Government of India, under the India-Sikkim Treaty of 1950, have a responsibility to enforce and progress the measures proposed by the late Maharaja.

In keeping with conventional historiography, this historical outline does not cover the current events in Sikkim. For the Sikkim Agreement (8 May 1973), the author's note in *Indian Quarterly* (New Delhi : Indian Council of World Affairs) for April-June 1973 may be seen. For this article, 'The Chogyals of Sikkim', the author has drawn upon data collected during his fifteen years' residence in Sikkim. One important unpublished source is 'The History of Sikkim' by Maharani Yeshe Dolma (d. 1910), the second consort of Maharaja Thutob Namgyal, the grand father of the present chogyal ; the English translation made by Kazi Dawa Samdup was officially approved by the Maharaja. An authenticated typescript copy of the book is found in the MSS of the Commonwealth Relations (India Office) Library. While acknowledging his indebtedness to unpublished sources like Maharani Yeshe Dolma's 'History of Sikkim' and published sources like Aitchison's *Treaties*, the author admits full responsibility for the narrative made here.

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The Jews of Calcutta

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UNLIKE MANY of the other "greytown" groups (those who stood literally and figuratively between the "white" town of the British and the "black" town of the indigenous residents), the Jews of Calcutta arrived quite late in Calcutta history and had no part like the Armenians in the period of the building of the Empire itself in that part of the world.[1] In Hong Kong and Singapore, by contrast, the arrival of the Jews was almost coincident with the foundation of the port itself.[2] The Jews of Calcutta of Iraqi origin are, like some of those of Bombay and Poona, part of a string of trading post stretching from Shanghai to London.[3] This string paralleled and was eventually though not initially complimentary to the main British trading apparatus in the East.

Though the Jews of Baghdad had always been active in the commerce of that city and remained so—their position perceptibly weakened during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. A series of revolutions in Baghdad weakened the position of the Jews both because the interests of commerce in general were affected by the turbulence and because some Jewish financiers in particular found themselves on the wrong side of the political fence.[4] The Baghdadi Jewish refugees formed a new diaspora parallel to that of the Armenians and the Greeks stretching into the Far East. This was all the more easy as they were often already deeply involved in the traditional Indian trade of Baghdad and Basra as well as in the distribution of British goods in the Middle East.[5]

As the first immigrants arrived at their various destinations they not only continued their time honored trade with the various Persian Gulf ports in horses and precious stones, but also started trading with the British in commodities such as wool and opium.

Building the Community

According to some accounts, the first Jewish settler in Calcutta was Shalom ben Aharon ben Ovadya Ha-Cohen (1762-1836), a jeweller from Aleppo who arrived in Calcutta via Surat in 1798.[6] He was soon joined by the (unrelated) Moses ben Simeon Dwek Ha-Cohen (1785-1861), also of Aleppo and Jacob Semah Nissim of Baghdad.[7] Another early settler was Elazar ben Aharon Saadya Iraki (Arakie) Ha-Cohen (unrelated, died 1861)—originally from Yemen. Iraki arrived from Cochin (a much earlier Jewish centre in India) before 1816 and established the first Hebrew printing press in Calcutta in 1841.[8] By 1816, there were perhaps 50 Jews in the city, with two synagogues.[9]

The persecutions of Daud Pasha (1817-1831) in Baghdad considerably accelerated the Jewish inflow and indelibly marked the Baghdadi character of the community.[10] Among the records of the period are found such aristocratic Baghdad Jewish names as Ezra and Yehuda (Judah).[11] Ezekiel Musleah appears as a consultant on Indigo to the East India Company; Ezekiel Yehudah appears to have been a leading trader in silk and indigo.

One of the most prominent of these immigrants was Joseph ben Ezra ben Joseph (Khreif) (died 1855), a notable of Baghdad, who arrived in Calcutta in 1820 along with his sons, Ezekiel and David (1797-1882). They made fortunes in the opium trade and the famous Jewish traveller, Jacob Saphir, mentions Joseph as leader of the comnunity in 1849. Joseph returned to Baghdad and died there but his son, David, succeeded him and the dominance of the family in the community grew. David's son, Elias David (1830-1886), succeeded him in turn and is responsible for the construction of the Maghen David Synagogue in Canning St. In 1870, Elias allied himself with the wealthiest family of Indian Jews by marrying Mozelle (Mazal Tov. 1850-1921), the daughter of Sir Albert Sassoon of the Bombay mill and trading family. She founded the Ezra hospital as well as two Yeshivas (Jewish religious academies) in Jerusalem. Elias' eldest son, Joseph Elias Ezra, was a municipal counsellor (1888-1896) and sheriff (1888-1889) and also married a Sassoon daughter. Three other sons settled in London. Elias Ezra's third son, Sir David Ezra (1871-1947), succeeded to his mantle as community leader and also married a Sassoon daughter, Rachel (1877-1952), in 1912. Her brother was Rabbi David Sassoon whose history is cited elsewhere.[12] The Ezras rapidly became the premier Jewish family in Calcutta—and it is in acceptance and revolt against this fact that most of the Jewish history of Calcutta for the next hundred years revolved. They and the upper class Baghdadi immigrants constituted the elite of the community until the rise of several new fortunes in the decades before 1918.[13]

The result of the Baghdadi influx is that from fifty Jews in the city in 1816, the total rose to 100 by 1822-23, including children. In 1837, there were 307 Jews in Calcutta.[14] *The Bengal and Agra Annual Guide for 1841*, on the contrary records 465 men and 171 women for a total of 636 Jews for that year.[15] The number rose to 681 by 1866, 1919 by 1901 and to 1945 in 1951. It declined thereafter because of emigration to 1191 in 1961 and yet further by 1971.[16]

TABLE OF CALCUTTA POPULATIONS

Year	1866	1876	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961
Jews	681	952	982	1387	1919	1920	1820	1830	1945	1191
Armenians	703	576	892	557	792	832	987	738	—	—

In 1831, the community secured its first corporate organization.[17] The plot for the first formal synagogue building, Naveh Shalom, was purchased in 1825.[18] Beth El Synagogue in Pollock St. was founded by Elias Ezra and Ezekiel Judah in 1856 and Maghen David Synagogue was founded by Elias Ezra in 1883-4.[19] The Jewish Girls' School was founded in 1881 to counter missionary efforts.[20] Starting as a coeducational venture this was soon converted into a girls' school in its upper grades. It was recognized as a government supported "European School" in 1904, raised to Junior Cambridge Standard in 1911 and to Senior Cambridge soon thereafter. A free boys school was founded in 1882 by Elias Ezra. It continued shakily until 1907, when it was taken in hand by Ezra Arakie (Iraki), a barrister and Cambridge graduate. The school was very explicitly oriented toward the poor of the community and provided various subsidies to its students, both to foreclose the influence of Christian Missionaries and to preserve the "good name" of the community as a whole. The annual reports of the school are written with the missionary efforts very much over their shoulder—until the Christian Hebrew Mission School was finally closed in 1922. (In 1918 for the first time the number of Jewish children in this Jewish boys schools exceeded those in the Christian mission school). In 1930, the school succeeded in getting recognized as a European school (and thus in getting a large government subsidy) and passed out its first Senior Cambridge graduate in 1935.[21]

The growth of the community led quite naturally to its factionalization. As Isaac Abraham explains it, the rise of the influence of the House of Ezra led quite naturally to resentment. When Maghen David Synagogue was founded in 1884 on the site of the old Naveh Shalom Synagogue it was supposed to supersede that

institution. Within a decade (1888), a new group started meeting under pretext of studying in the old building and despite a series of cases going up to the Privy Council succeeded in establishing itself as a synagogue under the old name of Naveh Shalom.[22] The new Naveh Shalom was led by Ezra Arakie, who put himself at the head of what Abrahams terms a popular party. Abraham notes that Naveh Shalom alone among Calcutta's synagogues was controlled democratically by its members, as distinguished from being under the control of a body of trustees. The depositions in the various cases indicate that the wealthier congregations in the other synagogues set expenditure standards that the poorer members who formed Neveh Shalom could not meet in matters such as charitable donations. The factionalism carried over to the matter of schools where Ezra Arakie's Free Talmud Torah coexisted uncomfortably with the Jewish Girls School run by Rev. E.M.D. Cohen, the Rabbi of David Ezra's Maghen David Synagogue and himself a prosperous landlord.[23] The division seems to have been complex since we note that many of the newer wealthy in the community were numbered among the large scale supporters of Arakie's school and Arakie himself clearly belonged to the communal elite. The division was formally ended with the consolidation of the Jewish Association of Calcutta in 1951.[24]

Intellectual

The Community was a minor intellectual center for Baghdad Jews during the nineteenth century. Eliezer Iraki's Hebrew press (1841-1857) served not only the needs of the local community but published as well the first scholarly tomes from the Yemeni rabbinic tradition.[25] Iraki's publications included Jesephus' History, and some anti-missionary literature.[26] A second Press was founded in 1871 by Yehezkel ben Suleiman Hanin and was called the Jewish press. The press was the base for *Mevasser*, the first of a series of Hebrew Arabic publications which appeared in Calcutta in the next 30 years.[27] Hanin is cited for his own Hebrew poetry in a recently published survey.[28] A third and somewhat more important press was started in 1881 by E.M.D. Cohen (d. 1926), who became Rabbi of Maghen David Synagogue in 1873.[29] He was a grandson of Moses Dwek Ha-Cohen referred to earlier and like him both a spiritual leader and prosperous businessman.

A final and even more important press was run by Rabbi Shalom ben Ovadya Tweyna.[30] Tweyna, however, is more famous as an author and spiritual leader. His first three books were published in Baghdad, but he came to India in 1885 and from then until his death in 1913 was the center of a large coterie of followers in

Calcutta and other parts of the Baghdadi diaspora. He published 71 books including works of modern Hebrew literature and history.

Following 1913 there seems to have been a lull in Jewish religious intellectual activities, reflecting perhaps the declining level of Jewish education in the community and perhaps its greater involvement in economic activities. Calcutta never developed an institution of Jewish higher education comparable to those in Baghdad or Jerusalem—or even the smaller centers of Jewry in Europe and North America. As the generation of Baghdad migrants died off, their children did not have the Jewish intellectual capital to sustain specifically Jewish intellectual production. Assimilation to English culture directed their attentions in other more secular directions.

There seems to have been some activity in the Second World War period, centering around the creation of a Zionist group in Calcutta, an effort somewhat resisted at the time by the community elite who felt it a threat to the British war effort.[31]

Economic and Social

By 1841, the Bengal and Agra Guide notes of Calcutta's Jews:

> The Jews are few in number, not reputed very rich amongst the higher, and decidedly poor and filthy among the lower classes. The merchants of the Jews deal in indigo and opium to some extent. The wealthiest live in Armenian and Pollock Streets. The retail dealers traffic in rose-water, horses and ponies, and Persian wares. The Arab Jews of this latter class travel all over India in the capacity of box-wallahs (peddlars).[32]

Jews were listed among the stockholders of the Union Bank[33] A list of Jewish Merchants is appended.[34] The list includes David Ezra Sr. and Moses Dwek Ha-Cohen.

By the end of the century Jews had moved into a range of other enterprises. Several were active on the stock exchange and as large urban landowners.[35] The larger firms were essentially parallel to the European firms and similarly engaged in shipping jute for export and cloth for import. Some shipping figures for the 1920's show E.D. Sassoon, a Bombay-based Jewish firm among the leading importers of cotton piece-goods, sugar, and dhotis and as an exporter of raw jute jute cloth, and shellac.[36] David Sassoon, a related Bombay firm, was also a piece-goods, dhoti and sugar importer, and an exporter of jute sacking. M.A. Sasson, a locally based trading firm, unrelated to these others, was also a dhoti importer and number 33 on the list of jute cloth exporters.[37] B.N. Elias, the

largest Jewish firm in India today, was number 22 among jute cloth exporters, S. Manasseh number 26, E. Meyer 36, B. Meyer 39, and A.M. Shellim, 41.[38] B. Meyer is also listed as a sugar importer in 1929.[39]

The role of jute shipper, as distinct from jute baler, was still a European preserve and the listing indicated that Jewish firms were performing a role analogous, if less important than that of the leading European firms in the port. At a different level, there were a scattering of shops owned by Jews both in Calcutta and to a certain extent in the mofussil.[40] A commercial directory for 1920 shows a chemist, a bone mill, and a cabinet maker, and shops in Gerakhpur and Bhagalpur.[41]

A rising level of secular education, not so dramatic as in other Jewish communities such as Baghdad itself, was a parallel phenomenon.[42] The 1915 *Thacker's* lists four Jewish barristers and one solicitor.[43] Several of the women of the community were nurses or were teaching. The community had become—among the young and wealthy—an English rather than Arabic or Hindustani speaking one ; and its elite had largely adopted English Calcutta ways of living. Its models were those of Anglo-Jewry and the colonial Englishman. Neither dictated a focus on the learned professions and intellectual pursuits, as contrasted to business,[44]

This Jewish evolution is in sharp contrast with that of the Calcutta Armenians who entered the professions in large numbers—corresponding to their withdrawal from the more active forms of commerce. We have a list of 25 Armenian High Court advocates (1855-1891), 8 solicitors (1856-1891), and six doctors in the Indian Medical Service (1852-1900).[45] The 1911 Census reports that of 231 employed Armenian males 26 were doctors, lawyears, or teachers, 61 in trade 10 owners or managers of industry, 19 landlords and rentiers.[46] Literacy was also much higher among Armenians than Jews—86% in 1911, compared to 60% among Jews (itself a rise from 44% in 1941).[47]

The Jewish poor remained outside of the circle of Anglicization and confined to its traditional area. If we can think of the process of Anglicization in terms of transfer to the European areas south of Park Street we can trace the following pattern. The 1866, 1876, and 1881 enumerations show approximately half of the Armenians living south of Park Street, by 1911 they are over-whelmingly in that area. Simply taking the returns for the Park Street area itself we find an increase from 18 Jews in 1881 to 63 in 1921.[48] (We had perhaps better note that

an observant Jew would find it difficult to live more than an easy walk from a Synagogue to which he would have to walk on Saturday, and frequent daily).

The economic evolution of the Calcutta Jews was an entirely natural one. The community which arrived from the Persian Gulf continued to trade in the commodities of that region, probably with relatives who remained there. A local history notes that Basra's India trade was a Jewish monopoly.[49] As they got used to Calcutta the Jewish merchants moved into the prime commodities of that port especially opium and later jute. Not being indigenous to Calcutta—their orientation was from Calcutta outwards—into export-import trade. As they became anglicized culturally they moved into English economic roles in Calcutta such as that of jute shipper. Slight modifications in their career patterns were caused by opportunities in the liquor and bone trades which others refused partly on religious grounds,

The adaptation in economic function and acculturation was paralleled as we have seen, by a migration by the middle class to the new Anglo-Indian area around Sudder and Free School Streets—and for the most affluent to the European areas south of Park Street.

One is struck here with the somewhat similar transformation of the Chinese traders in the Mississippi Delta, who by careful management of their marginal role have been largely able to move from one to the other side of a racial dividing line far more extreme than that in nineteenth century Calcutta.[50] But by contrast the Chinese social evolution has not been paralleled by an economic transformation, a filling of formerly white economic roles. Rather they remain grocers to the Black community—a role the Blacks have been financially unable and the whites socially unwilling to perform.

Summary

One question to which I do not have a definite answer at this point is to what extent the material on Calcutta Jews and their pattern of development is paralleled for the other "greytown" minorities and thus would permit us to move towards some generalization. I have tried throughout to give somewhat of a schema for the Armenians who are the closest parallel—though as I suggested much better established in the city than the Jews. They seem to have formed even more of a cultural center for their homeland community in Iran, but to have become anglicized even earlier and dropped their Armenian cultural role. They seem to have passed over to the English side of the market even earlier than the

Jews and we find them as early as the 1840's in fields like insurance and later in East Bengal jute.[51] The Armenians seem to have had a larger presence up-country and a latter day specialization in shellac unparalleled by the Jews.

The Greeks were a far smaller, if individually more prominent community. We find only 30 listed in the 1966 census.[52] A large number of the Greek firms listed in the 1915 and 1920 *Thacker's Directories* are in the cigarette trade, though one of them, Rallis, was among the city's largest and most generalist of firms. There does seem to have been a noticeable group of Italians but with less of a corporate identity. The Parsees from Western India are again a small but definable group numbering less than 200 in the late nineteenth century. I wasn't able to research the records of the Muslim trading groups of Western India, Arabia, and Iran and imagine that will have to await a more precise delimitation of the history of Calcutta's Muslim Society. The Anglo-Indian historical experience is diffused—in a way that these diaspora communities were not and though they often performed analogous roles in Calcutta, they need to be studied separately.

It is in fact the Jews' dual role—as member of a larger diaspora and as a differentiated group of actors in the Calcutta economy—that perhaps best characterizes the Jewish, Armenian and Greek groups in Calcutta and lends a unique element to their own tension with the cultural polarities in Calcutta.

In a sense, Calcutta since 1850 can be culturally characterized as a melange of Communities with an Anglo-Indian and a Bengali cultural pole—divided not so much by language as by consciousness. That these "greytown" groups starting, perhaps, in a closer alignment with the Bengali pole drifted in the Anglo-Indian direction is hardly surprising. The English, after all were politically and—more importantly for these commercial groups—commercially dominant. The Bengali pole after 1850 abandoned any focus it had in commerce. That the cultural approach to the English facilitated a similarity in economic role is hardly surprising.

The interaction of diaspora cultural, economic role, and indigenous cultural polarities might well be contrasted with those of the other great colonial entrepot of the East-Bombay, Singapore, Penang, and Hong Kong. In the latter three, the establishment of the colonies (1819, 1842) were more or less co-incident with the great spurt of Baghdadi emigration. We would expect and do find Jewish firms even firmly esconced in "native" activities like urban real estate. On the other hand, the polarities were such that we perhaps find greater cultural interaction with the indigenous pole in Bombay—though that is a highly speculative point.

The theoretical literature bearing on intermediary trading minorities is roughly of four kinds, It may try to explain their movements—and this is perhaps the thinnest literature available.[53] It may try to explain their economic success and here a range of explanations center around Weber's concept of "Pariah entrepreneurs"—and suggest that independence from the wider society's anti-commercial strictures and perhaps debarment from non-commercial lines may be responsible. A third body of theory deals with the circumstances under which cultural assimilation to one or another dominant group does or does not occur. Finally, we have some consideration of the anti-intermediary movements which are generated against the older intermediaries, particularly by nascent bourgeoisies.

The size of the Jewish community in Calcutta render the first and last type of literature either trivial or inapplicable. The questions that remain are those explaining commercial success and cultural assimilation.

Pariah Entrepreneurs

Weber has several entrepreneurial etiologies of which the one that concerns us here is not that of the "rational this-worldly accesticism" of those influenced by the Protestant ethic and its analogues but rather what he calls "pariah" entrepreneurship—definitely an exceptional category in his schema.

As Weber writes :

> 'Pariah people' denotes a distinctive hereditary social group lacking autonomous political organization and characterized by prohibitions against commensality and intermarriage originally founded upon magical, tabooistic, and ritual injunctions. Two additional traits of a pariah people are political disprivilege and a far reaching distinctiveness in economic function.[54]

The problem is that neither the Armenians nor the Jews seem particularly disprivileged as I describe them. If anything, like the Chinese in Mississippi, to who I refer earlier, their commercial success seems intertwined (cause and effect seem hard to disentangle here) with their marginally 'privileged' position vis-a-vis the bulk of the population.

Richard Fox rephrases an idea circulated elsewhere when he poses a thesis to account for the specialization and success of a merchant group he encountered in in India.

He argues :

> Throughout much the world social, religious, or ethnic distinction often separate the merchant community from the surrounding society. In predominantly pre-industrial

economies, the taking of profit is considered socially illegal. Profit signifies the introduction of economic rationality into a system which is based on the rationale of kinship and family. Whatever group undertakes business and the making of profit also accepts social ostracism and develops over time social traits which allow it to withstand the slings and arrows of its non-commercial neighbours (and victims) as well as traits which maximize the production of profit which is so socially disreputable.[55]

The problem even with this softer phrasing of Fox is that numerous indigenous groups seem to have prospered in the commercial role in Calcutta.

Perhaps it is sufficient to argue the naturalness of two trading communities establishing themselves in trade and utilizing whatever advantages, social or cultural came their way.

Assimilation

According to Rabbi Ezekiel Musleah, formerly of Calcutta, there were a few Jewish families particularly the Bellilios of Howrah in the nineteenth century who did adapt themselves to Bengali upper class life style, just as at the lower level a considerable assimilation to other marginal groups can be noted.[56] Nonetheless, as stated earlier, the dominant pattern was assimilation to the colonial Anglo-Indian (in the older sense) pattern. By the 1930's the journals of the Jewish community were in English and though "Hindustani" (Hindi-Urdu) had often become the communities' home language, all "serious" communication now occurred in English. The children were educated in Anglo-Indian schools and the point of cultural (and even religio-cultural) reference was England.

William Wertheim in his studies of Chinese minorities in Southeast Asia advances some of the reasons that this pattern was almost inevitable.[57] It was a pattern to some extent governed by the superior political and economic position of the English and echoed to no small extent in the Bengali-speaking elite of Calcutta.

NOTES :

[1]The term "greytown" is one I borrow from Dr. Pradip Sinha of Rabindra Bharati University.

Mesrovb Seth, *Armenians in India*, 2nd ed., (Calcutta, 1937) is the most accessible account of the Calcutta Armenians. R. A. Abramian, *Armianskoi istochniki XVII veka ob indii (Armenian Eighteenth Century Sources on India)* (Erevan, 1968), refer to a considerable number of volumes in Armenian.

The Armenians had traded in the Bay of Bengal, and we find a settlement dating from 1665 in Saidabad, a suburb of Murshidabad, the then capital of Bengal. It was from this center that Khojas Petrus and Gregory (Gorgin Khan) played such an important role in the late

eighteenth century as political advisors to the Nawabs-Nazim and intermediaries between them and the British. (Seth, *Armenians*, pp. 327-356). With the rise of Calcutta, the wealtheir Saidabad merchants moved there, and the Saidabab church was finally closed in 1860. (Seth. *Armenians*, p 349). The importance of the Saidabad base for the early Calcutta Armenian community is revealed by the number of Calcutta philanthropic activities started by magnates from Saidabad (see especially Seth, *Armenians*, pp. 345, 356). The Calcutta settlement of Armenians dates back at least to the foundation of the city in 1690, and the first Armenian church was built in 1724 (Seth. *Armenians*, pp. 419-429). The Armenian community was severely affected by the East India Company's growing monopoly of trade in the late eighteenth century.

The Armenian community of Calcutta by the early twentieth century was divided between the Calcutta Armenians (descendents of these eighteenth century traders who had by 1900 largely retreated to the more honorific professions and the stock exchange), the Julfa Armenians (commercially inclined immigrants of the mid-nineteenth century), and the more recent immigrants from the villages around Char Mahal in Iran (Seth. *Armenians*, p. 540).

The early involvement of Jewish merchants from abroad in India has been most fully treated by Walter J. Fischel, *Hayehudim b'Hodu* (Jerusalem, 1970), soon to appear in an English version. Yet earlier materials in the Cairo Geniza are being worked on by S. D. Goitein of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton. The Fischel book contains sections on Jews in Portuguese India (many of them crypto-Jews, Marranos), Moghul India (focussing on those at Akbar's court and Sarmad), Dutch India (though here a fuller treatment is contained in A. K. Das Gupta, *Asian Trade in Malabar* (London, 1967), and finally British India. This last section contains some material (pp. 146-175) on a small settlement of Jewish merchants in Madras starting in the eighteenth century who functioned as extensions of London firms. Fischel treats this community at greater length in his, "The Jewish Merchant Colony in Madras (Fort St. George) during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries—A Contribution to the Economic and Social History of the Jews of India". *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, III, (1960), pp. 78-107, 175-195. These Madras merchants were in many cases descendents of those refugees from the mass expulsions from Spain and Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century who had settled in Holland and England. Several of these Madras firms had activities in Calcutta and some were eventually based there.

One Jewish firm with extensive Calcutta involvements is treated by Fischel in his, "Activities of a Jewish Merchant House in Bengal (1786-1798)", *Revue des Etudes, Juives*, III, Series 4 (1965), pp. 432-498. This firm's representative in Calcutta was one Lyon Prager (d. 1973) sent by the London merchant, Israel Lewis Solomons, to Benares and Calcutta to buy diamonds. The firm was continued after his death by a George Prager and wound up in 1798. Two other Jewish East India traders were Pellegrino Treves and Benjamin D'Aguilar. *(Encyclopedia Judaica*, VIII (NY., 1971), W. J. Fischel, "India", p. 1356). Among the more prominent figures involved with Calcutta were Alfonso Fonseca (1652-1742) and Abraham Jacobs. (*Encyclopedia Judaica*, V. W. J. Fischel, "Calcutta", pp. 41-42 and *Encyclopedia Judaica*, VI, Fischel, "Fonseca", pp. 1413-1414). This community in Madras and Calcutta seems to have died out, though English-born Jews in commerce and in the civil service continued to be peripheral members of the Calcutta community. Speculatively their decline may have been for reasons analogous to that of the Armenians in the same period—the growing strength of the East India Company monopoly.

The historic material on the two older Jewish communities is extensive. The best single volume on the Bene Israel is Haeem Samuel Kehimkar, *The History of Bene Israel of India* (Tel Aviv, 1964). The Cochin and Bene Israel communities are also treated extensively in the older gazetters of the areas concerned. David Mandelbaum, "The Jewish Way of Life in Cochin", *Jewish Social Studies*, IX (1939), pp. 423-460 and more recently Albert Kushner, *Immigrant Jews from India in Israel* (Tucson, 1973), deal with the social arrangements of the Cochin Jews. A recent sociological study of the—Bene Israel is Schifra Strizower, *The Children of Israel* (Oxford, 1971). See also M. Ezekiel, *History and Culture of the Bene Israel in India* (Bombay, 1948); B. J. Israel, *Religious Evolution among the Bene Israel of India since 1750* (Bombay, 1953); S. Samuel, *A Treatise on the Origins and Early History of the Bene Israel* of Maharashtra State (Bombay, 1963); a more popular study is M. D. Japhet, *The Jews of India* (Bombay, 1969).

A couple of stray pieces may also be of interest. Myron M. Weinstein, "A Hebrew Quran Manuscript", *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, X (Winter 1971-72), pp. 19-52 tells us a good deal about the Cochin community. One of the few works which focusses on the content of Cochin religious life is Fischel "The Literary Creativity of the Jews of Cochin", *Jewish Book Annual*, XXVIII (1970-71), pp, 25-31 and XXIX (1971-72), pp. 5-11. Another of Fischel's pieces focusses on the Baghdadi community of Bombay, "Bombay in Jewish History in the Light of New Documents from the Indian Archives", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXXVIII-IX (1972), pp. 119-144.

[2] *Encyclopedia Judaica* XIV, "Singapore", pp. 1607-08, "Hong Kong", pp. 963-964. In both cases the first firm seems to have been that of David Sassoon.

[3] *The Bene Israel Annual and Yearbook*, 1917-18, ed. Rebecca Reuben (Bombay, 1917), shows six Bene Israel, from that old Jewish community of the Bombay region, in Calcutta. For general histories of the Baghdadi Jewish diaspora see David Solomon Sassoon, *A History of the Jews of Baghdad* (Letchworth, 1949) and Avraham Ben Yaacov, *Yahudei Bavel Me'sof Tkufat Ha Geonim ad Yomeinu* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1965), especially pp. 209-219 for economic detail. See also A, Ben Yaacov aud H Y. Cohen, "Iraq", in *Encyclopedia Judaica* Viii, pp. 1444-1461. There are also two sudies of the Sassoon family, premier members of this diaspora; Cecil Roth *The Sassoon Dynasty* (London, 1941) and Stanley Jackson, *The Sassoons* (N. Y., 1968).

[4] Sassoon, *History*, p. 210. See note 3 and S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (1925) (Republished Farnborough, Hants, 1968). Longrigg refers to Daud Pasha whose persecutions seem to have impelled the first Calcutta Jewish settlers on pp. 239-274. Daud Pasha is rather noted there for his munificence and formal piety—but one suspects that plundering the Jews and Christians of Baghdad was a necessary element in this munificence as it had been in several previous reigns. It is also possible that some of the Jewish refugees were caught in the crossfire of his various mini-wars with the East India Company's local representative.

[5] A description of parallel relations with Armenians is contained in R. W. Ferrier, "The Armenian and the East India Company in Persia in the Seventeeth and Early Eighteenth Centuries", *Economic History Review* Second Series XXVI (February, 1973), pp. 38-62. General coverage of Jewish economic activities in Iraq is contained in Ben Yaacov, *History*, pp. 209-219.

[6] Sassoon, *History*, pp. 209-210; Fischel, "Calcutta", and "The Immigration of Arabian Jews to India in the Eighteenth Century", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* XXXIII (1965), pp. 1-20. *The Calcutta Annual Register and Directory*, 1814 (Calcutta, 1814) lists two Jewish Merchants on page 68, neither this Cohen. We have, however, his diary in the Sassoon Library, summarized in its catalogue, David Sassoon, *Ohel David: Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library*, London, 2 Volumes (London 1932), p. 975, no. 1021.

[7] Sassoon, *History*, pp. 209-210 and the two Fischel articles, "Calcutta", and "India". Cohen's diary exists in several forms recorded in Sassoon, *Ohel David*, pp. 372-373, no. 558—extracts including a history of the Jews of Calcutta 1824-1843 and material on the foundation of Naveh Shalom Synagogue; pp. 975-976, Diary 1805-1861; p, 977, same as previous; p. 1076 no. 878—typed copy of diary. Moses Cohen was also the leader of the congregation of Naveh Shalom, in addition to his commercial activities, and on pp. 971-973, no. 897 of *Ohel David* we find his collection of Naveh Shalom's papers including the records of correspondence with the Baghdad rabbinate over difficulties occasioned in releasing the wife of a man drowned in the Ganges to marry again. The marriage records include some celebrated in Chinsura, Chandernagere, Singapore, Madras, Rangoon and Moulmein. Other documents include bills of conversion, lists of circumcision, and writs of manumission (of slaves—these latter also served as their bills of conversion). Notable is one writ of manumission issued by the elder David Sassoon to his slave Salem in 1843.

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[14] C Finch, "Vital Statistics of Calcutta" *Journal of the Statistical Society* of London XIII (1850), pp. 172 as quoted in S. N. Mukherjee, "Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, 1815-1838", in ed. Edmund Leach and S. N. Mukherjee, *Elites in South Asia* (Cambridge, England, 1970), p. 37.

[16] *Bengal and Agra Annual Guide, 1841* (Calcutta, 1866), p. 13 ; *Report on the Census of the Town of Calcutta taken on 6th August 1876* by H. Beverly (Calcutta, 1876), p. lxxxi ; H. Beverly *Report on the Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta taken on the 17th February 1881* (Calcutta, 1881) pp. 24-25 ; H.F.J.T. McGuire, *Report on the Census of Calcutta taken on 26th February 1891* (Calcutta, 1891), pp. (20, xc). *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. V : *City of Calcutta*, Part I : *Report* by W. H. Thompson (Calcutta, 1913), p. 43 ; *Census of India* 1921, Vol. VI : *City of Calcutta*, Part I : *Report* by W. H. Thompson (Calcutta, 1923), pp. 49, 74 ; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. VI : *Calcutta*, Parts I and II by A. E. Porter (Calcutta, 1933), pp. 102, 110, 140 ; *Census of India, 1951*, Vol. VII, Part IV : *Calcutta Industrial Region Tables* by A. Mitra (Calcutta 1954), p, 250 ; *Census of India, 1961*, Vol. XVI, *West Bengal and Sikkim*, Part I-A, p. 226.

[17] Sassoon, *History*, pp. 210, 214-215 and Yaari, *Press*, p. 9.

[18] Sassoon *History*, p. 210 and Dwek materials from footnote 7, also materials in printed presentation for Privy Council case, no title, author or date.

[19] Abraham, *History*, pp. 30-31 ; Sassoon, *History*, p. 215.

[20] Abraham, *History*, p. 36 ; Isaac, *History*, p. 13. There are also annual reports of the school in the Hebrew University Library.

[21] Jewish Free School and Talmud Torah, later Elias J. Meyer Free School and Talmud Torah *Annual Reports* 1915-1940 ; Abraham, *History*, p. 37 ; Isaac, *History*, p. 14.

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[23] Abraham, *History*, p. 36.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

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[27] Yari, *Press*, p. 14.

[28] Avraham ben David, *Shiro v Piyyut shel Yahudei Bavel v Dorot Ha-Achronim* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 284-285.

[29] Yaari, *Press*, pp. 14-15 ; Abraham, *History*, pp. 21-24.

[30] Yaari, *Press*, pp. 15-17 ; Sassoon, *History*, p. 214.

[31] This is perhaps best chronicled in the pages of the English Language papers : *The Eastern Hebrew and Annual 1st* No. 1942 went to five volumes ; *Shma*, the journal of the Jewish Association of Calcutta was started in 1946 and lasted into the early 1960's. The Zionist Association of Bomby published the *Jewish Advocate* in the 1930's, which contained much Calcutta coverage. Other papers who covered Calcutta Jews were the *Jewish Chronicle* of London, the *Jewish Tribune* of Bombay, and the *Israel's Messenger* of Shanghai (until the death of its editor N. B. Ezra in 1935). There were two shortlived papers in English *Davar b'Ito* and *Davar Achair* (15 Nov. 1971—30 Jan. 1919) published during the First World War period and concerned with relations with English Jewish servicemen. They were the locus of a famous feud between E.M.D. Cohen, and Herbert Loewe, the famous Hebrew scholar serving as chaplain in India.

[32] *Bengal and Agra Guide*, p. 16.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 163-166.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 211.

[35] A newspaper item in the *Englishman* of August 7, 1901 tells us that Sir David Ezra demanded 539,000 Rs. for his Esplanade property whereas the government offered him 300,000. The Ezra firm is always listed as landlord in the commercial directories as are firms such as those of David and I. J. Cohen.

[36] *Commerce* XXXVIII (April 6, 1929), p. 695 ; (Jan. 15, 1929), p. 115 ; (April 13), p. 753.

[37] *Ibid*, and (Jan. 22, 1929), p. 109.

[38] Same as notes 36 and 37.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Thacker's Indian Directory 1915* (Calcutta, 1915), passim.

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[43] *Thacker's 1915.*

[44] Chaim Bermant, *Troubled Eden : An Anatomy of British Jewry* (London, 1971).

[45] Seth, *History*, pp 535-540.

[46] *Census of India, 1911* Vol. V, Part II, *Tables*, pp. 116-117.

[47] *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 52.

[48] All Calcutta census references as in Note 16.

[49] Ben Yaacov, *History*, pp. 336-338.

[50] James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese : Between Black and White* (Cambridge, Mass, 1971)

[51] A British source of 1803 notes :

> The Armenians are the most numerous body of foreign merchants in this Capital. They carry on an extensive trade from China and most of the seaports to the Eastward and to the West, as far as the Persian Gulf.

Latterly, they, too, seem to have gone into house property especially. Jute and sharebroking as well as shellac seem to be other community specialities. The 1849 *Bengal and Agra Guide* shows 14 Armenian merchants (compare 5 Greeks, 11 Moghuls i,e Iranians, 15 Jews, and 9 Parsees). Several of the leading Armenian firms owned coal mines. A listing of shellac firms in *Commerce* XXXVIII (April 13, 1929). p. 752 shows them in third and eighth place.

[52] *Census of Calcutta*, 1866, p. 13.

[53] Thomas A. Timberg, "Marwari Merchant Migration : A Survey and Discussion of the Relevence of Theory". Paper delivered at the International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, France, July 1973.

volume on the Bene Israel is Haeem Samuel Kehimkar, *The History of Bene Israel of India* (Tel Aviv, 1964). The Cochin and Bene Israel communities are also treated extensively in the older gazetters of the areas concerned. David Mandelbaum, "The Jewish Way of Life in Cochin", *Jewish Social Studies*, IX (1939), pp. 423-460 and more recently Albert Kushner, *Immigrant Jews from India in Israel* (Tucson, 1973), deal with the social arrangements of the Cochin Jews. A recent sociological study of the—Bene Israel is Schifra Strizower, *The Children of Israel* (Oxford, 1971). See also M. Ezekiel, *History and Culture of the Bene Israel in India* (Bombay, 1948); B. J. Israel, *Religious Evolution among the Bene Israel of India since 1750* (Bombay, 1953); S. Samuel, *A Treatise on the Origins and Early History of the Bene Israel* of Maharashtra State (Bombay, 1963); a more popular study is M. D. Japhet, *The Jews of India* (Bombay, 1969).

A couple of stray pieces may also be of interest. Myron M. Weinstein, "A Hebrew Quran Manuscript", *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, X (Winter 1971-72), pp. 19-52 tells us a good deal about the Cochin community. One of the few works which focusses on the content of Cochin religious life is Fischel "The Literary Creativity of the Jews of Cochin", *Jewish Book Annual*, XXVIII (1970-71), pp, 25-31 and XXIX (1971-72), pp. 5-11. Another of Fischel's pieces focusses on the Baghdadi community of Bombay, "Bombay in Jewish History in the Light of New Documents from the Indian Archives", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXXVIII-IX (1972), pp. 119-144.

[3] *Encyclopedia Judaica* XIV, "Singapore", pp. 1607-08, "Hong Kong", pp. 963-964. In both cases the first firm seems to have been that of David Sassoon.

[3] *The Bene Israel Annual and Yearbook*, 1917-18, ed. Rebecca Reuben (Bombay, 1917), shows six Bene Israel, from that old Jewish community of the Bombay region, in Calcutta. For general histories of the Baghdadi Jewish diaspora see David Solomon Sassoon, *A History of the Jews of Baghdad* (Letchworth, 1949) and Avraham Ben Yaacov, *Yahudei Bavel Me'sof Tkufat Ha Geonim ad Yomeinu* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1965), especially pp. 209-219 for economic detail. See also A, Ben Yaacov aud H Y. Cohen, "Iraq", in *Encyclopedia Judaica* Viii, pp. 1444-1461. There are also two sudies of the Sassoon family, premier members of this diaspora; Cecil Roth *The Sassoon Dynasty* (London, 1941) and Stanley Jackson, *The Sassoons* (N. Y., 1968).

[4] Sassoon, *History*, p. 210. See note 3 and S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (1925) (Republished Farnborough, Hants, 1968). Longrigg refers to Daud Pasha whose persecutions seem to have impelled the first Calcutta Jewish settlers on pp. 239-274. Daud Pasha is rather noted there for his munificence and formal piety—but one suspects that plundering the Jews and Christians of Baghdad was a necessary element in this munificence as it had been in several previous reigns. It is also possible that some of the Jewish refugees were caught in the crossfire of his various mini-wars with the East India Company's local representative.

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