

Original Inventories of Early New York Jews (1682–1763)

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[Editor's Note: In this issue, *American Jewish History* commences publication of all known surviving inventories of the Jews of colonial New York City. Inventories, compiled shortly after death and submitted to the appropriate court, list all property owned by the deceased, including personal possessions, real estate, cash on hand, debts owed to others, and debts owed to the estate. Inventories are therefore a source of vital information to the historian, shedding light upon such matters as social and economic status, contemporary business practices, family relationships, cultural interests, religious practices, and prevailing economic conditions. They are also of value to genealogists.

Leo Hershkowitz, professor of history at Queens College of The City University of New York, has meticulously transcribed the twelve surviving inventories of the Jewish inhabitants of colonial New York City. In addition, he has provided a general introduction to the collection and introductions to each inventory. We begin publication of this important collection with Professor Hershkowitz's general introduction, followed by seven of the extant inventories, beginning with the earliest, Asser Levy's. Levy is the most famous of the original Jewish settlers of early New York while it was still New Amsterdam, a man familiar to students of early American Jewish history because of his struggle against Governor Peter Stuyvesant on behalf of civic rights for the colony's Jewish inhabitants. *American Jewish History* has previously published Levy's inventory (80: 21–55). We republish it in this issue not only in the interest of presenting the complete collection but also because of revisions and refinements Professor Hershkowitz believes are in order. The remaining five inventories will appear in our next issue.

More than three decades ago, *American Jewish History* published the extant wills of the Jewish inhabitants of eighteenth-century New York under Professor Hershkowitz's editorship. The American Jewish Historical Society subsequently published them in a single volume entitled *Wills of Early New York Jews (1704–1799)*, along with the extensive editorial commentary that accompanied them in the journal's pages. It is to be hoped that the inventories and editorial accompaniment that we now present will also be published eventually as a single volume, thereby making both the wills and the inventories of New York's earliest Jewish residents accessible to scholars in book form.]

Introduction

Inventories listing the property of decedents add considerably to a neglected area of American Jewish historical investigation. Twelve such documents from the colonial period are presented here. The oldest extant, that of Asser Levy (1682–1683), is the most detailed and possibly the most intriguing, but no less so are those of Joseph Bueno de Mesquita (1708–1710), Esther Brown, the only woman (1708), Isaac Pinheiro (1709/10), or any of the others. The last inventory is that of Mordecai Gomez (1763). With only one exception, these very important sources have never been published before, and, with the exception of that one, the inventory of Asser Levy, rarely if ever cited, much less used for purposes of analysis.

The decedents were part of a small group of Jews who comprised perhaps $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent to as much as 1 percent of the population of New York at the beginning of the eighteenth century, with a peak of about 1.5 percent in February 1734.¹ A few held office, and several served in the militia. Some probably voted, although at times this caused a measure of protest. Their impact on politics is very difficult to gauge. Nevertheless, it was there. For example, an Assembly act passed in 1730 specifically included Jews among those protected by law from attack by slaves.² Between 1729 and 1730, they were also allowed to build a synagogue. The Dutch had denied this request, but Jews never seem to have made an issue of that refusal, possibly because a synagogue required funding and there were so few to bear the costs—and these were so transient. There had been a certain lack of permanence in the settlement earlier, and the building of a synagogue was a sign of a positive commitment that the community would now stay and flourish. It was also an indication of an enhanced political status.

The inventories are highly permanent documents. They represent a summation of individual existence and were meant for the use of the immediate family. But they were also public and hence a part of history.

Inventories are legal processes meant to protect the interests of the widow, children, and other family members of a decedent. Legislation specified procedures for the filing of letters of administration and inventories. Such concerns date early in English law. The Duke's Laws of March 1665 contain the first such provisions in New York, and under its terms the widows and children of an intestate were given immediate relief

1. Extracted from Barbara Rubin, "An Analytical Study of the Jewish Population of New York City 1700–1734" (M.A. Thesis, History Department, Queens College, The City University of New York), *passim*.

2. *Colonial Laws of New York*, 5 vols. (Albany, 1894–96), II, 679–88.

requiring only the appraising of the estate by four people appointed by the court.³

By an act of 1692 regulating intestate property, two persons were to be appointed by town or county officials to bring in a “True and Perfect” inventory. A wife was entitled to be the administratrix. If only orphans were involved, administrators were to take care of the children, making sure especially that the orphans were instructed in the “Holy Protestant Religion.” Only the governor or his surrogates were allowed to probate wills, issue letters of administration, and approve all inventories.⁴ In the case of Jewish inventories, Jews were often chosen to administer estates.⁵ The question of children and religious affiliation was not raised. Four administrators appear in the first inventory, Asser Levy’s, and two as required by the act of 1692 in each of the subsequent ones.

These inventories contain new information found in no other sources. Asser Levy’s inventory contains possibly the oldest extant ledger to be found for the formative Jewish community. At Isaac Pinheiro’s death in 1710, his Five Books of Moses with bells and vestments was valued at £150. It had been sold to Pinheiro for £25/6 by the executors of Joseph Bueno De Mesquita’s estate. This reference in Mesquita’s inventory in 1708 is among the first in New York to such religious materials. Mesquita also owned five slaves as well as a variety of textiles, furniture, and a silver-hilted sword. The list of merchants who purchased various items from his estate is a valuable index of the contemporary business community.

Like wills, few of the inventories mention real property. Colonial Jews, except for Asser Levy, do not seem to have speculated in real estate. Few joined in the vast land schemes put together during the eighteenth century. Perhaps the Jews of colonial New York could not surmount socio-economic barriers, or perhaps they did not yet feel secure enough to make such investments. On the other hand, they were active merchants who conducted business with many of New York’s aristocracy. Interestingly, libraries, art works, and musical instruments are rarely mentioned.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 8–10. This was the Court of Sessions. However, the Mayor’s Court made appointments in the matter of Asser Levy.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 300–303.

5. On October 20, 1676, Letters of Administration were granted to Isaac Continho of the company of Isaac Continho and Edward Rawlins, when the latter “lately unfortunately drowned.” This firm, the consignee of the wares of Isaac Perero and Abraham and Aaron Barneh, valued at £277.19.6 by four appraisers including Cornelis Steenwyck and Nicholas Bayard, produced an inventory of the enterprise in Mayor’s Court under Continho’s direction. This inventory, no longer extant, may be the first such filed concerning a Jewish New Yorker. New York State Library, Albany, Will Liber I, 1665–1680, 253–54.

Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist who visited New York in 1748, commented that Jews were not separate from the general population. They own property and “enjoy all the privileges common to the other inhabitants.”⁶ These inventories support this assessment of achievement.

Relatively little is known of colonial New York regarding the Jewish community. There are extant records of the first years of the synagogue, Shearith Israel, organized in 1728. Information relating to trading activity can be found in newspaper advertisements, as well as in the Nathan Simson Letter Books and the provincial customs accounts in the Public Record Office in London. Discussions of social relationships are almost exclusively centered in the published letters of Abigail Franks.⁷ Most of the material needed for study—correspondence, journals, diaries, even deeds, mortgages, and court proceedings—when they do exist are usually fragmentary. Expressions of personal views and feelings are rare, with few exceptions, one being the aforementioned Franks letters. Basically, there is little information and a great many questions. Moses Levy was elected constable in New York’s East Ward in 1719. He refused to serve. Why? For that matter, why was he elected? Several other Jews, including Jacob Franks, were also chosen for that position. Why? What did Levy and Franks think was the reason for their election? Here history is silent. What did the members of the Jewish community think of their fellow New Yorkers? What part did Jews play in politics? Were they supporters of Governor William Cosby at the time of the John Peter Zenger affair? What did Jacob Franks think of such issues as libel laws and of the truth as a defense in such cases? What did Jews think of New York and its problems, such as water, fire, and crime? Here speculation exists, but little evidence. These inventories at least add some information and help fill in some empty spaces. They accordingly deserve careful study.

All these documents relate to various merchants. None are of craftsmen or of those who could be described as poor. An exception was Asser Levy, who was a kosher butcher but also a real estate investor and a merchant. As a group, they contributed to society, adding to the vital flow of trade and commerce. As Jews and merchants, they helped their coreligionists by opening avenues of opportunity and acceptance. Willingly or not, they were in the forefront of the struggle for economic and

6. Peter Kalm, *Travels Into North America*, 2 vols. (London, 1772), I, 191. For an overview of the colonial Jewish experience, see Eli Faber, *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654–1820* (Baltimore, 1992).

7. Leo Hershkowitz and Isidore S. Meyer, eds., *The Lee Max Friedman Collection of American Jewish Colonial Correspondence: Letters of the Franks Family (1733–1748)* (Waltham, 1968), passim.

religious freedom. This is an achievement not too often recognized. In 1657, Asser Levy fought for and gained citizenship rights for the Jews of New Amsterdam. In 1672, Rabba Couty, a merchant inhabitant of New York, won a case in Jamaica, when the court held that, as a resident of New York, his property was protected from seizure. Still, the issue of the right to trade and to be treated as a freeman, regardless of religious affiliation, remained. The English Trade and Navigation Act of 1660 restricted trade between England and its colonies in order to prevent foreign encroachments by the Dutch, the French, and Jews. It was merchants who finally achieved the lifting of such restrictions on Jews, allowing them to be accepted as citizens and to be treated under law as freemen and as members of society.⁸ Isaac Rodriquez Marques in 1697, Mordecai Gomez in 1714, and others whose inventories are included here obtained freemanship. In 1715 and in 1740, changes made in the law made the process much more accessible. Naturalization could be obtained after a seven-year period of residence, and, while fees were still required, there was no religious requirement.⁹

The inventories presented here are edited to conform as closely as possible to the original text. Errant spelling, lack of punctuation, and curious abbreviations are preserved, although some editors change the diphthong “y” to modern “th.” Only occasionally are changes made, and then for clarity’s sake. The letters “ll” used in the original are our lb., which is given in brackets. The ditto columns are so in the original and stand for florins and stivers. The occasional X in the left column might indicate a bad or corrected debt. Where no values are shown, none was given in the original. Despite evident peculiarities, the text is usually very understandable, benefitting from as little editorial interference as possible. One interesting aspect of the Asser Levy inventory is the language, which is a curious mixture of Dutch and English. Dutch words like *neger* (Negro), *tot* (to or from), *platels* (plates), *dochter* (daughter), or *twalf* (twelve) are used alongside English words, an indication that, in the late seventeenth century, bilingualism and the Dutch were stubbornly and significantly in evidence.

The originals of the seven inventories that follow are in the library of the American Jewish Historical Society. In Asser Levy’s case, however, two originals exist, one reported on April 24, 1682 which is in the

8. For a discussion of trade laws, see Lawrence A. Harper, *The English Navigation Laws* (New York, 1939), 59, 197.

9. For an overview of the relevant acts, see also Leo Hershkowitz, “Some Aspects of the New York Jewish Merchants in Colonial Trade,” in Aubrey Newman, ed., *Migration and Settlement: Proceedings of the Anglo-American Jewish Historical Conference* (London, 1971), 101–17.

library of the American Jewish Historical Society, the other, for February 9, 1683, which is in the archives of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York City. The transcription here incorporates the beginning of the February 1683 document with the bulk of the April 1682 document.

ASSER LEVY (1682–1683)

Asser (Assur) Levy was seemingly born in Vilna and died in New York in February 1682. The exact date of his demise is not known, nor is the place. He must have died quite suddenly, probably in his home or butcher shop, located at opposite corners of Wall and Pearl Streets. He left no will, and his widow testified that his accounts were in “great confusion.”¹ Levy was evidently active until the time of his death. His account books cover the period 1660 to early 1682. He was a witness to a bill of exchange in April 1681, and on December 21, 1681 he appeared in court in King’s County.²

On April 24, 1682, his widow Miriam (sometimes Maria in contemporary records) was given letters of administration by Acting Governor Anthony Brockholls empowering her to settle the estate, to recover all debts, and to collect all credits due, “rendering a just account thereof according to the Law.”³ Miriam Levy was prepared, for an inventory dated April 24, 1682 was presented, but the last page states that it was filed in accordance with Mayor’s Court orders of May 9 and September 12, 1682. It was signed by four court appointees on February 9, 1683. Three of the signatures, those of John Lawrence, Thomas Codrington, and Cornelis Steenwyck, were crossed out, leaving only Nicholas Bayard’s, suggesting that the first three may have affixed their names on April 24, prior to the court orders.

1. *Levi v. Vanderwilde*, March 24, 1684/5, Documents 40A and D, Miscellaneous Papers, American Jewish Historical Society Library, cited hereafter as AJHSL; Leo Hershkowitz, “Asser Levy’s Signature,” *American Jewish History* 79 (1990): 500–503.

2. Jonathan Pearson, ed., *Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswyck*, 4 vols. (Albany, 1916), III, 517–18; Gemeente Archief, Amsterdam, Notarial Archief, 3252/239. Cited hereafter as Not. Arch. A useful unpublished biography, used with the kind permission of Dr. Arthur Konop, formerly Director of the James Kelly Institute of St. Francis College, is that by Howard B. Muchnikoff, “Assur Levy: Jewish Merchant of New Netherlands (1654–1862),” written in 1968.

3. *Levi v. Vanderwilde*.

There are five known Levy inventories: two originals and three clerk's copies. An original dated April 24, 1682 is reproduced here because it is the most complete, containing as it does an account of the estate's debtors and creditors. Another original inventory, dated February 9, 1683, is also signed by four appraisers, but it does not contain debtor-creditor accounts. The first section of the February 1683 document is added to the April 1682 inventory published here; it does not differ much otherwise from the latter. Both original inventories were copied, that of April 24 into Will Liber 19B, located at the New York State Library, Albany, New York, and that of February 9 into Will Liber 2 and Will Liber 19B. These contemporary copies differ little from the originals.⁴

Miriam Levy's evident haste in settling the estate may have stemmed from some very involved matters concerning the large number of creditors and debtors in the Levy account, as well as some contested and confused lines of inheritance.

Asser Levy is surely the best-known colonial Jewish resident of New York. New York City has an Asser Levy Place and an Asser Levy Public School. A great deal has been written about his extremely interesting and productive career as merchant, butcher, real estate entrepreneur, and, perhaps most importantly, his struggle to gain for himself and his fellow-Jews the equal protection of law. Yet, little is known about his background or family relationships. His inventory provides some important information about these matters.

Levy possibly arrived in New Amsterdam aboard the *St. Catherine* or on the *St. Charles*, early in September 1654. He has always been counted among the legendary twenty-three Jews popularly considered refugees from Brazil, although that is by no means certain. More likely, Levy arrived from Amsterdam together with Jacob Barsimon and Solomon Pieteron on board the *Peartree* on August 22, 1654 or shortly thereafter. Levy is not listed in extant congregational minute books of the Brazilian Jewish community, which tends to support a non-Brazilian origin.

4. New York State Library, Albany, Will Liber 2, 72, 147–52; and Will Liber 19B, 47–65, 90–95 (April 24, 1682 and February 6, 1683). Original inventories are at AJHSL, with the exception of the February 9, 1683 inventory at the library of Congregation Shearith Israel, New York City. Another inventory may have existed, drawn by John Robinson and Paulus Richards, but no such document has yet been found; see *Levi v. Vanderwilde*. Malcolm Stern “Asser Levy: New Look at Our Jewish Founding Father,” *American Jewish Archives* 26 (1974): 66, 72–75, refers to February 1, 1682 as the date of Levy's death, but this is not supported by any evidence. See also Malcolm Stern, “Asser Levy, New Jersey Revolutionary and His Colonial Namesakes,” *New Jersey History* (Fall–Winter 1980): 254.

Very litigious, Levy was in court on September 14, 1654 with Riche Nunes, each demanding payment from the other because of sums “disbursed on his account at Gamonike,” apparently either Jamaica or the island of Tamarca, Brazil. It is not clear whether Asser Levy was with Nunes and her husband at “Gamonike,” or if Nunes merely represented Levy’s business interests on the island. While this suit was pending, Levy found himself again in court on October 5, 1654, when one Jan Martyn, acting as attorney and agent for sailors who “brought Jews here from the West Indies,” demanded payment of 106 florins still remaining due. Levy argued that all his goods had previously been sold at public auction after he had offered to pay for the freight, and that he therefore did not have money and was not now bound to pay. Martyn and the captain of the *St. Catherine* or the *St. Charles* had sued others for passage and freight, but in Levy’s case only for freight, thus indicating that Levy had not been on board. His arrival with the other Jewish passengers therefore cannot be documented.⁵

Solomon Pieteron testified that there were twenty-three Jews, “big and little,” aboard a ship arriving in New Amsterdam.⁶ Unfortunately, he did not provide names, nor did he explain what he meant by “big and little.” No children are specifically mentioned in any existing record, and few, if any, are noted for the last half of the century. By 1655, seven more Jews were in New Amsterdam. There were an additional two in 1656, two more in 1657, and three in 1658–1660. Of these, only five—Nunes, De Mereda, the Israels, and Ambrosius—clearly arrived in New Amsterdam from Brazil via the West Indies. The *Peartree* and the *St. Catherine* (or *St. Charles*) arrived in New Amsterdam in the summer of 1654, the *Peartree* from Holland and the others from the Caribbean. There were probably more Jews, including Levy, on the first vessel than Barsimon and Pieteron.⁷

5. Berthold Fernow, *The Records of New Amsterdam*, 7 vols. (New York, 1905), I, 242, 249, cited hereafter as *Records*; Arnold Wiznitzer, *The Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World* (New York, 1965), 48–52; Arnold Wiznitzer, “The Exodus from Brazil and Arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers,” *Proceedings of the American Jewish Historical Society* 44 (1954): 80–97; Samuel Oppenheim, *The Early History of the Jews in New York, 1654–1664* (New York, 1909), 3, 44, 45, 71. Oppenheim was certain the ship was named the *St. Charles* (at 41), while Wiznitzer argues as cogently for the *St. Catherine*; Wiznitzer, “Exodus from Brazil,” 88. The accounts by Oppenheim and Wiznitzer also differ on details of the Brazilian exodus, with both presenting acceptable theories.

6. *Records*, I, 240.

7. The following list of early Jews has been compiled by the author from various sources, including Fernow’s seven-volume *Records*; Not. Arch.; Earl A. Grollman, “Dictionary of American Jewish Biography in the Seventeenth Century,” *American Jewish*

Levy sometimes signed his name Asser Levy van Swellem. “Swellem” may be the Westphalian city of Schwelm just east of Dusseldorf. If it is, Levy may have lived in Germany for a time. Why he wrote his name this way even as late as 1681 is not known.⁸ Two documents in the Gemeente Archief in Amsterdam reveal that, on April 26, 1660, he was in Amsterdam seeking money owed him, and that, on May 24 of the same year, he announced he was going to Germany. Was he possibly traveling to Schwelm? In these two documents, he is referred to as Asser Levy Wilde and as Asser Levy alias Aster Wilde, an intriguing reference, especially because he signed the May document in Hebrew as Asser, “son of Judah Leib of blessed memory, Vilna.”⁹ Possibly, a Dutch clerk copied “Wilde” when he heard Levy say “Vilna” or “Wilna.” Wilde as a family name is otherwise difficult to explain. A Vilna relationship seems plausible. Given the Cossack pogroms of 1648–1658, Levy’s Eastern European connection seems even more certain. It would appear that

Archives 3 (1950): 3–10; and Joseph R. Rosenbloom, *A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews* (Lexington, 1960), passim. Solomon Pieteron and Jacob Barsimon were in New Amsterdam by August 1654; Asser Levy, Riche Nunes, Judith de Mereda, Abraham Israel, David Israel, Moses Ambrosius, and perhaps Jacob Lucena came before, during, or soon after September 1654; Jacob Cohen Henriques, Salvador D’Andrada, Abraham De Lucena, Joseph De Costa, Benjamin Cardozo, Isaac Israel, and David De Ferera in or before 1655; Elias Silva and Moses De Silva in 1656; Moses De Lucena and Isaac Mesa in 1657; Manuel Rioz Lucena in 1658–1659; and Joseph Frances and Mevrouw De Lucena in 1660. Most were on the Brazil congregational lists, as was Benjamin Bueno De Mesquita, who was in New Amsterdam in 1661, and David Abendana, who was in New York in 1680.

Manuel Ruiz Lucena seems to have been in New Amsterdam in 1658; *Not. Arch.*, 2998/241. Jacob Lucena was in New Amsterdam in 1654, and possibly even earlier in 1654; see Max J. Kohler, “Phases of Jewish Life in New York Before 1800,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 3 (1895): 77. Wiznitzer, “Exodus from Brazil,” 92–93, suggests that Abraham (or Abram) Israel was Abraham Israel Dias or De Piza, and that David Israel may have been David Israel Faro, both on the Brazilian congregation lists. “Abraham Israel de Piza, a Jew” and a son not identified by name appeared in court as witnesses on July 17, 1664 (*Records*, V, 96). Wiznitzer also suggests that Asser Levy could have been the son of bodek (examiner of kosher meat) Benjamin Levy. A David Israel purchased “negerslaven” in July 1641, together with Abraham Querido De Jonge from the Dutch West India Company while in Brazil. In Amsterdam in January 1658, Israel was about to depart for Barbados; *Not. Arch.*, 2859/1. For a different view of the post-Brazilian exodus, see Eger and Frieda Wolff, “The Problem of the First Jewish Settlers in New Amsterdam, 1654,” *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15 (1981): 169–77.

8. Simon W. Rosendale, “An Early Ownership of Real Estate in Albany, New York by a Jewish Trader,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 3 (1895): 61–71; *Early Records*, III, 517–18, IV, 71. Leon Huhner in “Asser Levy, A Noted Jewish Burgher of New Amsterdam,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 8 (1900): 9–23, argues for a Jamaica origin via Cuba.

9. *Not. Arch.*, 1133/114, 2443/761; Hershkowitz, “Levy’s Signature.”

Valentine Vanderwilde, who married Rachel, Levy's sister, and that David and Simon Vanderwilde, who were in New York by the 1680s, also came from Vilna. Furthermore, Jacob Barsimon, who was also in Amsterdam in 1660, may possibly have come from Eastern Europe.

Levy lived for some time in Amsterdam, but he was granted neither burgher nor poorter rights. He was given burgher rights in New Amsterdam along with other Jews on April 20, 1657, something which appears to have been denied him in Amsterdam. Levy implied that he was a burgher or resident in Amsterdam when he sought this privilege in New Amsterdam, but this is not borne out by archival records. Although Levy produced a burgher certificate from Amsterdam, not further identified in the record, it was not his. Again, Levy was not a poorter and thus could not hold office, engage in retail trade, or enjoy the protection of the guilds. Jews could buy poorter rights for the period of a year, but Levy seems not to have done so.¹⁰

Asser Levy Wilde married Miriam, probably born Israel, possibly in Amsterdam, but there is no record of this marriage in Amsterdam archives. (Jews were required to register only after 1695.) A David and an Abraham Israel were in New Amsterdam in 1654, and they were certainly Jews from Brazil. An Abraham Israel was 36 years old in 1650, and he was identified as a "high German Jew" living in Amsterdam. His father was Isaac Israel. Abraham was still in Amsterdam in 1661, then aged 47. Were they related to Levy? Are they the Sephardic Israels of New Amsterdam? Not likely. There was a Jacob Israel in New York in 1680–1681. However, Miriam was the sister of Judith Israel, also called Judith Armes, whose daughter was Hannah Israel. On folio seven of the Levy inventory appears a reference to "ye sister" of Miriam Levy, who was promised "one velvet casjack," and that sister was probably Judith Israel. Miriam died in New York sometime in 1688, one the few Jews known to have died in seventeenth-century New York. Asser Levy was the only one of the initial contact group known to have died in the city.¹¹

The Levys seem not to have had any children. References in the inventory are to money from the estate to pay creditors and to maintain Mrs. Levy, but no mention is made of offspring.

Who is "my cosen Simon" who appears in the inventory? Is this Simon Valentine Vanderwilde? It is possible that Asser Levy's sister, Rachel, who had married Valentine Falck (Valck), was related to Simon

10. For burgher rights, see *Records*, VII, 154. Simon Valentine obtained a burgher right in New York on January 16, 1682; David T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York* (New York, 1858), 594.

11. Not. Arch., 3121/619, 3252/239, 2315/77, 1092/120; Will Liber 14A, 69.

Valentine and thus, through marriage, somehow became “my cosen.” In the inventory, Levy has an account with one Assur (possibly Assur Michaels, Levy’s nephew-in-law) whom he also calls “my cosen.” Could Assur’s father have been a brother of Asser Levy’s father? In the January 8, 1689 inventory of Theophilus Turford’s wife, mention is made of “the great kettle” pawned for eighty pounds of beef to “Ashur the Jew.”¹² It is possible that the “cosen” Assur was in the butcher trade, thus following in the footsteps of Asser Levy. It is an intriguing reference.

In addition, an Asser Levy, aged thirty-nine, was living in Vloyenburg, the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam, in 1692; he could be “Ashur the Jew,” possibly in fact, Asser Levy’s cousin.¹³

On March 24, 1685, Ansel (Asser) Samuel Levy and his wife Miriam, Asser’s widow, filed a bill of complaint against Simon Vanderwilde. Ansel Samuel (also known as David) had married Miriam, Asser’s widow, on January 1, 1685, “by license,” this less than three years after her husband’s death. In the bill, the couple declared that Simon, a butcher, and his brother, David Valentine Vanderwilde, had attempted to gain control of the estate. Simon, the “pretended heir of Asser Levy,” by an “act of assembly” of January 16, 1685, had brought action as a “contrivance” to “defeat them of their lands and houses.” The couple argued that debts of the estate were worth more than the estate itself, and that they had settled accounts fairly. They asked for a subpoena to stay the proceedings until a hearing in equity could be rendered. The value of the inventory was given at £553/15, of which £335 was in real property in the city. David (Ansel Samuel) Levy further stated that he had been offered £150 by Simon to “goe to Jamaica and leave the old woman,” and to abide by any decision reached as to the division of the estate.

Ansel agreed to abandon the “old woman,” but he did not agree to give up his interest in the Asser Levy slaughterhouse. Ansel claimed he had been tricked into the agreement, partly because he did not know English. Furthermore, he had not received the £150 and had been deprived of counsel, inasmuch as Simon had retained all or almost all the “Lawyers and Attorneys within the province.” He was arrested for having broken his agreement with Simon and placed in jail. He asked release and an end to Simon’s writ. The Vanderwildes were ordered to appear in the Court of Chancery, but the results of the case are not known. One of the documents in the proceedings was signed in Hebrew,

12. Will Liber 14A, 69.

13. Not. Arch., 3121/619.

“aenshle bar Shmuel segal ha leeve” (“Ansel son of Samuel Levy).¹⁴ There is little question that all the parties were related, but just exactly what the relationships were is not clear.

There are two parts to the Asser Levy inventory, one of the most detailed of such records for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New York. One itemizes household and business articles, including real estate holdings, and the other is the list of debtors and creditors to the estate.

Levy, as is well known, was by trade a butcher in New Amsterdam, having been made so on October 15, 1660, although excused from killing hogs.¹⁵ On January 8, 1678 he successfully petitioned the Common Council for permission to build a slaughterhouse at the southern end of Wall Street together with Gerrit Roos, who was a sworn butcher as of 1656.¹⁶

A number of the listed items, such as the two chopping knives, the numerous “tensers” (knives or wooden plates or boards) and iron pots, a copper kettle, tin “challenders” (colanders), brass scales, and skimmers could have been used in Levy’s butcher shop, and, of course, also in his kitchen. The two “dreeping” pans, two brass skimmers, two brass plates, and two pewter “basons” also indicate that Levy may have kept a kosher shop and/or home. This assumption is reinforced by the number of some articles: twelve pewter plates, seven brass kettles, ten iron “potts,” six pewter porringers, and eleven earthen plates. The Levy household was small, comprised solely of his wife and himself, suggesting that the dishes, large as they were in number, were used half for meat and half for dairy, in keeping with dietary laws.

14. *Levi v. Vanderwilde*. This case is summarized by Rosendale, “An Early Ownership,” which, although it omits some interesting detail, contains a good summary of the original records. The Hebrew signature is missing from extant manuscripts, but is reported by Rosendale. See also New York County Clerk’s Office, New York City, Mayor’s Court Papers, I, 24 (March 25, 1685).

15. *Records*, VII, 258–59.

16. On January 8, 1678, Levy petitioned the Common Council for permission to build a slaughterhouse and to have liberty to “kill and hang” meat. He also wanted to take in Garrit Jansen Roos as a partner. This request was granted. By October 8, 1678, Levy reported that the house had been built. This served as a site for public butchering until March 12, 1696. It was then converted, at least in part, to a gunpowder warehouse; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675–1776*, 8 vols. (New York, 1905), I, 67–68, 150. Thomas Devoe, *The Market Book* (New York, 1862), 55. Roos (or Rose or Rouse) was elected constable on October 13, 1685; *Minutes of the Common Council*, I, 170. He is also mentioned as a carpenter in 1654–1655; *Records*, I, 228, 373, II, 141, 201, III, 64, 70. He was made a sworn butcher on November 3, 1656; *ibid.*, II, 222. His permit was renewed on October 31, 1665, along with Asser Levy’s; *ibid.*, V, 312. Just how and where Levy and Roos met will probably never be known.

Levy did not have on hand large quantities of cloth, tobacco, or flour, common trading items of New York merchants, although, as seen in the inventory, he dealt in quantities of flour. He had a considerable amount of silver and some gold in the form of two pairs of pendants, rings, and a bodkin—surely for personal use; but these were, as always, a good form of capital if one had to flee suddenly. He had some gold pieces and other coin, but only in small quantity, not enough to indicate involvement in such trade. Some of the silver, including a cup, spice box, and “chaine for my book,” could have been used for religious purposes, while the watch, tankard, and cornelia tree provided symbols of ease as well as serving as forms of portable wealth.

It would appear that most of the listed items were for household use, and thus the inventory can be used to reconstruct something of the Levy home. The Levy house was probably a gabled structure containing a cellar, kitchen, a front and back room on the main floor, and chambers and garret on the second story and attic. The front or main room often served as an office or store. While the inventory makes no mention of tiles, often found in Dutch homes, there were nine pictures which could have decorated the household walls. The kitchen, probably in the cellar, would have in it the plates, porringers, and colanders, and, at the fireplace, andirons, kettles, and “dreeping pansns.”¹⁷

The first pages of the inventory are largely a description of an early colonial kitchen and, in Levy’s case, something of what was in his butcher shop. Later pages are largely a description of livingroom or bedroom articles. These include chamberpots, a desk, twelve chairs, and, while there is no mention of a table, a “great long table cloth.” Note the mention of two beds and two “pele” (pole) beds, as well as four blankets and four “cloaths or spreads.” It is likely that sleeping accommodations were set into the walls, the hideaway “slaap bank,” the living room by day becoming a bedroom at night. In any event, there were sleeping quarters for two.

Where did Levy live? On June 8, 1662, he purchased a lot from Barent Gerritsen between Hoogh [Stone] and Slyck Steegh [South William].¹⁸ Levy sold this property to Jochem Backer in 1667.¹⁹ On June 1, 1663, Wessel Evertsen, having recently completed a house, sold the property of what is now 59 Stone Street to Levy, who ten years later conveyed it to

17. Maud Dillard, *An Album of New Netherland*, (New York, 1963), 86.

18. David T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York* (New York, 1865), 691, 701; cited hereafter as *Manual*. See also, Muchnikoff, “Assur Levy,” 72–73.

19. Isaac N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols. (New York, 1915–1922), II, 310.

John Harpending.²⁰ Obviously a friend of Evertsen's, Levy was appointed a guardian of his children in 1670. Levy might have purchased two lots on Mill Lane [South William Street], the later site of the Mill Street synagogue, but no deeds are extant.²¹ In 1665, Levy, residing on Stone Street, was taxed two florins. He was the only Jew listed. In the same year, he petitioned to stand guard with other citizens rather than pay a special tax reserved for Jews. The petition was granted.²² In 1655 and in February 1664, he had been taxed, as were many other burghers, to help build fortifications. In 1664, he was the only known Jew listed. His tax rate was roughly average, about half that of wealthier burghers.²³

Where did Levy have his butcher shop? Sometime about 1663, Levy purchased the property of Daniel Litscho from the latter's widow, Annetie Claes Croesens. Litscho was a sergeant with the Dutch West India Company and had served in Brazil in 1646. He died sometime around 1661. He had a tavern and land on Pearl Street just inside the city wall (Wall Street). Present-day 125 Pearl Street and 65 Wall Street were part of the Litscho property.²⁴ Litscho also purchased lots just north of the wall on Pearl Street. These properties were sold in October 1678 to Levy, who used the lots to build a "public Slaughter house."²⁵ It would seem the Levy residence at the time of his death was part of the Litscho property, possibly the former tavern, on the southwest corner of Wall and Pearl just inside the wall, and that his slaughterhouse was on the northeast corner of Wall and Pearl, outside the wall, for the Common Council on February 16, 1677 had ordered all abattoirs outside it.²⁶

The Levys were well-dressed and had a servant. Mijneer Levy must have looked most elegant in his black velvet jacket and broadcloth black coat and breeches, silver-banded sword, black hat, stockings, and pantofeles (slippers) with silver buckles, while Miriam Levy was a proper Dutch mevrouw in her "suite" with the scarlet petticoat, bodice, cosjack (cossack), lace cap, shoes and "redd" worsted stockings, wearing a gold bodkin, linen hood, and gold pendants. The couple had the services of at least one "Negro boy."

20. *Ibid.*; *Manual*, 701.

21. Stokes, *Iconography*, II, 311; *Records*, I, 221-22.

22. Huhner, "Asser Levy," 13.

23. *Records*, V, 31, 371.

24. Stokes, *Iconography*, II, 326; W. Harrison Bayles, *Old Taverns of New York* (New York, 1915), 22-23; *Records*, III, 258. Levy was quite close to the Litscho family. When Litscho's wife, Annetie Claes Croesens, died, Levy and Thomas Lambert, carpenter of Bedford, Long Island, were appointed administrators of the estate on May 16, 1679 by Governor Edmund Andros; *Will Liber I*, 380-81.

25. Devoe, *Market Book*, 45, 55, 242.

26. *Minutes of the Common Council*, I, 146.

The Asser Levy inventory provides an intriguing view of one of the early inhabitants of New York. Although the inventory value of £550 was not large, of twenty such contemporary documents examined for comparative purposes, only seven were worth as much or more. Francis Richardson's inventory, taken in September 1688, totaled some £1860; William Cox's in September 1689 was valued at £1805. The richest New Yorker, Cornelis Steenwyck, had an inventory valued at more than £15,000. Levy was not the wealthiest of New Yorkers, but he surely had achieved considerable status in his adopted city.²⁷

It is apparent that his career touched the lives of the most prominent, such as Cornelis Steenwyck, a mayor and merchant, Nicholas Bayard, who was also a mayor and who was involved in the Jacob Leisler affair, and Olaf Stevenson Van Cortlandt, founder of that well-known family. There are many other such names that appear, but there are also those of the poorest, such as Hans, servant of Cornelis Hoogeboom. Many of the names are of tradesmen or craftsmen, such as Thomas Taylor, hatter, John the pipemaker, and Jacobus, a turner. Others are of farmers. Several names are those of butchers like Levy. There are also the names of sailors and seemingly middling merchants. A number are of women, like Ruth the turner, Anna Elizabeth, Ruth Bos, and a few widows, like Widow Gibbs. All told, some 400 names are listed, of which more than half cannot be found in the basic reference, Edmund B. O'Callaghan's *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*.

There are many intriguing aspects to the Levy inventory. Obviously, it adds to an understanding of the business, if not the social involvement of Levy with his contemporary New Yorkers. The extensive relationships appears to have overcome any religious barrier. There is no evidence of either rejection by or discrimination on the part of the general community. If there was, it seems not to have affected Levy's business activity. He remained and died in the city, while most of his coreligionists left after a few years' stay. What was there about him that caused this difference? Here history is unfortunately silent. Levy left no letters or

27. Most seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century New York inventories are in the State Archives, Albany. For a listing of them, see *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 54 (1966): 246–59. The undated inventory of the John Winder estate, taken about 1678, is almost as long as Asser Levy's. Interestingly, at the time of Winder's death, "Ashur Levi" owed Winder f2.0.3; Will Liber I, 296. Levy was also a creditor of John Shackerly, and on December 1, 1679, he requested, along with other creditors, that Cornelis Steenwyck be appointed administrator of the estate; Will Liber I, 419. Miriam Levy owed merchant Jacob DeLange 400 florins at the time of his death in 1685. Since this does not appear in the Levy inventory, it is assumed his wife incurred the debt; Will Liber 19B, 176. DeLange's inventory is an incredible listing of all sorts of objects; *ibid.*, 268. The inventory was taken on July 29, 1696; *ibid.*, 220.

diaries, and no contemporary commented about any personal or financial contact. The general paucity of such information for this early colonial period therefore makes the inventory especially valuable. Few such detailed inventories are still extant. Careful study of its contents should add considerably to our understanding of the world of Asser Levy.

To elucidate references to obscure words in the inventory, a glossary of terms follows the transcription.

*

Account of y apriement of ye
Estate of Asshe Levy deceased made
ye 9th of February 1682/3
Inventory

In pursuance of two orders of Court of Mayor and Alderman directed to us underwritten ye 9th day of May and ye 19th day of September last wee have upon ye 9th day of February 1682/3 being first sworne as ye law directs valued and apprized ye Estate of Assher Levy deceased, presented to us by ye Widdow and administratrix of said Estate, as followeth viz:

The Lott of ground and buildings thereupon left by Assher Levy at his decease, and at present in ye possession of ye administratrix, Cittuated within ye City of New Yorke at ye Water gate

£328

The Slaughtor house and Penn without ye gate in company with Gerret Janse Roos, and all ye Privileges according to patent for One moyety

£181

[FOLIO 1]

Inventory of ye Estate of Assur Levy deceased
made ye 24th day of April Anno 1682

The houses and land bought of
Anna Litsco deceased, according to

bill of Sale dated	£ 318:	o:	o
one Coper Kittle	1 :	10:	o
one Spitt & fire pann say dreeping pan	o:	10;	o
three bras scales with ballances	o:	12:	o
one bras barbers bason	o:	2:	o

two bras Candle Sticks	o:	4:	o
two tinn challanders	o:	3:	o
two brass platels	o:	5:	6

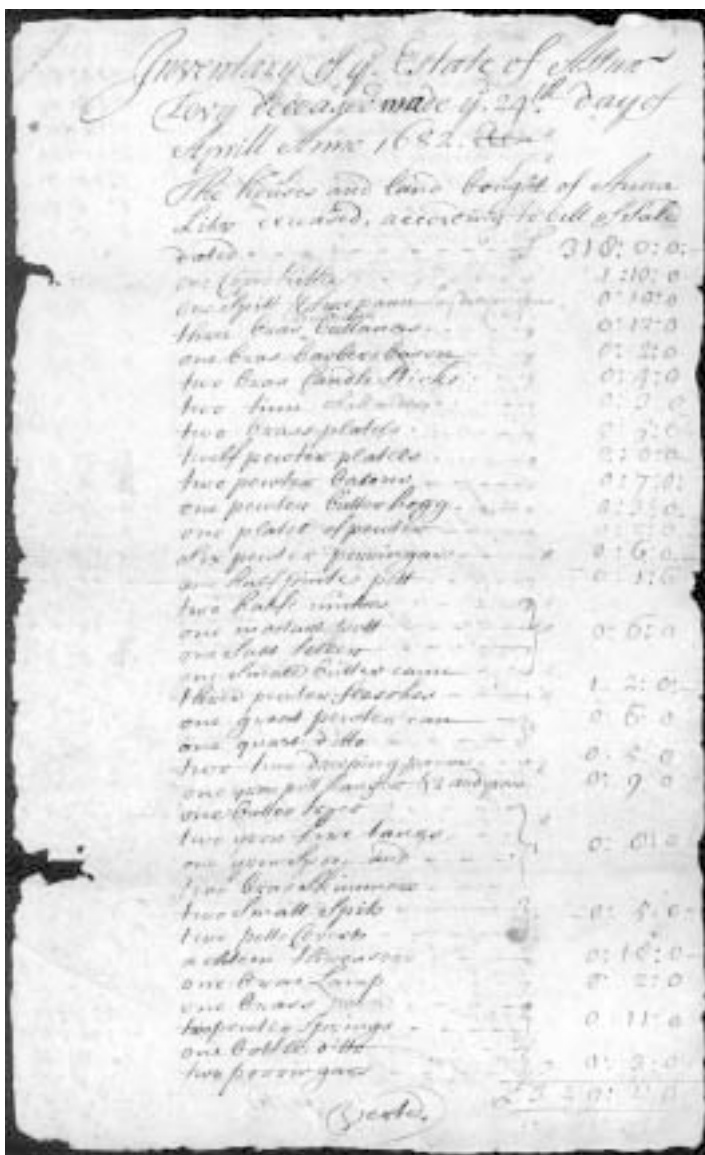


Fig. 1. First page of Asser Levy's inventory. Library of the American Jewish Historical Society.

twelf pewter platels	2:	0:	0
two pewter basons	0:	7:	0
one pewter butter hogg	0:	3:	0
one platel of pewter	0:	2:	0
Six pewter porringers	0:	6:	0
one half pintes pott	0:	1	6
two halfe mintses			
one mostart pott			
one Salt Seller	0:	6:	0
one Small butter cann			
three pewter flesshes	1	2:	0
one great pewter can	0:	6:	0
one quart ditto			
two tinn dreeping panns	0:	5:	0
one yron. pott hanger & 2 andyrons	0:	9:	0
one butter fryer			
two iron fire tangs			
one yron spoon and			
two bras Skimmers	0:	8:	0
two small Spits			
two potts Coverts	0:	5:	0
achteen threners	0:	10:	0
one bras Lamp	0	2:	0
one brass pann	0:	11:	0
two pewter Springs			
one bottle ditto			
Two porringers	0:	3:	0
VERTE	£ 329:	1:	0
[FOLIO 2]			
transported from ye other side	£ 329:	1:	0
five pound spun yearne	£0:	7:	6
*eighteen skipple of wheate	2:	14:	0

two pistols & holsters	0:	15:	0
*Six pound cotton wigg	0:	12:	0
*one barrell flower	2:	10:	0
Seaven brass kettles & and one pann	2:	10:	0
Seaven yron potts	1:	8:	0
three yron panns	0:	6:	0
Some wooden & arthen ware & other old necessaries in ye house	1	10:	0
tenn pewter threnchers	0:	6:	0
two pewter basons	0:	4:	0
four ditto platels	0:	7:	0
three ditto Chamberpots	0:	10:	0
two choping knives	0:	14:	0
one mortar			
two Looking glasses	0:	8:	0
three wooden cases	1:	2:	0
three pewter canns	0:	4:	0
nine pictures	0:	12:	0
one Sabbath Lamb	0:	10:	0
*one hatt for /70:	0:	10:	0
one Chist	0:	10:	0
*one Sword hilted with Silver	0:	6:	0
*one box with wampum about /30 of ye vendue of Ann Litsco	0:	15:	0
*one black velvett jackett	2:	0:	0
*one black grof grane briches & Coate			
one grae: ditto & Coate			
one dark broadcloth coate & Stuffe briches	6:	0:	0
*two Linnen briches	0:	5:	0
one p[ie]ce table Cloathe & nepkins cloth	1 :	7:	0
*one drest leather Skinn & 1 pr Do Stokins	0:	12:	0
four cloaths or Spreads	1:	10:	0
one sword with a band	0:	9:	0
two paire Shoes & 1 pair pantofles to Thom[as] Lambert Some Silver and gold of Ann Litsco	0:	10:	0
two Caps	0:	2:	0
Six cortins and valons	0:	15:	0

two bedds	5:	10:	0
twelf Cussons great and small	3:	0:	0
two pelow beds I Ditto	1	5:	0
four blanketts, I rugg	1	10:	0
One Chist	0:	10:	0
one Secret Seller close Stool	0:	8:	0

Verte	£374:	5:	0
-------	-------	----	---

[FOLIO 3]

Transported from ye other side	£ 374:	5:	0
A Flaske Seller Case with bottles	£	0:	5:6
One deske	0:	6:	0:
Two leather cheares	0:	17:	6
term cheares			
*four cours hatts	0:	16:	0
two hang mackes	0:	15:	0
Heaven earthen platels	0:	2:	0
four earthen flower potts	0:	2:	0
two table Cloaths	0:	7:	0
one Callico Cloath for a bedd	0:	6:	0
one greate long table cloth	1	0:	0
eleaven table cloaths	2:	10:	0
one ditto with Lace	0:	8:	0
*twelf new Shirts			
*nine half woven ditto	6:	0:	0
Sixteen woman Smocks			
Six Linnen drawers	0:	15:	0
two petticoats, one woman Suite with a redd petticoate			
one blew petticoate			
one paire boddice			
one Coloured Casjack			
one Scarlett petticoate, one Silke ditto, one velvet casjack promised to ye Sister of Miriam Levy, one hood, one muffe, one black Silke apron			
three paire redd worsted Stockings			
*Two paire Silke Stockins	0:	7:	0
3 el green Say	0:	9:	0
two mostard disches	0:	1:	0
pellow bear twelf paire Slives great & Small	2:	10:	0

Six white aprons			
twinty four napkins	I:	4:	0
two clothes with bone lace	I:	15:	0
Six towells	0:	6:	0
Six & fourteen neckcloths with Lace & without	I:	0:	0
twelf hand ketchers Say 6	0:	4:	6
one silver eare wearing			
*one paire Silver buttons	0:	12:	0
*One Silver knife			
*twinty five ducaton	9:	7:	6
*one ditto with a ring	0:	7:	6
*fourteen Rix dallars	4:	7:	6
*one gilted pids [pies]		6:	0
Verte	£411	12:	0
[FOLIO 4]			
transported from the other sides	£411:	12:	0
Seaven half Crowns	I:	I:	0
four heavy bevers;	2:	8:	0
twinty two Silver Spoons			
one Silver forke			
three Silver gobletts			
one Silver tankert			
one Silver mustart pott			
*wt. 10 lb one Silver cup			
with two eares			
Five Silver Small cups	48:	0:	0
one ditto & one goblett			
two Silver Salt Sellars			
one Silver Cup			
two Silver Sawzers			
one Silver cup			
one Silver Spice box			
a Cornelia tree cup			
with Silver			
two Silver platels			
A Silver girdle with hanging keys	-	-	
one ditto with 3 Chains with hookes	-	-	
one gold bodkine	-	-	
two Silver ditto	-	-	

*Silver to a band for a Sword	I	4:	0
Silver for my booke with a cheane	-	-	
*One Silver hatt band	0:	13:	6
one Silver timbler	-	-	
*one Silver bell	0:	18:	0
*one Silver watch	I:	0:	0
*two paire Silver buckles	0:	8:	0
1 d(oze)n white Linnen hoods	-	-	
1 d(oze)n ditto ditto Santeen	-	-	
2 parle cords	-	-	
3 hals cloathes	-	-	
8 ditto & 8 do of another Sort	-	-	
three mans caps with lace	0:	6:	0
twelf womans with do	-	-	
Some Linnen to my weaving of Small consequence			
two paire gold pendants			
*fiveteen gold rings Say 13 at	10:	7:	6
*fifty Skiple of Salt or thereabout	2:	10:	
*two barrells tarr	I:	4:	0
*timber to build a house & planks	12:	0:	0
in Sundry pcs. gold to ye value of /300 wampum valued	13:	10:	0
transported to folio	£507:	2:	0

[FOLIO 5]

Balance of Debtors

No. 1 to 6 Several old amounts of no value from ao 1660 to 1669

No. 6ao 1669 & 1679

fo. 3. Hans Christophel	f. 9.	
6. Stoffel van Laar	22.	
37. Arent Jurians Lansman	107.	10
72. Richard Cornel	15.	
79. Doctor Spry	178.	
No. 7 ao 1671		
fo. 3. William Bredevelt	f 58.	
Dirk Storm	20.	
6. Pieter ye Frensman	60.	7
9. Thomas Tierkse	24.	
Jacob at N.Utrecht	22.	
11. John ye glasier Carrman	14.	

14. Arent Everts Molenaer 60.			
Hendrick De Bremer		8.	6
17. Lambert Huybert mol		17.	7
Jacob Theunis Loper		28.	
John Hendrix Jinnor at New Harlem		17.	
20. Joris Demus		53.	
Pieter Lokermans Senior 8 bev(ers)		10.	7
23. Henry Bos		9.	
25. Leendert Phillips f		44	118.
Barent Shoemaker		6.8	
Claas Rotterdam 2 Minkes	16	4.	19
Paulus Jurkse		9	
26. Lysbeth Ringhout		40	
Gissel Alberts		f 24	
29. Andrew Messingar		f 453.	3
31. Jacob Janse		19.	10
33. Nowel Morris Fransman		28.	
40. Adrian Vincent		22.	3
42. John Vinghout 25 [skiple]		150.	
wheate or			
53. Hendrik ye weaver 30 [skiple]			
pease or		150.	
55. Marretie Van Es		20.	5
57. Charles ye Frenshman		5.	
61. Cornelis Plevier		110.	4
Nowell Fransman 19 [skiple]			
wheat or		114.	
	[FOLIO 6]		
fo61. Comelis Bogart		f 39.	
Jurian Theirmis		8.	
62. Arent Vanderberg 26 (skiple)			
wheate or		156.	
Phillip Pieters		7.	
Henry van Allen		9.	6
Lewis Cobus		5.	12
70. Anna Tidemans		16.	10
71. William Parker 2 bevers		16	22
John Risbel		7.	10
73. Arent Vanderberg & Helmer			
Otto I I bevers & /88		6.	
76. Kinertie Hendrix		27.	6

79. Joris Wolsey	27.	6
	No. 8 ao 1672	
24. Thomas Berryman	f 41.	15
43. William Wittingar	100.	
49. Capt. Santfort	33.	
52. Elias Comelise	41.	
56. Yong Hunt	11.	
John Qnomby (Quimby)	7.	
	No. 9 AO 1673	
2. Anthony deMilt 254 (lb.)		
flower &	f52.	15
7. Jacobus Vandewater	32.	3
9. Joris Wolsey	4.	
10. Claas Janse Stavast	24.	
27. Jochern Englebart		
30. Joseph Rendel	13.	
32. Carel Demorant at bedfort		14.
Lodewyck Pos	55.	8
32. Maes Meln at Esopus	41.	
33. Edward Wittaker do	45.	6
35. Pieter Bayard	6.	
John Risbell	11.	
37. Gillis Johnse	63.	
38. Carsten ye Miller	39.	58
Samuel Oliver at Esopus	100.	
Titus de Vries	33.	
42. Simon at N:Utrecht	9.	

[FOLIO 7]

	No. 9	
42. William Montagne	f82.	18
43. Thomas Lodewyck	10.	8
Thomas Elgar	12.	
44. Daniell Peryer at Esopus		
56. Harmen Thomase bever 18	47.	
57. The Estate of John Copall	442.	18
61. Daniell Whitehead	20.	
63. Isaaak Abrahams (Abrahamsen)	43.	
64. Joost Caspers at Kykinyt	20.	
69. Anthony Kooke at Esopous	476.	
Roelof Swartwart 20 sk(ipl)e wheat &	21.	
72. Reynier Williams open		

No 10 AO 1674

1. Anthony Janse widow	f 72.	5
5. John Jeffort	32.	18
7. Paulus tot bedfort	8.	
14. Jan Mertens de weaver 144 &	30.	
26. Hermanus van Bursum	156.	12
35. Wessel Everts erfgenamen	546.	1
37. Albert Alberts Obruyn	f49.	10
John Benew	37.	
55. Cornelis Hogeboom	221.	
57. Thomas Vardon	8.	12
58. John Joosten at Marbletown	18.	
Hans Servant to Hogeboom	6.	

No. 11 Ao 1675

No. 11 fo 2. Andries Jochems	f 37.	14
3. Arent Prall at Esopus	283.	17
4. Arent Isaaks	60.	8
Adrian van Laar	60.	2
5. Barent Coerten	66.	12
7. Bastian Elli	36.	
30. Cornelis Dirkse	15.	4
33. Dirk Janse Hoogelandt	57.	
34. Elias Dorrelandt	106.	16
35. Henry Newton	20.	15
39. John Phillip	18.	

Verte

[FOLIO 8]

No. 11 Ao 1675

38. Cornelis Janse Visscher	f 4.	12
41. John Huyt at Eastchester	132.	16
42. John Gerrets at N. Utrecht	44.	
John Pieters Cooper	60.	12
43. John Olphelt	50.	5
44. Jochem Andrews widow	83.	
47. Joris Davids	75.	10
55. Mettie Wessels widow	9.	
57. Johannis Nevins	99.	2
63. Thomas Janse at Gouannis	10.	3
68. Augustine free neger	258.	18
Peter Johnse Meet	49.	10
Pieter Johnse Scole	46.	5

Phillip Johnse widdow	153.	7
Muhiell Mot at Esopus	59.	
69. Pieter Janse soldier	55.	16
71. Peter Bakberen at Newtown	171.	19
75. Stephanis Van Cortland	218.	11
76. Helmer Otto	65.	4
79. Ahasuerus Silversmith	8.	
82. Thennis Gisberts bogart	f23.	16
Dirk'Storm	60.	
83. John Winder	69	
85. John Adams	12.	
Joseph Buttler	55.	
87. Harmen de Wilt at Esopus 141 1/2 skiple	849.	
Wheate at		
88. Jan ye Glasier Senior	23.	10
Jonathan Latimar	16.	
89. Francis Rombout	39.	4
90. Thomas Mathyse	199.	10
No 12 Ao 1676		
To 2 Jacobus Vander	f 21.	5
Thennis Jacobs at ye Esopus	135.	
22 1/2 Skiple wheate		
4 Robert Peacok	222.	
5 Adrian Geverts Vandervlet	318.	
14 John Pieters Schoemaker	64.	

Verte

[FOLIO 9]

No 12 Ao 1676 & 1677		
15. William Boyall	f 34.	6
18. Adolph at N. Harlem	11.	
19. John Barents in Flakbos		
one cow, hefer, butter &	213.	
22. Anthony free neger	25.	
Mr. Whitehead Arthur Coll	10.	
23. Johannis Verveelen	71.	
24. Richard Bryan	61.	10
26. Egbert Meynders	94.	1
32. Geertrim Hibons	68.	10
Hendrik Janse at Angstyns farm	65.	5
32. John Cornelis buys	172.	6
Cornelis Carsen about	600.	

34. Jacob Gisberts at Crenpelbos	80.	8
37. Hark Siboutse	40.	
Joseph Lee	24.	
43. Casper Kerstens	8.	
48. Walter Webly	55.	2
Capt. Thomas Smith	267.	17
49. Thomas Conink	f145.	5
53. fytie Cornelis	5.	
frans Lee	172.	2
frans France	81.	
56. Job at Capt Mannings	80.	9 1/2
57. William Fisser	929.	10
58. Roelof Jonse Taylor in white 30	50.	
Skiple and John Nagel	30.	
61. Jacob Ven Eyck	67.	
62. Jan Hanse at bedfort	125.	
65. Samuell Godwin	8.	
70. Gerret Thennis at Albany in wheat 199 Skiple.	is 1188.	
72. Pieter Lassing at ditto	129.	4

[FOLIO 10]

No 12 AO 1676 & 1677		
Fo 74. Anna Elysabeth	f 131.	
76. John Shakerly,	80.	4
77. Capt Salisbury	54.	2
John Thomas Widdow N Utrecht	25.	
78. Josias Hun	20.	
Samuel] Drake	68.	10
Carsten at ye great Kill	6.	8
Carsten Cornelis	10.	
79. John Richards	41.	7
82. Cornelis van bursum	1505.	14
Pieter Wessels Carman	57.	16
83. Pieter Roelof	364.	2
David Osburne- at Eastchester	4.	10
85. Cornelis Pieters Carpenter	1.	0
Thomas ye pleyman	52.	
88. Nicholas de Laplaine	6.	

[FOLIO 11]

No 13 AO 1678: 1679: 1680

fo 1. Adrian Dirkson	f 52.	15
Watie Porter	7.	
Barent Jacobs Ditto	9.	4
Mr. Williams	6.	10
Hester Webber	37.	14
John ye weaver of Fleisshing	35.	5
Dirk Johns at ye Ferry	144.	15
Lowrence Ahasuerus	69.	
2. Richard Hedly	76.	
6. Hendrick Matusysen at N:Utrecht	350.	1
8. Joresy in ye whale boght (Wallabout)	24.	
Arent Janse Vogel	100.	4
Joris Hall to ye Esopus	692.	15
William Notingarn at ditto	287.	8
Wessel Tenn Brock at Ditto to	466.	10
10. Coenradus Vanderbeek	74.	3
12. Gisbert Elberts	79.	7
Phillip Piene	197	
Jan Varkenson	29	
Claas Catsvegghter open		
15. Jan Brewer	f106.	13
Gerret Hendrix blew boore	36.	
16. Catherina de Silla	187.	
Hugo Barents	372.	5
Barent Egbertse	179.	
17. Hendrick Timonsen	103.	4
Arent Prall	40.	10
18. Barent Joosten & Jan Hanse	285.	6
Sibrant Jansen	6.	
Evert Wessels	66.	
20. Engeltie Burgers	277.	19
21. Jan Harmense taylor	470.	4
Johannis Lamontagne	267.	4
John Roelofs at Flakbos	120.	4
Jacques Corteljou	194.	
22. Rachel Bos	60.	
Gretie Wessels	162.	3
Claas Look	23.	
John Kingdom	93.	16

[FOLIO 12]

No 13		
24. David Hendriks 50 pce wood & Everet Hedeman	f30. 43.	16
25. Joris Jacobs at ye ferry Hendrick Harmens droog Straet Isaak Van Vleck Pieter Scham	40. 228. 25. 124.	12 17 13
26. Jacob Young open John Cornelisse at Boswyk Wrn Leg Carpenter	16. 90.	
27. Jonathan Provoost Andrew Borende open Harmen Hay	56. 30.	
29. Daniell de Haert John Jackson at Eastchester Samuell Gardner Westchester John Coppen	300. 29. 28. 83.	9 10
30. John Hendrix vryman Susanna Verplank Minnie Johannis Amadoor foupie	362. 108. 185. 127.	16 16 1 15
31. Staet de groot	57.	
32. Resolve Waldron Johannis Vermelye John Johnse Mol Thomas Rogers 7 bevers Baltus Bayard 2 lb. flower & John Smith at Newtown	130. 238. 84. 33. 24. 54.	15 4 14
34. Ralph Doxy at Do John Janse Van Rynen James Hatten	219. 135. 66.	3
35. Capt John Palmer	76.	
37. Dirk Hattum	160.	
38. Jurian Haegel	5.	
39. John banning	72.	4
40. Reyn Arents in Flackbos	18.	18
41. Yong Adam Mott Jarvis Marshall Thomas Coaker	10. 65. 6.	10 18
43. Neeltie tot boswyck	54.	
45. Adolph Picters	f75.	8

46. Jacob Stryker	30.	
Capt. Thomas De Lavall	208.	14

[FOLIO 13]

No 13		
48. Nicholas Bayard	f348.	3
49. Catherina Van Werven	15.	2
50. Jacob Kip	262.	
51. Jan Adrians dochter	36.	
54. Jacob Hansen	14.	
55. John Peters Vandeventer	30.	
Dirkie Roelofs.	50.	
Catrina in Paulus daughter	26.	
56. Abraham Corbett	5.	
58. Abraham Verplank	41.	13
59. Rem Janse at ye Whal bough (Wallabout)	32.	
Peter Cornelis boswyck	5.	
60. Willem White	513.	
61. Jan Lewis	129.	
63. Pieter Parmentier	50.	
Dirk Smith	35.	18
64. Thomas Lambert	f225.	8
66. John Butcher	275.	4
68. Widow Gibs	6.	10
73. Nelis de Sweet	13.	
74. William Loverage	130.	6
Cornelis Vanderburgh	16.	
75. John Vigne	101.	5
76. Lowrence Janse tot Harlem	45.	
William Jacobs	50.	4
William Bogardus	114.	7
77. Allard Anthony	619.	7
80. John Cavelier	40.	7
81. Barent Alberts 30 planken & Humphry Davenport	559.	10
Humphry Davenport	16.	9
83. Ruth ye Turner	36.	18
Alexander Cockeveer	24.	10
84. Barent Gerrets taylor	70.	10
Thimotheus Gabry	45.	
85. Nicholas de Meyer	111.	10
87. Hendrik Barente	40.	12

88. Frans Hendrix	56.	4
Albert Cornelison	149.	
89. Henry Pawling	1932.	5

[FOLIO 14]

No 13		
89. Gerret Hendrix butcher	f61.	
90. Adrian Cornelis	26.	5
Mr. Snosel	100.	
91. Simon Hakens	23.	
Thomas Stevens	12.	
92. Harmen Hendrix		
94. Christopher Hoogland	437	1
Jacob Leisler	14	
Jeronimo Carpenter	3	
Thermus Janse Fisher	10	10
95. John Risbell	63	12
97. John Van Gelder	48	13
99. Pieter Janse meat	51	
100. Ambroos Waron	f 1	
Adrian Lamberts	5	
Abraham Lamberts mol	45	
101. Wolpher Webber	18	
102. Roel of Janse butcher	262	18
John Carseboorn	29	5
104. Hyman Alberts at Esopus	189	18
Tryntie Copers mothers	9	13
105. Pieter Meesen		
106. Volkert Dirkson	2184	17
107. Joseph Bunoe de Muskite	63.	14
Daniell Tourneur	7.	
108. Reymer Williams 914 lb Flower		
111. Henry Vandewater	46.	
Jan Aertsen	7.	
112. Gisbert Crom 18-Skipple Wheate &	80.	
113. John Grixson	37.	
Fredrick ye Coper	199.	11
115. John Schoster	21.	
Bruyn Hagen at ye Esopus	873.	
116. Lewis Janse	81.	
117. Mr Evert Pieters	2.	10
119. Bos butcher	26.	10

Thomas taylor hatter	32.	5
Albert bos	47.	
121. Benjamin provoost at Esopus	337.	8
Henry Ten Eyck at ditto	496.	12
126. John Paris	393.	

[FOLIO 15]

No 14 Ao 1680 & 1681

1. David Provoost	f 59.	16
2. Abraham Frankfort	585.	6
3. Thomas Codrington	239.	1
4. William Pinhome	247.	2
5. Assur my Cosen	352.	16 1/2
6. Simon my Cosen 1 barrl flower & Jacob Moleyn	129. 72.	
7. Alexander Stilther	100.	8
Simon de Carman	61.	15
8. William in Capt. dyres garden	3.	10
10. Jacob Israel	f 49.	10
Lucas Andries	103.	20
Allard Anthony	91.	
Pieter Lourens	146.	15
Taylor at fransyntie (Franspitt)	37.	
11. Thomas Clerke	129.	18
William Churcher	155.	5
12. John Robinson	119.	18
13. Guilliam de honeur	5.	1
Stephen Van Cortlandt	217.	
14. Dirk Everts	194.	14
Pieter Johnse Slott	71.	7
16~ Mr Lagrange	220.	5
17. Martin Meyer Smith	276.	
18. William Darvall	59.	
19. Marten Cregier bever 8&	124.	10
Susanna Bording	8.	
Henry ten brock	4.	10
20. Dirk Volkers		
Hans Goderns	240.	
21. Walter Webly	265.	17
Johannis Vanbrugh	35.	6
22. William Beekman	356.	
24. Jan Adriaanse about	2400.	

25. Charles Housman	665.	19
27. Capt William Dyre	99.	
29. Hans Kierstede	220.	12.
Richard heymore	33.	
30. Lourens Vander Spiegel 5667 lb flower &	68.	
34. Coenraet ten Eyk Junior	288.	15
35. Mr. Cox	6.	

[FOLIO 16]

No. 14 1680 & 1681

35. Mrs. Sharpe	f553.	18
36. Elliott ye Coper	7.	
37. Mathias Nicolls	760.	18
Peter De Lanoy	22.	
38. Christyntie Laurens (Laurient)	198.	9
39. Pieter Hanse at Delaware	291.	5
40. Elizabeth Gibbs	103.	12
41. Thomas Janse at ye redd hooke	16.	
42. John de pipemaker	121.	8
43. Nicolas Bayard	68.	10
Pieter Alrighs 500 lb. tobacco		
44. Tierk Claase at Esopus 549 lb.flower & Mathew Teller	128. 107.	
45. Francyntie Andries	152.	
46. Nicolas Anthony	228.	
48. Cornet (Colonel) Morris Madelene Derway at Flishing Abraham Kermer	28. 118. 13.	
49. Severam Lawrence Bastien Ellis	1. 31.	
50. William ye Quake John Genus /207 pd 1000 foot plank	268.	
51. Pieter Janse Wit	19.	
52. James Graham	415.	
53. Jan Joosten William Merrett	26. 947.	
55. Theunis Janse Coevers Jacobus ye turner	72. 20.	9
56. Dirk Vander Clyff	1.	16
57. William Macons mate	8.	10

58. Barent Coerten	4.	
Volkert Hendrix	152.	
59. Josea Hallett	46.	9
John Dame	33.	
John Cornelis of John Poppe	310.	18
61. John Tudor	f158.	14
Florus Williams	59.	10
John Hendrix at Harlem	56.	10
Theunis de Carman	4.	10
Claas Roelofs	21.	
61&		
72. Samuel beakman	164.	

[FOLIO 17]

No 14 AO 1680: 1681

62. Capt John Manning 1678:17: upon this fl. 2000 for 4 years rent to receive of blakwell		
63. David Abendana	f131.	10
65. Nathaniel Person & Jonase pyn		
66. Jochem Wessels wampum flower 2666 lb., bevers 24 3/4 fl. Indian Come 20 Skiple Lybe Thysen	36. 616. 45.	12
67. Robert Story	45.	9
68. Carsten Lehrsen Barent Janse at Altena Jan Verkerke	86. 24. 94.	19 5
69. Dirk Vokikers	2170.	2
70. Kip Bay Croesvelt	100. 17.	
71. Jacob Pieters David hynse Timon francen	372. 33. 21.	6 12 12
72. John Wessels	310.	1
73. John Rider	687.	1
74. Jacob Dirkson	365.	10
75. Robert Blakwell	3039.	14
76. James Mathys Adam Brower Josua Servateyn Valyntyn van der Wilde	1109. 1817. 24. 2631.	9 18 4

[FOLIO 18]

Several accounts Concerning Cornelis Spyker as by Ledger & Journall nott
Completed

a booke of ye Concernings of Sarnual blagge with severall accounts not Stated
a booke of accounts Concerning ye Estate of Anna Litsco with some acctts &
peapers

Several Peapers belonging to Captn. John Manning

a booke of Envoices of goods sent for Barbados &c

Sundry bookes for buttchers account of small value

The Gouvernours Grant and patent

for ye Slaughter House in Compy

with Gerrett Johnse Roos

£18: 0 0

More omitted

one Negro boy

20: 0 0

one buffe coate, one portepe wth 13 [or] 14 ounces

Silver, one Scarfe, one black Bever hatt, one

Jackett with Cam c(I)oth Slives, one black

belt with frange in ye hands of Simon Valentyn.

*ye belt & hatt onlly valued at

£0: 15. 0

*one gray and black hatt

0: 12. 0

*5000 brix

4: 10. 0

a parcell of old bookes

0: 10. 0

two andyrons, 3 pewter bason, 1 funnell,

1 porringer 3 pottlets, 1 pr tables, one Spin wheel

one warming parm and severall trifels in ye house

and necessarys for a butcher

2: 0 0

one Gunn

0: 0 0

to transport from folio

507: 2 0

£553: 15: 0

Valued by us in persuance of orders of Court dated ye 9th of May & 19th
Septemr last ye estate
of Assher Levy decased presented to us by ye widdow according to inventory
and appraised to ye Sum of five hundred fifty three pound fifteen Shillings
Current money in New Yorke as witness our hands anno 1682/3 February ye
9th (debts excepted)

N. Bayard John Lawrence

Thos. Codrington Cornelis Steenwyck

[All but Bayard are crossed out.]

[FOLIO 19]

BALLANCE OF CREDITORS

fo. 38 No. 10 John Coely [Cooley]	f52:	14
fo. 2 No. 13 Egbert Wouters	5:	
24. Laurens Wessels	18:	5



Fig. 2. The appraisers of Asser Levy's estate, with the signatures of three of them crossed out. Library of the American Jewish Historical Society.

22. John Johnse Longedyk	67:	6
39. Thimon Van Bursum	4:	15
60 Jacobus Colgert	17:	
61 Nicolas Stuyvesand	22:	
101 John Joosten	21:	19
103 Evert Wessels Cooper	43:	
105 Theodorus Polheyrn	3:	12
116 Lucas Andries		
Richard Patishall	£9:19:5	
fo. 8 No. 14 Thomas Comink	£54:	
fo.19 Ahasuerus Silver Smith	10:	
23 Gerret Johnse Roos	67:	8
26 John Lawrence	36:	16
21 Samuel Wilson	8:	13
33 Guinlam Verplank	45:	
38 Nicholas Stuyvesant	11:	
49 Egbert Fockens;	27:	4
57 Francis Richardson	107:	
Thomas Lawrence	19:	16
59 Charles Fontaine	212:	13
64 Joris Stevens	127:	
Anna Litsco about ye house by computations besides vendu mony	3600:	

[FOLIO 20]

Citty of New York S.S.The Court of Record of the City aforsd holden att ye Citty Hall within ye

Citty on Tuesday the 9th day of May 1682 (1683) before Mr. William Beekeman Depty Mayor etc.

This Inventory of the Estate of Asser Levy Deceased being presented in Court by Maria Levy his Widdow & Administratrix who declared upon oath ytThe same was a true and perfect Inventory of all the Singular ye goods Chattles & Creditts of the Deceased that she knows off or is come to her hands the same was allowed of & ordered to be Recorded w(hic)h & is accordingly Done.

John West Cl.

[FOLIO 21]

New Yorke 1685/6 primo January Goods desposed of by Miriam Levy Adminis-tratrix of Asser Levy deceased for ye maintenance of her selfe and paying Creditors viz out ye Inventory

eighteen Skipples of wheat	£2:	14:	-
Six Pound Cotton Wigg		12:	0
one barrell flower	2:	10:	0

one hatt	0:	10:	0
one sword hilted with Silver	0:	6:	0
one box with wampum of Anna Litsco	0:	15:	0
one black velvet Jackett	2:	0:	0
one blak grosgraine briches & Coat			
one gray ditto and Coat on dark	6:	0:	0
two Linnen Briches		5:	0
one drest Leather Skinn I pr Stockins		12:	
four Cours Hatts		16:	
twelf new & 9 halve worn shirts		6:	
Six Linnen Drawers		15:	
two paire old silke stockins		7:	
one paire Silver buttons & knife		12:	
twinty five ducaton	9:	7:	6
one ditto with a ring	0:	7:	6
fourteen Rix Dolers	4:	7:	6
one gilted pids [pies]	0:	6:	0
Seaven 1/2 Crowns	1:	1:	0
four heavy beavers	2:	8:	0
Silver wrought 10 lb. wt	48:	-	
Silver to a band to a sword	1:	[missing]	
1 Silver hatt band, one do.bell	1:	[missing]	
1 Silver watch 20s 2 pr do buckles 8s	1:	8:	-
13 Gold rings 10:7.6 Salt 50 Sk(ipl)e	12:	17:	6
2 barrells tarr 24s	1:	4:	-
Timber to build a house	12:	-	-
Sundry pieces of Gold	13:	10:	0
3 Hatts & a belt	1:	7:	0
5000 Brix	4:	10:	0
	£140	4:	[-]

[FOLIO 22]

All the household goods and furniture Contained in this inventory (Except Such as are disposed for the maintanance of ye Widdow, as appears by ye annexed Liste, I doe ingadge to make good and that they Shall abide the determination of this Court of Chancery, or be accountable for them or their value, to Mr. Nicholas Bayard and John De Lavall. In N: Yorke the 27th of January 1685/6

Glossary of Terms*

Bevers—possibly a coin, but more probably a beaver pelt

Casjack—probably cassock, a loose fitting gown worn by men and women

Close stool—a chamber pot disguised as a chair; the “secret seller” probably the pot underneath

Cornelia tree cup—probably a silver cup decorated in the form of a cornelian cherry or flowering dogwood tree

Ducatons; ducatoon—a silver coin of crown size first struck in 1598 during the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands and copied elsewhere

Ell—the old Dutch or Flemish ell was about 27 inches; the present el or ell is a meter.

Flaske Seller case—Flask cellar case, used for holding bottles.

Flesshes—possibly a flesher, a primitive instrument for cleaning the flesh side of skin, usually made of bond or stone; or, more likely, a butcher’s knife, a two handled, convex, blunt edged knife, for the same purpose

Gros grane; grosgrain of a large grain or cord - applied to silk fabric having heavy transverse cords; silk or ribbon of this description

Pantofles—pantofile, a slipper especially for lounging

Rix dallar—Rix dollar, any of the Dutch, German, or Scandinavian silver coins, probably the Dutch ryksdaaler

Skipple—three-fourths of a bushel

Stuff briches—stuff breeches, probably worsted breeches

Threnser—trencher, a knife or alternately a board or wooden plate or platter on which to carve or serve food

Santeen—probably satin

Say—a coarse woolen mantle; a fine twilled fabric resembling serge, either all wool or mixed with silk; also silk; from the three ell measurement, it would seem to be a bolt of silk.

Turkey work—upholstered furniture. Such work is rare before 1645 and generally dates from about 1660. It was not until the late seventeenth century, generally after 1685, that elaborate weaving of silks and velvets, i.e., “turkey work,” generally replaced the fine split cane meshing that had been the filling of back and seat panels on chairs. Between 1660 and 1685, chairs were probably made of walnut; Herbert Cescinsky and Ernest R. Grubble, *Early English Furniture and Woodwork*, 2 vols. (London: 1922), II, 212-214.

The reference to “old Leather chairs” would date these items to about 1650, when the Cromwellian oak chair usually had a “seat and back made by straining the thick hide over the framings, without any attempt at padding.” *Ibid.*, II, 191, with figures 246 and 247 as examples.

The mentioned “painted shugar box” was probably an English copy of the most prized Chinese or Japanese lacquered wooden or metal work. The finest English lacquer work dates from 1670 to about 1700. *Ibid.*, II, 364.

* Definitions are from *Webster’s New International Dictionary*, 1948 edition.

JUDAH SAMUEL (1702)

This little known figure was born in Fulda, Germany, lived in Brest Litovsk, and was married in Amsterdam in 1693 to Rachel Hendricks, born in 1660.¹ Though not mentioned in city records and not recorded as a freeman, he surely was in New York by the turn of the century. His inventory, taken by Moses Levy, is his legacy to history. He was a merchant, dealing not only in textiles, “5 yds. Bengal, 2 pcs. Calicoas,” but also in rum, specifically “77 1/2 Galls Rum.” Samuel also had a “Stilled Kettle” for use in a distillery, for alcohol, like textiles, was a major item in colonial trade. His wife might have died just before her husband, as her clothes were still in his home: “a woman gowne and petty coat,” an apron, and a handkerchief. Household furniture, a tankard, saltcellar, frying pan, a feather bed, and bedstead with curtains are personal witnesses to the contents of a rather small household. The two gold rings are probably wedding rings. This is the second extant inventory of the Jewish inhabitants of New York during the colonial period, but it is the first to mention a Hebrew Bible and five prayer books. Judah Samuel may have read and understood Hebrew, and perhaps he took part in the services held in John Harpending’s house on Mill Street (now South William Street), the rented site of the first known place of Jewish worship in New York City.²

It is possible that husband and wife would have been about forty-two and were victims of small pox, which, as Governor Edward Cornbury noted in a letter on May 18th, 1702, “is very much here,” and which in ten weeks “swept away” up to 500 people. The population of New York was about 4,500. This, therefore, was truly an epidemic. There is no record of Samuel’s burial. It is also possible that Levy Samuel, merchant made freeman of the city on October 4, 1743, was a relative, who in 1737 contributed to building a wall around the cemetery and in 1740 seemingly gave £5 for construction of a Jesibah (synagogue school).³

1. Dave Verdooner and Harmen Snel, *Jewish Marriage in Amsterdam*, 2 vols. (S’Gravenhage, 1990), I, 59; Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew*, 3 vols. (Detroit, 1970), II, 1076.

2. Leo Hershkowitz, “The Mill Street Synagogue Reconsidered,” *American Jewish Historical Society Quarterly* 53 (1964): 404–10; Isaac N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols. (New York, 1915–1922), III, 433.

3. Edmund B. O’Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, 1856–1887), IV, 972. For freemanship, see New York Historical Society’s Collections, *Burghers and Freemen* (New York, 1886), 148; *Lyons Collection*, in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 21 (1913): 38, 42;

*

1702 - An Inventory of Judah Samuel Decd. of his goods
 A Feather Bed with two Piloviers
 A Quilt and A Rugg
 13 Pewter dishes And 16 plates
 Halfe Gall, pott, a quart ditto And One Tankard
 One Salt Seller, a porringer, 3: Paddles Brass
 One Small Brass Kettle, a frying pan, 2 brass Candlesticks
 A Stilled Kettle with all furniture, a brass mortar
 5 Hats, 3 women hoods, 3: Night Rails half pound Thread
 A women Stayes, 5 - yds. Bengal, 2 pcs Calicoas
 A woman Gowne and petty coat, a coat And breeches
 A wascoat, 2 paire silver button and a Ring ditto
 3 paire Stockings, a dressing basket, a pair of Shears
 A Table, 12 Straw Chairs, a Iron Pott, a kettle ditto
 A Gunn, a small Brass Kettle, one Looking Glass
 One Hebrew Bible, 5 prayer books, 16 furr Caps
 7 Muffs, 8 Skins, 42 women Muffs, 5 hebrew books
 4 Sheets, 3 old wastcoats, 6 Shirts, 2 Table Cloths
 2 Children Caps, one Apron, 4 Pilowiers, One handkerchief
 A bed stead with Curtins

David De Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831* (New York, 1952), 29. A Levy Samuel petitioned to be naturalized in 1739, but the relationship, if any, to the decedent is unknown; *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New-York Began the 9th Day of April, 1691; and Ended the 27th Day of September, 1743* (New York, 1764), 776.

1702/ An Inventory of Judah Samuel Dec^d of his goods

A Brazer Bed wth Two Pillows
 A Quilt and a Rug -
 12 Pewter dishes, And 16 plates -
 half Gall pot, A quart dish And One Tankard
 One Salt Sifter, Apportioner, 3 Taddles, Brafs -
 One Small Brafs Kettle, A frying pan, A brafs Candlesticks,
 A Mitts Kettle wth all furniture, A brafs Mould -
 5 Glass, 2 women p^{er} di, 3 Night Kettle, half pound Thimble
 A woman Snyde, 6 - 7, Bonyah, 2 p^{er} Colicors,
 A woman Gowns And A p^{er} coat, a coat And breeches -
 A Warcoat, 2 pair Silver button, And A ring ditto -
 3 pair Stockings, A dressing basket, A pair of Shoes -
 A Table, 12 Straw Chairs, A Iron Pot, A Kettle, ditto
 A Glass, A small ~~pan~~ Kettle, One Looking Glass -
 One Hebrew Bible, 5 prayer books, 15 ~~fun~~ Candles
 7 Muffs, 8 Skins, 42 Women Muffs, 5 Hebrew books -
 4 Sheets, 5 Old warcoats, 6 Shirts, 2 Table Cloths -
 1 Children Caps, One Apron, 4 Pillows, One handkerchief
 1 bedstead, 10th Curvins -
 77¹/₂ Gall^s Rum, A Silver Spoon -
 Debtors in Cash from the said Dec^d, - £ 25: 8: 9
 And Two Gold Rings -
 value at about £ 100 Moses Levy

The above Inventory is all the goods & Chattels which at
 present is ready to the above named Moses Levy's hands of
 the Estate of Judah Samuel Dec^d

Just Exam me
 2nd 2nd 1702 John Bridger Just

Fig. 3. Inventory of Judah Samuel's estate. Library of the American Jewish Historical Society.

77 1/2 Galls. Rum, A Silver Spoon

Received in Cash from the said Decd., £25:8-9d

And Two Gold Rings value in all about £150

[signed] Moses Levy

The above inventory is all the goods & Chattles which at present is come to the above

named Moses Levy's hands of the Estate of Judah Samuel decd.

Jurat Coram me (Sworn before me)

John Bridges Surrogate⁴

Xber 2d, 1702 [December 2, 1702]

[On reverse] 2d Decem 2, 1702 Moses Levi his Inventory of ye Estate of Judah Samuel decd.

4. Bridges, an attorney, was a member of Governor Edward Hyde Cornbury's (1661-1723) council, arriving in New York along with the Governor in 1702. In this inventory, he acted as Cornbury's surrogate; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675-1776*, 8 vols. (New York, 1905), II, 197, 204. For intestate estates and reliance upon a governor's delegates to issue necessary warrants, see *Laws of New York From 1691-1751* (New York, 1752), 474. Moses Levy (d. 1728) was a noted merchant and related to Asser Levy. See Leo Hershkowitz, ed., *Wills of Early New York Jews (1704-1799)* (New York, 1967), 36-43.

JOSEPH TORES NUNES

(OCTOBER 8, 1705)

Like so many early Jews in colonial America, little is known about this merchant. It is possible he was related to Riche Nunes, one of the 1654 travelers to the city, and that he was related to Joseph Nunes who, together with several others, petitioned in 1728 for a new burial ground for the city's Jewish inhabitants. There are a number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Amsterdam Nuneses and Toreses, including Jacob Nunes, married in 1664 to Abigael Monsanto, and Joseph Tores, married in 1679 to Sara Nabarro, but their connection to Joseph Tores Nunes, if any, has not been established.¹

Nunes drew up a will on September 22, 1704, ten days before his death on October 2, which was probated on November 10, 1704. He is

1. Dave Verdooner and Harmen Snel, *Jewish Marriage in Amsterdam*, 2 vols. (S'Gravenhage, 1990), I, 43, 45.

identified on his tombstone in Shearith Israel's cemetery at Chatham Square in New York City as the "Honored Rabbi Joseph Tores Nunes," who at his death at the age of thirty was a "blissful unmarried man." He appears to have been in New York in 1700, representing his brother Abraham Nunes of London in an attempt to collect debts. He was sued in September of that year, and in 1703 he was assessed a small sum on his real estate holdings in the city.²

During his few short years in the city, Nunes carried on an active business. In May 1701, he imported eighty-four pieces of calico from Jamaica on board the sloop *John*. The identifying mark on the package was A.N., surely a reference to his brother, Abraham. Also in May 1701, he imported aboard the brigantine "*Lawrell*" [*Laurell*], again from Jamaica, fifty-five gallons of rum. In July of that year, he brought in nineteen pieces of "crape" aboard the sloop *Hope* from Jamaica. In June 1702, on the sloop *John*, he shipped "Sundry" goods in one barrel. In October 1702, he imported a parcel of dry goods from London, and in January 1703, again from London, an assortment of unspecified merchandise on the *Blossom*. In May 1703, he imported more dry goods on the ship *Supply*, and in June 1703, still more dry goods on the brigantine *Anne*. Unspecified cargo was imported from London in August and early September 1704 on three different vessels.

The last date is the final time Nunes appears on shipping lists.³ It would appear that many of the goods in his inventory were part of these recent imports. Nunes seemingly died quite suddenly, possibly the result of small pox (see the introduction to the preceding inventory of Samuel Judah). His will seems made in haste. In it, mention is made of a brother, Samuel Nunes, who received his entire estate, but there is no reference to his other brother, Abraham. Nunes's inventory is heavily weighted with an assortment of fabrics and some interesting references, such as forty-two dozen "Jews Harps." Used extensively in trade with the Native American population, they were known as "twangers." Clothing listed is that of a "blissful" bachelor, such as a cloth coat, a pair of plush breeches, and a morning gown. The last part of the inventory seems related to his personal property and would fit in a rather small room in a small house. One bed and one tankard are perhaps testimony to a brief and lonely stay in New York.

2. Leo Hershkowitz, ed., *Wills of Early New York Jews (1704-1799)* (New York, 1967), 1, 2; David De Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682-1831* (New York, 1952), 188-89.

3. Julius M. Bloch, Leo Hershkowitz, et al., eds., *An Account of Her Majesty's Revenue for the Province of New York, 1701-1709* (Ridgewood, 1966) 9, 10, 21, 67, 76, 82, 93, 104, 132, 134, 135; Pool, *Portraits*, 190.

*

Inventory and Apprisement of ye Estate of Joseph Nunes taken at ye desire of Mr. Paul Droillet, & Mr. Lewis Gomes his Executors in New York this [?] day of [?]

7 pcs brown Oznabrigs qty				
[quantity] 315 Ells at				
16s pr ell		£ 21	0	0
10 pcs Dowlas	50s pcs	25	0	0
15 pcs blue Oznabrigs, qty 398:2				
yds at	13 s pr yd	19	18	6
4 pcs double Garlix £3 pr pcs		12		
1 pc ditto: 3/4		3		
1 pcs ditto: Fine		3	10	
5 pcs. cambray 40s. pr pcs		10		
11 pcs. Musleen 26 yds pcs £4 pr pcs	44			
8 1/2 pcs with a Remainder	£4 5s pr pcs	36	2	6
17 pcs printed Calico yd. 10s pcs		8	10	
3 Kendal Cottons	10s pr pcs	4	10	
14 pcs lead colored Calico	30s pcs	30	12	
30 pcs blue ditto	10s. pcs	15		
21 pcs sad Colored ditto	15s pcs	15	15	
4 pcs East Indian Silk 50 pcs	10			
24 Small Remainders of white Calico	2	8		
3 doz. Pr. Threed Stockins for Children @18s		2	14	
11 doz. Playing Cards	3s:6ps pcs pr. doz	1	18	6
11 Gr(oss). Pewter Buttons	2:6d pcs	1	7	
2 Packets of Rings		5	8	
a small box of Ear Rings		6		
a Bagg of Small Bits		1	10	
1 Otter Skin		5	6	
1 old Muff & peruke		1	9	
a Bundle of Womens apparel		1	10	
an old Coat & small parcel of cocoa			3	
44 pcs of printed Calico	at 20s pcs.	44		
7 pieces stript Musleen 15 yds	£4:5 pcs	29	15	
5 pcs plain ditto		4	20	
3 pcs. ditto Thin 13 yes		3	9	
9 pcs Romals	35s pcs	15	5	
2 pcs printed Calico's light Coloured		2		
34 yds Persian Silk	4s pr yd	4	16	
7 pcs Kentings	18s pcs.	6	6	
2 pcs Cambrick	40s pcs.	4		
4 pcs & 1/2 East India Silk	50s pcs	11	5	

14 pcs pauncnes East India Silk	20s pcs	14		
2 pcs ditto 7 yd Each broad	25s pcs.	2	10	
13 yds 1/2 Striped Silk	5s yrd	3	7	6
3 pcs. double Paunches	40s pcs	6		
		<hr/>		
		£451	10	9
Brought over		£451	10	9
1 pc white & green Hawkins			18	
3 pcs fine Garlix	£3:10s pcs	10	10	
12 pcs printed calico	24s pcs	14	8	
30 pcs ditto	10s do	15		
4 pcss broad Garlix	£3/ pcs	12		
2 pcs ditto 3/4	50s	5		
5 m Nails at 6s per m [thousand]		1	10	
42 doz Jews Harps	12s per doz	2	2	
1 lb & 7/8 fine Threed	@12s per lb.	1	3	
1/2 lb & a reaminder of whited brown threed			3	
2 1/2 pcs broad Ribon blue & green		1	16	
4 pcs narrow ditto	10s pcs	2		
2 pcs feritting			10	
8 Gr[oss] Pewter buttons	5s Gr.	2		
6 Gr[oss] Small ditto	2s Gr.		15	
3 Tobacco Boxes			1	
6 doz. Sissers	3s doz.		18	
1 lb Cinnamon or thereabouts			15	
5 Hatts		4	10	
25 lbs of Silk	30s pr lb.	37	20	
17 pcs broad Coloured Calico	36s pr lb.	31	12	
18 dito Narrow	10s.	9		
6 dito Brown	15s	4	10	
17 Remainders of Rotten Calico			17	
2 yds Estemain			13	6
1 pcs Candle Cotton		1	10	
13 doz knives	3:6s ps doz.	2	5	6
2 doz penknives	9s doz		18	
7 prs Rotten Gloves		0	0	
4 Barll Sugar abt 6:wt = Nette	35s p. wt.	10	10	
29 Bars of Iron abt. 6:7:3	@ 28s per wt.	10	17	
1 Gun, Sword & Cane		3		
In Cash beside two bad Dollars		15	13	5
1 Gold Ring wt 3c.			18	

2 Watch		6		
6 Silver Spoons & 2 Forks		6		
14 Shirts	8s pcs	5	12	
1 Cloth Coat			18	
1 pr. Plush Breeches & 1 pr Tickens ditto		1	14	
3 Wastcoats but one of them not made up		1	5	
5 pr old Threed Stockins			2	10 ¹ / ₂
1 pr old Wosted Stockins			1	6
4 Small Remainders of Calico			1	6
3 Pillow Cases			9	
12 Neckcloths	3:6d per pcs	2	2	
		£680	10	¹ / ₂
Brought over		£680	10	¹ / ₂
2 pr. old foot socks				9
1 Checkered & 1 Calico Napkin			4	
1 Morning Gown & 1 pr. S[leves]?			18	6
4 oz. Silver Thread	10s pr oz	2		
6 doz Small white threed buttons			3	
6 small Equinoctial Dials			2	3
2 Pewter Dishes			6	
13 plates			16	6
3 Porringers			2	3
1 Tankard & Salt Celler			2	3
A Bed Bedstead & Curtains		2	2	
3 Gimblets & a Marking Iron			3	6
1 pr old money Scales			6	9
1 Spanish Bible			3	
1 small Delph Plate				4 ¹ / ₂
1 pr Small Andirons			4	6
1 Spit old Bellows & Warming pan			11	
4 Iron Pots & Pot Chain			16	6
1 Gridiron & 2 old Candlesticks			4	6
1 Kettle			12	
1 Skellet with a Cover			2	6
1 Small Handsaw			1	1 ¹ / ₂
3 doz. & ¹ / ₂ Glass Bottles			10	6
2 Drinking Glasses			1	
1 Small old Shovel				9
a small Case with 10 Bottles			10	
2 Tables one being for a Screttoire			6	
2 Frying pans & ¹ / ₂ lb. of Lead			6	11

2 pr. of Sheets	at 16s pcs.	1	12
11 Napkins	20 pcs	1	2
2 Old Trunks & a Cabinet			16
			6
		£695	18 11 ¹ / ₂

Jeremiah Tothill)

) sworn assessors

Will. Anderson)

New York, Octr. 8th 1705⁴

Paul Droillett and Lewis Gomes Exec. Of Joseph Nunes dec'd were sworn to the above written Inventory.

Coram me [Signed] Cornbury

Inventory & Apprisement of ye Estate of Joseph Nunes dec'd 1705

4. Jeremiah Tothill served, among other positions, as an Assistant Alderman, William Anderson was City Treasurer, and Paul Droillet was an Assistant Alderman; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675-1776*, 8 vols. (New York, 1905), II, 176, 240, 308. Luis Gomez (d. 1740), one of New York's most important merchants, had a long and varied career; see Hershkowitz, *Wills*, 62-63.

ISAAC RODRIQUEZ MARQUES (1708)

This merchant drew his will in New York City on October 17, 1706 in preparation for a voyage to Jamaica, and his inventory was appraised on January 19, 1707/8. Marques seemingly never completed his Jamaica trip and probably died in New York shortly before the appraisal, but there is no specific record of death or burial.¹ Although custom records for this period do not mention any Jamaica voyage made by him, they do indicate his considerable involvement earlier in that island's trade. For the period of October 25, 1704 to March 25, 1705, several imports were recorded, one on February 26, 1705 aboard the *William*, and two on the *Rachel* on March 13 and March 17, 1705. Marques was an important part of a considerable Jewish involvement in the Jamaica trade. From February through March 1705 there are sixteen entries of imports from that island, seven of which involved three Jewish merchants, Isaac Marques, Abraham De Lucena,

1. Leo Hershkowitz, ed., *Wills of Early New York Jews (1704-1799)* (New York, 1967), 8-10.

and Mordecai Gomez. In total, there are twenty-one entries, including those of Jacob De Porto, who imported from Rhode Island.²

In 1693, an Isaac Rodriquez, born in 1670, married Rachel Bernal in Amsterdam. The records indicate that Isaac came from Bordeaux.³ It is presumed that this reference is to Isaac Rodriquez Marques. He became a resident of New York as early as 1695, when he was made denizen, basically a citizen, of the province. He lived on Queen Street (now Pearl Street), purchasing property there in 1705. In 1695, he paid tax on real estate valued at £20; nine months later it was worth £100. Along with many other New Yorkers in the following year, he signed an oath in support of William III. Interestingly, in June 1723, along with co-religionists Joseph Simson, Abraham Isaacs, David Elias, Jacob Hays, and Solomon Myers Cohen, Isaac Raphael Marques, possibly a relative (but little is known of him), petitioned the New York Assembly to be naturalized (non-Jews did too, including printer John Peter Zenger). Their petition received Governor William Burnet's approval on July 6, 1723.⁴

In 1697 and 1701, Marques was accused of altering weigh-house books, although a *nolle posequie* was entered on both occasions.⁵ He was quite litigious. In *Marques v. Solomon Jesuron* (1703), he won a civil suit. In *Marques v. (Moses) Levi* (1701), he appears to have lost an

2. Julius M. Bloch, Leo Hershkowitz, et al., eds., *An Account of Her Majesty's Revenue for the Province of New York, 1701–1709* (Ridgewood, 1966), 130. For other Marques entries, see 8, 9, 10, 15, and *passim*.

3. Dave Verdooner and Harmen Snel, *Jewish Marriage in Amsterdam*, 2 vols. (S'Gravenhage, 1990), I, 58.

4. David De Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831* (New York, 1952), 460–61; New York Historical Society's Collections, *New York Tax Lists 1695–1699* (New York, 1912), I, 25, 84; *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New-York Began the 9th Day of April, 1691 and Ended the 27th Day of September 1743* (Albany, 1861), 501, 502, 506; *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New-York Began the 9th Day of April, 1691; and Ended the 27th Day of September, 1743* (New York, 1764), 491, 492, 493, 495, and 542 for Abraham Rodriques Rivera. On November 7, 1737, Isaac Raphael Rodriques, possibly related to the decedent, petitioned the Assembly to be included in the pending naturalization bill. This was passed by December. Abraham Myers Cohen was also on the list; *ibid.*, 722, 729. Perhaps Cohen was the son of Emanuel Myers Cohen; Joseph R. Rosenbloom, *A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews* (Lexington, 1960), 21. Among Jews who signed this petition were Joseph Bueno, Moses Levy (in Hebrew), Jacob Solomons, David Valentine, and Wolf, perhaps the son of Isaac. Wallace Gandy, *The Association Oath Rolls of the British Plantations, A.D. 1696* (London, 1922), 37, 41, 47.

5. Paul H. Hamlin and Charles Baker, eds., *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691–1704*, 3 vols. (New York, 1959), I, 173, II, 57, 342.

assault case.⁶ In *Marques v. Nunes* (1701), the defendant pleaded non assumpsit. In 1706, he was indicted in the Supreme Court for “taking away the hatt of John Burrow.” He confessed to the charge and was fined fifteen shillings and fees. (Nothing further can be found about this curious incident.)⁷ Samson Menas of London accused Marques of delivering a short-weighted consignment of beads aboard the ship *Providence*. The beads were to have weighed 50 lbs., 8 oz., but came to only 33 lbs., 9 oz. Whether the complaint was satisfied is not known.⁸ Finally, there were several unsubstantiated complaints of fraud against him, which the Attorney General refused to prosecute.⁹

Marques’s wife moved to Barbados after his death and married Moses Peixotto. She sold her share of the Queen Street house in 1719 for £150. Other business activities included his purchase of the ship *Dolphin*, which he sold to Abraham DeLucena, his brother, Jacob of New York, and two London merchants in 1701. This ship had been used in a voyage from New York to Guinea to Barbados, where three slaves were taken aboard before returning to New York in 1700.¹⁰

His short inventory contains a few household goods and four slaves, one of whom was an Indian, a not uncommon source of labor. It also lists accounts of his various trade connections, largely with the West Indies. Those indebted to him included William Bradford, New York’s first printer. Robert Lurting, one of the appraisers, was an important official and a mayor of the city. There are no specifically Jewish religious items listed in his inventory.

6. *Ibid.*, II, 45, 50, 63, 66, 67, 155, 157, 164, 171.

7. New York County Clerk’s Office, New York City, Minute Book of the New York Supreme Court of Judicature 1704–09, 108; Hamlin and Baker, *Supreme Court*, II, 43, 51. See also Julius Goebel and T. Raymond Naughton, *Law Enforcement in Colonial New York* (New York, 1944), 341, 368.

8. New York City Register’s Office, Conveyance Liber 23, 187–89; Conveyance Liber 28, 492–98.

9. Douglas Greenberg, *Crime and Law Enforcement in the Colony of New York, 1691–1776* (Ithaca, 1974), 112, 113.

10. Conveyance Liber 23, 291–93; Pool, *Portraits*, 460–61.

*

City of New York

An inventory of all and Singular the goods chattels and credits of Isaac Rodriques Marques late of the city of New York merchant deceased taken and part thereof appraised on January the 19th day, 1707 [1708]. Exhibited by Rachell the Widow relict and Executrix of the said decd the eighth day of April anno. 1708

As followith vizt

One negro man called Peter			£45	0	0
One indian man called Philip			30	0	0
One negro woman called Hannah			20		
One negro maid called Sarah			35		
Eight hhds, one tierce					
tobacco wt	33 lb at	20s per lb.	33		
Two copper Stills and worms			30		
Two remnants flowrd silk at	22 1/2 yds	5s	5	12	6
One pss, Cinnamon cloath	20 per yd.	14s	14		
Two ps Canvas at	56 yds	2s	5	12	
One remnant of colourd Silk at	21 yd	3s	3	3	
Two bed ticks			3	10	
Two buccaneer guns			3		
One iron plate			1		
One small beam scales & 5 lb. of weights			8		
One chest of drawers table and stands			10		
One half doz. kane chairs & one elbow chair			9	15	
One Scritore			3		
One small ovall table				9	
One feather bed bolster, two pillows, three blankets, one quilt, one pair sheets & pillowboars, curtains & bedsted			10		
One large ovall table			1	10	
One small box drawers & dressing box				13	6
One large looking glass			3		
			£275	5	

Appraised as mentioned above by order from his Execel[ence] of Dembr the 30th, 1707 in all amountingto two hundred seventy five pounds five shills.

[signed] Robt. Lurting

Will Anderson
Abrm. Delucena

Cash in gold and silver part whereof is sent

to Barbados & the remainder in possession of the Executrix amounts to	£624	17	4 1/2
Dwelling house in Queens Street in New York computed to be	600		
Wrought plate sent to Barbados at 8s per oz. qt. 250 oz.	100		
Suggar unsold one lb wt.	3		
Shipt on board the brigentine Elias James Manny Mast. For Jamaica and consigned to Senr. Aaron Lamego There 8/2 barrells flour qt. 14 [?]-26 bbls Nett at 18s 6d per bbl as per invoice	13	3	3
Shipt on board the M[?] Jamaica & consigned to Sen. Aaron Lamego there whole costs & charges of the flower	13	7	6
Shipt on severall vessels a severall times for Jamaica and consigned to ditto there to pay one hundred thirty seven barrells and six firkins butter with charges amount to	321	19	1
Shipt and consigned to ditto three 24/2 barrells & six firkins butter amounting with charges as per invoice	52	15	6
Shipt on a voyager to Corraco & consigned to Senr. Solomon Levy Maduro three barrells brisket with charges as per invoice	8	6	9 3/4
Shipt for Nevis & consigned to Senr. Issac Pinero 20 barrells which with costs and charges as per invoice is	35		9
	<hr/> £2047	15	3

New York Anno Domini 1708

An account or inventory of the Credits of Isaac Rodriques Marques descd which
has come to the knowledge of Rachell his widow Relict and Executrix this eighth
day of April Anno Domini 1708

Due from Mr. Charles Gandy & Company of

Jamaica on a bill of Exchange of £83 5s
current money there in New York money

£99 18

Due from Senr. Lamego of Jamaica my
account Current on amount of Sales
of the Sloop Isaac value there in £600 in
New York money

20

Due from Sundry persons in Jamaica in all is in New York money	60		
Due from Capt. Trimmingham of Bermuda on account	50		
Due from Mr. William Bradford on bond of £110 payable the 11 th March 1703/4	40		
Due from Mr. Elias Boudinot on bond payable the 29 th March 1706 with interest and other charges	134	10	
Due from Mr. William Berkley on bond payable Feb. 25, 1707	75		
Due from Mr. Benjamin Aske on bond £55 payable April 22, 1707	20	3	9
Due from Mr. Van Bengen of Albany on account	15	2	
Due from Tongrelou on accot of prizes	70		
Due from Mr. David Lyell on account of Sundreys Sold him as the vendue	7	1	2
Due from Mr. Robt. Lurting on ditto account	15	11	1 1/2
From ditto for a Cable wt 3:3:2 lb at 38s 3d in	7	4	1 1/2
Due from Mr. Joseph Hardenbrook as pr. bill rendered him on account as vendue	43		
Due from Mr. Joseph Isaacs as per bill	1	6	11
Due from Mr. Aaron Lamego of Jamaica merchant for five drys? Vizt To balance his account current sent to me by the Sloop Isaac Capt. James Manney 1706/7 March 20 to Cash received from Curracoa of Mrs. Solomon Levy Meduro on her husband's acc pr 163 pcs. of eight & 2 realls as pr advise is	85	3	8
To ditto in another account for not produce of 11 boxes of Candles	40	16	3
To difference of money at 20 percent of 144 £15 8 s is	18	15	9
	29		
	<hr/>		
Credits amount to	£1532	12	9
Brought over from the other side	2047	15	3 1/4
	<hr/>		
	£3580	8	1/4

A list of debts due from the Estate of said desd Isaac Rodriques Marques as at present this eighth day of April 1708 they are known to the said Executrix

Due to Robt. Lurting on Sundry accounts	£20		
Due to Senr. Phineas Gomez of London mercht on account	40		
Due to Diego Lewis Gonsales to balance his account rendered in	4	7	8
Due to my mother in law Mrs. Rachel Marques her legacy	50		
Due another legacy to her mother in law to buy a negro woman	45		
Due to Joseph Hondrens(?) of London	10		
	<hr/>		
[signed] Rahel Marques	£ 169	7	8

Extum sunt humoi inventar Octavo die monis aprilis Anno Domeni miltimo septingestemo octavo pr Davidem Jamison Pesomi & Executrix for vero [missing] inventrie er probostoere Ianen decollend[?]

Then appeared before me Edward Viscount Cornbury & Rachel Marques & made oath that the above is a true & perfect Inventory of all Goods and Chattels & Credits of Isaac Rodriques Marques desd wt came to her knowledge or possession or to the knowledge & possession of any other for her account.

[signed] Cornbury

[cover] Inventory Isaac Rodriques Marques Exhibited by Rachell his widow & Executrix this day of April 1708.

ESTHER (HESTER) BROWN
(PARDO)¹ (1708)

Little is known of the decedent, aside from a reference in a shipping record for March 22, 1708, when she imported twenty-five gallons of rum from St. Thomas aboard the sloop *Flying Horse*, James Manny, master, and paid a duty of 8s., 4d.² She was the wife of Saul Pardo (Brown) who died in 1702, reportedly the first known hazan in New York. He is in the tax lists for 1695–1697, South Ward, with house and estate valued at £150, and thus a member of the middle class.

The couple who resided in the South Ward had six children, four of whom were alive in 1708; two, Joseph and Sarah, had died previously in 1690. Saul Brown was a merchant, dealing, as did most, in general merchandise. After her husband's death, Esther (Hester) continued his business, as is evident from the contents of her inventory. It was a step not unusual for colonial women. She was sued as executrix of her husband's estate in 1704.³

In her will dated May 20, 1708, witnessed by Joseph Bueno, Abraham De Lucena, Nathan Simson, and Mordecai Gomez, all of them Jewish merchants and recently-arrived New Yorkers, she named her daughter, Abigail Brown, as executrix. The estate was divided equally among her four children, Josiah, Abigail, Sarah and Simha. Josiah (or Josias) Brown was born in New York on September 22, 1694; the dates of birth of the other children are not known, but it can be assumed Esther Brown was about forty or forty-five at the time of her death. Since the rum mentioned above was imported in March 1708 and she died two months later, her death may have been sudden.⁴

1. Brown may have been a translation of the Spanish word pardo meaning grey, but now brown. See David De Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831* (New York, 1952), 443; Paula E. Hyman and Deborah Dash Moore, eds., *Jewish Women in America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1997), I, 267.

2. Julius M. Bloch, Leo Hershkowitz, et al., eds., *An Account of Her Majesty's Revenue for the Province of New York, 1701–1709* (Ridgewood, 1966), 253.

3. Pool, *Portraits*, 443–48. For other references to Saul Brown, see Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew*, 3 vols. (Detroit, 1970), I, 285, 307, and passim; New York Historical Society's Collections, *New York Tax Lists 1695–1699* (New York, 1912), II, 29, 146, 183.

4. Leo Hershkowitz, ed., *Wills of Early New York Jews (1704–1799)* (New York, 1967), 11–12. Colonials used the Julian calendar with March 25 as New Year's Day, March then being the first month of the year. Consequently, dates like March 1707/8 indicate it was March of the following year, 1708, not 1707.

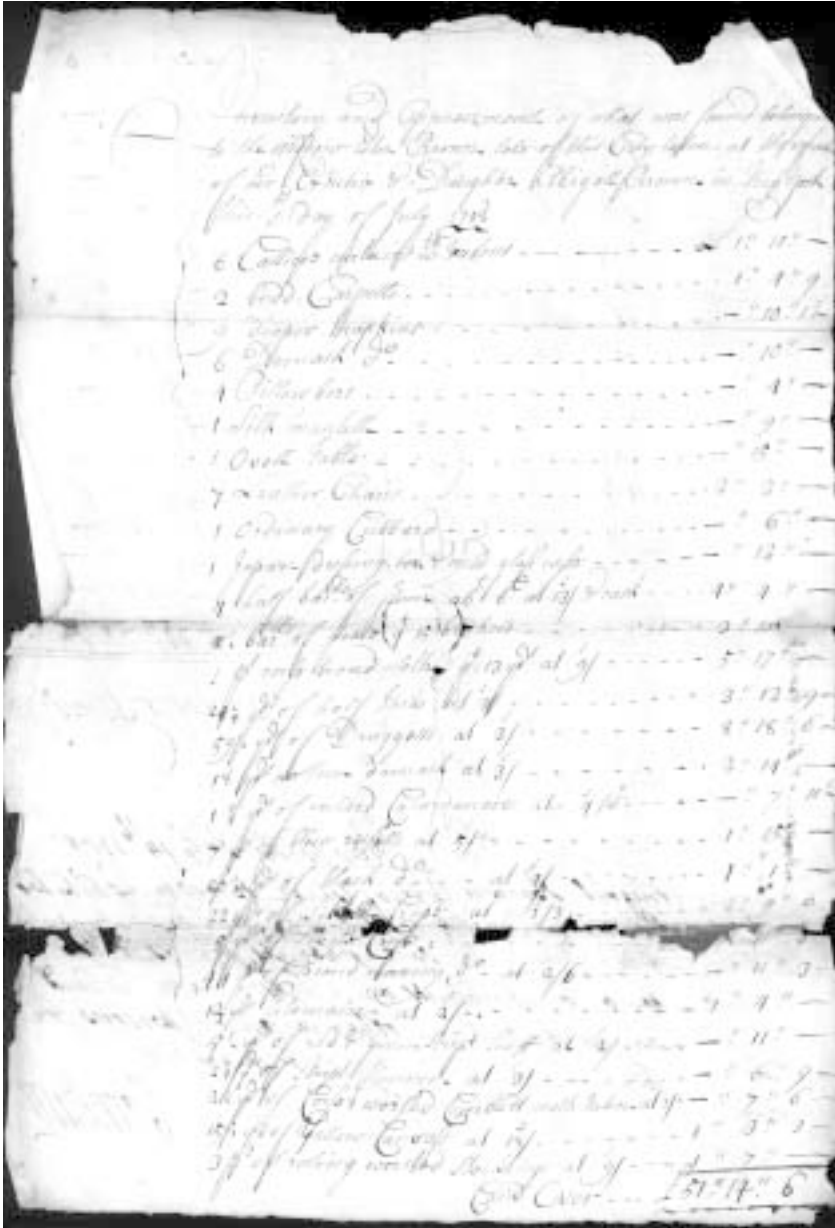


Fig. 4. First page of Esther Brown's inventory. Library of the American Jewish Historical Society.

*

Inventory and Appraizement of what was found belonging to the Widdow Ester Brown late of this City taken at the request of her Executrix and Daughter, Abigail Brown in New York this 1st day of July 1708.

6 Callicoe Curtains w[i]th Valens	£1	10s	
2 Brdd Carpetts	1	4	9
9 diaper Napkins		10	1 1/2
6 Damask Do		10	
4 Pillowbers		4	
1 Silk Mantell		9	
1 Ovall Table		15	
7 Leather Chairs	2	2	
1 Ordinary Cubbard		6	
1 Japan dressing box and ould glass casse		12	
4 half barr[e]ls of flower abt. 6 [hundred] wt. 13 per cask	4	4	
2 barr[e]ls of pease qt 15 bushels	3	10	
1 ps. corse broadcloth qt 13 yds at 9s/	5	17	
24 yds. of half Thiks at 3s/	3	12	9
59 yds. of Druggetts at 3s/	8	18	6
18 yds. Wollen damask at 3s/	2	14	
1 yds. of culard Calamancoe at 4s/6d.		7	10
7 yds. of blew rusells at 5s/	1	15	
20 1/2 yds. of black do at 4s/	4	1	
22 yds. of Silk Crape at 2s/3	2	9	6
5 yds. of single Crape			
4 yds. of Second mo[u]rning do at 2s/6		11	3
12 yds. Eitemain at 2s/	1	4	
5 yds. of red & green Stript Shiff [chiffon?]		11	
2 1/4 yds. of stript flannel at 3s/		6	9
2 yds. of Corse worsted Camblett, moth eaten at 3s/		7	6
15 yds. Yallow Canvass at 18s/	1	3	3
3 pr. of roling worsted Stockings at 9s/	1	7	
		<hr/>	
Carr'd Over	£51	14s	6d
Brought Over	£51	14s	6d
4 pr. of Short Stockings at 6/	1	4	
4 pr. of course woman's Stockings at 4s/		16	
3/1 of yd. of blew & calard Thread		3	
5 pr. of ordinary Sheep Skin gloves		5	

19 ps. of Ribon qt 225 yds	8	8	9
1 Quire of Writing paper		1	6
1 parcell Tinnware	3		6
15 lbs. All spice	£	16	10 ¹ / ₂
A parcell old fashon thread buttons		3s	
2 lbs. of Whale bone		3	
20 Gallons fine Anniseed water	5		
15 Gallons do made here	2	12	6
9 Gallons of Orrange Water at 4s/	1	16	
2 Gallons Angelicos water		8	
5 Gallons of Rum at 3s/		15	
		<hr/>	
	£77	7s	7 ¹ / ₂ d
[signed] Lancaster Symes	App[raisers]		
Wm Chambers			

New York July 14th, 1708 Abigail Brown Ex[ecutor] of Esther Brown Exhibited the above written Inventory for a true Inventory of the Estate of the said Esther Brown as far as it had come to her hands or possession or to the hands or possession of any of the other person or persons for her

[signed] Jurat Coram me (Sworn before me)
Cornbury⁵

[On cover] Inventory of Esther Browns Estate
Recorded 1708

5. Capt. Lancaster Symes was a merchant and Assessor in the Dock Ward, New York City; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675-1776*, 8 vols. (New York, 1905), II, 201. William Chambers was Surveyor or Gauger of the Excise; Bloch and Hershkowitz, *Account of Her Majesty's Revenue*, 116, 119, and passim. Governor Edward Hyde Cornbury (1661-1723) arrived in New York in 1702 and after a difficult term was recalled in 1708; see *Dictionary of American Biography*.

JOSEPH BUENO DE MESQUITA
(1708–1710)

This is a remarkable inventory, one that, like the career of this productive individual, deserves careful study. Joseph Bueno's origins are not certain. He seems to have been born in St. Jean de Luz in 1611, a town on the French-Spanish border, or at least to have resided there before coming to New York in or about 1680. He is listed in Asser Levy's inventory as a debtor. He may have been a relative of the Jacob Bueno De Mesquita who was born in 1615 and appointed *parnas* (president) of Amsterdam's Portuguese Synagogue in 1660. Joseph Bueno married Rachel (Dovale) Bueno in 1641 in Amsterdam and appears in its synagogue records, as do Abraham Curiel Bueno and Moses Alveras Bueno. His mother was Sara Bueno of Amsterdam.¹ His relationship with Benjamin Bueno De Mesquita who died and was buried in New York in 1683 is not known.

In 1682, Joseph Bueno purchased or leased a small plot of ground from William and Margery Merrit which was to be used as a "Jew Burying Place". The property, some 52' by 50', perhaps became part of the larger Shearith Israel cemetery on Walter Jonas Judah Street that is still in existence.²

1. See Gemeente Archief, Amsterdam, Notarial Archief, 334, fol. 19, 20, 21, 151, 152, 155, Livro dos Eleicoems do K. K. de T. T. Finatas e Reparticoems; and Notarial Archief, 334, fol. 156, Register van namen van *parnassim*. . . en andere functionarissen 1639–1744. These records in Portuguese and Hebrew have not been translated. See also W.C. Pieterse, *Inventaris Van De Archieven Der Portugees Israelistische Gemeente Te Amsterdam 1614–1870* (Amsterdam, 1964), 80. The De Mesquita or Meskite in the inventory is an odd reference. It is an old term for mosque. Was this because of a Bueno-Arab relationship? Perhaps it refers to the Mosquito coast of Honduras and Nicaragua and a Bueno Caribbean connection. Was he related to Joseph Bueno of Barbados who was endenized in England on October 2, 1662? See W. S. Samuel, "A List of Jewish Persons Endenized and Naturalized 1609–1799," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 22 (1970): 114. A certain answer is, as of now, unknown. In 1645, other Bueno marriages were recorded for Joseph Bueno and Simcha Vivas Bueno, and for Ruiz Gomes Fronteradon and Simcha Bueno; Dave Verdooner and Harmen Snel, *Jewish Marriage in Amsterdam*, 2 vols. (S'Gravenhage, 1990), I, 34, 35, 57.

2. David De Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831* (New York, 1952), 10–11; Verdooner and Snel, *Jewish Marriage*, I, 34. It is not clear just where the 1682 ground was located. The 1683 Benjamin Bueno stone in the present cemetery does not mark the place of burial; the stone was probably moved in the middle of the eighteenth century. The present Bet Haim (cemetery) is much smaller than the original. Pool, however, agrees only in part with this summary; Pool, *Portraits*, 23. St. James Place fronting the cemetery was renamed in honor of Walter Jonas Judah, a medical student who died during the yellow fever epidemic of 1798 while serving his fellow-citizens.

Like most of his compatriots, Bueno was a merchant—and very successful at his vocation. On February 8, 1683, along with Asher Michells and Abraham De Sosa Mendes, he was given freeman rights and thereby licensed to trade in New York City.³ In 1685, a bill of lading was made out for goods shipped by Thomas Wenham, Joseph Bueno & Co. onboard the *Susanna* of London, Thomas Hill, master, bound for Suriname. Bueno furnished powder and supplies to fusiliers at Albany during King William's War (1689–1697). In May 1694, he was a one-third owner of the brigantine *Rebecca*, which had been chased back into New York by a French privateer. Bueno sought permission to allow the vessel to complete the voyage to St. Thomas. This seems to have been granted.⁴

Bueno conducted an extensive trade in all manner of goods. In March 1701, he imported a cargo of fabric from London aboard the ship *Helena*. Aboard the sloop *Mary*, which he probably owned, he imported sugar and rum from Barbados on April 24, 1701. In 1702, three vessels, the *Elizabeth*, the *Bonita*, and the *Hopefor*, brought in cargoes of dry goods, rum, and 150 paper fans. Bueno had cargo on the *Anne* and the *Rachell* in 1703, while the *Mary*, the *Blackthorne*, the *William and Thomas*, and the *New York* were used to import goods in 1704. In the following year, an especially busy one, on three different occasions the sloop *Mary*, the sloop *Anne*, the *Mary and Sarah*, and the *Jacob* brought cargoes to or from New York. On June 8, 1705, the *Mary*, sailing for London, carried (among other cargo) the skins of eighty-six fox, fifteen [wild?] cats, fifteen raccoon, nine mink, and 1064 pounds of elk. He also sent two tons of logwood and four wolf hides.

The extent of Bueno's trade has never fully been traced, but it was enough to make him one of the wealthiest men in New York.⁵ Extant tax

3. Paul H. Hamlin and Charles Baker, *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691–1704*, 3 vols. (New York, 1959), II, 43, 50, 52, III, 214; Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany* (New York, 1866), II, 154; David T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York* (New York, 1858), 594. On November 7, 1685, Bueno was given a bill for £10. 4s. 4d. by George Lockhart, surgeon, drawn by Lockhart on George Anthill merchant. This was not paid, and Bueno bought suit for that sum plus £2 damages; County Clerk's Office, New York City, *Bueno v. Lockhart*.

4. O'Callaghan, *Calendar*, II, 240; Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew*, 3 vols. (Detroit, 1970), II, 707. In 1700, Bueno witnessed an indenture of two Indians, a boy and a woman; see New York Historical Society's Collections, *Burghers and Freemen* (New York, 1886), 586–87.

5. Julius M. Bloch, Leo Hershkowitz, et al., eds., *An Account of Her Majesty's Revenue for the Province of New York, 1701–1709* (Ridgewood, 1966), 3, 8, 34, 55, 76, 104, 113, 121, 123, 131, 132, 134, 167, 168.

records are testimony to his success. In 1695, he was taxed on property valued at £20. By 1698, he resided in the West Ward and had an estate assessed at £220. He also had property in the Bowery Division of the city, valued at £40. He was listed in the South Ward in 1695, 1696, and 1697, with his taxable estate valued almost constantly around £150, although in one instance it rose to £250. In comparison, only the very wealthy had estates of such value, including John Rodman (1698) £350, Nicolas Stuyvesant (1698) £260, Samuel Bayard (1698) £250, and Nicolas Bayard (1698) £650. An average would be about £40. No other Jewish merchant at the time did as well as Bueno.⁶ However, existing records do not provide documentation for Bueno's real property holdings. Seemingly, no deeds are extant.

His economic position also brought political power, but some problems, too. In September 1704, Bueno's sloop *Mary*, Hugh Conrad, master, entered New York from Rhode Island. In an angry letter written by Governor Edward Cornbury to the Lords of Trade in London, the governor recounted an unusual story. Conrad had sailed to New York citing a need for repairs. He unloaded a cargo of cocoa intended for London, but instead of placing the merchandise in the New York Customs House, he had, with the agreement of Thomas Byerley, Receiver General, Chief Customs Agent and Port Collector, sent the cocoa to the warehouse of "one Joseph Bueno, a Jew, a particular friend of his [Byerley] and the merchant finding that cocoa bore but a low price in England, would never have troubled himself to ship it off, had not Mr. [Peter] Fauconnier (a commissioner in the Customs Office) inquired into that matter and obliged the Jew to ship it off, which was done, and the sloop is sailed for Virginia in hopes to get a convoy; but the intention of the Jew appears pretty plain by his offering Mr. Fauconnier fifty pounds to pass it by, but he rejected it with contempt. . . ." This incident reveals something of Bueno's close relationship with at least some government officials, in this case Thomas Byerley, although it is also possible the story was a fabrication. Cornbury, a known gambler whose debts landed him for a time in prison, wanted to have one of his friends, Fauconnier, replace the accused customs official.⁷ Bueno was not tried for bribery. His concern with trade was also apparent on February 19, 1705, when, along with many non-Jewish merchants as well as three coreligionists, Abraham De Lucena, Isaac Marques, and Samuel Levy, he signed a

6. See New York Historical Society's Collections, *New York Tax Lists 1695-1699* (New York, 1912), I, 27, 29, 49, 81; II, 213, 230, 284.

7. Edmund O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, 1856-1887), IV, 1144.

petition to Governor Cornbury asking for passage of an act meant to regulate "Foreign Coin". This was directed primarily against Boston and its use of cheap, debased money.⁸

Bueno seemingly died at the age ninety-seven, sometime between October 20, 1708, when his will was drawn, and November 1, 1708, when it was probated. Luis Gomez, Abraham De Lucena, and the decedent's wife, Rachell (Dovale) Bueno, were named as executors. He bequeathed £600 to his wife, together with all his "household stuff and furniture," as well as jewels, his sloop *Mary*, and all his slaves. His brother, Abraham, his mother-in-law, Rachell Dovale, brother-in-law, Saul Dovale, and his godchild, Asher Campanell, were all given sums of money. Abraham was also given his "Five Books of Moses." The "Poor of the Jewish nation of New York" were given twenty pounds. Money was given to the children of Esther Gabay, his deceased sister who was the wife of Isaac Gabay.⁹

His inventory is an important record of an early eighteenth-century merchant, containing an account of the furnishings of a well-to-do home and an extensive business. Bueno traded heavily in fabrics but also had a wide assortment of other goods, including twenty-five bags of cocoa worth £185. Five slaves, two small boys included, were valued at £135. The bulk of the estate was sold on March 28, 1709 to a large number of fellow merchants, including De Lucena, Luis Gomez, Moses Michell, Rachell Marques, Joseph Isaacs, and Moses Levy, although the latter returned some cocoa as damaged. It would appear that Bueno wore spectacles, in view of their purchase by Gomez. Of particular Jewish interest is the mention of an old Hebrew Bible purchased by Gomez, and the Five Books of Moses and silver ornaments acquired by Isaac Pinheiro for £25/6. These had been given to his brother Abraham Bueno, but, for whatever reason, they went to Pinheiro instead. It is possible that Abraham, then at Nevis in the West Indies, had been informed of the gift and declined it or perhaps was not told of it. The former premise seems more correct. At Pinheiro's death in 1710, the Torah was valued at £150; but what ultimately became of it is not known. It is not mentioned in Pinheiro's will, but it is listed in his inventory.

8. *Ibid.*, 1133-35; Curtis P. Nettles, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies Before 1720* (Madison, 1934), 174-75, *passim*.

9. Leo Hershkowitz, ed., *Wills of Early New York Jews (1704-1799)* (New York, 1967), 15-19.

*

Inventory and appraisment of Several Goods and Chatels of the Estate of Joseph Bueno, decd. Taken at New York the 12 day of Novr., 1708.

1 Sloop [Mary] wt Boom Mast Bolstpritt Ma[1]N Saile Fore Sail Jib & Flying Jib old Square Sail standing & running Rigggen two anchors, 2 half Cables, 2 Iron pots, a marlin Spike hamers Crow & two Gunes with their Carriages £150			
1 Table Clock	6		
1 Larg Looking Glass	5		
1 Larg oval Table of Oak	1	4	
24 Turky work Chaires, two of them being broke & armd cane Chair	11	14	
[line missing]			
25 China Teacups and Saucers		[missing]	
3 Dishes and 6 plats of Dulware [Delftware]		13	6
4 Glases with Babies		15	
1 Glase Case with some Glases & 3 Delfware Flower Pots	1	10	
1 Leather Trunk two Glase Botles & three Glases		15	9
1 Larg Cupboard	2	10	
2 Pr Iron Balls 3 8- ¹ / ₄ oz. at 8/ and the Five Books of Moses wt Ye ornmnts	25	6	
4 Calico Window Curtains		12	
1 Small Bedsted oval Table & 1 pr. of new Shoos		18	
1 Silver hilted Sword	4		
1 Pr. Irons and one pr. Tongs		13	6
1 Scritore and weather Glass	4		
3 be[missing] and oval Table	1	[14]	
1 Silver Cup 19- ¹ / ₈ oz. at 8/	7	13	
1 Branch brass Candlestick	1	10	
9 Matted Chaires		11	3
1 Pr. Small Iron Dogs & old fire Shovell		13	6
1 Feather bed Bolster & 2 pillows wt Calico Curtains cotton Coverlet & Bedsted	10		
11 old Leather Chairs	3	6	
1 Brass Warming pann Chafendish & Lamp	1	2	

10 Pewter Disshes & 4 plats & 4 pozing	7	18	3
1 Sea Chest & Painted shuger Box	1	12	
1 Smal Table & Looking Glass		15	
2 Large and one small Brass kettle	10		
1 Smal Master & Parsell Belmetle	1		
2 Brass Candlesticks & 1 hand Do	1	7	
1 Tin Dreaping pan & two pastry panns, patty panns		7	6
1 Iron potty & Pot Chain and pothanger with a Trivet	1		3
1 Andiron cleaving knife & Chafing Dish	10	6	
1 Washing Tub & two Pales Iron Bown [bound]		11	
1 Negro man called Tom	30		
1 Negro Woman called Lucretia wt two Small boys	60		
1 Negro Girll called Lola	45		
5 Hhds Spanish Tabaco [20 lbs.?)	15		
25 Baggs of Cocoa wt. 37 lb. [a bag at 4.3?]	185		
1 Pack of Beavers 73 wt at 4.3d			
Brought over	15	10	3
1 Bag Aniseed wt 112 at	2	10	
1 Clock	10		
15 pcs. Blew Ozenbrig, 20 yds Each in all 330 yds at 15d	18	15	
5 Ps. Kenting	6		
2 Ps. Double Shinties, 50 yds in all	8	15	
80 Yds white Ozenbrigs	6	1	
5 Pieces of ordin Garlin 125 yd at 3/6	21	17	6
1 Ps of Damaske	3		
10 Pieces Romals & 3 handkerchiefs	15		
[missing]			
[missing]			
13 Yd Bengal		[missing]	
15 Yd Painted Calico in 3 ps.		[missing]	
Some Chin[t]s for petticoat [damnified]	1	6	
12 Pieces Striped Satin 28 yes.	12	12	
2 Ramnets of Ribon abt 15 yds	1	10	
5-3/4 yds. Striped Calico		12	9
1 Leather couch	2		
A parcel of Bone Curtain rings		13	
A parcel of Trumpry Tinware		6	
2 Brass Scales & Beams wt 6 in[ch] wts.	1	10	

1 pr. Mony Scales wt weights		13	
5 Plums Red & White	1		
A parcell of old Fashing [fashioned] Butnes [buttons]	12		
14 yds stript Bengals	2	2	
1 Leather Trunk		[missing]	
20 old [Indian?] pans?]		[missing]	
1 Larg Beam with Scales & 6 half hundred weights	3	10	
		<hr/>	
	£769	13	6
[signed] Lancaster Symes			

Sales of Sundry goods, Wares & Merchandizes at Public Vendue held at the house where Joseph Bueno Lived in by order of Mr. Lewis Gomes & Abraham De Lucena, Executors of the Estate of said Joseph Bueno, sold on condition to pay ready money, New York, March 28, 1709.

2 Gos horne Curtain rings Jno. Crook 2/d		£	15	
18 pr Stokins, C Beeckman 9d			13	
2 pieces Blew Linon 19- ³ / ₄ , 23 is 43 yds				
Wid Grunindike 14- ¹ / ₂ yd		2	11	11- ¹ / ₂
2 ps Do 25, 22 is 47 yds Hadrion Hogland		2	15	9 ³ / ₄
2 ps Blew Ozewnbrig 26 yds Wid. Grunindike 23ds		2	8	7
1 ps Do 27 ¹ / ₂ Had. Hogland 21 ¹ / ₂		2	9	3
1 ps Do 27 ¹ / ₂ John Finch 22 ¹ / ₂		2	11	7
1 ps Do 21 ³ / ₄ C. Beekman 23 ¹ / ₂ yds		1	19	10
1 ps Do 21 ³ / ₄ Had. Hogland 22 ¹ / ₂ yds		2	9 ⁷ / ₉	
2 ps Narrow Blew Linon 25 ¹ / ₂ , 24 ¹ / ₂ is 50 yds, Van Hinborg 15 ¹ / ₂ yds		3	4	7
2 ps Do 19, 23 ¹ / ₄ is 42 ¹ / ₂ John Finch 15 yd		2	13	8 ¹ / ₄
2 ps Do 21 yd, 25 is 46 yd A. Hogland 16yd		3	2	
1 ps Brown Cambrigs 102 ell Vattinborg 19yd		8	1	6
1 ps Do 61 Anth. Veyrank 21yd		5	17	3
1 ps Do 83 ell Do 20yd		6	18	4
1 ps Do 87 ell Wid. Dekey 19 ³ / ₄ yd		7	3	2
2 ps Kenting A. Hogland 30/1 d		3		2

1 ps Damaske	Do Gomes [Luis] 3			
1 ps Bengall 10 yd	Richd Burk	3	1	6
3 1/2 yd Stuf	G. Van Hinborg 3/11		10	6
15 1/2 India cheks	R. Burk 3/4	2	11	6
6 yd Cheridary	Jno Maklaining 2 pc.		13	6
1 ps Romales	Lewis Gomes	1	12	
1 ps Do	G. Van Hinborg	1	12	
2 ps Do	Lewis Gomes 30/	3		
1 3/4 ps Garlix	Gabriel Shell	3	11	
1 ps Do	Lewis Gomes	3	11	
1 ps Do	A. Bekman	3	11	3
1 ps Do	A. Hogland	3	11	
1 ps Do	Jn Finch	3	11	3
6 Feather Tipetts	R. Burk 2/9		16	6
12 Do	Jn Finch 2/11	1	15	
12 Do	Do 2/2d	1	6	
9 Hat Fathers	A. Hogland		4	6
1 pr. Cheks (25 3/4 yds)	Do 4/9d	6	2	3 3/4
1 p Do 26	Do 3/9	4	17	6
5 3/4 Chinch	G. Vanhinborg 6/7	1	17	10 2/3
5 1/2 Do	Do 6/5d	1	15	3 1/3
5 1/2 Do	Lewis Gomes 6	1	10	
2 Hatt Feathers	Ab. De Lucena/8 18d		3	
1 Do	Lewis Gomes	1	6	
4 ps white Ozenbrig 22/19/11/18-3/4	A. Hogland 22d	7	0	1
4 p Striped Ribon	R. Benson 20d		6	8
11 1/2 yd Cullered Do	Do 10d		9	7
1 doz. Glass Botles	Jn. Walter 3d		3	3
1 Brass Smoothing Iron	Jacob Bratt	7	8	
1 Iron Do	Ab. Ketletas	9		
1 Do	Van Vanzante		9	4
1 Pestle & Mortar	Anth. Vryanke		11	3
1 Runell candlestick 1 chest toster	Jacob Bratt		5	9
1 Chafen dish	Jos. Robeson		5	
1 Culinder	Ed. Burling		2	3
1 Salt Seler	Jn. De Peyster		1	7
10 pale Panns	Lewis Gomes		4	
1 pr Tongs & Shovell	D. Benson		3	9
1 Puding pann & 2 graters	P. Brested		2	

1 Dripping pann	Mr. Boyce		3	9
1 Skimer	An. Yong		1	6
1 Candle Box & 1 Funnell	R. Benson		2	6
1 Dripping pann	Jacob Bratt		1	7
1 Iron Kettle 18 1/2 lbs.	Van Vanzante		4	7
1 Pr. Money & scales & weights	R. Benson		12	6
7 pewter plats	Van Vanzante		10	6
1 Brass Scales & 6 lb. Of Brass Wts.	Jn. Hardenbrook	1	4	6
1 pr Andirons	Jacob Bratt		9	3
A Ramell of Bowling Cloath	Jn. Hardenbrook		3	
1 pr. Andirons	Jn. Reade		12	6
1 Looking Glass	Mr. Boyce		10	
	Carried over			
			<hr/>	
		£ 133	12	5
Brought over from the other side		£ 133	12	5
1 Couch	Lewis Gomes	£2	3	
1 Glass Case	Moses Michell		3	
1 pye pann	Wid. Grunindike		2	
1 Table	Moses Michell		17	9
1 Stone Jugge	Gabriell Spring		5	3
4 Pewter Plates	Anth. Vyvanke 20d		6	3
2 Pewter Dishes wt. 19	Moses Michell 21	1	18	
2 Dos wt. 20	Wid. Grunindike at 21	2		
2 Dos 15 1/2	Wm. Vanzante 22		6	9
5 old Dittos 15 1/2	Moses Michell 15d		19	4 1/2
1 pr. Tongs	Edward Burling		2	2
1 kittle 21 1/2	Wm. Vanzante 22 1/2d	1	19	4 1/2
1 Larg Do	Jacob Bratt for	2	8	
1 aq. Capers	Robt. Lurting	4	4	2
1 Spitt	Wm. Vanzante		6	9
3 Glases	Do		1	3
18 Sickles	R. Benson 2 1/2p		3	9
1 Candlestick	Wm. Vanzante		15	4
1 pr. Doggs	Lewis Gomes		9	3
1 Standing Candlestick	Do	1	10	
1 Stew Pann	Ab. De Lucena		15	
1 pint pott	Robt. Lurting		1	

1 Brush	Robt. Benson		1	7
1 pr. Tongs	Lewis Gomes		1	7
1 pr Do	Wm. Davis		3	
1 pr. Shoos	Lewis Gomes		2	9
1 Earthen Wooman Dog	R. Benson		1	6
1 Mug & 1 Ball	Wm. Brace		2	4 1/2
1 Sylabob Glas	Robt. Lurting		2	3
1 pr. Cruets	Do		1	10
1 Botle	Justus Buss		2	3
1 Cruet	Do		10	
1 Botle	Tho. Stenberg			10
1 Cup & 2 Sausers	Do		1	4
3 Earthen Platts	Justus Buss	13d	3	3
2 Dos	Dirik Benson	15d	2	6
2 Dishes	Do	at 4d	4	8
1 Do	Do		3	
1 Do	Do		3	9
3 Earthen Jars	Justus Buss		9	6
A parsell of Bulem & 2 pots	P. Rose		1	18 6
3 Glasses	Wid Grunindike		2	3
3 Screens	Jancke Low		3	1
7 China Cups	Daniell Jandine	2/1	14	7
12 Cups & Sausers	Lewis Gomes		1	4
4 pr. Glasses	Wid. Grunindike		9	
5 Images in Glasses	Lewis Gomes Junr	3/1	15	5
1 pr. Andirons	P. Rose		1	3
1 Silver Hildet [Handled] Sword	Lewis Gomes		2	15
1 Pluch side Sadle & Bridle	D. Jandine		2	5
1 Brass Beson 1/4 lb.	Mrs. Bashan	19d		13
4 Calico Curtains & Valines	D. Jandine		1	7
8 Curtines & Valling	Jn. Reade		1	18
1 Indian Paticoat	Lewis Gomes		10	1
1 Do	Robert Lurting		10	1
1 Do	Moses Michell		9	7
1 Do	Lewis Gomes		9	7
1 Feather Bed boulstere & Bedstead	Robert Lurting		6	11
1 Scretore	Cornelius Low		2	15 9

1 Suit Curtaines	Jn. De Pyster		2	15	
10 Chaires	Justus Busse		3	4	
Kettle 10 wt	Robt. Benson	2/4	1	3	
1 India Peakcoat	Lewis Gomes			11	
			£189	3	1 1/4
Brought over			£189	3	1 1/4
1 old Sadle	Janike Low			3	6
1 old Gunn	Tho. Van Steenberg			11	3
1 Do	Ab. Beekman			13	3
1 Do	G. Van Horn			6	9
1 Do	Ab. Beekman			5	
1 Do	Doctor Moon			11	3
1 Iron Pott 41 lb.	D. Benson	6 lb.	1	6	
1 Chest	Tho. Steenberg			5	
1 Cask Tabaco					
2-0-18 wt	Do	35 [?]	3	15	7
3 Glas Cups	Cor. Low			11	
A parsell of silk	R. Benson			3	4
1 pr. Broken Andirons	Lewis Gomes			5	
1 Iron Pich Pott	Anth Veyvanke			7	
1 Pott Hanger	R. Benson			3	9
1 Do	Wm. Vanzante			6	
1 Do	John Mah Caning			4	6
1 Earthen Pott	Helena Dekey				10
2 old Hammers	R. Lurting				9
50 lb. Powder	R. Do	23 lb.	4	15	
24 tamells & Graters	Lewis Gomes	3d Doz.		6	15
1 Chocolate Stone	Justus Buss			11	
8 Mated Chares	Frenses Benson	8d		5	4
1 Table	H. Wandle			10	9
A parsell of Lace & fringes	R. Benson			10	3
1 Tin Box	H. Wandle			1	11
A Parsell of Iron[?]	Lewis Gomes			18	6
A Parsell of old Iron	Do			10	3
1 Table	Tho. Steenberg		1	2	
6 Turkey Chares	Coll. Ab. De Peyster	11/6	3	9	
6 Dittos	Do	11/3	2	17	
6 Dittos	Ab. Wandle	9/6	£2	17	
1 Looking Glass	Lewis Gomes		8		

1 Bedstead	Wm. Vanzante		17	3
1 Couch	Ab. Wandle		3	2
2 Gunnes & Carreges	Do	2	8	
1 old Patarero	Lewis Gomes		3	
1 pr. Tryangles	Do		10	6
1 Chocolate Stone & Router	Giles Shelly		9	6
23-3-15 old Ropes	Lewis Gomes	5/hund 6	4	6
A parsell of old Blocks	Robert Benson		7	
1 Iron Plate	L. Gomes		6	3
1 pr. Silk 14 yds.	Robt. Lurting	3/9d 4d. 6	16	6
Weather Glass	Col. Ab. De Peyster		7	6
1 old Ensigne & Jak	D. Benson			9
6 Turky Chares	Lewis Gomes	11/3p. 3	17	6
1 Cann Chare	Do		11	3
A Parsell of Logwood	Tho. Stenberg		12	
40 lb. Tobaco	Do	For	13	
1 Cubbard	Lewis Gomes	2	10	
1 Warmin Pann	Rachell Marqus		9	
1 Barrel Anseed 1-0-6	Joseph I[s]aacs	9d lb. 4	8	6
4 hhds/Tobaco				
3-0-19				
3-1-21				
3-0-14 Tare on Each Cask 89 lb				
<u>2-3-27</u>				
12-2-25				
<u>3-0-20 Tare</u>				
9-2-5 Net				
Anth. Rudgers. 35/h ld		£16	14	
	Carried over	£273	2	5 1/4
Brought over		£273	2	5 1/4
at a sail at Mr. Mackaning Jany ye 16-170s				
No. 1 1 Bag cocoa 1-2-21 wt				
Ab. De Lucena 5 lbs. [missing]		£8	8	9
No. 2 1 Do 1-3-9	Do	4 lb. 16 8	15	8
No. 3 1 Do 1-2-3	Sold to Moses Levy but was returned			
22 Bags Do 18-2-27	Ab. De Lucena	5 lb. 93	14	2
10 Bagg Do 15-3-6	Do	3 lb. 19 62	8	6
1 Pack Beavers 74 lb.	John Crugers	3/6 12	19	
1 Barrel Anise seed 1-0-19				

	Benj. Fonuel	9 ³ / ₄	2	10	10
1 Bag dammaged Cocoa returned by Moses Levy after sold 1-1-11	Justus Buss	@12/1d		16	
The following Goods accopted by the Exec[u]tors					
1 pr. Mony scales	Ab. De Lucena			7	
Severall Handishes &					
Chafen dish	Do			10	
1 Iron Trivett	Do			4	6
1 Picture	Do			6	
1 Smal old Carabine	Do			9	
1 pr. Spectacles & Cases	Lewis Gomes			7	3
1 old hebrew Bible	Do			3	
1 Iron Chaendish	Do			3	
14 yds striped silk that was sold Twise & Returned as being very much spotted & stained	Do @ ⁴ / ₆ yd			3	9
The five Books of Moses with the Silver Bell & other Utensells Belonging to the alter was sold by the executors to Isaac Pinheyro					
				25	6
1 Negro Mann Tom	Jn. De Peyster			22	1
1 Black [?]	David Jameson			17	16
1 Do sold for £13: 15 Bal about 3 15	Mr. Regner (Regnier)			10	
No. 1 Bag Cocoa that was formerly sold to	Mr. Levey 29 lb. [?]				6
1 Silver Cup 19 ¹ / ₈ oz.	Lewis Gomes 8/			7	13
				<hr/>	
				£550	15 12

Sold to Mrs. Rachell Bueno

The Sloop Mary Jno. Waldron M[ast]er as by Aprazt	£150	
By Do for one Negro Woman called Lucretia with two Smal Boys	£ 60	
By Do for one Negro Girle named Lola	£45	
	£255	
	<hr/>	
	£805	15 12

Lewis Gomes & Abraham De Lucena, Two of the Executors of ye Testament & Last Will of Joseph Bueno decd, doe Exhibit this Inventory of Goods and Chatel rights and Creditts of the said decd Before his Excy. Coll Robt. Hunter Esq. Cap. Generall & Gouverneur in Chief of New York, etc. for a true Inventory upon Oaths this 19th of February 1710/11.

In manner following and as above

[signed] Luis Gomez
 Abraham De Lucena
 New York ye 19th February 1710

Lewis Gomez and Abraham De Lucena, two of the executors of ye Last Will & Testament of Joseph Bueno Dec'd Exhibited of above written Inventory for a true and perfect Inventory of ye Estate of said Joseph Bueno decd. Soe farr as has proved to their or either of their hands or possession or of hands or possessions of any other person or persons in Trust them or either of them

[signed] Coram
 Ro Hunter

A List of Severall Debts Outstanding Belonging to the Estate of Joseph Bueno Decd. Viz.

Tho. Robert Ball	£33	6	
Wm. Nichols	3	16	3
[Lt.] Govr. [Richard] Ingoldsby	7	4	9
Isaac De Grost	6	16	
Zacharies Anyovyn	18	9	7
Gabriel Thompson	10	1	9
Andrew Brested Cooper	19	11	
Coll. Petter Schuyler	21	18	10
John Hutchins	29	13	7 1/2
Mary Smith	6	16	6
John Wandler	6	10	
Lender Lewis	15	8	8
David Vycett	6	12	
John Finch		3	4
Every Vyvank	1	13	7
Nicholas Eberts	1	19	4 1/2
Abraham Kip	1	7	3

Ab. Wandler	3	18	4 1/2
Augustus Jay	13	13	7 1/2
Otto Van Tuyle	1	4	
Garadus Bekman [Beekman]	6	5	5 1/4
Ariens Fedrike Bloom	1	5	7
Smith or Benj. Philips	8	13	3
Ouziell Van Swilen [Swieten]	18	7	7 1/2
Johanes Van Corteld. [Van Cortlandt]	10	8	4 1/2
Mr. Davis	5	17	6
Ralph Ransford	4	4	4
Henry Lyon	2		
John Harison	1	15	
Eliza Jourdan	3		
[line missing]			
Sarah Smith	9	3	2
Hester Van Durse	7	11	10 1/2
Andrew Law	16	17	
Daniell Doncome	2	3	3
John Crook, secy.	4	1	10
Elishe Parker	8	15	7 3/4
Petter Fauconier		18	
Wm. Carter	3		
Ab. Goveriner	1	18	9
Edward Burling		1	8 1/4
Mr. Blanchards	6		
Samuel Burges	4	2	7 1/2
Hugh Coward	24	2	9
Peter Stryker	2	16	
Tho. Byardly	21	11	1 1/2
Benj. Bell	1	7	
[missing]			
Burger Mynderson	6	15	
James Harden	2	18	
Beverly Lathem	6	3	
Judge Wm. Penhorne	6	4	9
Wm. Glineross [Glencross]	6	9	8
John Gurny	1	16	
Capt. Robt. Walters	33	15	
	£453	10	8 1/2
Brought over	£455	10	8 1/2
Thomas Sanders	2	18	6

Adolph De Grove	2	18	1 1/2
Joseph Isaacs 2-8-3	2	8	3
John Rigton	2	9	5
Wm. Provost	5	12	7 1/2
Wm. Sell	3	10	
Petter Adolph	2	15	
Jacobus Byard	4	15	1 1/2
Wm. Peartree	1	17	
Evert Van de Watter	3	12	3 1/2
Gevithry Corteland [Gertryd Van Cortlandt]	2	6	
Petter de Milt	1	7	6
Roger Britt	2	18	4
Christian Vivos	16	5	2 1/2
Elena Dekey	5	12	
Delea Grunidike [Groendicke]	4	1	3
Grubert Van Hinborg [Gysbert Vaninburgh]	6	10	

£528	18	10
------	----	----

George Emett

12

£540	18	10
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Benj. Granada of Surinam to said estate to

Bal. of his Acct. as per

£160 5

To a cargo Sent in the Pations [Patience?]

Capt. Vark to Surinam cost

£150 £244

To Cash paid Isaac Gabay for his father's

Maintenance

7 16

To a Negro man Cooper

50

To his Bills for 500 ps. of 8

150

All soe Sundry Other Debts which are outstanding this fifteen or twenty years agoe and said persons sposed most of them to be deaths and the Rest Unknown.

[signed]

Luis Gomes

Abraham De Lucena

An accompt of Administration of Lewis Gomes & Ab. De Lucena Exects. of the Last Will & Testament of Joseph Bueno Decd. Exhibited before his Excl. Coll. Robert Hunter Esq. Capt. Generall & Governour in Chief of New York. For a True and Perfect acct. upon oaths this 19th of Februy, 1710. The said Executors charge Themselves With &

By the Produce made by the Vendue as per Capt. Lurtings acct Vendue		£805	15	1 1/4
1709				
May 17	By Cash recd of Ab. De Lucena on Johanes Vandle	10	19	
June 6	By Cash of Do on Thomas Willcocks acct.	6		
July 27	By Lewis Gomes Particular Charge to Gisbert Van Hinborg	3		
Nov. 20	By Cash from Ab. De Lucena on Mr. Van Dams Acct.	1		
Nov. 30	By Cash from Ditto on Capt. Tongerlows acct.	12	12	5
	By Cash from Ditto on Derek Adolph	1	1	
		<hr/>		
		£840	8	1/2
	By Ballce due to the said Executors	72	5	4
		£912	13	
	By Cash paid Capt. [missing] 1708			
	By Do Mordechay Gomes [accounts]			
Nov. 23	By Jn. Waldrons noat pd.			
Do.	By Cash pd John Waldron			
Do	By John Waldrons noat			
24	By Do paid John Van			
Do	By Cash paid by Jacobus			
	By Ditto for the Letter			
	By Ditto to Abraham G.			
	To Wm. Pady of Surinam			
	By Ditto to Wm. Shenpes [Sharpas]			

Do 30	By Ditto paid John King			
1708-9	By Ditto to Adrion Hogland			
Xber 15				
Jany 27	By Ditto to Elias Petro			
Do	By Ditto to Benj. Tonell			
Feb. 22	By Ditto to John Out			
Do 28	By Ditto Wm. Anderson			
March 5	By Ditto to Isaac Gabay			
1709				
April 6	By Ditto to Dock Mr. For			
Do	By Ditto to Barrent Rend			
Do	By Ditto to David Jame [Jamison]			
Do 13	By ditto to Petter Brested			
Do 27	By Ditto paid Coll. Abraham			
Do 28	By Ditto paid Capt. Symes for			
May 10	By Ditto to Ab. De Lucena for			
Do 18	By Ditto to Do for charges w			
Do 26	By Ditto to John Spratt as			
June 7	By Ditto paid Wm. Emmett for			
	By Ditto to Docter Sommer			
22	By Ditto to Ab. De Lucena			
	By Ditto to Do for the Car			
Do	By Ditto to Coll. Ab. De Peyster			
Do	By Ditto to Ab. De Lucena of London as per Judgment			
July 27	By Ditto to Derek Benson			
Aug. 1				
Aug. 4				
[missing]	of Benj. Fonell & Samuel Byard	£752		
Do 6	By Do to Isaac Dyas of London as per Judgment	147	9	1 1/2
Do 13	By Do to Augustus Grasset as per acct.		18	7 1/2
Nov 9	By Do to Mary Meritt as per her acct.		12	6
Nov 21	By Do to David Jameson Atturny	3	2	6
Do	By a Tombstonn from Boston with all charges	10	4	8
23 1710	By Do to Wm. Bradford as per his receipt		5	4
Jan 10	By Do to Petter Rose as per acct.	1	4	7
11	By do to Nathan Marston		8	
23	By Do to Stephen De Lancy for Hackraws	195	19	6

Mar 10	Accompt as per Judgment			
	By Do to Mr. George Atturny for a discharge Of Hackraws Bond	1	10	
Do 16	By Do to Wm. Anderson per order of Coll.			
1710	Ab. De Peyster for attachment of the Cocola		9	15
July 21	By Do to Mr. Byardly as per acct.	1	10	10
Au 8	By Do to Mr. Herison for the Sool of Van Switen Estate	1	4	
	By Do to John Deneur [D'Honneur] as per his acct ye 16 June 1709		11	
	By Do to Mordechai Gomes for settling the Books and Browing all the acct.	21	6	6
		£912	13	5

[signed] Luis Gomez
Abraham De Lucena

New York 19th February 1710

Lewis Gomes and Abraham De Lucena, two of the Executors of the Last Will and Testament of Joseph Bueno decd. Exhibited the above written account for the Just and true Act of their Administration of the Estate of the said Joseph Bueno decd. Soe [] [] to their or either of their hand or possessions or ye hands possessions of any other person or persons in Trust for [] them or either of them.

Corum Ro: Hunter¹⁰

10. Gov. Robert Hunter (d. 1734) was appointed in 1709 and had a good deal of popular support. He returned to England in 1719 and came back to New York in 1720; *Dictionary of American Biography*; and Hershkowitz, *Wills*, 21-26.

ISAAC PINHEIRO (1709/10)

Isaac Pinheiro led a much traveled life. Either born in or from Madrid, his parents Abraham and Rachel resided in Amsterdam, where they witnessed the marriage of their son Isaac to Esther Pinheiro in 1656. Isaac was born in 1636 and his bride in 1638. Together with his father, Isaac attended the wedding of his brother Daniel to Ribca (Rebecca) Pinheiro (probably a cousin) in 1684 in Amsterdam. He was seemingly endenized in England on December 14, 1694. Daniel (if this was indeed his brother) was born in 1664, and apparently resided in Martinique.¹

A successful merchant, Pinheiro pursued his career on the island of Nevis, where he was a plantation owner and distiller. His will, written in New York on November 12, 1708, was probated there and in Nevis on April 19, 1710. His widow "Ester," residing at Nevis, his "whole and sole Executrix," appointed her "trusty friends" Rip Van Dam, a noted merchant, and Luis Gomez to administer her New York affairs.²

Pinheiro died in New York on February 17, 1710, and was buried in Shearith Israel's cemetery. Curiously, however, his name does not appear in New York shipping records nor on the city's assessment lists, and it rarely appears in existing court records.³ He is cited as being made a freeman on February 2, 1695, but this is not known from the extant official records.⁴ His will and his inventory, which was taken February 22, 1710, provide most of the information known about him. The inventory, although an extensive one, contains an odd mixture of food items, such as "6½ barrels Jews beef" and "a half barrel salt beef

1. Dave Verdooner and Harmen Snel, *Jewish Marriage in Amsterdam*, 2 vols. (S'Gravenhage, 1990), I, 38, 53; W. S. Samuel, "A List of Jewish Persons Endenized and Naturalized 1609-1799," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 22 (1970): 119.

2. Leo Hershkowitz, ed., *Wills of Early New York Jews (1704-1799)* (New York, 1967), 21-26.

3. David De Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682-1831* (New York, 1952), 454; Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew*, 3 vols. (Detroit, 1970), I, 99. Pinheiro appears in the 1706 records of the Supreme Court of Judicature; New York County Clerk's Office, New York City, Minute Book of the New York Supreme Court of Judicature, 1704-09, *Pinheiro v. Peter Fauconnier*, 63. The court papers in the case are missing.

4. Pool, *Portraits*, 454, indicates the date of freemanship, but it is not found in New York Historical Society's Collections, *Burghers and Freemen* (New York, 1886); nor does Pool provides a reference.

decay'd." It is interesting in its variety, including as it does a small box of powdered sugar, a few half-rotten apples, a peck of "pease," oil, mustard seed, and decayed anchovies. There are six pounds of chocolate, six geese, and sixteen fowl. Included in the list are bottles of rum and brandy, as well as nineteen books of "several sorts." Many of the items were seemingly for trade, as, for example, some of the food, eight muslin neckcloths, sixteen handkerchiefs, and twelve packets of cotton, but many of the items were for household use, including a featherbed bolster, four pillows, one blanket, and one rug. In the kitchen were a tin fish kettle and its cover, ten small pudding pans, a candle box, a pepper box, ten pewter dishes, and thirteen plates. The household also had one japanned (painted) and one billeted (molded) oval table with a calico tablecloth, a cupboard, a large and small trunk, an "ombrello" for rainy days, and, for teeth, a gold "pick tooth." Chairs are curiously absent. Although many slaves are listed in his will, only one "Negro man named Charlotte [*sic*]" appears in the inventory; the others were either sold or remained at Nevis with his family. The last item, added in a hand different from the one that wrote the original inventory, is the "books of Moses with bills and vestments." These had been bought by Pinheiro from the Joseph Bueno De Mesquita estate for £25/6, and were now valued at £150.⁵

Why Pinheiro left Nevis to come to New York, and why he seems, apart from dying in the city, to appear so infrequently in the surviving records, are not known. His wife maintained his general merchandise business at Nevis and New York. Professor Jacob Rader Marcus characterizes her as a "woman of valor," who brought "her food from afar."⁶ To his father Abraham in Amsterdam, probably about ninety at the time of his son's death, Pinheiro left £30 annually.⁷

5. Hershkowitz, *Wills*, 15.

6. Marcus, *Colonial American Jew*, I, 99–100.

7. Abraham Pinheiro's advanced age is not the only evidence of longevity among the contemporary Jewish population; Abraham Burgos, a contemporary of Isaac Pinheiro's, died at 107, and Joseph Simson died at more than 100. Hershkowitz, *Wills*, 22; Pool, *Portraits*, 207, 282; Joseph R. Rosenbloom, *A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews* (Lexington, 1960), 14, 161.

*

Inventory & appraizement of the Goods and Chattels of Mr. Isaac Pinheiro deced. taken at New York ye 22d Feb, 1709/10, vizt.

1 Small box of powder sugar wt 19 lb.	£	19	
1 box w[i]th a few Apples half Rotten and Some worms eaten Chestnuts		02	6
1/2 Bar[ell] Cocoa wt 24 lbs.		18	
8 doz. narrow Bows old and & Rusty	2	18	
2 half barr[e]l fine Bisquit	1	04	
1 Ombrello, 3 Empty 1/2 barr[e]ls & 4 Oyster Keggs New	1	01	6
1 Peck of pease & a Stone Jugg of abt. Two Gallons		05	6
6 1/2 barr[e]ls Jews beef & half a barr[e]l Salt beef decay'd	4	15	
1 old H[ogs] H[ead] with 6 bush. of Bran, 1 Trea with ab. 6 doz Corks		06	6
10 Trea with a little Fat & some Chopmeat		07	6
1 Tin fish Kettle with Cover, two small pudding pans, 4 sauce pans, two dreeping pans, 2 Lamps, 1 tunnel, 1 Candle box, pepper box, Candlestick & two Kettle and Grater	1	04	4 1/2
2 Pewter Dishes & 13 Plates	1	10	
3 Course earthen Dishes, 3 Bassins, 10 plates, 2 porringers, one of y[he]m broke, 1 Mugg, 1 Mustard Pot, 10 Chocolate Cups of wh[i]ch 3 are broken & 1 Cann		14	
1 Copper Chocolate pot, 1 Grid Iron, 2 frying pans, spit, 1 pot and a Chaffing Dish	1	03	
A pcs. of a Cheese, 1 sm. Tub with abt. 20lb. Sugar		06	4 1/2
7 lb. Candles, & abt 1/2 barrel, dry fish, 4/1 barr[e]l Salt Cod	1	02	9
1 Kegg half full of decay'd Quinces, & abt 8 lb butter in a Tub		06	
2 Earthen pots w[i]th some Rice & Fried fat		04	
1 Small Jarr w[i]th a little oyl for the Lamp, 4 Galley pots w[i]th Mustard & Coriander Seed, 2 Case bottles with decay'd Anchovies, A sm. Kegg with preserv'd Limes, a Small Pot of Marmalet		10	6
8 Case knives, 3 forks & Sm. Penknife all old		07	10 1/2

1 small hand brush, 8 Glasses, 4 of th[e]m broke in ye feet, two Crewets & two Salts		08	6
3 Doz. & 10 bottles, some w[i]th Sower beer, 1 w[i]th Brandy, & 2 w[i]th Rum		11	
17 Pint Bottles, 5 having oil, & 1 Kayean butter		08	9
	£21	04	7 1/2
Brought over	£21	04	7 1/2
4 Empty 1/2 Gall. Bottles & a plain Cupboard		08	6
1 Box with some Roots & some Countrey Quils		01	3
1/2 Firkin of Soap, a small Basket & Sm. Eight square Table		05	4 1/2
1 Small Canister & about 1/2 lb. of Tea		12	
1 Japan'd & 1 Biletted Oval Table with Calico Table cloth	3	18	
1 Pr. Money Scales & about 6 lb. of Chocolate		15	9
2 Hatts, one of them new & a Chints morning Gown	2	02	
1 Small bag w[i]th some Nutmegs, a little pepper mace & Cinnamon		04	6
19 Books of sev[era]l sorts with an Ink Glass	1	19	
5 Papers of Snuff, 8 qty. about 4 lbs.		08	
3 Earthen Juggs with some Prunes & Currants		12	
1 Box with four Perukes 2 of them very old	3	10	
4 Killing Knives w[i]th a small Bundle of Twine	2		4 1/2
2 Old course Huckaback Table Cloths & Napkins & 3 Towels		14	6
2 Speckled Shirts new, 12 holl[en]d shirts, 6p. of Sliders, & 5 Pillow overs	10	02	6
8 Musleen Neckcloths & 16 Handkerchiefs	3	12	
9 pair Stockings & 4 pr. Threed ditto	2		
2 Sm. Bags with about 4cw pepper, & a Remn[e]t of French Canvas		06	6
1 Glister pipe & pcs. of Oyl Cloth		01	6
1 Featherbed Bolster, 4 pillows, 1 Blanket & 1 Rugg	6	10	
3 Written books of Acco[un]t			
12 Packets of Cotton ab 8 cw at £4 per lb.	32		
1 Bagg of Feathers w[i]th a Bed Tick	1	16	
1 1/2 Bush[el] Buckwheat		03	

A parcel smokd meat, some sawceridges [sausages] & 2 pcs raw beef	2	12	
1 Large & 1 Small Trunk & Leather Portmantle	1	13	
1 Negro man named Charlotte	35		
6 Geese & 16 Fowls		19	6
1 1/2 Cords of Nutten wood for the Fire		15	
1 Large Red Trunck & 1 Samll dito	1	10	
	<hr/>		
	£ 137	16	10 1/2
 Brought Over	 £ 137	 04	 10 1/2
1 Snuff box, & Tortoise for a Top & bottom w[i]th short prosp[er]chine Glass		18	
2 Blanck books for Journal & Ledger	1		
6 Coats, 6 Waskcoats, 6 p. Breetches & 1 Flannel Wastcoat	21		
4 pr. Walk Leather Gloves		10	
2 Sheets with 6 yds. narrow Diaper	1	13	
1 Remn[e]nt of Holl[en]d of 6 yds.	1	07	
9 Tortoise Shell Combs, 1 Case w[i]th two Lancets	1	07	
2 papers of Cinnamon, 9 qty. abt 2 lbs.	1	04	
1 Glass Tobacco Stopper Tip[ped] with Silver		01	6
5 Diamond Rings, 1 w[i]th a Red Stone & 1 plain Gold Ring	44	04	
1 Pearl necklace of 3 Strings	10		
1 Gold Chain & Locket with 1 Pick Tooth with £1.5.14	7	12	6
1 Knife with silver handle		02	6
1 Silver Punch Bowl, 1 Silvercup w[i]th cover, 3 porringers, 3 Castors, 26 Spoons, 1 Quill, 6 Forks & 1 Lamp in 4 pcs. wgt. 237 oz. about 7s 6d.	88	17	6
1 Pistol, 1 Lewis d'ore, 1 1/2 Guinea & 1 Arabian pc. of Gold	4		
Paper money	21	11	
239 1/4 oz. of Silver	95	14	
26 1/2 Dollars	7	05	9
The books of Moses w[i]th bells & vestments, etc	150		
	<hr/>		
	£596	04	7 1/2

[signed] Will Anderson App[raisor]s.
Wm Chambers

Lancaster Symes and John Cholwell Administrators of Isaac Pinheiro Decd. exhibited the above Written Inventory for a true and perfect Inventory of the Estate of the said Isaac Pinheiro so farr as has come to their or either of their hands or possession or ye hands or possession any other person or persons in Trust for them or either of them.

[signed] Ro. Hunter⁸

8. John Cholwell was an auditor of accounts; Capt. Lancaster Symes, a merchant, served as Assessor of the Dock Ward, and was awarded a lease of docks and slips; William Anderson served, among other positions, as city treasurer and constable. Robert Hunter (1666–1734), an able and noted governor of New York was appointed in 1709 and retired from that office in 1720, citing ill health. New York, filled with contending factions and ambitions, was not the easiest colony to govern. Governor Danvers Osborn committed suicide after two days in office. Paul H. Hamlin and Charles Baker, eds., *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691–1704*, 3 vols. (New York, 1959), II, 138, 230; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675–1776*, 8 vols. (New York, 1905), II, 56, 174, 249, III, 201; William Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 2 vols., ed. Michael Kammen (Cambridge, 1972), II, 131–33.