

A YARID IN THE SHTETL

The livelihood of the *Shtetl* depended on the *yarid*, which was held once or twice a week. In Orinin the *yarid*, the market day, was held on Tuesday and Sunday. Merchants, peasants, horse dealers, and artisans of all kinds mingled on this day. People watched the skies days before the *yarid* to foretell the weather for the market days.

Yarid, by the way, is a Hebrew word, meaning a place where people get together for selling and buying or exchanging merchandise. In Yiddish the word *yarid* took on the meaning, in addition to that of a market place, of confusion, noise, disorder. Sholem Aleichem, the Jewish humorist, compared life itself to a *yarid*. You come full of hope and expectation, run around, hustle and bustle, take a lick of this, a smell of that, and at the end of the *yarid*, when the evening of life approaches, you feel empty, disillusioned, and are very tired. Such was the *yarid* in the *Shtetl*.

Orinin had four market places for the *yarid*. The largest of the four was the horse market. Horse dealers came from far and wide and parked their horses and wagons around the stone fence of the *Pravoslavny* church. With the break of dawn, peasants from the surrounding villages congregated in the square, each leading a few horses nicely combed, their harnesses attractively decorated, glistening in the sun, impatiently neighing and stamping. Buyers approached sellers and the drama of the *yarid* began.

The horse dealer would hold out the palm of the peasant's hand and ask: "How much for this undernourished horse?"

The peasant would grab the outstretched hand of the dealer and reply: "You call this an undernourished horse? Why, look at his calves! See how impatient he is! He wants to be harnessed to a wagon!"

The peasant would quote an impossible sum of money.

The horse dealer would begin to laugh. He called to his partner. After telling him the sum of money asked for the horse, they would both laugh aloud. While all the time the dealer held onto the peasant's palm. The other partner would in the meantime look the horse over from all sides. He would look at his mouth, kick his shins, pull him by the tail, drive him through the square. The dealer would raise the price while the peasant would lower it, to the accompaniment of slaps on the palms. The quotations would fly back and forth, and the slaps would grow in frequency and intensity, until finally they arrived at some price much lower than the peasant asked for, and much higher

than the dealer wanted to pay at the start. At the end buyer and seller departed to the nearby saloon and drank "Na Zdorovia", To Health! and everything ended happily.

The second market place was for general merchandise. Itinerant merchants would put up tents the night before and sleep in them. When morning came, they opened the tents and displayed a dazzling array of manufactured goods. There were ornaments and jewelry, ribbons and kerchiefs, scissors and knives, ikons and candles, crucifixes and beads. And the colors of the merchandise, the flattery of the merchants, the bargaining of the buyers, these were all part of the *yarid*. The merchants in the tents came from Great Russia. They were called *katzapes*, and they were recognized by their dress: high boots, wide trousers tucked in the boots, and billowing white shirts tied together with wide colorful belts. On their heads they wore small caps with leather visors. They always held long pliable whips in their hands to scare away intruders such as cats, dogs, and pigs and to crack over the hands of would-be pilferers. The children would fear them and at the same time were attracted by them and their wares.

We were fascinated by the toys which they displayed. They had trumpets made of tin, singing birds made of clay, drums and drumsticks beautifully carved and colored. And they had wooden soldiers painted with colorful costumes. But what could we buy for the kopek we were allowed for the *yarid*? We stood open-mouthed and watched.

The third square was used for the grain market. The merchants had storage bins for corn and barley, for sunflower and caraway seeds, for wheat and buckwheat. The merchants held scales in their hands and weighed out the bundles brought by the peasants' wives. It was less colorful than the horse market but more business-like.

Down by the river, where the slaughterhouse stood on the hill, was the market place for lambs, goats, calves, and sheep. The noise in that market place was not that of buyers and sellers, but the baaing and mooing of the animals as they were being separated from their herds.

But the *yarid* spilled over into the side streets and alley-ways of Orinin as well. There was hardly a house that was not involved in the *yarid*. At one place women bought chickens and geese and eggs from the peasants. In front of houses people put up little tents and displayed pots and pans, sieves and funnels. Artisans of all kinds sold their wares and implements. Coopers made barrels right on the spot,

and the rope maker walked back and forth with wads of flax around his loins as he twisted lengths of rope for the waiting peasant.

A most exciting place was the farm tool and implement market. Peasants would pick up a scythe, a sickle, or plow. They would listen to the sound the implements made as they hit them against a stone, and from the sound they would decide whether to buy.

There were smaller merchants who bought a bunch of rareripes or garlic, pumpkin seed, or dried beans. Everybody was busy on the days of the *yarid*. But when evening came and the peasants departed, the out-of-town merchants drove off with their spirited horses and wagons, the tents and stands were folded, and the horse dealers gathered the horses they had bought and sent them off to the nearby Galician border, peace descended upon the *Shtetl*, and people began to prepare for the next *yarid*.

Not bad, the *Shtetl* people would say to one another. But it could be better. Maybe next *yarid*. Next week.

The *Shtetl* would return to normal. Normal worries. Normal anxieties. Normal petty squabbles.

LOVE IN THE SHTETL

Boys and girls of Orinin, as of any *Shtetl*, were paired off at an early age. The mother of a girl who had her eye on a boy of a friend would send a *shadchen*, a matchmaker, to the parents of the boy, and the *shiduch*, the engagement was arranged. The boy and the girl both attended *heder* and played hoops nearby yet never spoke to one another. But for all practical purposes they were engaged to be married.

Two *Hasidim* met at the court of their *rebbe*. It turned out that one had a son and the other a daughter; so they arranged an engagement. They then drank to the *hoson-kaloh*, the bridegroom and bride-to-be, and the *rebbe* wished them health and good fortune. The two shook hands and made a *tkias kaf*, a hand-shake in the presence of other *Hasidim*. A *tkias kaf* had the power of an official agreement. It could not be broken.

The boys and girls were left out of the agreement entirely. The boy received the traditional gold watch and chain and was known as the *hoson bohur*. The girl received a beautiful kerchief, and became known as *kaloh moid*. Both of them continued whatever they were doing in their parents' homes. Nothing was changed, although the *Shtetl* knew that they were engaged to be married.

Most boys and girls became engaged through a *shadchen* or a *shadchente*. Both men and women were proficient in the profession. The *shadchen*, the male matchmaker, usually brought together out-of-town couples, while the *shadchente*, the female matchmaker, had a local clientele.

A successful matchmaker had an abundance of patience. He (or she) would come to a prospective client on a Saturday afternoon for a visit and a glass of tea. They would be dressed in their Saturday best, and would talk about everything under the sun, until the *hoson* or *kaloh* were mentioned in a round-about way. The parents knew what the matchmaker wanted, but no one mentioned it.

When the *shadchen* was encouraged in his conversation, he would proceed further, lavishing praise upon the bride or bridegroom. But when he sensed a reluctance on the part of the parents to continue the matter, the *shadchen* would bring the conversation around to another prospect for marriage. The *shadchen* knew everyone in the *Shtetl* and knew the foibles of each family. He must be careful of the sensitivities of parents. But when the match was made, the two young people were not consulted. The match was between the two families and not between the young people.

There were certain basic principles that every *shadchen* or *shadchente* had to observe in bringing a prospective match to a family:

1. *Yihus*, lineage, or caste, if you please. Lines were drawn between rich and poor, *balebos* and laborer, dwellers of the upper and lower streets. These lines were seldom crossed. The son of a tailor was not good enough for the daughter of a *balebos*. But it was different if the son of a poor water carrier happened to be a scholar, a *Ben Torah*. In such cases the *shadchen* would be sent to the *yeshivah* in the town where the boy was studying, and the brilliant boy would be selected for the rich daughter of the merchant in the *Shtetl*. A scholar, a *sharfer kop*,* a *masmid* in the *yeshivah*, a diligent student transcended *yihus*. Such was the value the *Shtetl* put upon learning and scholarship. Every poor mother dreamed of her son becoming a scholar and being chosen by a rich man as his son-in-law.

2. Names, first names, had to be gone into before a match could be brought up. The name of the mother of the *hoson* and that of the *kaloh* could never be the same. In some families it was considered bad luck for the father of the bride and the *hoson* to have the same first name.

*"Sharp head". Yiddish.

3. Priesthood could not be violated. A widow or a divorced woman were forbidden to a Cohen, a man of the priestly family. Every man with the last name of Cohen, Kahn, Katz, Kaganowitz, Kaplan, or Kagan was most certainly a descendant of priests. But even when the last name did not suggest priesthood, there were family traditions, handed down from time immemorial, from father to son, about their genealogy. A *shadchen* had to make sure about his prospects.

4. "Blemishes" on either side could not be overlooked. Apostasy in the family, no matter how distant a relative involved, was considered a blemish. *Farflecken di mishpocho*, to soil the family, was an unforgettable offense.

In all of this the feeling of the *hoson* and the *kaloh* were not taken into account. Tradition and family considerations came first. Love was not a prerequisite to marriage.

The task of the matchmakers was not over with the bringing together of *hoson-kaloh*. There were many obstacles to overcome. There was the delicate deliberation about the *nadan*, the dowry, and the promise of board and room to the *hoson*. The parents of the bridegroom always held out for a greater dowry and insisted on a longer term of board and room from the parents of the bride. At any moment the *shiduch*, the engagement, was in danger of being dissolved. *Oploson a shiduch*, to let an engagement dissolve, was even worse than a divorce. The shame to the bride and her family was more than they could bear. The matchmakers shuttled between the two sides until a compromise satisfactory to both sides was reached.

Then and only then did the *shadchen* and the *shadchente* receive their commissions. There was no set fee. The greater the *nadan* and the promise of support, the larger the commission.

Matchmaking came into disuse by the time my generation was ready for marriage. A quiet revolution had taken place in Orinin and in the towns all around. Boys and girls met on their own in various places. We met in the *Beth Am*, which was at once a community center, (People's House), a library, and a lecture hall. We met on the *Doroshka*, the pathway which divided the two streams of the Big River, one continuing its course around the town of Orinin and the other diverted to turn the stone of its grist mill. The *Doroshka* ran for about half a mile between the two streams and was a shaded place, very quiet, very romantic. We would walk back and forth on the *Doroshka* and would observe the moon rise, and the willows by the river grow pensive, and the cicadas chirp away through the long evening.

The matchmaker continued to practice his skill for many years, but for most of us it was considered "old-fashioned," a relic of days gone by. We were emancipated. Little did we know that matchmaking was still going on — in America! Loneliness is not limited to the *Shtetl*. One can be lonely in the big cities as well.

WELFARE IN THE SHETTL

No one went hungry in the *Shtetl*. Poverty there was, but hunger did not exist. The poor did not know where tomorrow's meals would come from, but for today their needs were provided for by neighbors.

Widows and orphans were first on the list. Every *balaboste*, the wife of a merchant or store keeper, as she baked her weekly supply of bread would bake an extra loaf for a widow. Every Friday when the same *balaboste* baked her *halë*, the white twisted bread for the Sabbath, she would also braid an extra *halë* for the poor. And so it was for the Holidays. The poor did not have delicacies, but they did not lack bread. The portions of bread and meat and other necessities were sent to the home of the widow or sick in secret. The woman of the house would send one of her children with a covered basket. The child was told to leave it on the kitchen table and tell the widow that mother had sent what she owes her.

The poor, the sick, the orphaned, and the widowed were cared for by the *noshim tzidkonieth*, the good-hearted women of the *Shtetl*. The men contributed to a general fund that was maintained by the *gabbai*, the elected head of each house of worship.

There was a fund for *hachnosath orhim*, the sheltering of the strangers. When a poor stranger came to town he immediately repaired to a house of worship. There he was sure to find a place where he could rest his feet from the long walk from the last *Shtetl*. In the evening worshippers would come, would greet him with *Sholom Alechem*, and inquire where he came from and when he was leaving. The *shammos* took him to an inn and then to a *balebos* for supper. On Sabbath Eve strangers were particularly numerous. I hardly remember a meal without an *orah*, as the strangers were called. A guest for Sabbath was the norm rather than the exception.

Hachnosath kaloh literally means "bringing the bride under the canopy". There was a fund for the purpose of providing a full wardrobe for the bride of the poor. This included *nadan*, a dowry, no matter how small; a bed, chairs, and table; and kitchen utensils. Very often a stranger would come to the *Shtetl* bearing a letter from his *rov*

(rabbi) stating that the bearer was the father of a grown daughter in need of a dowry. The *gabbai* saw to it that the stranger did not leave the town empty-handed.

A *nisraf*, a man who was impoverished by a fire, was a common visitor to the *Shtetl*. He, too, brought with him a letter from the *rov* of his town testifying that a fire had consumed everything the man possessed, and that he was worthy of receiving aid from the town. He was not only given assistance from the common fund, but was recommended to a select few who helped him rebuild his house and restore his livelihood.

Moes hittim, money for wheat, was an annual charity that was scrupulously observed. This institution, which was brought to America and is still observed, is very ancient. Jews could not conceive of the idea that a person would sit at his Seder table loaded with all of the Passover foods, while another sat at an empty table. So much was this tradition observed, that it was said of *Moes Hittim*: either one gives, or one takes. More gave than took.

Bikur Holim, visiting the sick, was the duty of the entire *Shtetl*. It involved sitting at the bedside of the patient all night so that the family would be able to sleep. Men or women were hired for this purpose and paid from the community fund. The men sat all night chanting psalms, while the women read *techinos*, supplications for women.

Hevrah Kadisha, the Holy Society, was another of the Jewish institutions brought to this country from overseas. When someone died, the *Hevrah Kadisha* took over the arrangements for the funeral. The body of the deceased was washed, purified, and dressed in the *tachrichim* (the shrouds), and wrapped in the *tallis* (the prayer shawl), which every male had used while he was among the living. The body was carried on the shoulders of the members of the *Hevrah Kadisha* by a route mapped out by the society: From the house to the house of worship where the deceased had prayed, to the Old *Shul*, and then to the cemetery. All of the time, the *shammos* would precede the funeral procession with a metal box and cry: *Tzedaka Tatzil Mi'moves*, "Charity saves from Death". The money collected would be used for funerals of the poor.

Every once in a while an appeal would come to the *rov* or the *gabbai* for *Pidyon Shvuyim*, "Ransom of the Captives". This goes back to the days when Jews would be captured and brought to a Jewish community for redemption money. This was practiced quite commonly during the Dark Ages. The *Shtetl* was called upon to aid in the defense of a

Jew who was falsely accused of some offense which he did not commit. Aid for this purpose was also called *Pidyon Shvuyim*, "redemption of the innocent", and immediately dispatched wherever it was needed.

Eretz Yisroel, the Land of Israel, always sent out emissaries, *meshulachim*, for various purposes. It might be a *yeshivah* they could not support by themselves, or a hospital that needed help. Sometimes the emissary himself was stranded and would ask for a return ticket. Emissaries from *Eretz Yisroel* were in a class by themselves and were aided generously.

There were a dozen funds to which the *balabos* contributed annually. On the eve of *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement, the entrance hall to the house of worship provided some idea of the extent of charitable funds to which every Jew had to contribute. Dozens of plates were arranged on a long table. Each plate had a card near it telling the name of the charity, and every Jew entering the house of worship left something in the plate.

The town was small, and the needs were many, but the Jews gave as much as their means would allow. The donations were voluntary. The *Shtetl* had no power of coercion. But the funds were always well subscribed.

SABBATH IN ORININ

All who have written of the *Shtetl* have marveled at the miraculous change that came over it as soon as the Sabbath arrived.

The inhabitants threw off their workday yokes and became Sabbath princes. The men and their women and children all took on an extra *Neshomoh*, a Sabbath soul. The interior of the houses, the clothes of the people, the very streets of the *Shtetl* had another—worldly aspect.

The transformation took place on Friday afternoon, for which Jews have a name, *Erev Shabos*,* the Eve of Sabbath, not just another day of the week. The *Shamos* of the Old *Shul* would make the rounds of the *Shtetl* streets, stopping at every second or third house, and in a hoarse voice chanting: "*In Shul Arein! In Shul Arein! In Shul Arein!*" "To the synagogue! To the synagogue! To the synagogue!"

Immediately the stores would be shut down, transportation would stop, and all business dealings would come to a standstill. Soon the *balegoles*** would roll down the hill, bringing passengers home, and

*Yiddish. *Erev Shabbat* in Hebrew.

**Drivers of wagons or phaetons for hire.

merchants in their one-horse coaches would quicken their steeds to get to the stables with all dispatch.

Out of the houses came fathers and sons, hurrying to the public bath with towels and underwear under their arms. With water dripping from beards and heads, they would rush back to their houses to dress for the Sabbath. The women, mothers and daughters, would set the table for the Sabbath meal and put finishing touches on the houses. Black clothes for the men. White linen cloths on the tables. The women dressed in their Sabbath best. The whole house would take on a Sabbath mood.

Mother would bless the candles while the whole family stood around her. She would cover her eyes with both hands, her lips moving in prayer, and then she would greet everyone with: "*Good Shabos. Good Shabos*" ("Good Sabbath, Good Sabbath.")

The same procedure would be repeated in hundreds of homes in the *Shtetl*. Tables set with *halē* and wine. Candle flames swaying. From now on no work will be done. No fire lit. No hilarity allowed. No music played. No dancing allowed. No frivolity tolerated. The day of rest has arrived.

Father and sons would walk slowly to the houses of worship along quiet streets past cheerfully lit houses, joined by neighbors as they approach the synagogues.

Again greetings of "*Good Shabos*" when father returns and he chants the *Sholom Aleichem* ("Peace to you, Angels of Peace. Come in peace, bless us with peace, and depart in peace, you Angels of Peace"). Father also sings the *Eshes Hayil*, a Woman of Valor. While the family stands, father sings the *Kiddush*, the sanctification of the wine, and everyone sips from the cup.

Supper lasts longer than any other evening meal, and the meals are different, special for the Sabbath. The *Zmiroth* (hymns), the chants between courses, are part of the Sabbath supper. *Zmiroth* of thanksgiving. *Zmiroth* of exultation. *Zmiroth* of prayers for the rebuilding of the Holy Temple and the coming of a day which is wholly Sabbath.

The Sabbath day is devoted entirely to prayer, study, and rest. The Sabbath prayers last a long time and the family remains in the *Beth Midrash*, the House of Study, from early morning till late in the afternoon. After a Sabbath nap father returns to the *Beth Midrash* to study, to hear a *magid*, a preacher who comes from afar, or to chant *Tehillim*, the Psalms.

At home, mother would read from the *Tzeenu Urenu*, a book in Yiddish for women, translating the *Sidra** of each week and adding beautiful legends from the *Talmud* and *Midrash*.* A few neighbors would gather to listen to her reading in a sing-song, shaking their heads and wiping a tear for the sin of Adam and Eve, for Noah and his Ark bobbing in the waters of the flood, for Abraham binding his only son Isaac, for Joseph being sold to the Ismaelites, and for the destruction of the Temple in Zion.

The young people of the *Shtetl* are out on the *Shosee*, the paved highway out of Orinin on the way to Kamenetz, or on the *Doroshka*, the pathway near the Polish church by the river. They promenade back and forth until evening falls on the *Shtetl* and it is time for the evening meal.

In the half dim house mother wishpers the "God of Abraham:"
 God of Abraham, of Isaac and Jacob.
 The queen Sabbath is departing,
 The week of toil is coming back.
 Send us sustenance,
 Guard us from evil,
 And grant us peace.

And soon father comes home, chants the *Havdalah*, the prayer of separation of the Holy Day from the weekdays, and says *Kiddush* over a cup of wine and lights the twisted candle.

As if someone had waved a magic wand, the splendor of the Sabbath is over, the wine cup is put away in the cupboard, the festive Sabbath clothes are changed to weekday drab garments, and the house is back to its worries, its problems, and its humdrum existence.

But there will be other Sabbaths, days of delight and refreshment of soul.

A DAY IN THE SHTETL

The *Shtetl* was astir with the break of day. The first *minyan*** was already at worship in the Old *Shul* as the first rays of the sun appeared in the east. The streets were blueish and eerily quiet, so that the scraping of doors and the unlocking of gates were heard all over town.

**Sidra* (Hebrew) is the weekly portion of the Pentateuch read publicly in the Synagogues on Sabbath. *Midrash* (Hebrew) are commentaries and interpretations of the Bible. Leo Rosten states: "The very highly developed analysis, exposition, and exegesis of the Holy Scriptures".

Whether Yiddish or Russian, it certainly derives from the French *chaussee*, meaning "highway".

**The quorum of ten men, necessary for worship.

The *balegoles*, the drivers of wagons and phaetons who take passengers to and from the big city, were the first to line up on the market square. Some had steady customers. As soon as they saw them coming they would run to meet them and to help them with their satchels. They left as soon as all of the seats in their vehicles were taken. Other *balegoles* were not so fortunate. They had to wait for fares, to bargain for prices, and to set new fees for each of the customers.

The merchants would drive out of their alleys in neat wagons or in sulkies drawn by one horse, trotting smartly on the cobbled Post Road. They were off to the other *yaridn* (markets) in the neighboring towns, or to supervise their interests in the villages around Orinin.

The market women, the poorest of the poor, put up their fruit stands in the square. Summer and winter they stood at these stands and tried to eke out a living with fruit and vegetables displayed on a space no larger than an ordinary kitchen table. Their stands were placed next to one another, and the jealousy among venders added to their miseries. When a housewife appeared in the square, they all proclaimed the virtues of their wares, and followed the would-be buyer until she stopped at a stand.

The storekeepers opened their shops and brought out bulk merchandise to the sidewalks in front of their business houses. Sacks of salt and squares of salt for cattle to lick. Barrels of black sticky tar to lubricate the wheels of vehicles. Bundles of dried, salty herring hung on nails over the doors of the stores. Casks of nails in all sizes for various purposes. All of these were waiting for the peasants as they came into the *Shtetl* for their supplies.

From the butcher street came the cry of lambs as they were taken out of the pens and led away to be slaughtered. The coopers rolled out their wares from their storage places, barrels of various widths and heights, and the hollow beat of their hammers could be heard in the distance.

Old men returned from their *klois* or *Beth Midrash* where they had been praying and studying on empty stomachs since early morning. They would return to study and prayer soon after they had eaten something.

The *meklars*, the cane twirlers, the *luftmenschen*, persons without an identifiable profession, stood in circles in front of stores and exchanged the latest news.

Children were taken to the *dardeki melamed*, the teacher of young children, by the *behelfers*, the assistants to the *rebbe*, while older children, with their books under their arms, were rushing to their various *hedorim*, rooms of the teachers, for a day of study.

The daily routine of the *Shtetl*, established so many years ago, was repeated with minor seasonal variations from day to day.

Smoke rises from the chimneys of the houses. Housewives stand at their kitchen *pripetchoks*, the fore-ovens, preparing the meals for their families. It was a laborious time-consuming chore. The housewives, in fact, spent most of the day cooking and baking. Washing and ironing, cleaning and scrubbing — in addition to baking, cooking and canning — were the daily routine of the housewife.

With the setting of the sun the *Shtetl* had a rhythm of its own. Children returned from the *heder*. The travelers came back from the big city and from their dealings in the villages. Children waited at the bridge for their fathers' return and were picked up for the short ride to their homes. Old men rose up from their studies and began the evening prayers. Lights appeared in the windows and people sat down to a long evening meal.

With the coming of the night the *Warta* showed up on the streets of Orinin. The *Warta* consisted of young men who guarded the *Shtetl* at night. They took turns every month traveling in twos, walking the streets and alleys of the *Shtetl*. They carried no arms. When something suspicious occurred, they would raise an alarm and drive off the would-be thieves or other disturbers of the peace. But the nights were quiet, and in the summer months the aroma of growing things, of flowering things, and of ripening things, and the murmur of whispering things filled the air of the *Shtetl*.

At midnight a candlelight would flicker in some houses. Grandfathers and fathers would arise for *hatzoth*, the lamentations at midnight. They would lament for the "Presence" of the Holy One who was exiled, for the Holy Temple that was destroyed, and for the Land of Israel that was taken away from us. And they would study in their sing-song, swaying over the large folios of the *Gemoro*.

The *Shtetl* had its charms day and night, and we who knew them can never recapture them.

KING DAVID'S LODGE, A. F. & A. M., No. 1
OF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

by BENTON H. ROSEN

It was toward the end of the American Revolutionary War in 1780 that Moses Michael Hays transferred from New York and established in Newport with the assistance of some of his Jewish brethren and members of the predominantly Christian community King David's Lodge, No. 1,¹ Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. St. John's Lodge of Newport, also designated No. 1, had been constituted on December 20, 1749, but was in a moribund state at this time. The least that can be said about the Hays group was that it nurtured and further developed Freemasonry in Rhode Island during the decade of the 1780s. From records supplied by Mr. Norris G. Abbott, Jr. we learn of many acts of Masonic charity and obtain an impression of growth and vitality.

In "Scottish Rite Freemasonry"² by Samuel Harrison Baynard, Jr. (1938) there is a section referring to the Masonic activity of certain members of the 18th century Newport Jewish community. Baynard states: "On February 23, 1769, Provincial Grand Master George Harrison issued a Warrant for a Lodge in the City of New York, to be known as King David's Lodge, in which he named Moses Michael Hays, 'A Hebrew of Masonic distinction', as Master, Myer Myers as Senior Warden and Isaac Moses as Junior Warden, and for several years the Lodge continued on the even tenor of its way, until the time of the British occupancy of New York City, a great number of the wealthy Jews left the city, with their families and possessions, and took up their abode elsewhere, some in Philadelphia, some in Rhode Island, and some in Connecticut.

"Moses Michael Hays, together with his family and many of his close associates, emigrated to Newport, Rhode Island, he taking with him the Warrant of King David's Lodge, and there he took up again his Masonic labors by organizing a new 'King David's Lodge' under the authority of the Harrison Warrant, occupying the oriental chair,³ with Moses Seixas as Senior Warden and David Lopez as Junior Warden."

From another source (Rugg)⁴ it is learned that Moses M. Hays, under a warrant of Brother George Harrison, Esquire, Grand Master (of New York), is empowered to form and establish a Lodge by the name of King David's Lodge, No. 1 and "whereas we having found several true and lawful Brethren⁵ here desirous of becoming members thereof

have accordingly convened for the purpose at a room convenient for holding a Lodge this evening, June 7th, 1780 and in Masonry 5780,⁶ and after having appointed the following Brethren to the Office for this night affixed to their respective names, viz, Moses M. Hays, Master; Moses Seixas, Sen. Warden; David Lopez, Jun. Warden; Jeremiah Clarke, Treasurer; Henry Dayton, Secretary; Solo. A. Myers, Deacon."

The account continues: "The regularity of King David's Lodge was open to serious questioning, but it lived and flourished for some ten years, when, prior to the formation of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, its membership was merged in the revived St. John's Lodge of Newport. King David's Lodge included a goodly number of active and zealous Craftsmen, among whom mention may well be made of its founder and first Worshipful Master, Moses M. Hays, afterwards Grand Master of Masons in Massachusetts, and Moses Seixas and Peleg Clarke, who were conspicuously active in Masonic interests for many years, each of them attaining the highest office, that of Grand Master, in the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island."

In 1790 George Washington came to Newport. On this occasion Washington, himself a member of the Masonic fraternity, was invited to call upon and address King David's Lodge. The writer has not been able to determine conclusively whether a visit to the Lodge was made in person. However, there is on record the Washington message to the group wherein he stated:⁷

To the Master, Wardens and Brethren of King David's Lodge in Newport, Rhode Island:

Gentlemen:

I received the welcome which you give me to Rhode Island with pleasure and I acknowledge my obligations for the flattering expressions of regard contained in your address⁸ with grateful sincerity. Being persuaded that a just application of the principles on which the Masonic Fraternity is founded must be productive of the private virtue and public prosperity, I shall always be happy to advance the interest of the society, and to be considered by them as a deserving Brother,

My best wishes, gentlemen, are offered for your individual happiness.

George Washington

The concluding event in the rather short history of the Lodge has been summed up by Donald E. Spears, 33° in his paper⁹ titled "The Jews and Masonry in the United States Before 1810." This Masonic historian wrote in his 1949 commentary: "Under the date of September 20, 1790, the record of King David's Lodge shows that a committee was appointed to confer with the members of the First Lodge in Newport and request them to revive their Lodge, when this Lodge will cease their existence and become members thereof. Eleven members of St. John's Lodge participated in the revival and one hundred and thirty members of King David's were absorbed in the reorganized Lodge."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer and the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association are deeply indebted to Norris G. Abbott, Jr. for his kindness and cooperation. His help in the preparation of this account was most valuable and was freely given. We are especially grateful for his gift of five King David's Lodge documents, dated between 1781 and 1784. This material is the oldest now in possession of the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association, and is shown at the end of the article as exhibits.

Long active in Rhode Island Masonic circles, Mr. Abbott is the son of a man who had an equally imposing record in Freemasonry. His laurels are summed up under the following accolades:

Past Master, Mt. Vernon Lodge, No. 4, A.F. & A.M.

Past High Priest, Providence Royal Arch Chapter No. 1

Past Thrice Illustrious Master, Providence Council No. 1, Royal and Select Masters

Past Most Illustrious Grand Master, Grand Council of Rhode Island, Royal and Select Masters

Past Most Wise Master, Rhode Island Chapter of Rose Croix

Emeritus Member, Supreme Council 33°, Northern Masonic Jurisdiction

Past Potentate—Palestine Temple, A.A.O., N. M. S. (Shrine)

APPENDIX A

DR. KING DAVID'S LODGE WITH JOHN TOPHAM

Lawful Money¹⁰

1781

To cash, Pd. Edmund Townsend ¹¹ for two Coffins ¹²	£ 6 . — . —
To ditto, Pd. a reckoning per order	1 . 5 . —
To ditto, Pd. for a quire paper for Lodge use	— . 2 . —
To ditto, Pd. for one cord Wood ¹³ for Mrs. Myer's House	1 . 2 . 6
To ditto, Pd. Mr. Chas. Handy for Spermaceti Candles per order	2 . 8 . —

1782

To ditto, Pd. Mr. Heffernan per order	1 . 16 . —
To ditto, Pd. for paper	— . 2 . 0
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Tew for a reckoning	1 . 2 . 6
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Handy for a Book for Lodge use, per order	1 . 10 . —
To ditto, Pd. Daniel Dunham per order	— . 4 . —
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Isaac Isaacs per order	— . 15 . —
To ditto, Pd. for paper for Lodge per order	— . 2 . 8
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Tew for a reckoning, per order	2 . 12 . 6
To ditto, Pd. ditto, St. John's	3 . 9 . —
To ditto, Pd. Bro. Handy per order for a table	— . 12 . —
To ditto, Pd. Henry Barber for advertising	— . 6 . —
To ditto, Pd. Isaac Isaacs	— . 3 . —
To ditto, Pd. for one quire paper	— . 2 . 8
To ditto, Pd. a donation to Bro. Cartwright per order	3 . — . —

£26 . 14 . 10

2 . 12 . 2

£29 . 7 . —

Outstanding Debts, Viz.

Bro. John Channing	£ 2 . 14 . —
James Miller	— . 6 . —
Eleaser Elizer	— . 3 . —
Henry Tew	— . 3 . —
George Whitney	— . 3 . —
Oliver Reed	— . 3 . —

KING DAVID'S LODGE WITH JOHN TOPHAM

CR.

Lawful Money

1781

By Treas from the following Bretheren, Viz.

Gideon Sisson	£ 3 . — . —
Mons. Fliory ¹⁴	3 . — . —
William Cornell	3 . — . —
Caleb Trapp	3 . — . —
John Babcock	6 . — . —
John Vial by the hand (of) Wm. Dayton	2 . 8 . —
John L. Boss	2 . 19 . —
Joseph Allen	3 . — . —
James Remington	3 . — . —

£29 . 7 . —

Errors excepted. Newport June 24,

1782 5782

John Topham, Treasury

APPENDIX B

DR. KING DAVID'S LODGE No. 1 in ACCT with John Topham, Treas.
1782

July 6	To Cash Pd. W. Allen for 12 Long Books	£ 0 . 14 . 5
	To Cash Pd. Bro. Paul Cartwright	3 . 0 . 0
	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaacs per order of Lodge	— . 3 . 0
Aug 6	To Cash Do. Do Do	— . 3 . 0
7	To Cash Pd. Bro. Tew per Do	— . 8 . 0
Sept 4	To Do Pd. Bro. Isaacs per Do	— . 3 . 0
Oct 2	To Do Pd. Bro. Handy's acct. for paper etc.	— . 5 . 4
Nov 15	To the order of Lodge for wood Dd. (delivered to) Mrs. Elliott & Mrs. Heffernan	3 . 7 . 6
	To Pd. Henry Barber bill for printing	— . 6 . —
Dec 24	To Pd. Bro. Handy's bill for candles	2 . 8 . 0
	To Pd. Bro. Jacobs for clothing for Tyler per the Lodges order	6 . 0 . 0
	To Cash Pd. for 1 Cord Wood for Mrs. Crowell	1 . 2 . 6
	To Cash Pd. 1 Do. for Bro. Cartwright, no order	1 . 2 . 6
	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaacs per order	— . 7 . 4
	To Bro. Jacobs Acct for Glasses for the use of the Lodge	— . 7 . 2
	To Cash Pd. Mrs. Crowell no order	1 . 10 . 0
	To Do. Pd. Bro. Tew no order	— . 7 . 6
	No order To Do. Pd. Ditto for Gideon Sissons dinner	— . 13 . 7
	Do. To Do. Pd. Bro. Handy for Paper	— . 2 . 8
	To Do. Pd. Bro. Tews Bill for Lodge Expenses	— . 14 . 6
	Dp. to Do. Pd. Bro. Isaacs	— . 3 . 0
	Dp. to Do. Pd. Bro. Tew for Lodge expenses	— . 6 . 0
	To Do. Pd. Bro. Isaacs	— . 6 . 0
		£24 . 1 . 0
	To Do. Pd. Bro. S. L. Boss per Account	— . 10 . 6
		£24 . 11 . 6
	Balance due the Lodge	5 . 9 . 3
		£30 . 1 . 2

Attest: John Cooke. Secy.

KING DAVID'S LODGE No. 1 in ACCT with John Topham, Treas. CR.

	1782	
	By Cash Recd of Bro. Dayton for Chas. Cahoone	£ 2 . 18 . 0
Oct 2	By Do. Pd. by James Sisson	3 . — . 0
	By Do. Pd. By Wm. Lovitt	2 . 17 . —
	By Do. Pd. By Bro. Wheaton	2 . 19 . —
	By Balance of Bro. Hayes Acct Pd. by Bro. Seixas	12 . 15 . 0
	By Do. Recd. of Bro. Boss	3 . — . —
		£27 . 9 . 0
	By Balance due from me to the Lodge on the Last Settlement	2 . 12 . 2
		£30 . 1 . 2

Notes in the Possession of the Treas.

On Bro. John Channing	£ 2 . 14
Bro. James Miller (2)	6 . —
Bro. Geo Whitney	3 . —

£11 . 14

Bro. John Handy	6 . 16
	<hr/>
	£18 . 12
Eleazer Elizer	£ 3 . —
	<hr/>
	£21 . 12 . —

Rec'd Noted & Passed the Lodge
the 16th July 5783

Errors excepted

John Topham Treasury

APPENDIX C

DR. KING DAVID'S LODGE No. 1 in ACCOUNT with John Topham, Treas.

1783

July 9th	To Cash Paid Isaac Isaachs per Bill	£— . 3 . 0
	To ditto Pd. John Michael Hansen a Distressed Brother per order	1 . 10 . 0
17th	To do. Pd. Bro Isaachs	— . 3 . 0
	To do. Pd. for a Cord of Wood for Bro. Tew for the use of the Lodge including wharfage and other expenses	1 . 4 . 4
Dec. 10th	To Cash Pd. Brother Isaachs	— . 6 . —
	To Cash Pd. Mr. William Davis for Wine, etc. at Bro. Champlin's Funeral	— . 12 . 0

1784

Jany 5th	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaac Isaachs per order	— . 13 . 6
	To Cash Pd. Stephen Hawkins for 26 White Skins for Lodge ¹⁵	1 . 19 . 0
	To Cash Pd. Bro. James Tew for a reckoning for Bro. G.G. Champlin's Funeral, the 1 Jany 1784	3 . 6 . 0
22nd	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaac Isaachs	— . 3 . —
	To Cash advanced Mrs. Elliott for 1 Quarter Schooling her children per order ¹⁶	1 . 7 . 0
March 18th	To Cash Pd. Bro. Isaachs	— . 3 . —
	To Cash Paid Francis Jackson a Distressed Brother	— . 12 . —
	To do. Paid Wm. Doyale a Donation	— . 18 . —
	To Cash Paid Bro. Cooke for so much gave Mrs. Crowell	— . 6 . —
	To Cash Pd. for Two Shirts for Bro. Isaac Isaachs	— . 18 . 0
May 20th	To Cash Pd. ditto	— . 3 . —

£14 . 7 . 4

To Bro. Seixas Acct for Gloves,
Ribbons, etc. for Lodge for
Bro. G.G. Champlins Funeral

3 . 6 . 6

£17 . 13 . 10

Notes in the Treasury—Jas. Miller 2 notes

£ 6 . 0 . 0

Henry Tew

3 . 0 . 0

John Channing

3 . 0 . 0

John Handy

6 . 18 . 0

Tebbias Whitney

3 . 0 . 0

£21 . 18 . —

Cert. John Cooke, Secry

KING DAVID'S LODGE No. 1 in ACCOUNT with John Topham, Treas. CR.

1783

July 16	By Cash Due the Lodge on Settlement this day	£ 5 . 9 . 8
	By Cash Recd. of Bro. Boss on Acct of Bro. Elizers Note	1 . 10 . 0
	By Cash Recd. by the Hands of Bro. Cooke on Acc. of Bro. Jas. Millers Note	1 . 10 . 0
	By Cash Recd. of Bro. Davol for his Initiation	3 . 0 . 0
	By Cash Recd. of Bro. Dayton in full	— . 13 . 7
		<hr/>
		£12 . 3 . 3
	By Cash Recd of Bro. Miller on Acct of his note	1 . 10 . 0
		<hr/>
	Balance due from the Lodge to the Treasury	£13 . 13 . 3
		4 . 0 . 7
		<hr/>
		£17 . 13 . 10

John Topham, Treasury

APPENDIX D

(From notes written on a scrap of paper)

An extra Lodge at the request of Mr. James Devol at the house of Bro. Tew, Newport, Dec. 10th, 1783.

Prest (Present)

Wor M¹⁷ Moses Seixas
 H Dayton, S W¹⁸
 J. Jacobs, J W¹⁹
 John L. Boss, J. Dec.²⁰
 E. Elizer
 H. Goodwin
 Jas. Tew
 G. Sisson
 John Topham
 P.A. Cartwright
 Jabez Champlin

Mr. James Devol who was balloted for & admitted then appeared & was accordingly initiated and Entered Apprentice. The bill being tendered was paid Bro. John Topham, Treasurer.

Vote for altring (altering) the by Laws that one negative refuse a candidate & that he have liberty to apply three successive regular lodge nights.

Voted that one cord of Walnut Wood be sent Bro. Tew.

Vote for an order in fav. (favor) the Tyler²¹ for 2/—.

(Some additional notes)

Attended the proceedings of 18th December 1782. G. G. Champlin's Funeral.

Vote of G. Sisson for expelling 19th Feb, 1783.

Vote for no defecting Brother for paying expense the first night. 19th Feb, 1783

21st May, to call on Sisson.

Vote for no one to (be) admitted without his fees being first paid. Jan 16th, 1782

20th Nov, 1782. Vote for no Brother to appear without an apron.

APPENDIX E

(Copy of a letter written sometime during the period 1780-1790.)

To the members of King David Lodge:

I most humble thank the Bretheren for the favours I have already Rec'd in the coarse (course) of the last Winter but am extremely sorry to inform you that I am still a crippel, and am jest agoing to keep a small shop in hopes to support myself and if I could have the loan of a little money to begin with I will punctly (punctually) repay.

I Am Gentlemen with
Sincere Regards your
Most Obendient Hmble Sevt (Servant)
(Signed) James Tew

NOTES

¹In addition to the two Newport Lodges, St. John's Lodge of Providence, founded in 1757, was and still is designated "No. 1".

²*History of the Supreme Council, 33°, Ancient Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States of America and its Antecedents.* By Samuel Harrison Baynard, Jr. Privately printed for the Supreme Council, Boston, 1938.

³In a typical Masonic lodge room the Worshipful Master's chair is placed in the east.

⁴*History of Freemasonry in Rhode Island*, by Henry W. Rugg. E. I. Freeman & Son, Providence, 1895.

⁵These, no doubt, were men who had received their Masonic degrees from the dormant St. John's Lodge of Newport of Newport, or elsewhere in the Colonies or in England.

⁶The Masonic Calendar shows exactly 4,000 years more than that used to measure the Christian Era.

⁷*Washington, the Man and Mason*, by Charles H. Callahan. Pub. by Washington National Memorial Ass., Washington, D.C., 1913.

⁸There seems to be no record of an address from the Master of the Lodge directly to George Washington. It could have been a written invitation as well as an oral greeting.

⁹From the private collection of Norris G. Abbott, Jr.

¹⁰The British monetary system was still in use.

¹¹*The Cabinet Makers of America*, by Ethel Hall Bjercoe (Doubleday, Garden City, N. Y., 1957) lists Edmund Townsend (1736-1811) among the outstanding craftsmen of the period. It was not uncommon for cabinet makers to produce coffins in that era.

¹²Supplied by the Lodge for the burial of indigent Masons and members of their families.

¹³An act of charity. Many more can be noted in the treasurer's reports accompanying the article.

¹⁴Mrs. Gladys E. Bolhouse, Curator of Manuscripts, Newport Historical Society, supplied the following information: "The only name on the list of French officers that we have that seems to coincide with the entry in King David's Lodge records is the Marquis de Fleury. I would believe that this could well be the same person and the difference in pronunciation could account for the way John Topham spells the name."

"You will find at the Rhode Island Historical Society a copy of Edwin M. Stone's *Our French Allies* (Providence Press Co., 1884) in which you can locate several references to deFleury who was a Major in DeSaintange's Regiment, and according to our list lived at 595 Water Street while the French were quartered here which would be the present Washington Street on the bay front." At this time Rochambeau was in command of the French forces stationed at Newport.

¹⁵Used to fabricate aprons worn by Masons at their meetings.

¹⁶An early example of American scholarship assistance.

¹⁷Worshipful Master.

¹⁸Senior Warden.

¹⁹Junior Warden.

²⁰Junior Deacon.

²¹Doorkeeper of a Masonic lodge.

**HAKHAM RAPHAEL HAIM ISAAC CARIGAL:
SHALIAH OF HEBRON AND RABBI OF NEWPORT, 5533 (1773)**

by MARVIN PITTERMAN† AND BARTHOLOMEW SCHIAVO‡

On March 26, 1771, Mr. Isaac Hart, a Jewish merchant, showed Ezra Stiles, the pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Newport, a letter in Hebrew "he lately received from Macpelah* in the Holy Land."¹ The letter presented a description of the plight of the Jews of Hebron and the other Holy Cities, Safed, Tiberias, and Jerusalem in the year 5523 of the Creation (1763). It told of the tremendous tax burden under which the Jews suffered during the chaotic period when the Bedouin leader Zaher and his ally, Ali Bey of Cairo, contended with the Pasha of Damascus for control of Palestine. The hakhamim of Hebron announced the necessity of sending out emissaries, or shaliahim,² to seek contributions from Jews outside the Holy Land so that this burden could be lifted from the shoulders of the learned rabbis, widows, orphans, and poor inhabitants. The situation was so desperate at the time that representatives of the Jews of Hebron were held for bail for taxes and debts contracted from Gentiles, leading some to argue that those detained came under the category "captives held for ransom", and their claims, therefore, took precedence over all other charitable concerns.³ The letter introducing the emissaries was sent to Isaac Hart of Rhode Island, with a similar copy, no doubt, to *parnasim*** throughout the Western Hemisphere, and was signed by Aaron Alfandari, the author of *Yad Aharon* and *Merkebet ha-Mishneh*, Isaac Zevi and other leading rabbis of the town of Hebron.⁴

Later, almost two years to the day, Ezra Stiles recorded the arrival of "a hebrew Rabbi from Macpelah." The Palestinian was one of the most famous of the Sheluhe Erets Yisrael,⁵ the *Hakham*† Raphael Haim Isaac Carigal, a reproduction of whose portrait recently graced the cover of these NOTES.⁶ Thanks to Carigal's five-and-a-half month stay in Newport and his immediately intimate friendship with Stiles, his name and picture appear in many histories and monographs on colonial American Jewry, a brief biography of him can be found in

†Marvin Pitterman, *Professor of Finance, University of Rhode Island.*

‡Bartholomew Schiavo, *Division Coordinator for Social Studies, Roger Williams College.*

*Macpelah, in Hebron, seventeen miles southwest of Jerusalem, was the site of the "Double Cave" in which Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, and Leah were buried.

***Parnasim* (plural) — leaders of the communities or congregations.

†*Hakham* — a Sephardic expression meaning "one who knows," or sage; a title given to Rabbis among the Sephardim. *Hakhamim*, plural form.

the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Vol. III),⁷ and other traces of his journeys have been recorded. Stiles's remarkable word picture of Carigal at the Passover Services in 1773 could not fail to attract the student's curiosity about this apparently incongruous oriental presence in the midst of the American Enlightenment.⁸

Quite naturally Carigal's relationship with Stiles has been the focus of writings about the Hakham, even when the study was done by Jews or for Jewish publications.⁹ The only considerable study of this "mystic oriental visitor" to Rhode Island and colonial America is that done by the late Lee M. Friedman. Friedman finally implied the right question, *i.e.* what made Carigal different from other such visitors, when he stated that,

Probably no pre-Revolutionary visitor to British North America left more vivid impressions upon his hosts than those created by Rabbi Raphael Haim Isaac Carigal during a short five months' round of visits paid by him to Philadelphia, New York and Newport in 1773.¹⁰

Rabbi Carigal's career and the circumstances of his visit merit attention in their own right. The answers to such questions as Who was he? Where did he come from? Why did he come to Newport when he did? Where else did he go? What happened to him after he sailed out of Newport harbor? and What were the effects of his travels and sojourns? make up an interesting and illuminating facet of the history of American colonial Jewry. In his own person he exemplified the strong and extensive connections which tied American, European, and Palestinian Jewry together in the eighteenth century.

Carigal was a *shaliah* of Hebron, *i.e.*, a congregational emissary sent out to collect donations for the support of the widows, orphans, poor, and scholars of the Palestinian Jewish community. Such emissaries should not be confused with *maggidim*, itinerant preachers dependent on the charity of the communities through which they passed, sometimes rather hastily. This confusion is evident in Jastrow's reference to Carigal as "a type of the genuine 'wandering Jew'," "a species of religious 'tramp'."¹¹ On the contrary, to be chosen as an emissary was "an honor bestowed on such men only as were, by their learning, well fitted to represent the Holy Land in Europe, where the people looked upon a Palestinian rabbi as a model of learning and piety."¹² Moreover, even among the three such distinguished visitors to Newport, the community singled out Carigal from among the respectable and well-educated *shaliahim*.

Our diarist, Stiles, was personally acquainted with six of the seven

or eight rabbinic visitors who passed through Newport in the period between 1759 and 1774.¹³ And it is best to take a brief look at the other Palestinian emissaries before turning to Carigal, so that we have some basis for comparison. Moses Malki, born and educated in Safed,¹⁴ another of the Holy Cities, passed through Newport in 1759. Descended from a scholarly family, he was probably an ordained rabbi.¹⁵ This first of the Palestinian emissaries to reach our shores, like Carigal later, also spent some months in New York City before the New York community paid his passage to Rhode Island.¹⁶ His arrival in December of 1759 probably coincided roughly with news of the disastrous earthquake which shook the Holy Land on the 9th of *Heshvan* 5520 (October 31, 1759). He soon returned to Amsterdam, where he died on September 21, 1763.¹⁷

Another of the emissaries referred to in our opening might have been Samuel Ha-Cohen, also from Hebron. Rabbi Samuel arrived on June 30, 1775 at a time when Palestinian Jews were in great difficulty over debts and taxes. Like Carigal, he had traveled extensively in Europe and the West Indies before turning to the mainland of North America, and like Carigal he was a relatively young man, aged 34. In Amsterdam Ha-Cohen was granted permission by the *mahamad* during *Nisan* 5533 (1773) to print a manifesto appealing to the Jews of the New World.¹⁸ He was also armed with letters of introduction signed by the rabbis of the Holy Land, Isaac Ha-Cohen and Joseph David Azulai, known as "Hida" and a *shaliah* in his own right, one of the leading rabbis of the age and the author of *Shem ha-Gedolim* (The Name of the Great Ones) and notes on the *Shulhan Aruk*, titled *Birke Yosef*.¹⁹ After touring the West Indies in 1773 and 1774, while Carigal was on the mainland, Ha-Cohen followed him to Newport in June 1775, where he boarded with Isaac Hart. In September he was hustled off to London to remove him from the path of the American Revolution.²⁰

Rabbi Carigal, from the day he began his wanderings at the age of 20, "functioned . . . as an authentic *shaddar*," but by the time he came to Newport, twenty years later, there was "no indication that . . . he was representing anyone but himself."²¹ He had ceased his wanderings long enough to acquire a wife, a son, and a daughter in Hebron, served two years as a teacher in London, two years as rabbi in Curaçao by the time he arrived at Newport. Therefore, when he turned again to the West Indies after leaving Newport, he no doubt sought a situation which would allow him at last to send for his family. Before this could occur the hakham died in Bridgetown, Barbados on May 19, 1777 after serving more than two years as pastor of Nidhe Yisroel, the oldest

synagogue in the English-speaking world.²² As a sign of the respect which Carigal merited wherever he went, the Jews of Curaçao erected a monument to him in their own cemetery, though he was buried in Bridgetown.²³

By retracing the history of Carigal we can now begin to answer some of our earlier questions more directly. Carigal was the descendant of a notable Palestinian family of Portuguese origin which had found its way to Palestine *via* Salonica early in the seventeenth century. One Abraham "Carregal" and the widow of *Hakham* "Carregal" are recorded as receiving allowances from the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam in 5432 (1671-72). An Isaac "Caregal" was one of the three "ambassadors" sent to Amsterdam to collect funds at about that time. The family apparently had well-to-do relatives in Amsterdam. Haim Isaac was related to Mosseh Frano Drago, who left 6000 florins for the maintenance of a yeshivah of ten *hakhamim* in Jerusalem. His bequest stipulated that up to five of the ten could be his relatives. *Hakham* Mosseh Caregal was one such recipient in 1719 and one of the administrators of the yeshivah thereafter. His son, Haim Isaac, was born in Hebron the 15th of Tishri 5493 (October 4, 1732). As the son of a *hakham* who edited rabbinical works by Abraham Mizrachi and Israel Nagara,²⁴ our subject naturally began his studies at the age of 7 and was ordained at the age of 17 by David Malamed, one of the chief rabbis of Hebron.²⁵ Carigal was sent out at the age of twenty as a fundraiser, or *shaliah*.

Again we can turn to Stiles's Diary for a clear account of Carigal's itinerary:

1754. Aet. 20 1/2 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 lesser Asia by 'Cogni, and Aleppo to Damascus;—from Damascus to Aleppo again, thence across Euphrates to Ur of Chaldees, Baghdad and Ishpahan, which terminated his oriental Travels: From Ishpahan back to Aleppo.²⁶

By 1757 Carigal was apparently ready to leave the Oriental Jews behind and turn to his western brethren. He spent two more years traveling in Europe *via* Leghorn, Florence, Rome, Bologna, Milan, Padua, Venice, Vienna, Prague, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Frankfort, "Mentz" (Mainz?), Holland, and London. Upon reaching Holland and London he came into contact with the leaders of the mother synagogues and communities which had spawned New World Jewry. As a *shaliah* in

search of contributions he was probably at this point directed to the possibilities of plying the loyal, rich, and unexploited territories of North America and the West Indies. In Europe he had to cover the same ground as the likes of David Azulai, ten years his senior, who had been chosen as *shaliah* in 1755, and who toured Italy, France, Germany, and Holland just a few years before Carigal.²⁷

Carigal's Sephardic heritage, rabbinic learning, "his fine manners, his Jewish cultural baggage, his ingenuous and sensible appearance", and his "modest and reverent" conduct fortified him in his approach to West Indian Jewry.²⁸ The West Indies in general, and congregation Mikve Israel in particular, stood as "a choice plum" for the shaliah. Jews from Holland and the Dutch and French possessions settled in the islands in the mid-seventeenth century. They prospered and became numerous. On the British islands of Nevis and Antigua Jews constituted a large minority within the white population. On Barbados the Jewish community dated from the early 1600s. By 1715 there were 90 Jewish families on the island, divided between Speightstown and Bridgetown. The much larger Jamaica had three Jewish communities which numbered 1000 Jews in all. This was as many as in all of North America in 1750, and the Jews of Curaçao alone numbered 1400, a population of Jews not reached in New York until the mid 1830s.²⁹

Despite special taxation and other disabilities many West Indian Jews became citizens in the Dutch colonies, and in the English colonies after the Plantation Act of 1740, which allowed for naturalization after seven years of residence. They owned land, voted, and practiced their religion without disturbance. Economically the Jews advanced so rapidly that they soon became the targets of their Gentile competitors.³⁰ Jacob Marcus, well qualified to make comparisons, concluded that ". . . well into the eighteenth century the Jewish settlements in the Caribbean area were more important culturally and economically than those of the North American mainland," or "Jewry on this continent lived in the shadow of the South Atlantic Communities for at least 175 years after the first Jewish settlement in New Amsterdam."³¹

Religiously, West Indian Jewry functioned as "a branch of Amsterdam Jewry" until the mid-eighteenth century.³² Amsterdam sent the Scrolls of the Law to Barbados in 1657. Moreover the Jews of Barbados, Curaçao, and Jamaica never had trouble attracting *bona fide* rabbis from Amsterdam (unlike their northern brethren): e.g. Eliahu Lopez, a disciple of Isaac Aboab to Barbados in 1678; Josiau Pardo, son of Amsterdam's David Pardo to Port Royal, Jamaica; and Samuel Mendes de Sola to Curaçao in the eighteenth century.

Carigal arrived at Curaçao in 1761 and served as rabbi and teacher for two years, while David Lopes de Fonseca completed his studies at Ets Haim Academy in Amsterdam. Although Carigal came to the New World in the capacity of *shaliah*, he served in other important capacities both in the West Indies and on the mainland a decade later. A word about the emissarial system itself is in order, so that we can understand the relationship between Carigal's functions.

The Holy Cities, Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron, had a well organized system of *shaddarim* in the early 1600s, if not before. In fact, even in the early rabbinic period "the academies in the Holy Land were supported mainly by voluntary contributions from congregations elsewhere."³³ On the other hand, the system continues in a more complex form into the present era. Safed, as the home of Joseph Caro, Luria, Cordovero, and other Cabbalists, attracted the support of Spanish Jewry around the world. In the seventeenth century many devices were introduced to attest to the primacy of contributing to the support of Jerusalem's community and to remind all Jews when making wills to make provision for this obligation. We have already mentioned several renowned *meshullahim*, and could add many more.³⁴ Although the main sources of contributions in Carigal's time continued to be London, Amsterdam, Venice, and Leghorn, Carigal was not unwise in shifting his focus to the West Indies and North America.

From 1627 on the Jews of the Dutch Antilles had made contributions to the Holy Cities (on a regular basis from 1671). The birth of a son, the desire to acquire sand from Jerusalem to place on the eyelids of the deceased, and other reasons and occasions summoned forth generous contributions from American Jews.³⁵ These contributions from Recife, Curaçao, and elsewhere in the Caribbean had been flowing towards the Holy Cities *via* Amsterdam and Leghorn for some time when Carigal ventured to go to the source. In fact, Curaçao boasted two brotherhoods which had shown special favor to Hebron (Honen Dalim, established 1726, and Neve Zedek, 1742). Carigal was probably counting on these brotherhoods when he set out for America in 1762.³⁶

But a *shaliah* did not simply make collections in an unregulated manner, nor did he merely travel about from congregation to congregation and land to land without returning some service. Carigal was no exception. Despite the fact that in some cases the *meshullah* barely covered expenses because he was ineffective or inept, or chose his route badly, and despite the fact that there are instances recorded of maladministration and outright fraud, the true and good *shaliah* was

given “preferential treatment” wherever he went.³⁷ A regular legal contract was drawn up between the emissary and the community in whose behalf he traveled: “The community undertook to provide for the *meshullah’s* family during his absence and to advance his initial travelling expenses.”³⁸ This explains how Carigal could set out at the age of twenty with no apparent means of support and how, when he took a wife and brought children into the world, he could continue his mission undeterred.

We have made mention of the services contributed by Carigal in the West Indies and on the mainland. These too were part of the emissarial system: “The *meshullah* on his part undertook to devote his attention and best endeavors to arousing the people by lectures. . . . In an important city he sometimes accepted a rabbinate and held it for some time.³⁹ Thus, although preaching was not characteristic of American synagogues until the mid-1830s, men like Carigal preached to congregations wherever they went. As Carigal informed Stiles, “none but Rabbis preached, and they usually preached on all the Holidays, but not every Sabbath & always without notes.”⁴⁰ The rabbi’s Shavuot sermon in Newport, preached in Ladino and then translated by Abraham Lopez into English, became the first Jewish sermon delivered and published in America.⁴¹

Carigal also acted as rabbi and teacher. He was one of Curaçao’s nine qualified rabbis in its three hundred years down to 1957.⁴² We know that he served as Newport’s rabbi from *Erev Pesach* to *Shavuot* in 1773. A “learned Talmudist whose knowledge and good manners reflected honor upon Jewry and the Holy City he represented,”⁴³ Carigal succeeded Mendes de Sola as teacher in Curaçao. As rabbi and teacher Carigal was awarded a salary of 750 pesos (for serving as rabbi and *dayan*) and 250 pesos (from the *yeshivot*). This princely sum constituted a higher salary than that accorded Rabbi Shlomo Salem, the most distinguished rabbi in Amsterdam and by far exceeded the amount paid a first-rate *hakham*, even in wealthy Curaçao. Although only in Curaçao for two years, Carigal apparently imposed on the *parnasim* to reinstate the *Hascamoth** of 1711 and 1716 which obliged parents to send their sons to school up to the age of 16.⁴⁴ The Palestinian made such an impression on his students and did so much to raise the standards of talmudic instruction that “a generation after his departure his students still spoke of him with admiration, gratitude and reverence.”⁴⁵

**Hascamoth* (plural) were communal agreements entered into among the Sephardim.

Another of Carigal's concerns was the adequacy of *shehita* in the colonies. Although much of the "Jews' meat" used in the West Indies was shipped from New York or Rhode Island through most of the century,⁴⁶ by the time Carigal visited Curaçao in 1762 there was a resident *shohet*. The rabbi apparently found the recently appointed *shohet* unsatisfactory and instructed the *mahamad* to force future appointees to swear to refrain from shaving, from drinking dubious wines, and from eating forbidden foods. The current *shohet* was given one year to marry and then take this oath.⁴⁷ Later, when Carigal visited New York in 1772, he again concerned himself with ritual slaughter and oversaw and approved the procedures and credentials of the *shohetim* there.⁴⁸ Wherever he traveled, Carigal was not above instructing housewives in salting and cleansing meat.

Carigal left Curaçao in May 1764 after serving one year alone and one year with the assistance of David Lopes de Fonseca. The historian of West Indian Jewry concludes that, "Because of his religious tolerance, refinement and vast knowledge, *Hakham* Carigal reflected honor not only on his natal community Hebron, but also on American Jewry, particularly Curaçao, then the largest, wealthiest community in the western world."⁴⁹

Once again *via* Amsterdam Carigal wended his way through Europe to Leghorn, where he embarked for Jaffa, thence to Jerusalem, and finally back to Hebron in August 1764, eleven years after his initial departure.* Since Carigal was able to forward 3700 florins to his account at Daniel Bonfils and Son in Venice before leaving Curaçao,⁵⁰ an examination of the financial arrangements for *shaliahim* is in order. The emissary's commission "was usually fixed at 45 per cent on all contributions coming direct from him or that were due to his influence, and 10 per cent on all income from his territory during the ten years following his return."⁵¹ This explains Carigal's small fortune, which was made up of his commission, the savings from his salary, and the income from investments made in his behalf.⁵² In addition, the *parnasim* paid 100 pesos for the rabbi's fare and baggage expenses.⁵³

After four years in Hebron, Carigal was off again in 1768, this time probably in search of a permanent position. In London Carigal taught at the Beth Midrash for an annual salary of £100 sterling.** From London he departed in 1771 for the British possession, Jamaica, where

*The journeys of *shaliahim* varied from three to ten or eleven years duration.

**He was therefore able to send "substantial sums" to his family (Marcus, II, p. 1046).

he resided for one year. It was at that point that he turned to the mainland colonies.

Although the West Indies were the religious offspring of London and Amsterdam, they of course developed early and constant commercial ties with the mainland colonies. The Jewish merchants in both places almost constituted interlocking companies in many respects. The West Indians were in "constant touch with their North American co-religionists in matters of faith and philanthropy, they continually traded itinerants and sent cantors north to the mainland."⁵⁴ For example, Isaac de Abraham Touro, Newport's *hazzan*, came from Jamaica in 1760, was married by the recent Jamaican resident, Carigal, in 1773 to a Hays daughter, and finally returned to Jamaica.* Others better versed in such matters and with more space at their disposal have documented the debt owed by the North Americans to the West Indians in the matters of sponsoring mainland congregations and buildings, providing wives to the mainland Sephardim, and breaking "ground for North American Jews in the area of rights and citizenship."⁵⁵ In addition, by the 1760s even the Jews in Dutch possessions were "no longer tied to the apron strings of Amsterdam Jewry", and a general reorientation towards Great Britain and the Bevis Marks congregation was well under way.

Following the trend, Carigal touched down in Philadelphia for a month⁵⁶ and New York City for four months before finally arriving at Newport Erev Pesach, 1773.⁵⁷ Though Carigal was not coming as a *shaliah*, Newport Jews were no doubt familiar with his career. They had long demonstrated their support for the rabbinical academies and the needy of the Holy Land.⁵⁸ A small⁵⁹ but thriving Jewish community which had erected its famous synagogue a few years before, Newport boasted a long heritage dating from the 1650s and long and important connections with the West Indies by the time Carigal arrived. The original settlers in the 1650s came directly from Holland, as well as from Speightstown, Barbados. Assured of religious freedom by the declaration of tolerance and liberty embodied in the program for orderly government of the Narragansett region, which provided that "none be accounted a Delinquent for Doctrine: Provided it be not directly repugnant to the Government or Lawes established."⁶⁰ Jews were granted "as good protection here as any strangers being not of our nation."⁶¹ These settlers were reinforced in the 1690s, and in the 1740s and 1750s in particular, by Sephardim from the West Indies and Marranos from Portugal, especially after the Lisbon earthquake in

*He died in Kingston on December 8, 1773.

1755. The leading Jewish merchants of Newport cultivated extensive trade connections with the West Indies in the slave trade, provisions, and privateering.

Carigal was no doubt a welcome visitor. Coming from the West Indies and a former rabbi of Mikve Israel, his visit would call to mind that community's contribution to Newport's building fund. Coming from London, Carigal would be a source of news and opinion as to imperial affairs and the tenor of English attitudes towards the colonies. Finally, as a Palestinian rabbi he introduced a physical presence from the Holy Land during a period when Jews and Christians were discussing the coming of the Millennium, an event in which Palestine would play a crucial role.

This brings us full circle, back to Stiles and Carigal. Ezra Stiles had carefully plied each visiting rabbi for information about the Messianic age in the Jewish tradition. With Moses Bar David, "a learned Jew" of Apta, Poland, Stiles plunged deeply into the study of the Zohar. That "Doctor our Doctor, the great Rabbi," the son of David of Apta, the Apter Rov, told Stiles that, if he could comprehend the Zohar, he "should be a Master of the Jewish Learning & of the greatest philosophy in the World."⁶² With Tobiah Bar Jehudah Loew of Cracow, study also turned to Zohar, as Tobiah was "a great Cabbalist and Philosopher; which two Branches of Knowledge are far more to his Taste than the Talmud."⁶³ Here too the discussion turned on whether pork would be allowed in the Messianic era, or whether circumcision would be necessary, and what the nature of childbirth would be.

Stiles's main interest in Carigal, not discounting a deep affection and an interest in Carigal's command of Hebrew and other languages, was that Palestinian's personal knowledge and opinion about the Holy Land and the coming of the Messiah. As Kohut noted, Stiles,

In his earlier years . . . was somewhat narrow and intolerant in his theological views and not at all predisposed in favor of the Jews, but . . . shortly before he reached his majority he came to not only a larger faith, but a meeker spirit and . . . he began to seek for evidences of their [the Jews'] whereabouts in far-away places to test the truth of prophecy. . .⁶⁴

He assiduously investigated all leads as to the location and identity of the Ten Lost Tribes, in the belief that these would have to be regathered and reestablished in the Holy Land before the Millennium could commence. Hence he studied the Cochin Jews, and customs among the Tartars, Afghans, and Falashas, seeking to verify their connection with the Lost Tribes. He pumped Carigal and other visitors about the

geography of Palestine and pored over Jewish and Christian, mystical and rational explanations of the Book of Daniel and other sources.* Stiles was fascinated by Carigal's interpretation of a passage in the Zohar which Carigal understood to predict the victory of the Russians over the Turks.⁶⁵

Christian Millenarianism included a belief that one of the signs of the era's approach was that Jews and Christians worshipped together; hence Stiles demonstrated an avid fascination with all news of Jewish apostasy. He was interested in the case of Judah Monis, a convert who became the first Professor of Hebrew at Harvard in the 1720s. Stiles's interest in such apostasy was so strong that he could not refrain from interrogating one of the leading Jews of Newport about rumors of his brother's conversion to Christianity in Philadelphia.⁶⁶ Stiles recorded that Carigal expected the Messiah "daily," which was no doubt a mundane rendition of the prayer with which the Rabbi concluded his *Shavuot*** sermon: "*B'yom hahu*" (May it be in our days).⁶⁷

But Stiles was also interested in Carigal from another point of view. The recipient of an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, Stiles was embarrassed to be so called while he did not possess a knowledge of Hebrew. Hence, he could be seen walking "about the streets with the Chuzzan of the Jewish Synagogue."⁶⁸ With help from Touro and the visiting rabbis, synagogue attendance, and intense application Stiles was able to progress from a knowledge of ten Hebrew letters in 1767 to "the ability to deliver a Hebrew oration at his inauguration at Yale in 1778."⁶⁹ He also learned Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic. With Carigal he discussed changes in Hebrew over the ages and compared classical and vernacular Arabic (Carigal knew the latter, but not the former) with the different dialects of Chaldee, Syriac, and the language of the Targums.

The relationship between a Congregational minister and a Palestinian rabbi of traditional views is interesting in its human aspect. Stiles manifested the reigning interest, curiosity, and prejudice about Jews. At best he was ambivalent about the Jews, even though some of his best friends were Jewish. Although Stiles had known Jacob Rodrigues Rivera for twenty years, he still referred to him as "a Jew merchant." On viewing a service conducted by Gershom Mendes Seixas in 1770, he was moved to comment: "How melancholy to behold an assembly of worshippers of Jehovah, open and professed enemies to a crucified Jesus!" Though he should have known better, he surmised

*He studied Rashi, Maimonides, Kimchi, and the Zohar. The Zohar also interested him because he read the doctrine of the Trinity into that mystical commentary.

**The Feast of Weeks, or the Pentecost.

there was a secret Jewish cabal in London operating a spy system against the Americans before the Revolution.⁷⁰ When a personal friend, Aaron Lopez, was denied citizenship in Rhode Island in 1762, Stiles speculated as to whether the mortification of the Jews was ordained by God:⁷¹ "Providence seems to make everything work for Mortification of the Jews, and to prevent their incorporating into any Nation; that thus they may continue a distinct people." Stiles concluded that the reaction to the "Jew Bill"⁷² in Britain, tumult against Jews in New York, and opposition in Rhode Island indicated that "the Jews will never become incorporated with the people of America, any more than in Europe, Asia & Africa."⁷³ Stiles was not so far ahead of his times that he could refrain from moaning over the fact that his friend Lopez died without knowing Jesus.⁷⁴

But, in the case of Haim Isaac Carigal, Stiles demonstrated unreserved affection and respect. Carigal proudly and uncompromisingly upheld the validity and truth of the Jewish tradition: he argued the unchanging nature of God's revelation as left to Moses and showed Stiles a passage in Augustine demonstrating the purity of the Masoretic text. Yet Carigal's sympathies were catholic and universal. He told Stiles that "he wished well to others besides his own Nation, he loved all Mankind."⁷⁵ When Carigal left for Surinam on July 21, 1773, Stiles told him he "parted from him with great Reluctance, and should ever retain an affection for him." The Christian pastor looked forward to meeting the rabbi in Eden, where they would walk with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Messiah until the Resurrection. Carigal responded that the sentiment was mutual.⁷⁶

The rabbi informed Stiles of his safe arrival in Surinam, and took time during his brief stay to thank Lopez and Rivera for the "great kindness and benefits bestowed" upon him during his stay in Newport.⁷⁷ By January, 1775 Carigal was able to send his installation sermon at Nidhe Israel to Lopez for translation into Spanish and to Stiles, who was to see to its publication in the English-speaking colonies.⁷⁸ Carigal and Stiles apparently continued a lengthy and extensive correspondence during the few years left to the rabbi. The final touching letter expresses Carigal's sympathy on the death of Stiles's wife. He went on to thank Stiles for "news Concerning the Americans affairs" and hoped that the colonists might soon be "acomodated." Unfortunately, just as Carigal was settled as rabbi of "an outstanding Jewish center, a great cosmopolitan clearing-house both commercially and culturally for the Jews of the Americas."⁷⁹ and just as he could finally send for his family, Carigal informed Stiles that

he suffered from an "Inflammatory fever," which he accurately predicted "Reduced [him] to the last Period of Life." Carigal changed his name to Raphael on the "advice of our Sages,"⁸⁰ but the angel was not fooled. Although he probably recovered from that brush with death, he soon succumbed on May 5, 1777, leaving his estate, a considerable library, and beautiful clothes to his wife, Hori, and his son, David.⁸¹ Carigal died as the "Golden Age" of Newport Jewry came to a close and as a new era in world history dawned.

In evaluating Carigal's contribution to American culture and history we need not resort to exaggerated claims that the study of Hebrew at Yale was indirectly attributable to his influence on Stiles.⁸² And his Shavuot sermon is too slender a reed on which to base great claims.⁸³ But Carigal did much to raise the standards of Hebrew learning and culture in the West Indies and in North America and enlivened contacts between American Jews and the Jews of Europe and the Holy Land. Bringing deep learning and lively awareness to the New World, Carigal initiated a new awareness among Oriental and European Jews of the level of commitment to Judaism in America. Others besides Ezra Stiles would long remember the *shaliah* of Hebron's "Society and Conversation which was more sweet to my Taste than Honey, and much more plesaant than the spicy Incense and perfume of the High Priest."⁸⁴

NOTES

¹F. B. Dexter, ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901), Vol. I, p. 97.

²The singular is *shaliah*. These men were also called *shaddarim* or *meshullim*, and have sometimes been confused with the *maggidim* (itinerant preachers). The term *shaliah* was probably borrowed from the function performed by the priests of the Second Temple who accepted and offered sacrifices as the congregational messenger, deputy or agent ("Sheliah Zibbur," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. XI, p. 261).

³"Halukkah," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, pp. 179-186.

⁴The signers were the heads of the yeshivot in the town, the oldest academy believed to be that founded by Israel Zevi, the author of *Urim Gedolim*. Carigal estimated that there were 107 Jewish families in Hebron at the time (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, March 30, 1773, p. 357). He also told Stiles of the restrictions placed on Jewish travel through the Holy Land which prohibited him from visiting the site of Sodom, only six or seven miles distance from his home. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1773, p. 370).

⁵This portrait was painted at the request of Ezra Stiles in 1781 by the Boston artist Samuel King from a crayon drawing by a Providence artist, Blodgett. Stiles asked Aaron Lopez to have the work done and to contribute the painting to the Library at Yale, where Stiles was President, in deference to "The affectionate Respect I bear to the Memory of that great & eminent Hocham, the Rabbi Karigal" (F. B. Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles*, New Haven, 1916, Ezra Stiles to Aaron Lopez, Yale College, May 31, 1781, p. 384). Also see Lee M. Friedman, *Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal, His Newport Sermon and His Yale Portrait* (Boston, 1940). For a complete study of all the *shaliahim* see Abraham Yaari, *Sheluhe Erets Yisrael* (Jerusalem, 1951), passim. For Carigal see pp. 47, 56, 490, 580-583. Also see Arthur A. Chiel, "The Mystery of the Rabbi's Lost Portrait," *Judaism* 22:482-487, (Fall) 1973. Recently entered a plea for the portrait's return to Yale College by the two-hundredth *yahrzeit* (anniversary) of Rabbi Carigal.

⁶Through the vagaries of Hebrew transliteration his name is sometimes rendered Carregal, Karigal, etc. His portrait appeared on the cover of *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, VI (November, 1971), No. 1.

⁷And in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. V.

⁸(April 8th, 1773): . . . 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 *Handerchief*, 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 Synagogue 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 Straiks*, 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 (Dexter, ed., *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 362-363).

⁹For example, George Alexander Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews* (New York, 1902) excerpts relevant passages of Stile's *Literary Diary*. Morris Jastrow, Jr., "References to Jews in the Diary of Ezra Stiles," in Abraham J. Karp, ed., *The Jewish Experience in America*, Vol. I, *The Colonial Period* (New York, 1969), pp. 143-174 is a re-print of an article which appeared in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* around the turn of the century. W. Willner's "Ezra Stiles and the Jews," *P.A.J.H.S.*, VIII (1900), pp. 119-126 is a similar study.

¹⁰Lee M. Friedman, *Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal* . . ., p. 1.

¹¹Jastrow, "References to Jews in the Diary of Ezra Stiles" in Karp, I, pp. 143-174.

¹²"Azulai, Asulay," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, pp. 375-376

¹³The three Palestinians were Carigal and Moses Malki, the first such shaliah in 1759, and Samuel Ha-Cohen, the last before the Revolution. Other visitors included two Polish Cabbalists and rabbis, Moses Bar David, in November 1772, and Tobiah Ben Jehudah Loew in November 1773. Tobiah was of the family and 9th descendant of R. Salomoh Ishaaci (RASHI), the celebrated commentator who died in 1180. The other foreigners were lesser men—Rabbi Joseph Israel, November 1765, and a Rabbi Bosquilla of Smyrna and London in late 1773 or early 1774. In 1770 Gershom Mendes Seixas of New York also visited Newport.

The Minute Books of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel record the treatment accorded Rabbi Joseph Israel under the heading 4th Kislev 5526 (November 17, 1765): ". . . after Rabbi Jospheh Israel has preached his Sermon he is to be dispatcht by first oppty to Newport in order to take passage for Surinam and if he will not go is to remain at his own Expence" ("The Earliest Extant Minute Book of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel in New York, 1728-1756," *P.A.J.H.S.*, XXI 1913, pp. 1-171).

¹⁴For a still useful study of Safed see Solomon Shechter, "Safed in the 16th Century," *Studies in Judaism*, 2nd Series (1908), pp. 203-306.

¹⁵Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew* (Detroit, 1970), Vol. II, p. 1045.

¹⁶David and Tamar de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World* (New York, 1955), pp. 344 and 397.

¹⁷Isaac and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati, 1970), I, p. 159 note.

¹⁸Morris A. Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport: Two and A Half Centuries of Judaism, 1658-1908* (New York, 1936), p. 140.

¹⁹Isaac Rivking, "Some Remarks About Messengers from Palestine to America," *P.A.J.H.S.*, XXXIV (1937), pp. 288-294 identified the signers of Ha-Cohen's credentials. For Azulai see *J.E.*, II, pp. 375-376.

²⁰Marcus, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1045-1046. The Newport and New York communities shared the expenses of provision and passage to London for Ha-Cohen. A total expense of £31.8.6 was incurred ("Items Relating to the Jews of Newport") *P.A.J.H.S.*, XXVII (1920), pp. 175-216.

²¹Marcus, II, p. 1046.

²²See E. M. Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgeton, Barbados* (London, 1956), p. 100.

²³I. S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao: Curaçao Jewry, 1656-1957* (New York, 1957), Biography #203, pp. 480-483 provides a memoir of Carigal.

²⁴For Carigal's ancestry see Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, pp. 481-482; also I. S. Emmanuel, "Jewish Education in Curacao (1692-1802)," *P.A.J.H.S.*, XLIV (September 1954-June 1955), pp. 215-236; and George A. Kohut, "Early Jewish Literature in America," *P.A.J.H.S.*, III (1895), pp. 103-147. Kohut tells us that somehow Carigal's father was not included in Azulai's *Shem ha-Gedolim* (Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, p. 91).

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Stiles, I, p. 395.

²⁷"Azulai, Azulay," in *J.E.*, II, p. 376.

²⁸Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, I, pp. 159 and 165 record seventeen such messengers down to 1901. Malki was the fifth and Carigal the sixth in line.

²⁹Marcus, I and II, *passim*.

³⁰Marcus, I, *passim*.

³¹Marcus, Foreword to I. S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, pp. 7-8.

³²Marcus, *Colonial American Jew*, I, p. 123.

³³See the article, "Halukkah," in *J.E.*, VI, pp. 179-186.

³⁴The *J.E.* article lists them all with the dates of their activity down to 1903. As late as the 1890s these funds from America alone equaled totals of five figures.

³⁵Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, I, pp. 153-155.

³⁶Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 482.

³⁷Marcus, II, p. 1044.

³⁸"Halukkah," *loc. cit.*

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I, June 8, 1773, pp. 378-379. As Carigal expressed it, he wrote nothing down, but "sealed" the sermon in his head beforehand and delivered it without written aids.

⁴¹The *Newport Mercury*, August 2, 1773, No. 778 and in other issues advertised the publication of Carigal's sermon. It was published with the title, *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 of Sivan, The Year of the Creation 5533: Or May 28, 1778, Being the Anniversary of the giving of the LAW at Mount Sinai: by the venerable Hocham, The Learned Rabbi Haim Isaac Karigal of the City of Hebron near Jerusalem. . .* (Newport, Rhode Island: Printed and Sold by S(olomon) Southwick in Queen Street, 1773). The American Jewish Archives reprinted Carigal's sermon under the title *Rabbi Carigal Preaches in Newport* (Cincinnati, 1966).

The first Jewish sermon printed on the mainland was David Hirschel Franckel's *Thanksgiving Sermon for the Important and Astonishing Victory Obtain'd on the Fifth of December 1757 by the glorious King of Prussia*. . . (Boston: Green & Russell, 1758 and New York: Parker & Wegman, 1758). Another early publication was advertised in the *Newport Mercury*, November 3, 1761, No. 168 as *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of his Late Majesty, preached on Saturday the 29th of November, 1760 in the Synagogue of the Portuguese Jews, in London, by Isaac Mendez Belisario*. . .

Samuel Ha-Cohen and Tobiah Bar Jehudah Loew are also recorded as having preached at Newport, Tobiah in Dutch (Jastrow, "References," *loc. cit.*).

⁴²Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 486, note.

⁴³Emmanuel, "Jewish Education in Curacao," *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, I, p. 249.

⁴⁵Marcus, I, p. 192.

⁴⁶Samuel Oppenheimer, "The Question of the Kosher Meat Supply in New York in 1813. . . "P.A.J.H.S.," XXV (1917), pp. 31-62.

⁴⁷Emmanuel, "Jewish Education. . ." *loc. cit.*

⁴⁸See "The Minute Book of . . . Shearith Israel," *loc. cit.* and Marcus, II, p. 929.

⁴⁹Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 483.

⁵⁰See Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 483. Moses Malki left an estate of 2616 florins and a library worth 23 florins to his widow, Jocheved (Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History*, I, p. 159, note).

⁵¹"Halukkah," *loc. cit.*

⁵²A reproduction of Carigal's instructions as per his investments and savings is printed in Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 483.

⁵³Emmanuel and Emmanuel, I, p. 249.

⁵⁴Marcus, I, p. 137.

⁵⁵Marcus, I, pp. 138-139.

⁵⁶Edwin Wolf II and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 5717-1957) record that Mathias Lopez presented the Library Club of Philadelphia with an autograph letter by Ezra Stiles to Carigal, pp. 314-315.

⁵⁷Shearith Israel agreed "that the expenses of the Hacham Haim I. Caregal shall be paid with his passage to Rhode Island" (Minute Book . . . , *loc. cit.*, p. 115). The reader has probably concluded that these visitors, especially the Palestinian emissaries, created a drain on the mainland communities in particular. The De Sola Pools estimated that the cost of Malki's board for four months and passage to Newport would have paid the salary of a shamash and a shoheit for a whole year (*An Old Faith*, p. 397).

⁵⁸One example of such concern was recorded by Daniel Gomez of New York City, who entered a contribution from "Road" Island to the "Holley Congregation of Hebron" ("Gomez Ledger." *P.A.J.H.S.*, XXVII, 1920, pp. 244-250).

⁵⁹The exact number of Jews in Newport between 1760 and 1774 is difficult to determine. The best estimate is based on Ezra Stiles's calculations on the spot. The demonstrably observant and precise Stiles states there were 10 to 15 families in 1760 and about 25 families in 1774 (See Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, Appendix I, pp. 108-109) Jastrow, Gutstein and most recently Stanley Chyet, *Lopez of Newport: Colonial American Merchant Prince* (Detroit, 1970), pp. 52-53, all agree with Stiles's estimate.

The Jewish Encyclopedia, on the other hand, citing Tuckerman, a local historian, claims 60 to 70 families at the time the synagogue was built and a staggering 1,175 Jews at the outbreak of the Revolution ("Newport," *J.E.*, IX, pp. 294-295). These preposterous figures were also offered by Max Kohler, "The Jews of Newport," *P.A.J.H.S.*, VI (1897), pp. 61-80, where he states there were 60 to 70 families in 1763. A community of this size would not have had to appeal to all and sundry to build their synagogue, as the Newport community had to.

⁶⁰Cited in Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Period of American History*, (New Haven, 1936), Vol. II, p. 11. This policy was perpetuated the following year.

⁶¹John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, 1636-1792* (Providence, 1856-1865), III, p. 160.

⁶²Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I, pp. 299, 302. Stiles took this to heart and devoted many hours to Zohar thereafter.

⁶³*Ibid.*, November 22-23, 1773, I, p. 422.

⁶⁴Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, p. 9.

⁶⁵Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I, March 30, 1773, p. 357.

⁶⁶The case involved a Hays who supposedly had become a member of Morgan Edward's Baptist church. The Newport Hays was not amused. He told Stiles that ". . . he knew nothing of it, and did not believe it; (it apparently was true) and added, if his Br had become a Xtian it was only to answer his Ends, he was not sincere in changing his Religion and becoming Christian — and added there were many covert Xtian Jews in Spain and Portugal — and that it could be proved that the King of Spain or Portugal was of Jew Extract" (Stiles, I, September 5, 1771, pp. 151-152). Hays apparently knew his family. His mother converted, only to revert to Judaism again before her death.

⁶⁷Stiles, I, July 7, 1773, p. 349. Carigal, *Sermon*, p. 19.

⁶⁸Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 119-120.

⁶⁹Kohut, *Ezra Stiles*, p. 14.

⁷⁰Items cited by Marcus, III, pp. 1130-1131.

⁷¹Stiles actually used the term "Providence". Had he meant the city and not God's will he would have hit the nail on the head. Stanley Chyet feels that Lopez and Isaac Elizer were caught in a political crossfire between Stephen Hopkins of Providence and Stephen Ward of Newport. The radical Hopkins used religion as a pretext to deny Ward two more conservative voters in Newport (Chyet, *Lopez of Newport*, pp. 37-41).

⁷²For a study of the "Jew Bill" see Thomas W. Perry, *Public Opinion, Propaganda and Politics in Eighteenth Century England: A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753* (Cambridge, 1962), *passim*.

⁷³Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 52-53.

⁷⁴Stiles, *Literary Diary*, II, June 8, 1782, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁵As enjoined in Leviticus, XIX, 18, Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, I, pp. 399-400.

⁷⁷Carigal to Stiles, Surinam, Sept. 19, 1773 reprinted in Friedman, *Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal*, pp. 15-16 and to Lopez and Rivera in November 1773, *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁷⁸Carigal to Lopez and Rivera, Barbados, Jan. 27, 1775, in Friedman, pp. 19-20; and Carigal to Stiles, Barbados, October 11th, 1774, *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23. He was installed in June 1774.

⁷⁹Friedman, p. 25.

⁸⁰Carigal to Reverend and Worthy Friend, Ezra Stiles Esqr., Barbados, September 14th, 1775, Friedman, pp. 23-25.

⁸¹Friedman, p. 27-29.

⁸²Stiles, as President of Yale and Professor of Ecclesiastical History, stimulated the study of Semities and made the study of Hebrew compulsory for a while (Kohut, pp. 5-6).

⁸³It superficially dismissed the reigning skepticism and Deism of the day and called upon Jews to apply themselves daily to the study of the Divinely given Torah and to its diligent application in matters large and small in our lives.

⁸⁴Stiles to Carigal, 1 Nisan 5534, cited in Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan*, p. 143.

See also Bibliographical Notes No. 2, page 630 this issue of the *Notes*.

NEWPORT AS ARARAT

by SEEBERT J. GOLDOWSKY, M.D.

Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), noted American lawyer, diplomat, politician, playwright and editor, and perhaps the most distinguished Jew of his time in America, was an early exponent of Zionism. In 1813, during the War of 1812, he was appointed consul to Tunis with the mission of liberating American sailors captured by the African pirates and of strengthening American prestige in the Mediterranean. He carried out these tasks with great success, despite some political complications at home. While traveling in Europe in connection with this effort, he visited England, France, and Spain, in addition to the Barbary States. Through his own observation in Europe and his extensive acquaintance with Jewish affairs, he was early impressed with the need for bringing help to the oppressed and poverty-stricken Jews of the Old World. The reactionary policies adopted by many European governments after the battle of Waterloo led during this period to reimposition in many places of Jewish disabilities. Jews laboring under these added burdens turned to emigration for relief. Although Noah believed in and advocated the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, he seriously doubted the feasibility of colonizing large numbers of Jews in that area. He felt that in the meantime a refuge could be set up in the prosperous, free, and still largely unpopulated United States.

Although a native of Philadelphia (he was a descendant of prominent Portuguese Jewish forbears), he settled in New York upon his return to the United States in 1816 and began a career in journalism. As early as January 19, 1820 he petitioned the New York state legislature to permit the sale to him of Grand Island located in the Niagara River near Niagara Falls "for the purpose of attempting to have the same settled by emigrants of the Jewish religion from Europe." The tract was selected because of its promising commercial prospects, being close to the Great Lakes and opposite the newly constructed Erie Canal. Noah deemed it "preeminently calculated to become in time the greatest trading and commercial depot in the new and better world."

After much agitation in his own newspaper and in the secular and religious press generally, he was finally ready by 1825 to launch his project. With the aid of a gentile friend, Samuel Leggett, he was able to purchase 2,555 acres of land on the island for \$16,985. Now feeling assured of the success of the undertaking, he issued on September 1 a manifesto to Jews throughout the world, calling upon them to make

ready to migrate to the new colony, which he named "Ararat", thus linking it not only with his own name, but also with an historic event in Biblical literature.

September 15, 1825 was selected as the date for the laying of the cornerstone of the new city. Since there were not sufficient boats for crossing to the island, the activities were held on the mainland in Buffalo, then still a small town. The impressive ceremonies initiated by the firing of a cannon involved the participation of state and federal officials, Christian clergy, Masonic officers, and even American Indians. After dedicatory services in St. Paul's Church (Episcopal), the foundation stone was laid, not on the island itself, but in the village of Buffalo.

Noah obviously was the central figure of these goings-on. He appointed himself judge and governor of the new establishment and issued a proclamation announcing the restoration of a Jewish state on Grand Island and further proposing a plan to tax Jews throughout the world to support it. Nothing ever came of the whole business. Not only was the proposed city never built, but there is even some doubt as to whether Noah himself ever set foot on the island. Jews generally and most of the press ridiculed the project. No Jews ever came. The strangest aspect of the whole affair is that a person of Noah's stature and sophistication should have become so deeply committed to an undertaking as bizarre and fantastic as this one. Yet he deserves genuine respect for his continuing effort to find a solution to the age-old Jewish problem. The only extant tangible relic of the whole project is the foundation stone of the proposed city with the inscription "Ararat" and the year 1825 clearly legible still preserved among the collections of the Buffalo Historical Society.

The story thus far has been well documented in the historical literature. What had not previously been recorded is the fact of Noah's consideration of Rhode Island as a possible site for his visionary "Ararat." On November 28, 1820 the following item appeared in the *Daily National Intelligencer* of Washington, D.C., reprinted from the *True Briton*, a London newspaper:

New Colony of Jews — A Jewish merchant of New York named Mordecai Noah has demanded permission from the government of the United States to become the purchaser of an Island on the Niagara, between the Lakes Erie and Ontario north from the English territory, and containing one thousand acres on its surface. The member of Congress, who acted as reporter of the commission, charged to examine this demand, pointed out to the chamber, in

very lively colors, the persecutions to which the Jews are still exposed in many parts of Europe, and suggested, that the professed principles of the United States perfectly coincided with the views of Mr. Noah in seeking to make this purchase, it being the object to offer an asylum, under the protection of the liberal and tolerant laws of the United States, to a class of men who sought in vain for a country on the soil of the old world. In short, it is the intention of this opulent Jew to found a colony of his countrymen in this island, and his proposition has been sanctioned by the American Legislature.—*True Briton*

The *Daily National Intelligencer* commented editorially on the item in the same issue:

The mistake of the English editor, noticed in a preceding column, respecting the nature of Mr. Noah's application to the Legislature of New York, is not quite so absurd as some seem to suppose it. It was natural enough, in a country where opulence constitutes a claim to political respect, to suppose that the author of a proposition for the grant of an island was an opulent man, and, being believed to be of the Jewish persuasion, that he was a merchant. We do not like the attempt to cast an air of ridicule on the project of Mr. Noah, the object of which we think was perfectly consistent with patriotism and good policy. The Jewish merchants, if not the most skilful [sic] are the richest in the world. A small portion of their wealth, transferred hither, would infuse activity into many branches of industry amongst us, which languish for the want of capital. The Jews are, in all the countries of Europe, disfranchised [sic], and treated with systematic disrespect, unless when their gold, or the necessity for borrowing it, procures casual fits of courtesy toward them. Removed to this country, disenthralled from the fetters which they have been generally content, because obliged, to wear in other quarters of the world, they would become a happy race — and above all, would be faithful and attached to the institutions which protect them and favor their happiness. We should, therefore, be glad to receive a Colony of this description; and we honor the author of the project for his attempts to induce his brethren in opinion to withdraw from countries where, for the most part, they hold their property by a slight tenure, and their lives by one not much stronger, and where their religion is a crime. We should doubt, indeed whether the borders of the Lakes would be the proper ground for the settlement of a people who are almost exclusively merchants or connected with commerce. But a con-

venient position might be found on the sea-coast, say in Rhode Island or Connecticut. If refused elsewhere, we shall have no objection to receive them in WASHINGTON, where, if anywhere in the Universe, is realised the perfect Freedom of Religious Opinion.

Noah at this time was editor of *The National Advocate* of New York, published by his uncle, Naphthali Phillips. He was active in the affairs of Shearith Israel, the Portuguese synagogue of New York, and hence would be well apprised of the status of the Newport Jewish community, which, in fact, at that time was nearing the end of its 150 year history. Moses Lopez, nephew of Aaron Lopez, possibly the last Jew to depart, left Newport about 1820. The Torah scrolls of Jeshuat Israel (Touro Synagogue) were in 1822 transferred for safe-keeping to Shearith Israel in New York, which for more than two centuries has held the deed to Touro Synagogue. In the December 1, 1820 issue, in an unsigned editorial under the heading *Remarks*, Noah commented on the *Daily National Intelligencer* editorial as follows:

THE JEWS

The application made to the legislature of this state for the purchase of Grand Island has occupied considerable attention and created great interest among the Jews in Europe. The mistake relative to Congress, instead of the state Legislature, was perfectly natural to a people who are but indifferently acquainted with our form of government. It has, however, fixed their attention to one point, namely, the possibility of purchasing and holding property in their own right and enjoying all the privileges of citizens, which rights they do not possess in any other part of the globe. Whatever difference of opinion may have prevailed as to the location of Grand Island, yet viewing it as a site for a great commercial city, having the lakes to the right and left; the grand canal in front and outlets to the sea by the St. Lawrence and the Hudson and with a practicable water communication with the Mississippi and New Orleans, and the fur trade of the north-west territory, it presented to enterprising people certain though remote prospects of great utility and advantage. The Jews in Europe, however, have expressed to me their doubt as to the disposition of their brethren to clear land, make settlements, and cultivate the soil, so incompatible with their present pursuits and have rather given the preference to commercial places where all the necessaries of life, and even luxuries may be purchased; and where immediate and beneficial application may be made of their money and enterprise.

In fact, there have been some earnest enquiries as to the advantages of manufacturing establishments of cloth, linen, glass, silks, and other articles which now languish in Germany and France and which, if transferred to this country, it is hoped would yield a better profit while they afforded the proprietors additional rights and privileges. Accordingly, a more central situation has been examined and the state of Rhode-Island appears to combine the greatest advantages.

The town of New-Port has a harbor inferior to none in the nation. The climate is remarkably healthy, expenses of living moderate; it has been the residence of respectable Jewish merchants and has a very spacious place of worship already erected. The whole state, which is not as large as one county of this state, appears well calculated for manufactures, and the charter on subjects of religion is as liberal as could be desired. It follows then, from the most prudent calculations, that Rhode-Island is at present the most eligible spot for the Jewish emigrants and will, I trust, occupy their immediate attention. There is nothing visionary or even difficult in promoting an extensive Jewish emigration to this country. Men everywhere consult their safety and happiness: and when once they are satisfied that their civil and religious liberty will be respected, — their health and enterprise preserved and encouraged, they will venture upon an experiment which promises every advantage. I am tired of seeing a nation of seven millions of people, rich and intelligent, wandering about the world without a home which they can claim as their own and looking to the restoration to an ancient country which one eighth would not inhabit if they recovered it to-morrow. Where the Jews can be protected by laws which they will have some agency in enacting and where a laudable ambition will lead to the possession of posts of honor and confidence, and where they can mingle their voice freely in the councils of the nation and have the privilege of taking their place in the field and in the cabinet, I do consider that they will possess every temporal blessing which has been promised them. It is not, however, perfectly in order to make a colony of them in this country. It could not be done. They will spread themselves over the Union and be amalgamated with other citizens. They may be most numerous in places where their interest is best promoted.

The Jewish bankers at London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Leghorn, and in Germany, Poland, Russia and Turkey

can transmit to the country a sum in specie capable of paying the national debt of the United States. They have fifty millions of dollars employed in the commerce of Italy alone and it is very much the interest of the Union to encourage their emigration and attract a portion of their floating capital. I have not lost sight of this important project; on the contrary, shall not relax in my efforts to promote their prosperity and personal security. My "opulence" can be of no service to them; they wish correct and fair representations; — the *means* are in their power to avail themselves of the proffered asylum.

Through one of those strange historical twists the last item was picked up and reprinted on February 10, 1821 by an obscure frontier newspaper, the *Arkansas Gazette* of Little Rock, Arkansas territory. Through the alert eye of an able historian, it has come full circle back to Rhode Island.¹

NOTES

¹Professor William G. McLoughlin of Brown University wrote to the author as follows:

While looking through the files of the *Arkansas Gazette* at the Newberry Library in Chicago, I came across this curious article relating to the possibility of promoting Jewish emigration to Newport, Rhode Island in the 1820s. While the article was originally published in a paper called *The National Advocate of New York*, I was struck by the fact that it was reprinted in the frontier newspaper of Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1821.

SECONDARY SOURCES

1. *Dictionary of American Biography*. Charles Scribner's Sons. N.Y., 1934. Vol. 13, p. 34.
2. *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*. The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., N.Y., 1942. Vol. 8, p. 226.
3. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. Funk & Wagnalls. N. Y. & London, 1916. Vol. 2, p. 74 (On "Ararat — A City of Refuge") and Vol. 9, p. 323 (Mordecai Manuel Noah).
4. *Encyclopedia Judaica*. MacMillan. Jerusalem, 1971. Vol. 12, p. 1198.
5. *Major Noah, American Jewish Pioneer*. By Isaac Goldberg. The Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1936.