew Letter of 24 pages to R. Haijm Isaac Karigal."

"Finished another Copy of my Lett. in Heb. to R. Carigal in 29 pages."

[*Dec. 25th, p. 426*]: "Received a Letter from R. Haijm Isaac Carigal dated at Surinam Sept. 19."

[*July 19th, 1775, p. 589*]: "Writing a Hebrew Letter to Rabbi Carigal of Barbadoes." [On Nov. 3, 1775, he received another letter from Carigal (cf. p. 631.) Cf. also Willner, *Publications*, No. 8, pp. 124-5].

On July 22, 1775, Dr. Stiles sent a packet to "Rabbi Carigal at Barbadoes" (vol. i., p. 591); a portrait of the Rabbi is mentioned in vol. iii., p. 94, Oct. 19, 1783.]

APPENDIX III.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

NOTES ON SOME JEWS MENTIONED IN THE DIARY.

Owing to exigencies of space, a number of interesting passages concerning English Jews and Judaism in general, had to be omitted by the present writer. Some of these references will be discussed by him elsewhere; in this appendix it is intended to call attention to certain data, furnished by the diarist, which it has been deemed best to group under one rubric. The notes and paralleled illustrations accompanying these extracts, though for the most part accessible, will not be considered out of place by the general reader, to whom the tedium of research is not so attractive.

1. JEWS IN CHARLESTON, S. C.

[Vol. I, p. 453, August 2, 1774]: "In the Afternoon I was visited by Mr. Acosta a Jew Huzzan of the Synagogue in Charleston, So. Carolina. He is æt. 52. born in London & educated under Hochem Rabbi Nieto there till æt. 29. Then he came to America & in 1754 instituted a Synagogue at Charleston."

Who Acosta was we cannot determine. There are so many Costas, Acostas and Da Costas mentioned in Jewish contemporaneous annals, that it is impossible to identify him. The poet and historian, Isaac da Costa, has written a brief account of Jewish Peerage (*Adelijke Geslachten onder de Israeliten*), as an appendix to his work *Israel en de Volken* (Utrecht, 1876, pp. 460-537), where a historic sketch of this family is given (see also the indices to all the nine volumes of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* for several references to the same name). Among the earliest Jewish settlers in Charleston are mentioned Abraham and Isaac De Costa (*vide* Judge Daly's *Settlement of the*

Jews in North America, ed. Kohler, New York, 1893, p. 76, note).

Another *Hazzan*, a near kinsman of Moses Cohen de Azevedo, Haham of the Portuguese Synagogue in London, and son of a Charleston Rabbi was called to fill the post of Reader in that city, at the beginning of the XIXth century. His sojourn there was brief and he parted from his people in bitterness of spirit. James Picciotto, in his fascinating *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, London, 1876, pp. 271-2, has this to say about the unpleasant episode :

“In 1807 the Bevis Marks Synagogue furnished a minister to the Portuguese Congregation of Charleston, South Carolina, in the person of Benjamin Cohen D’Azevedo, son of their former Rabbi. The South Carolinians, who had trumpeted forth their wants in high sounding language, and had dwelt on their potential liberality and generosity in terms which at all events had not the merit of modesty, showed scant courtesy to the nominee of the parent Synagogue itself. They sent back Benjamin C. D’Azevedo without assigning any plausible cause. This line of conduct stung to the quick the Portuguese pride of the rulers of Bevis Marks, who resented it in no measured words, and took the returned minister in their service as teacher.”

We remark in passing that Moses Cohen de Azevedo (or D’Azevedo), is the author of a sermon (and “Order of Service”) held in Bevis Marks Synagogue Dec. 13, 1776 (3rd of Tebet 5537), upon the day appointed as a day of humiliation and prayer for the success of the Royal arms, and restoration of peace, at the time of the revolt of the American Colonies. A copy of this rare tract is in the library of the British Museum and another was exhibited, as the property of Mr. Clarence de Sola, at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, held in London, in 1887 (see *Catalogue* [London, 1887], p. 41, No. 859; G. A. Kohut, in *Publications of the Am.-*

Jew. Hist. Soc., No. 6, p. 159; for fuller title see Zedner's *Catalogue*, London, 1867, p. 477).

As to the Jews in Charleston, information is at hand in a number of articles scattered in various places, notably in vols. I. and II. of *The Occident*, edited by Rev. Dr. Isaac Leiser, in Hannah Adams's *History of the Jews*, ed. of London, 1818, pp. 465-67 (quoted from a letter written Jan., 1811, by Mr. Philip Cohen, "a respectable Jewish merchant in Charleston"); Judge Daly's *Settlement*, 2nd ed., pp. 70, 71, 75-6, 105 seq.; *Publications of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, pp. 6, 51-55; No. 3, pp. 92-94; No. 9, p. 101; Lady Magnus, *Outlines of Jewish History*, Philadelphia, 1890, pp. 350, 351, 357, 362; Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 40, 372-81; Cyrus Adler, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. I. (New York, 1901), pp. 498², 503², 313; see also *supra*, p. 153.

2.—A NEWPORT JEW, A PORTRAIT, AND AN EPITAPH.

[Vol. I, p. 620, October 3, 1775]: "Mr. Isaac Mark a learned Jew gave me the Picture of R. Manasse Ben Israel who was aet. 38, A. D. 1642: a very learned *Hocham & Philosopher*, & in great Reputation among the Christian Learned in Italy. R. Judah Monis the Hebrew Professor at Harv. Coll. made much Use of his Writings & taught them as a classical Book."

We know nothing concerning the identity of Isaac Mark. The name *Marks* is not uncommon in American Jewish annals (see the Indices to the 9 vol's. of the *Publications* above quoted), but no reference to any one bearing that name in Newport has been found.

A search through the Stiles papers in Yale University Library may bring to light the portrait of Manasseh ben Israel. In this connection we wish to add that a pen-and-ink sketch of the painting of Rabbi Hayyim Isaac Carigal (see page 90), made in 1787 by St. John Honeywood, a graduate of Yale in 1782,—from whose hand

there is a pencil sketch of "Ezra Stiles, jun. Esq., of Vermont, æ. 22," dated Sept. 13, 1780, inserted in the *Diary* (cf. vol. II, p. 468, note 1, and Index, vol. III, p. 602ⁱ, under "Honeywood")—is preserved among the literary remains of the diarist. It is about one-half of the size of the reproduction, published in these pages.*

As to Judah Monis and his curious career see the data referred to above on pp. 22, 23, 39–42. We subjoin the inscription on his wife's tombstone, taken from a volume now quite scarce, entitled: "*Epitaphs | from the | Old Burying Ground | in Cambridge | with Notes by William Thaddeus Harris, | Junior Sophister in Harvard College, | Cambridge; Published by John Owen, | 1845 |*", p. 114:

*Here lyes buried y^e body of
M^{rs} ABIGAIL MONIS consort
to Mr JUDAH MONIS; (Hebrew
Instructor in Harvard College)
who departed this life
Octo^r y^e 27th. 1760. in y^e
60th year of her age.*

This epitaph was probably composed by her husband, who died four years after, in 1764, at the advanced age of eighty-one years, forty of which he spent in his academic office. At her demise, the old Hebraist retired to Northborough, where he resided with her relations, to whom he bequeathed a considerable portion of his estate, which is said to have been quite large (see Hannah Adams, *History of the Jews*, the edition already quoted, p. 461; G. A. Kohut, in *Publications*, No. 3, p. 114).

* For this information I am indebted to the courtesy of IRL F. B. Dexter, of Yale University.

3.—OBITUARY NOTICES OF THE LOPEZ FAMILY.

[Vol. I, p. 529, March 27, 1775]: "Attended the Funeral of Mr. David Lopez who died yesterday Morning aet. 61, and was this day at Noon buried in the Jews Burying Ground. He came from Portugal a few years ago, & with his two sons was circumcised, having been obliged to live secreted in Portugal. No Mourning tho' the Family wealthy."

Concerning David Lopez I find but one solitary note in the interesting "Genealogy of the Lopez Family," written in New York between 1822 and 1839 by Sarah Lopez, and addressed to her friend Mrs. Priscilla Lopez of Charleston, by her request. This valuable document is printed in full in the *Publications of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, pp. 103-6. Reference to an earlier David Lopez is made in the *Diary of Samuel Sewall 1674-1729* ("Collection of Massachusetts Historical Society," vol. V, fifth series, Boston, 1878), vol. I, p. 231. Under date of Oct. 16, 1688, Judge Sewall informs us that his daughter "Little Hannah [born 1679; died 1724] going to school in the morn, being enter'd a little within the Schoolhouse Lane, is rid over by David Lopez." She "fell on her back," continues her father, "but I hope little hurt, save that her Teeth bled a Little, was much frightened; but went to school" She survived the accident thirty-six years.

[Vol. III, pp. 24-5, June 8, 1782]: "On 28th of May died that amiable, benevolent, most hospitable & very respectable Gentleman Mr. *Aaron Lopez* Merchant, who retir^d from Newp^t Rhd. Isld in these Times resided from 1775 to his Death at Leicester in Massachusetts. He was a Jew by Nation, came from Spain or Portugal about 1754 & settled at Rh. Isld. He was a Merchant of the first Eminence; for Honor & Extent of Commerce probably surpassed by no Merch^t in America. He did Business with the greatest Ease & Clearness—always carried about a Sweetness of Behav a calm

Urbanity an agreeable & unaffected Politeness of manners. Without a single Enemy & the most universally beloved by an extensive Acquaintance of any man I ever Knew. His Beneficence to his Fam^y Connexions, to his Nation, and to all the World is almost without a Parallel. He was my intimate Friend & Acquaintance! Oh! how often have I wished that sincere pious & candid mind could have perceived the Evidences of Xty, perceived the Truth as it is in Jesus Christ, known that JESUS was the MESSIAH predicted by Moses & the Prophets! The amiable & excellent Characters of a *Lopez*, of a *Manasseh Ben Israel* *, of a *Socrates*, & a *Gangenelli*, would almost persuade us to hope that their Excellency was infused by Heaven, and that the virtuous & good of all Nations & religions, notwithstanding their Delusions, may be bro't together in Paradise on the Xtian System, finding Grace with the all benevolent & adorable Emanuel who with his expiring breath & in his deepest agonies, prayed for those who knew not what they did.

Mr. Lopez was journey^s with his Wife & some of his Fam^y on a Visit to Newport, and within five Miles of Providence at Scotts pond as he was Water^s his Horse, the Horse plunged beyond his Depth with the Sulky, when M^r Lopez leaped into the Water; & tho his serv^t attempted to save him he was lost. His Corps was carried to Newport & there interred in the Jew Burying Ground — the Demonstration of universal Sorrow attended the Funeral."

This noble tribute, voiced by so disinterested a personage as President Stiles, adequately interprets the general esteem in which the benevolent and upright Aaron Lopez was held by his contemporaries. The

* In a little duodecimo volume, just come to hand, I find equally extravagant praise of Manasseh ben Israel, the intimate friend of Vossius, Barlaeus, and Hugo Grotius. The book is entitled: *Sorberiana sive Excerpta ex ore Samuelis Sorbieri*, etc.. Tolosac, 1691; see pp. 147-149.

diarist in his eulogy is so carried away by his fervent regard of the character of this excellent Israelite, that he expresses his hope of his eternal felicity, quite in accord with the fine precept of the Rabbis, who said that "*the righteous of all nations have a share in the life to come.*" If the Christological phrasing of this liberal sentiment is somewhat narrower than the Jewish teaching, it must not be attributed to any other cause than his missionary zeal on behalf of Christ. He was, withal, mindful of the dignity and convictions of others, differing from him in matters of faith or theological doctrine. This forbearance, and his honest, straightforward manner through life, belong to the loftiest traits of his character. His esteem for Aaron Lopez was held to be so great, that when he visited Newport, in May, 1783, he was asked to compose the English inscription for that eminent Jew's tomb. According to a note of Prof. Dexter's (*Diary l.c.* note 1), several drafts of the epitaph are to be found among the President's unpublished papers. The complete inscription is printed in the *Rhode Island Historical Magazine*, vol. vi. (October, 1885), pp. 90-91, where a collection of other Jewish epitaphs from the Hebrew Cemetery in Newport is given by the Rev. A. P. Mendes, the then minister of the congregation (printed *l.c.*, pp. 81-105; *f.* also Frankel's *Monatsschrift fuer die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. iv, p. 295 *et seq.*, and the authorities cited in *Publications of the American Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 6, pp. 67, 68, 75). The English of the inscription reads very appropriately :

He was a merchant of eminence
of polite and amiable manners.
Hospitality, Liberality and Benevolence
were his true characteristics
An ornament and valuable Pillar to
the Jewish Society of which he was a
member. His knowledge in commerce
was unbounded and his integrity irreproachable ;

thus he lived and died, much regretted,
esteemed and loved by all.

A documentary passage, dated Dec. 5th, 1786, preserved among the manuscripts in the Library of Congress, speaks of him as "an eminent Jew merchant," who bore "a most respectable, unblemished character and was universally esteemed" (cf. *Publications*, No. 8, p. 147). In Emory Washburn's *Brief Sketch of the History of Leicester Academy*, Boston 1855, pp. 7, 8, and 9 will be found an interesting account of the personality and estate of Aaron Lopez, whose home was converted into a scholastic institution at the instigation of Colonel Crafts, the originator of the project. We quote from that record the following :

" While his mind was thus exercised how to accomplish the plan he had conceived, the death of Aaron Lopez, and the removal of the families of Jews from Leicester, to which place they had resorted from Newport to escape the hostilities which the English waged upon that town, opened to Col. Crafts the means of carrying forward his favorite scheme.

" Mr. Lopez was one of the merchant princes of his day. He was at one time extensively engaged in commerce and possessed of great wealth. He was distinguished for hospitality and benevolence, and his fine gentlemanly manners, united with a character of irreproachable integrity, secured him the respect and esteem of all who knew him.

" His place of business before the Revolution had been Newport, then the commercial emporium of New England. In the summer of 1777, I believe, he, together with several other families of Jews, removed to Leicester, where they purchased and occupied estates, and Mr. Lopez resumed, to a limited extent, his mercantile pursuits.

" To accomodate these and to provide for his family a suitable residence, he erected what was then regarded

as a spacious and commodious dwelling-house, containing a larger center room for the purposes of a store. I shall have occasion to speak more particularly of this estate in another connection.

"On the 20th day of May, 1782, Mr. Lopez started with his family, to visit Providence, they in a carriage, and himself in a gig drawn by one horse. In passing Scott's pond, in Smithfield, on his way, he drove his horse into the water, as was supposed, to drink, when, by some means, he got beyond his depth, upset the gig, and Mr. Lopez was drowned in the very presence of his family, who could render him no assistance [see also *Daly Settlement*, 2d ed., p. 86 for another account].

"(The inventory of his estate shows a property of nearly \$100,000, including a stock-in-trade of more than \$12,000, and indicating by the character of the furniture and family stores on hand, a style of living not common at that day in the country.)

"This circumstance, together with the return of peace, induced these families to return to Newport, leaving, however, among the inhabitants of Leicester, a grateful remembrance of their residence here, which was cordially reciprocated.

"This train of events rendered it necessary to sell the estate of Mr. Lopez, and the same was offered at auction. . . . The original deed of the estate bears date May 7, 1783."

The residence of Aaron Lopez in Leicester was soon thereafter converted into an Academy, which has since become the *alma mater* of some of the foremost men of the nation. Dr. Stiles too, refers to a visit of his to Leicester, Mass., June 15, 1778 (cf. *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 273), on which occasion "Mr. Rivera a Jew Merch^t at part^s presented him with half dozen Bottles Wine &c." Much useful and interesting information concerning the sojourn and social status of the Newport Jews in Leicester, will be found in an article on "Aaron Lopez in Leicester, prepared through the courtesy of Hon. N.

Taylor Phillips [from notes supplied by the Hon. Andrew H. Green, of New York],” published in the *Jewish Comment* (Baltimore), Oct. 18, 1901, pp. 3-5. For other particulars on the life and services of Aaron Lopez, see the indices of the *Publications* and especially No. 6, pp. 70-75.





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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

[Only the most flagrant typographical errors are indicated here. In many case punctuation and quotation marks have been omitted. These and "sprung-off letters" may easily be supplied by the reader.]

- Page 5—The opening paragraphs are quoted from an editorial in the *Jewish Exponent*, Oct., 1901.
- Page 9—After line 5, supply the heading: *Quest for the Ten Tribes*.
- Page 13—Line 12, for "Scoland," read: Scotland.
- Page 17—Line 9 from bottom, insert parenthesis before "Holmes."
- Page 18—Line 7 from bottom: "*Alhasan*" or (*el-Hasan*), I am told is the Sephardic (Portuguese) colloquial term for "Reader."
- Page 18—Line 6 from bottom (see also pp. 107, 124): The autograph of *Isaac Pinto* is to be found in a beautifully printed edition of the Book of Exodus in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York. The little book (duodecimo) lacks a title-page, and appears to have been printed in Amsterdam, judging from certain typographical clews. On the fly appears the inscription, "Isaac Pinto | Ab. 5525 July 1765." It belonged, formerly, to I. B. Kursheedt the owner of a large collection of Hebraica and Judaica.
- Page 22—Line 18, read: Cambridge.
- Page 23—Line 13 from bottom, read: Constantinople.
- Page 30—Line 3, close bracket after 30.
- Page 30—Line 18, supply quotation marks after "Revenue" and omit them before "As."
- Page 34—Line 10 from bottom: The name *Rophe* is variously spelt in the records. Arnold, in his *History of Rhode Island*, vol. ii., p. 218, n., has *Roffey*. I find among my notes reference to Hildreth's *History of the United States*, p. 102, and to Benj. Cowel's (?) *The Spirit of '76 in Rhode Island*. Boston, 1850 p. 194, where *Solomon Rophe* is cited as an officer in the Continental Army. I cannot just now verify the statement, the books not being accessible.
- Page 36—Line 4 from bottom: the last *four* lines on that page and the first *fourteen* lines on page 37 belong on p. 49, after line 5.
- Page 39—Line 4, put comma after "decades."
- Page 44—End of line 4, put comma instead of hyphen.
- Page 44—Line 2 from bottom, after "displeased," add: (February 16th, 1771; p. 91).
- Page 46—Line 12, for "other" read: Mother.
- Page 47—Line 15 cancel reference to "Appendix" and see instead p. 73, line 9 from bottom.
- Page 47—Line 11 from bottom, substitute hyphen for semi-colon.
- Page 55—Line 22, omit [*sic*]; the spelling *nn* in the printed Diary, *i.e.*, must be a typographical error.

- Page 63—Line 7, to the bibliography add: *The American Jew as Patriot Soldier and Citizen*, pp. 53-59; an article on "Washington and the Newport Jews," in *Jewish Comment*, Oct. 25, 1901, p. 15. A facsimile reprint of Washington's letter to the Jews in Newport is to be found in the *Official Souvenir Book of the Fair in aid of the Educational Alliance and the Hebrew Technical Institute* [New York], 1895, pp. 44-45. The original is in the possession of Mr. Frederick Phillips of New York. Cf. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No 4, p. 203; No. 6, p. 79.
- Page 63—Line 14 from bottom, for "Abrahams" read: Abraham.
- Page 63—Line 9 from bottom, put period instead of comma after "death."
- Page 65—Line 3, put period after "Land," and for "Heborn" read: Hebron.
- Page 66—Line 3, for "*Hodesh*" read: *Hadash*.
- Page 70—Line 14, after "years" add: In his Bodleian Catalogue, col. 2574, No. 7152 he writes: "Mrt. in Frisia 4. seu 5 Maji 1678."
- Page 72—Line 7 from bottom, for "vol. v." read: vol. i.
- Page 78—End of last line, put comma.
- Page 79—To bibliography on Literary Friendships, add Perles' *Beitraege zur Gesch. der hebr und aram. Studien*, Muenchen, 1884, in many places.
- Page 82—Last line, after "in" add: its.
- Page 86—Line 4, after "the" add: *American*.
- Page 92—Line 7, read "listening."
- Page 94—Line 9 from bottom, for "his" read: This.
- Page 95—Line 6: A similar instance is recorded in the case of the famous Cardinal Aegidius de Viterbo, in whose home Elia Levita was, for a long time, an honored guest. See Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, vol. ii., p. 88, note 8; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. i., New York, 1901, p. 219 (H. G. Enelow).
- Page 97—Line 21, put comma after "orthography."
- Page 97—Line 22, after "we" add: may.
- Page 99—Line 16, for "are" read: is.
- Page 105—Line 13 from bottom, for "spread" read: shed.
- Page 105—Line 5 from bottom, after parenthesis supply comma.
- Page 108—Line 14 from bottom, supply comma at end of the line.
- Page 109—Line 7, supply quotation marks after "1762."
- Page 110—Line 14 from bottom, after "1784" omit quotation marks.
- Page 114—Line 2, for "HAJIM" read: HAIJM.
- Page 115—Line 16 from bottom, after "much" add: and.
- Page 115—Line 17 from bottom, for "Amercia" read: America.
- Page 116—Line 9 from bottom, read: *Synagogue*.
- Page 117—Line 2, supply quotation marks at end of line
- Page 117—Line 8, supply period after "Law."
- Page 118—Line 9 from bottom, for "108" read: 107.
- Page 119—Line 19, omit bracket.
- Page 121—Line 14 from bottom, the last word should read: [*parashah*].
- Page 124, line 6, after "'Kuipt" add: or 'Cuipt.
- Page 124, note, line 3, read: Bishop

Page 129, line 9 from bottom: After the death of Rabbi Raphael Samuel Mendez de Sola, Haham of Curaçoa who died May 19, 1761, Rabbi Isaac Henriquez Farro, of Amsterdam, was chosen to succeed him. After serving ten months, this minister died on July 10th, 1762, aged forty-six years. For a term of three years the Rabbinical office remained vacant, until the election of Rabbi Jacob Lopez Da Fonseca, a pupil of Haham De Sola, after whose death *he was sent to Amsterdam to complete his studies*. Accordingly, Rabbi Carigal's sojourn in Curaçoa must have fallen between 1762 and 1765, not 1761, as Dr. Stiles (*l.c.*) has it. For the above data I am indebted to a valuable pamphlet by the Rev. Joseph M. Corcos, Rabbi at Curaçoa, entitled: *A Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçoa* (Curaçoa, 1897), p. 38, where some interesting data, relative to the Newport Jews, are to be found.

Page 130 - Line 9, supply period after "sterling."

Page 132—Line 17, omit the first "could."

Page 133—Line 6, for "24" read: 22.

Page 133—Line 4 from bottom, omit bracket.

Page 134—Line 10, for "rubic" read: rubric, and for "paralleled" read: parallel.

Page 134—Line 20, for "29" read: 22.

Page 134—To line 21 add: On August 19th the diarist writes (*ibid.*, p. 455): "This Afternoon I visited Mr. D'Acosta. He showed me the works of Maimonides in 4 Vol. fol."

Page 135—Line 2: An Isaac de Costa is mentioned as minister of Congregation of "Beth Elohim," in 1750. The old cemetery is called the De Costa burial-ground. For this information and much new material concerning the Jews in Charleston, see an interesting article by Rev. Barnett A. Elzas in the *Jewish Comment*, May 30, 1902, pp. 38-40. To the bibliography on p. 136 add: David Ottensosser, quoted in the supplementary note below, vol. iii., pp. 126b-127b; *The Occident*, vol. xvi. (1858), p. 142. At the eighth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society a paper was read by Leon Huehner, Esq., on *The Jews of South Carolina prior to 1800*. The paper is not yet published. Elzas (*l.c.*), in his above-quoted article, states that he has collected material covering some 600 folio pages treating of the Jews in South Carolina.

Page 136—Line 17, for "313" read: 513, and for "153" read: 47.

Page 136—Line 21, for "Manasse" read: Menasseh as *in loco*).

Page 137—Line 19, read: *Instructor*.

Page 137—Line 8 from bottom, after Northborough, add: Mass.

Page 138—Line 1, read: THE.

Page 138—Line 12, for "1839" read: 1830.

Page 138—Line 18, read: Collections.

Page 139—Line 18, read: Emmanuel.

Page 142—Line 13, read: Daly's.

NOTE.—The first reference to Dr. Stiles and Rabbi Carigal in *Jewish literature* is not in Jost's *History*, but in David Ottensosser's *Geschichte der Jehudim*. vol. iii., Fuerth 1825, pp. 125b-126a. The work is written in German and printed in Hebrew type, and seems to be based on Hannah Adams's *History of the Jews* (1812). See also Carmoly in his *Revue Orientale*, Brussels, 1846, vol. iii.

