Laura Arnold Leibman - Jewish Women in Early America

- We are now almost we over the 9,000 mark for participants.

- For subscribers-

- Subscribers.

- So I want to say be careful with what you wish for when you say you're happy to answer emails.

- Trust me, I do know that.

- I'll say, Judi, we have you have another job. Don't forget. So how. It is 12 o'clock, I just want to mention that there is a possibility that we are going to be rescheduling Cherie Blair because she's having problem with her internet in the UK. So we will send out an email straight away to everybody. Judi, would that be possible? Or maybe-

- As soon as we start. I've actually just had an email from Carly to say that we are going to be rescheduling.

- We are. Okay, good. Or after that let's take care of it. All right, so we're going to be rescheduling Cherie in the meantime over to you Laura, and welcome everybody. Good morning, good afternoon, good evening. Welcome back. And we are very lucky to have Laura with us today. Thank you Laura, over to you.

Visual slides are displayed throughout the presentation.

- Thank you so much. I'm going to go ahead and share screen so that people can see the images again. And let me put it full screen. So thank you so much for coming back for the second part in the series today we're focusing really in on what's happening with Jewish women in early America as just opposed to Jews in general. And the reason why I got started into this topic, which is really the topic of my more recent book, "The Art of the Jewish Family", was when I had written my first book, I found myself having a really hard time finding resources to talk about Jewish women that all of my objects seemed to keep leading me back to men. And I would say that was even more the case when I was working on the book that came in between them, which was a collection of primary sources that I edited with Michael Holberman and Hilit Surowitz-Israel.

And it turns out we're not the first people to have this problem. It's that a lot of scholars have noted like every time you want to talk about Jewish women, they don't seem to be there in the sources. And in fact, even Jacob Rader Marcus, who's like the Grand Poobah of colonial Jewish history. He put together 1,000 pages of a documentary history of Jewish women across all the

time periods in Americas. And of those 1,000 pages, only 60, so very, very small number were from before 1800. And even those 60 pages, most of them were by men. So you get a sense of even somebody who's working at a big archive and is trying to collect sources on Jewish American women was just having this horrible, horrible time finding any sources. And it turns out even when he could find a source, they were things like this letter that was written by a woman named Hannah Louzada who lived in, sometimes she lived in New York and her family was, were members of Congregation Shearith Israel, which is the oldest synagogue in New York.

But some of the times she lived across the bay in New Brunswick, New Jersey. And she wrote what's called a begging letter. So it's this little letter saying that she wishes that they would send her funds in order for her to buy some money for wood for the winter. And she would come down to fetch it, but she's, her legs are all swollen, could they just send her some money so she has some money to buy some food. So this seemed to me like not that helpful in that it was this like weird little glimpse, a fragment of somebody's life that surely was much more complex. Like how did Hannah get to be so poor? What was she doing in New Brunswick, New Jersey, which seems totally reasonable today, but was really pretty much the edge of the earth for Jews during this time period and during the 1760s. So I had all these questions that Hannah's little fragment of a letter weren't answering.

And so this led me to feel very frustrated and I noticed that scholars tended to have two responses to this. One was that basically they would just throw their hands up at despair and they're like, well, there's no resources on Jewish women, let's just forget about them from the colonial period. And I'm going to go back to the late 19th century and the 20th century when women start writing lots of sources. And that's where we find most of Jewish American women's history. The other response that people had when they weren't just giving up completely was they would turn to the very wealthiest Jewish women who lived in the colonies who were actually literate and would write lots and lots of letters. And so we had this wealth of information about them and those were women like Rebecca Gratz, the woman over on this side who many of you may have heard of. She wrote dozens and dozens of letters, but she also helped found Jewish orphanages and schools. She was just very, very prominent in early America.

Or a woman who, like Abigail Franks, the woman on the other side who was also extremely wealthy, but wrote a lot of letters to her children about what was happening in their lives. So for me, the problem of only looking at these two women who happened to write tonnes and tonnes of letters is it would be a little bit like today if I wanted to write a history of Jewish women and the only Jewish woman I ever used was Ivanka Trump, right? So regardless of your politics, she's like just so wealthy, she's not the norm. And her experiences don't really help me understand most Jewish women's experiences. And just like today, most Jewish women and the colonies were not fabulously wealthy, right? Like it's not like every Jew had tonnes of money if only that were the case. So I was really interested in what could I do that would help me get past just using those two women who had lots of resources. So one of the things that I did was I turned back to those objects that were the focus of much of my research.

My previous project that was on Messianism. But instead of just looking at objects that were focused on ritual life or in the synagogue, I really found myself looking at objects that Jewish women owned and trying to think about what those everyday objects could tell us about Jewish identity. So in, as I like to say, it was a little bit more looking at tea cups as opposed to kiddush cups. So I was shifting my focus of what kinds of objects I was interested in. And so I started looking at objects like this beautiful, beautiful tea cup from the beginning of the 19th century that depicts a scene of Jodensavanne, which is a semi-autonomous Jewish town in Suriname. And you can see right here is the glorious, glorious, beautiful synagogue. So this was one of the first major centres of Jewish life in the colonies. But even as I was focusing in on these objects that women owned, I discovered something interesting about them. Not only were they kind of everyday objects like tea cups, but they all had sort of something missing from them. And for this tea cup, I had sort of noticed, I hadn't seen this picture over on this side. Originally, I had only gotten this picture from the archive and I was like, what is that weird little nob on the back? And I, so I asked the archivist could you take a picture of the back?

And when she turned it around, I discovered the handle was broken and missing. And for me this became very much a symbol of what we were missing about Jewish women's lives. Even when I had objects, the objects tended not to have that kind of rich history that I associated some of the time with my first project. So in the case of this kiddush cup, it's literally missing the handle, but we're also missing a lot of background information about this cup. These cups with these beautiful pastoral scenes during this time period were usually parts of sets and we don't know what the other ones in the set were. We're missing all the rest of the set of tea cups and of other serving utensils. And so were the rest of the scenes, all of Suriname without Jews, were they all scenes of Jewish life in the colonies? We just don't know.

And that would be so nice if we did. And we also don't know who originally owned it, which would've been super helpful to know. So again, suddenly I found, as I was looking at Jewish women's objects, I was discovering two things. One, they were every day kind of tea-cupy kind of things. Second, that they tended to be also fragmentary. And this led me back to my interest in that original fragmentary written source that I began to think about what was it that was causing Jewish women's lives to be so fragmentary from this time period? What was causing us to lose all this information about what their lives were like? And for me, this really was very poignant because a lot of the work that I had been doing was on a woman, this woman back here on my wall that some of you have seen before, whose name is Sarah Brandon Moses. And she began her life in Barbados. And this is a synagogue complex where her father was on the mermaid, which is the synagogue governance board. But she was born enslaved, she was owned by a different family in that synagogue complex.

And every time I went to go and find information about enslaved women who lived in and around the synagogue complex, I kept on finding only weird little fragments of things both in the archives and as I was walking around the synagogue itself. So they had recently been doing an archaeological project in the complex and they had found all these beautiful huge graves, stones of prominent men, but for the enslaved women, what I found were only these little shards

of things that surely some of the women who had been living in this complex would've normally touched in their everyday lives. And I was curious like what were these little shards doing in the complex? So it turns out, so these shards were found over in this area. There had been some shops built in the 19th century and they tore them down as part of the restoration project. But there had been these houses where the synagogue officials had lived. This was the ritual bathhouse where the bath attendant who was a woman lived, and then the rabbi's house, the shokahs, so the ritual slaughterers house and the Shamasha's house, the guardian for the caretaker for the synagogue over here, where the museum is, is where the community's school would've been. So the building is still standing today.

So during the 19th century there was a huge hurricane that had caused all of these different houses to collapse and all of the dishes that were in them to get destroyed and to be shattered. So maybe that's where these little objects had come from. And I knew that enslaved women had worked in these houses. Where were they coming from? Or were they were just broken by accident and maybe just thrown off to the side over in a sort of dirt pit, something that was deemed not worthy of saving. So the shards then became a symbol for me of what I wasn't normally finding in museums, which would be whole objects, but rather those sort of objects which once would've been whole, but now had been discarded. And so I began to think of women's lives a lot in these terms of what were the things like hurricanes that had destroyed the plates that were rupturing women's lives during this time period and making them seem almost impossible to piece back together. So this made me return back to that letter from Hannah Louzada in which she's asking for assistance and I'll go ahead and read the whole letter to you. And it turns out this is a very typical letter that we find from the colonies.

It's called a begging letter. And I really became interested in how it was part of a pattern of the broken lives. So she says she's writing from New Brunswick in November of 1763, sir, 1761. Sir, I take the liberty to write you now. I think that it is time for you to get my winter's provisions. Likewise, a little money to buy some wood for the winter. So it's wintertime for Hannah as well. I would come down myself to fetch it, all one word, but being disabled, my legs having swells. But I hope sir that ancient proverb, not out of sight, out of mind applies to me. Sir, here I lay suffering for want of wood and provisions and remains, sir, your most humble servant, Hannah Louzada. And then she signs it off by saying, remember my love to your spouse and the rest of your family. So she's trying to sort of negotiate the relationships with people that she used to have. So one of the things that became very interesting to me about this letter when I thought about it, not by itself is just one little fragment, but pieces of fragments that I was used to now seeing across all the different archives was that it was one of three kinds of writings by women that I often saw of how women would enter the synagogue records and what was being preserved about them.

And one of those was these requests for money that that is probably the most common thing that I would find from women. And I was really curious why were they so poor? Like what was making women need to ask for money? The second one was they would appear during life cycles. So births and deaths are misbehaving. So the life cycle seemed really normal to me that

that's part of synagogue records. People are born, people have a briss or brit milah that they, those would be times when I expect the women to be appearing because they're the mother of the child or because they had passed away. So that was something I was expecting more. So here's a woman's gravestone, a depiction of the woman having died in childbirth. Very common during this time period. A little bit more exciting were the instances when occasionally women would do something like scandalous and you'd find something really exciting about them in the synagogue records. So there was a Mrs. Gomez in one of the records who had been married off very young to an elderly man and she got fed up with him and she took to the town and the synagogue tracked her down and was like, you need to get back and go back to your husband's household. And she said, you cannot make me, and even if you do, I'm going to hit the town as soon as you turn your back.

And needless to say, they were utterly scandalised. So, and I of course was like, whoa, so exciting to like hear somebody rebelling. But needless to say, those are few and far between. So we Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has this statement about only that women who are rebellious are the ones who actually make history. I would say not true for Jewish women, during this time period. And really to get into the synagogue records, it's pretty rare that they're rebellious. Usually to get in, you have to be doing what you're supposed to. So those were the first two of this kind of triangle of discontent of reasons why women entered into the synagogue records. And the third one was these requests for money. So I became really interested in, okay, I understand those first two, but why are so many women unable to support themselves during this time period? So I became very interested in what I could learn about Jewish women and poverty and those begging letters ended up being very important to me.

So Jewish women by and large are the people that take up most of the synagogue's money that they're spending on people who need support. So during this time period, there's very little state welfare. So if you're Jewish, the Jewish congregation has to take care of you. There's no Jewish congregation in New Brunswick. So Hannah has to go to the one that's closest to her in New York. If she were in London, the Jewish congregation in London would take care of her, Barbados, it would be the one, the synagogue in Bridgetown. So really Jews take care of other Jews. And during this time period, just to give you a sense of how much of the synagogue money goes to taking care of the poor, it's about a third of the budget for Shearith Israel goes to taking care of poor Jews who need assistance. So those are widows, orphans, people who are old and disabled. It's really anybody who can't make Jew on their own, but only the people they deemed worthy. So women were often considered incapable of caring for themselves. So they would end up on these roles. And you'll remember that it was that problem of poverty that sent a lot of Jews to the colonies to begin with. So it shouldn't surprise us since the Amsterdam and London and Hamburg, we're giving people one way tickets to the colonies to get rid of the poor. Not surprising that some of those poor people didn't do very well in the colonies either and ended up on the poor list when they're in the colonies.

So at least half of the community are really quite poor during this time period in colonial America. So we get these begging letters coming, asking for help. So I was really curious what

was forcing women in order to have these problems. And one of the things that was creating this systemic issue of women having to request letters was really the colonial laws during this time period. So Hannah had not always been poor, she had been sort of middle class for a while, but when her husband died, he did not leave a will. And in the part of New Jersey that she lived in, women did not inherit if their husbands weren't tested if they did not leave a will. So she lost everything. The most she would've inherited is a third. She didn't get anything, it all went to her eldest son who was declared insane. And so all the money went to the town to take care of him. So suddenly her husband dies and she has nothing and she's utterly dependent upon the congregation. And it turns out a lot of women had this problem that the local colonial laws were sort of putting them in this position of being impoverished as soon as their husbands would pass away. And I'm going to look at a couple other reasons why women weren't able to get past that problem of being able to support themselves.

So one of the big things that was continuing to styming women once their husbands passed away was the way education worked during this time period. So education was not public education, it was something that people had to pay for if it was provided by the communities. There was still the thing of people needing not to have your children working. A lot of poor people, their children help support the family. So education is very uneven between Jewish women and Jewish men during the early colonial period, particularly for those people who are already poor. So if you're wealthy like Rebecca Gratz, of course you get educated beautifully, but if you're a poor woman, your education is much more haphazard. And Hannah's letter helped me understand some of the reasons why the way women were educated was contributing to their overwhelming poverty during this time period.

So Hannah, if you read her letter, some previous critics who had seen it point out that her English is almost unintelligible. You noticed I had to like give you little things where I was filling in the blanks, but also she has these weird little phrases like I would come down myself to fetch it, all one word. So not even for this time period, not really standard English. So we sort of, you know, kind of charming but not shall we say highly educated English. So I was very interested in what was going on in Hannah's letter that she has this kind of wonky English for the time period, but for a begging letter, her handwriting is actually quite lovely. So this may not look like beautiful handwriting to you, but for the colonial period, very nice for a woman. So, and honestly even for a poor man, this would be quite good handwriting. So I was, that disconnect was interesting to me. And the second thing that sort of made me realise there was something interesting going on about Hannah was that signature that she had at the bottom.

And she has something that anybody who has Spanish, Portuguese heritage may have seen their ancestors do, which is what's called a rubika, And in Spain and Portugal that rubika that flourish under your name was just as important as the signature itself for indicating who you were. So that suggests that Hannah, in addition to having married somebody Sephardic her last name was probably originally educated in Spain and Portugal, that she is herself Sephardic, that she has actually been educated to write nicely and that she's been trained to show her Spanish or Portuguese identity. So that Sephardic identity that we talked about last time as being well,

sign that you're really somebody fancy, she's really indicating that with her letter. And in fact, this panned out when I found some other letters by her that had been misidentified because people couldn't read her writing very well. It turned out she wrote some letters to Aaron Lopez, the wealthiest Jew in the colony when she wasn't getting enough money asking for money. But she wrote to him a letter in Spanish and it's beautiful Spanish, it's the opposite of everything her English letter is. It's very elegant and full of rhymes and full of gracefulness and exactly what all the Spanish letter writing manuals of this time suggest you should be doing.

So she's clearly very nicely educated in Spanish and Portuguese. The third hint I had about her education came from that inventory after her husband dies and she originally, and this is earlier, it's from 1750, before she seems to be quite as fluent as she gets in English, right, English kind of gets better over time, but never fabulous, but seems really not great to begin with. And notice that the person has put her mark because he thought she scribbled like an ex or something like that, that indicates she couldn't sign her name and he wrote her name for her. But she actually wrote her name in Hebrew to begin with, which suggests if she had begun her education in Spain and Portugal, she must have at some point moved to someplace like Amsterdam or London and actually had a pretty good elite women's Jewish education that she would've learned some remedial Hebrew in order to sign her name and that she identified herself through that Hebrew name. So that English that people were complaining that she's so bad at is actually, if anything, probably her third or fourth language, right? So she probably, if you know Spanish, she almost always know Portuguese, she knows Hebrew and then English.

So honestly, if you asked me to write a letter in my fourth language, it would also look not so great, right? So really impressive that she actually is so multilingual, she's just not educated in the languages she needs to succeed in business in the colonies. And it turns out this is utterly typical for women during the colonial period, for Jewish women. They tend to be educated not in the language of colonial business, but in the sort of creole languages that they would need to navigate households. So they learn the creole language in Suriname and that's used by the enslaved people and they also learn Papiamento and Curacao. So they're really conversing in the languages they need to know to navigate households, but not to run a business if they aren't originally from that place. So this ends up being a huge problem for them. And we know this because men complain about it, Jewish men complain the women are speaking in the creole languages and they don't like it. So very interestingly, it becomes a problem when women, particularly women of this first generation of immigrants, if they get knocked down by their husbands dying, they're very unlikely to be able to take over and succeed in business.

So it really isn't until the next generation or two get established in the colonies that we see women starting to succeed more in business. So that helped me understand why so many Jewish women were being supported by the congregation. They just have not been, it's not that they're uneducated, they're not educated in ways that will help them succeed in business. So this led me to think, okay, so what are some of those other objects that we have that could help me fill in some of those gaps for these women about which we often know, just like one line or two about their lives. And sometimes this is true even about the wealthy women. What would it

be that we could turn to that would help me fill in some of those pieces of the fragment, some of those, if I have a little piece of a broken plate, what are some of the other pieces I could fill in? And one of the first objects that I'd treat you, which you'll get a hint of because there's one on my wall, are these portraits. And sometimes these portraits are full size oil portraits and sometimes they're very small miniatures. And I'll talk a little bit about the difference. So this is a portrait of Aaron Lopez's wife who happened to have had her own name. Her name was Sarah Lopez. And this is a portrait by Gilbert Stuart who was one of the most famous portrait makers from the colonies of her son Joshua, from 1772. He's about four at the time though he looks just like a little miniature man and she's at age 25, she's already been married for about 15 years, sorry about 10 years when this portrait is taken. And she's had at least four different children.

So you'll remember that Aaron Lopez is that man who had two wives and 18 children that he strategically placed all around the colonial world. She is wife number two. And the portrait is really going to help us, you'll see fill in some of the gaps. She's somebody, although she was quite wealthy, she has almost nothing that she wrote or that was written about her. So what was the one thing that she wrote was a letter that she sent to somebody who was marrying into the family that was a history of her husband's family, but it turns out sort of a history of her family because she's actually related to him even before they're married. So she's wife number two. He marries her when she's about 15, which is not that atypical. He was first, she is the daughter of his first cousin and his first wife who he had married in Spain and Portugal and brought with him to Newport, was actually the daughter of his half-sister. So you'll notice Aaron has something weird going on with Marian close relatives.

And it turns out this is actually pretty common during this time period and something that probably could have been true with Hannah Louzada as well and may help explain some of the, might be a genetic reason behind some of the problems that her son was having. So in fact, when Aaron Lopez establishes himself in Newport, they have to rewrite the incest laws to put in a clause like Jews are allowed to marry close relatives because so many Jews coming from Iberia were married to people who they wouldn't have been allowed to be married to in Newport. So why is somebody who's so wealthy and has a lot of choices marrying women who are so closely related to him? It seems like a, some ways a bad choice. So when they were in Iberia, this was very much a pattern because it allowed people who were practising Judaism in secret to know that they were marrying first, somebody who was already Jewish, second, somebody who wasn't going to turn them into the inquisition. So they wanted to marry somebody that they could, that they had an inside track knowing that they were going to be somebody safe. So that really helps us understand why he's married to his niece when he comes to the colonies. But why does he marry somebody who's so closely related?

Well again, why his cousin's daughter when he gets to the Americas? Again, it's part of creating these vast trade networks that women really were used as pieces that would allow men to create these mercantile empires across the Atlantic world. And his cousin really is quite helpful in terms of establishing that empire that his cousin has ties to many of the places that he would like, including Curacao. Her mother is from Curacao. So really helps him expand that empire.

And again, as somebody who he knows what her background is and that they're copacetic with his Judaism. So what can we get from the way that she's being depicted here? So again, this is somebody who married very young, finally having her son. I find with these portraits it's really helpful to compare them to other portraits from the same time period. So here's somebody who is also living in Newport who's not Jewish and you'll notice the same sort of thing that children are being depicted as little adults, very typical. She actually looks very similar in terms of her dress to the woman who is not Jewish from Mrs. Bannister from the same era. What's different, and I hope that people have noticed is that she's wearing a mantua. So she's wearing something that both indicate that she's thinking about covering her hair, which was something that Sephardic women definitely were talking about during this time period. Some of those disputes that people wrote back to Amsterdam about and London and whatnot were about hair covering, but is a specific kind of hair covering which marks her as being Sephardic.

Again, something very distinctive is a tie to that Iberianness that her family had left behind it physically but are still part of their cultural identity and part of what they're interested in. So really important that both Gilbert Stuart and she sort of style her as being somebody who's very much got those ties to Iberia still. And we know that her husband did still write letters to people in Iberia. He got letters from women whose husbands went missing and saying like, my husband went to the colonies and I can't find him. Can you help me find him? So he's definitely still trading back and forth and helping people in Iberia. So the other thing that I think is really important about these two portraits is unlike some of the later portraits from the 19th century, so this is Rebecca Gratz, this is one of Rebecca Gratz's relatives who are deliberately styling themselves as sort of over the top super Jewish either or by being like I'm going to look like I don't, honestly, what is Rebecca Gratz doing here?

I think that this is supposed to look like an oriental turbine. Something weird that indicates like Jews is people from the orient, you know, super exotic. And similarly here, this is an Ashkenazi woman who is using a mantua to signal like her Jewishness. But again, in that kind of, I want to look more Sephardic than I actually am. So these later portraits will get these like super expressive Jewish portraits. It's really not what we see during this time period. During this time period, Sephardic Jews, in particular, are trying to look like everybody else. And that's, in part, because they're trying to emphasise their sameness. So today we often think for, look for Jewish difference. Here the Jews are really scrambling to get the same rights as everybody else. And one of the ways that they do that is by showing that they are people of status through the clothing that they wear and that they're just like the other people in the colonies with just a small difference. So again, very typical that they would dress similarly. So those are one of the first kinds of things. So we have this woman, Sarah.

We're able to sort of see a sort of fuller picture of what she wants to be depicted as that she has this Iberian identity, although she's born in New York. She wants to show herself as being similar to the other women in the the colony. But she's clearly very proud of motherhood as well. Like that's part of who she is and her relationship to her husband. So the second kind of portrait that we see very typically is more like the one that's behind me, which originally is about this big, this

is a closeup of it and these are these ivory miniatures. And I'm pretty obsessed with these ivory miniatures because remember that map of how Jews are spread all around the Atlantic world. Ivory miniatures are really a way for Jews to stay connected across all those different ports. And they're a way to feel that somebody's close to you even when they're far. They're also in the case of this woman, Sarah Brandon Moses, a way that people would send something ahead in order to arrange a match with somebody in another port. So here's a woman, Sarah Moses Levy. I think this is such a great portrait because we can see she's wearing one of those miniatures. They're not just something you would hang on a wall, but something you would wear like jewellery close to yourself, close to your body. I want this person to be close even though they're far. And we can see that even though they're small, they're just this incredible detail. They're made from a thin slice of ivory.

There often would be a piece of silver to reflect that glow of the ivory behind it. And they're using watercolour behind it in these hatch marks to get the watercolour to stick or these little dots that you see. These are stipplings and hatchings to try and get it painted here. So just an incredible amount of detail. These are very expensive. They cost as much as one of those big portraits like full-size portraits would take to make. So what's also charming is we know who this little portrait is because we still have it today. And it happens to be her son who like many women's children, including Sarah Lopez's son, Joshua, ended up going and moving far away. So she's able to keep that small picture of him, of what he was like as a child close to her even when he's travelled far away. And we see the same kind of lovely use of hatching here to get some of the texture in his hair as well as some of the texture in the background, but some of the little dots for the rough of the lace. So part of that wanting people to be close was something that I think things a little creepy today, but is very much part of this time period, which is people would actually make on the back part of the miniature, a little portrait using chopped up hair.

So this is some of her son's chopped up hair that was included in a portrait of a rose. You can see if he had died it would've been a broken stem, but there he's still growing in some of his little chapters you get this sense of like she wants him to be close physically even when he's far away. So when I was looking at this portrait from Sarah Brandon, I was doing that similar sort of technique that I was using with the Sarah Lopez portrait of trying to think about her in comparison. But here I was really interested in how did it work as a multiracial woman to be using a portrait and to navigate the marriage market. And I was really interested in the ways in which this style of portraiture, which becomes very popular for Jews exactly at the moment as they're starting to be questioned, whether they're white or not, is about very much this glowing whiteness beneath the skin. And we see that in Sarah's portrait that he's left a lot of skin open where there's no paint on it.

And it was a very different painting technique than it was used in other portraits of multiracial women here from Suriname or from early New York, two places that Sarah had lived. So one of the differences these women had indicated their African ancestry by the type of head covering that they're using, whereas Sarah, because she's looking to get married, keeps her head uncovered so that people know that she's available and also that she's sort of presenting herself

as racially ambiguous. Second thing that was different was these men had used hatching not just on the backgrounds or on the hair, which would've been normal, but on the skin, which is something portrait maker manuals from the time period tell us never do this. Like don't do that. It's going to make exactly the problem that we see here, which is the women look super scratchy, but the portrait maker was making a judgement call about the women's race and presenting their skin colour is somehow flawed. We see that the portrait maker for Sarah's gets around that problem by just not applying paint to that area. So really these two women not that different in terms of the degree of paint, that's the way that their skin colour looks, except for that one, the portrait maker has really racialized her in negative terms, whereas Sarah's portrait, he did not do that. So I was very interested in how she sort of racially ambiguous in these portraits and in fact she appears much lighter skin than her father even who is just European.

So very much using this style of miniatures, which are about kind of glowing lightness during this time period in order to emphasise that she can fit into society. So for me, those portraits were one really important way that I could fill in evidence another little niche in the broken plate about the women. Another thing that I was turning to was their houses, which sometimes it would be a full beautiful house such as this one in Curacao, which today is a museum, but other times it would be information about houses that I could glean about what they were doing in the city centres. So this was the house, the Penha house, which is still standing today. We have lots of beautiful old photographs of it. This is looking down this aisle here. You see it's right along the waterfront, very typical of merchant's houses, much more glorious, the many merchant's houses, but typical merchant's houses in that there would be a store on the bottom level and the family's quarters upstairs. So this was a woman, it says 1708. Her husband took two separate houses and combined them. So bear's the original date of one of the houses.

But this combined house is from slightly later. So we see that Jews often would have these houses that were these sort of combined quarters between even very wealthy Jews, between where they were living and where they were making their money during this time period. And this helped me when I was going and thinking of trying to fill in another piece for somebody like Sarah Lopez, that even though I don't have her house still today, that I did have advertisements that allow me to see how she was living more on a day-to-day basis. So this was an advertisement that after her husband was travelling back after the Revolutionary War to Newport and he fell in a pond and drowned, that his carriage tipped over. And so they had to sell the house that they had been staying in outside of Newport in order, during the war, in order to relocate. And we find out from the description that it was a large and commodious double house and that it had two entries, two staircases, two kitchens and other rooms on a floor and eight lodging rooms and a large Garrett and a spacious cellar.

So one of the things that was interesting is even after she married, her mother and her father actually lived in one half of the stubble house and she and her husband and her children lived on the other side. So they were part of this large extended kin network. And it turns out this also is very typical for this time period that we'll see these sort of large kin gatherings around houses. A third thing that helped me figure out some of the lies about what was going on with Jewish

women and the way they were passing along identities is silver. And again, not silver, like silver tors, those bells that go on top of tors, but rather everyday kind of silver objects that women would leave to their children in wills and express affection and ways of trying to connect to people or that they would scratch on the bottom. This one says for Sally, for her only, it was one that a woman had less specifically for her daughter and she wanted to make sure that her daughter had gotten it. So really looking at those everyday objects that would've been in households. Fourth, I tended to try and find out about the women who did succeed in business. So again, I knew that first generation women like Hannah Louzada often had horrible problems. Why were women like Rebecca Gomez who had inherited her husband's chocolate shop able to succeed. And again, we see them drawing on all these different, being able to succeed in business areas where she's living in a mercantile centre in New York as opposed to often the boonies.

And also that she has this kin network that's supporting her as she begins her business. The other kinds of women that tend to succeed are women like Abigail Minis who's not like count as somebody who's a refugee from another country but is actually raised learning to read English. And we can see in her letter she says, she presents our compliments. I'm your obedience servant. She's just so much more fluent in English. And she, like some women, was keeping a tavern in Savannah. So again, we have this next generation, the women who come after Hannah who are able to get a little bit more education that allows them after their husbands die, to succeed in their husbands' businesses and not have those kind of language barriers that we have for the first generation women. A fifth thing that really helped me figure out some elements about women were their gravestones. And gravestones are often a place where women would be memorialised. Sometimes they have kind of portraits on them like this one from Newport or let us know, like this woman, Hana Leah Hoheb, that she died in childbirth and that that was something that they felt her life was cut down too soon.

But something that she would be honoured for in the world to come that her pain that she had been caused would allow her to succeed spiritually. But I also noticed that other women would appear on gravestones as sort of minor characters of the worlds that women were supposed to have in terms of keep the family together and also in mourning. So this is the gravestone of Isaac Hyam Sinor from Curacao. And we see that his wife is next to him when he's on his deathbed and along with his parents. So again, that multi-generational household and his children and we have a servant in the background. And her name, Raquel Marchena y Carilho. She is really somebody who is very much about being asked to mourn for her husband and being part of that, keeping on the legacy for the next generation that she's appearing on the stones even when it's not her that's died. So similar to the woman who was, I'm going to go back a little bit to Raquel Lopez Penha is somebody who had been born in Amsterdam and she came to Curacao when she was two years old. And then she marries her husband when she's only 17 and she marries her uncle again.

So very much again, these sort of these close relationships. The woman who gets married here, this is one of her houses that she is also just a teenager when she gets married and she marries

her cousins. So again, we're still seeing these sort of networks of the families tying the women's lives together, including these multi-generational households. So this is her country house, even though she also had a house in town. So her family, when they were in the country, this is where they lived, this is where the old cemetery was. Here's the old port. Here's the synagogue building, and they live just two doors down from the synagogue. So when they're in town, they're very close to the synagogue, but they also have a country estate. So she's somebody who is even after her husband's death being considered somebody who's going to keep those ties of the family together through those multiple generations. And finally, I was also very interested in these marriage contracts, not for the ways that most people look at them, which are for the paintings that are on them, but for the way that the texts were really changing over time and the ways that allowed me to see who was being given a large dowry. So when were women being considered the thing that was the inheritance for keeping a family together.

So for example, in the case of Sarah Brandon, her father gave her a dowry of 10,000 pounds, which is about $30 million today, spending money, really is a way of cementing his Jewish descendants, right? So he's seeing her as being a way of his line going forward, not just his son as a way of a line going forward. So these large amounts being given over when we get married in order to cement things, but also the increased use of this kind of racialized language in places like Suriname where this is a contract between two Jews of partial African ancestry and they indicated in the marriage contract that they were emancipated Jews, meaning that their ancestors had been enslaved as a way of showing they're Jewish. But they also have African ancestry. Again, partially to get at what's going on at race during this time period. And then finally towards the end of the colonial period, we start to see women developing their own sorts of documents themselves more commonly. And one of my favourite examples of this are commonplace books, which are a little bit like a scrapbook, but our, or like a Facebook page or something like that. Or if you used to share, we used to exchange our yearbooks when I was in high school and in junior high, similar sort of thing.

You'd have this book and you would give it to your friends, they would draw a picture in it or they'd write you a little poem, something and you would collect all these things and they would create these incredible networks. So I was really interested in this genre that people had always been like, ba, you know, women's not very important. It's not even written by one person. I was more interested in how women were building networks that help sustain them. So this woman, after her husband loses her job, she really falls back on that network to create a safety net for herself and her children. So you really see that the ways that women create kinship and friendship patterns being just incredibly important during this time period so that they don't end up being impoverished in the way that women like Hannah were, a generation earlier. So in conclusion, few takeaways for you. One really important to remember, colonial women weren't all wealthy. That just like today, there is a wide range and in fact more women were poor during that time period. And the poor were very dependent upon synagogues and upon charity by other Jews.

Second, women were very much limited in writing records because of the way that they were

educated. The languages that they used were ones that weren't deemed worthy of being preserved and their records often appear fragmented as a result. Third, much of what we have about them ties back to life cycles because that's what the men and the synagogues valued women for. So we want to balance that against the other parts of their everyday lives. Objects and portraits allow these women to present themselves as they wanted to be seen. So a way of navigating some of the anti-Semitism during the time period of showing they are just as good as their neighbours. Their portraits allow them to present themselves as people who are valuable both for their Jewishness, the mantias, but also for the civil rights of the elites. And finally, like men during this time period, women are both agents and victims of empire. And I think this portrait of Sarah is just a great example that she's somebody who began her life enslaved, but by the end ends up quite wealthy, right? So she's somebody who both is incredibly forced upon by people but has some privileges as well. Similarly, other women like Hannah move the other direction where they begin move middling and end up extremely poor.

And yet Hannah in many ways has privileges that Sarah never does and takes advantage of other people in ways that Sarah never does, that Sarah never owns any enslaved people that she rejects that as part of her family's legacy, whereas Hannah Louzada, despite two years of poverty did. So again, I think really important to think that about that complexity of Jewish women's lives during this time period. So what's coming up next? The next talk for tomorrow is going to be on Jews and religion in colonial America. We're going to look at some of the interiors of those synagogues and some of the details of what made that incredible Sephardic culture really distinctive.

And then finally the last lecture which we're going to reschedule and we'll let you know when it's happening, is on epidemics and Jews in early America where we're going to look at what were some of the strategies that Jews used to deal with the credible chaos of pandemics that swept through the colonial era. Thank you so much. I'm going to stop sharing and we have time for questions and it looks like we have lots of questions from people. Shall I go ahead and just go ahead and start answering some of the questions from people, Judi?

- [Judi] Yes, that's fine. If you could read them out and then, then-

Q&A and Comments:

Q: Okay. So I'm seeing a question from Betty that says, by whom and why was she enslaved?

A: And I'm drinking from the wrong side of my cup, which could have been disastrous, but fortunately was closed. So thank you Betty. I'm assuming you're talking about Sarah Brandon Moses about who and why she was enslaved, but if not, leave another question. So Sarah Brandon Moses was enslaved by somebody similar to kind of Hannah Louzada. She was enslaved by a family that lived, it was kind of middle class and they were merchants. They owned a store in Bridgetown, Barbados. She was the, at least the fourth generation of women enslaved by that family. So really part of this matriarchal culture.

So I was able to slave her, trace her enslaved ancestry back four generations. It's her great-grandmother, her grandmother, her mother, and all the people of her generation living in that same household. And they lived very close to the synagogue and her enslavers family were part of the synagogue. They were friends with her father, the enslavers. And we don't know what the relationship was between her father and her mother and how much agency her mother had in that. Like many of these stories, incredibly sad. So it was very typical that women didn't, enslaved women did not have a lot of say with the relationships with men. Even after her mother gets freed, obviously her father is still offering their children a lot of financial resources. And so she may not have been felt completely able to reject him even if she wanted to, or maybe he was the great love of her life. We just don't know. But I would say more typically these were sort of coerced relationships, but it was very long term. She was with him, her mother was with her father, the entire adult lives until her mother died.

Q: What's a typical for Jewish women to be enslaved and how did this transpire?

A: So I would say not typical for Jewish women to be enslaved, but depended largely on which colony it was. So much more typical in Suriname than it was in other places because in Suriname they converted a large number of enslaved people and converted children who had a mother who had been enslaved and a Jewish father that those children were more likely to be converted. There's an entire manual that's written just about prayers for to say over the circumcision and the conversion of a slave for Suriname. And so because of that Suriname gets this incredibly large community of Jews of colour during this time period who, and many, by the time Sarah ends up going there to convert in 1811, 1812, that community has been often Jewish for generations, right?

So they're halachically Jewish and been so for many, many generations. And some of those people are enslaved and some are free. So war common in Suriname much less common that people would've legally converted in Barbados and other places because there's restrictions on who can convert. So she very strategically seems to go to Suriname in order to be part of a community that's much more accepting. She and her brother go there. Okay. So but I will say one of the things that I think has been interesting about studying her is it has opened up my eyes in terms of even in other communities, we get a lot of people coming from the Caribbean up to the northern colonies. And so we do end up having people who are in Shearith Israel and other congregations who are descendants of some of those people who had enslaved ancestors. And we also see this in the south too, that there are people who are sort of at either at the margins of the community or are accepted by the community. So there's examples from throughout the eastern part of the United States. So not the norm, but certainly part of what happens. Okay.

Q: There is a question by Myrna about, are those art depictions done by European artists?

A: Oh, there was one, but that was by Hogarth. Yes. So there is a depiction by Hogarth. That

one by Hogarth is interesting because it's actually supposed to be a Spanish Portuguese Jew. So hence why I was sort of interested in it. The woman in that is not Jewish, I'm using it as an example. So yeah. So a lot of these portraits are being done during this time period being created by non-Jews for Jews. That said, Jews have a fair amount of say of whether they accept the portrait or not. One of the exceptions to this is, let's see if I can find it in here. There's actually an early Jewish woman who is in London who is a miniature maker. She is of the aristocracy. So her miniatures are considered like not the best quality, but I would say like, again, if you're not being super, super picky.

So here's a picture of her and here's a portrait, little miniature portrait she made of her son. So we do have some Jewish women who are involved in portrait making, and that's true also of silhouettes. So this silhouette that's on the cover of the book is by Edouart, but he actually has a silhouette that he made of a Jewish woman making a silhouette. So we know that Jewish women also as a sort of side thing, more as not professionally but as a sort of craft, did engage in portrait making as well. And unfortunately we don't seem to have any of those silhouettes that she made, which we did. But I love the ones that are by the portrait maker from London. Unfortunately, most portrait makers were men. So I tend to assume that almost all the Jewish portraits, even when they're not indicating what's the gender of the person who made the most miniature makers were men during this time period.

Q: Who created the laws of New Brunswick?

A: That would be the British. So, well, I guess British plus colonials, right? So they're different in the two halves of New Jersey. And why that is, I have no idea. So this is like one of the saddest things about Hannah Louzada. If she had just lived in the other half of New Jersey, she could have gotten a widow's third and she wouldn't have been utterly impoverished, but she lived in the wrong side of New Jersey. I'm sure she's not the only person who's lived in the wrong side of New Jersey somehow. But in any case, so she lives on the wrong side of New Jersey according to the laws. And so she's really even more in trouble financially than she would've been in other places. So it's very important to like think about where people are specifically.

Okay. I am looking at a question. This is sort of a poignant. It's more a comment than a question, but I appreciate this is from Ruth. She says, having run a Jewish charity for over five years, one of the major issues for the clients was a serious lack of education. Providing food and basics was our main calling. And I think that's actually, thank you for pointing that out, Ruth, that I feel like one of the things that was really poignant about thinking about what was going on with charities during this time period and who was deemed worthy of getting charity is how much even our secular charity system like is dealing with many of the same systemic issues.

So if you look at today who are the Jewish poor, it's often people who are elderly, people who are recent immigrants who have lack of access to the main language in the place where they're living now. So again, we still, and certainly Hannah's not the last Jew who ever had problems with mental illness. Like not that Jews have more problems with mental illness, but we also have

them, right? So I feel like there's these things that continue to run through Jewish stories and for me that moment of thinking about not just holding up our Jewish exemplars of the people who always do well, but thinking about the people who don't do well and what's keeping them from succeeding can help sort of normalise the variety in our own Jewish communities today. So thank you for pointing that out, that I feel like that is one of the things that I think is so important about her story. Monty says maybe somebody else wrote letters from women who are literate or with a limited ability to express themselves. Yes. So we do know this that occasionally we will have letters be written by somebody else. So that's why it's helpful to be able to compare handwriting across different letters.

But I would say usually when you ask somebody to write a letter from you, you get somebody who could write better than Hannah asked for. So that's sort of interesting with Hannah's case too, that she rightfully understands that part of the reason why they're supporting her is because she can't make it, right? So a lot of the rhetoric of the begging letters is sort of her, what she talks about with like, oh, I'd come down and fetch it but my knees are swollen. You know? So definitely this like, oh, woe is me thing is a trope that we hear again and again in the begging letters. And to a certain extent the lack of fluidity in the English is a sales pitch in some way. So you don't want to clean it up too much is what I'm saying with the begging letters, but good point, yes. People all the time had other people write letters for them. I'd imagine three centuries ago inbreeding was not understood to be harmful.

Good question. I would say there's still debate about this today. It was very interesting to me that my assumptions about like, hmm, it seems like marrying your niece would be a bad idea genetically. Apparently there's, people have done studies and whatnot and I'm not saying like God and marry your niece, but apparently it's more nuanced than we would think. But I did a study where I went through, I was sort of curious about this, whether people who were that first generation coming from Spain and Portugal where there had been a lot of inbreeding, whether they were more likely to have come up in the colonial records with having problems with people who were considered incapacitated. And I didn't actually see that. So that was sort of interesting to me that they seemed to be doing just fine or they were taking care of their own. So yes, and Jews, as far as I could tell from the colonial records, were not being presenting problems with mental health issues more than anybody else in the colonies. So that was sort of interesting to me in spite of the fact that, again, you'd think after marrying your close relatives for a while it would seem bad, but they were very, witness, Aaron Lopez and his children very successful. Okay.

Q: Were miniature portraits ever done on porcelain or was it only on ivory?

A: Miniature portraits were also done on other medium, the more common medium for them to be done on early on people tried doing them on copper, they, and then you could use oil paint, they quickly realised that wasn't quite as lovely. So we stopped seeing that. Early on they're on vellum. So I believe that was like, if you look at the earliest miniatures back from the British before ivory takes over vellum is very popular. So part of what's so interesting during this

moment when ivory comes into being is that people realise it's really this moment in empire where whiteness starts to be a marker of race. Whereas earlier in the colonial period, clothing and other things tended to be much more markers than skin colour. Really they're taking advantage of that sort of glowiness that you get by really having a thin piece of ivory and the way that they process it allows the light to come through it. So it's really the sort of interesting nexus of what's going on with race and with art during the same time period. So good question. There are other medium that people use and they, once they figure out ivory, they love ivory because ivory just has this incredible quality to it. If you see them in person, they're very like, whoa. They're really quite lovely, even ones that are kind of poorly made. There is a question from anonymous attendee.

Q: Was Sarah mixed race if she was a slave?

A: Yes. So Sarah's father was Sephardic, her mother was mixed race. Her mother's father was an Anglican British man and her grandmother was also mixed race. We don't know who her grandfather was, but her great-grandmother also was mixed race. So she has probably a fair amount of British ancestry as well. So there's a lot of keeping track of how races in the colonial documents people are constantly telling you what people's race is. So we do know that at, for at least four generations back she had partial British or Jewish ancestry. I'm seeing that Wendy is back. Wendy, are we running out of time or are we doing outside?

- [Wendy] No, no, no, no. Sorry. I just was walking and listening to your lecture and then I just I lost you.

- [Laura] So I'm backwards, I'm backing.

- Okay.

- [Wendy] No, no, I'm here.

Q:Yeah. So I think that actually there's a number of questions that are the same thing. In multiracial situations when the father was white, which I'm assuming is a case, were there conversions?

A: So yes and no. So in Barbados it was unusual that there's an entire group of people, and I talk about this in the book in Barbados who have either a Jewish father or British father and a mother who is of often mixed race herself. And some of the people who have a Jewish father and a multiracial mother, some of them become Anglican. So some very end up becoming part of the Monte Fury family, for example. Asked me more about that later if you were interested. There's some cute clothes by them belong to that part of the family at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, for example, some of their wedding clothes. Or some of them such as Sarah and Isaac decide to become Jewish. And the people who decide to become Jewish buy and large convert and the easiest place to convert was Suriname.

So for Barbados, most of the people who are sort of at the edges of the Jewish community who are multiracial and have Jewish ancestry are not officially part of the Jewish community, but are still sort of moving in and back and forth. So I mentioned that Sarah's enslavers had a store. Very fortunately we have the record books from that store. And so we actually see not only members of the Jewish community, but a lot of those other people who are sort of at the fridges of the community coming to the store and what they're able to buy. And it's kind of interesting to compare what people are purchasing on a weekly basis. So definitely people who wanted to be parts of the synagogue pretty much in most cases had to convert Halachically in for Barbados. That varies by place. So I would say not necessarily the case in, there's some examples from Charleston's, an example from Philadelphia where people who just lived Jewish lives and lived at the borders were actually then buried in Jewish cemeteries.

So I think again, you sort of see that it depends on the community and what the community feels like is necessary. I will say some of the huge debates in Barbados, some of those moments where like women are misbehaving are exactly around this issue because, so I had mentioned there is a ritual bath if people have been to Barbados, it's this beautiful bath that's been excavated. The synagogue records around that bath at least one time, the synagogue attendant who was of impoverished woman who is living in the house rent free above it in was earning money on behalf of the community being a bath attendant got into terrible trouble because she allowed some of the women who were in long-term relationships with Jewish men who were multiracial women to immerse in the bath, even though they weren't, they hadn't converted to Judaism and the Mak, the synagogue board found out and threw a fit, fired her. So she loses her house, she loses her job. And really probably the issue there is that, not that you could do it deliberately, but like after the fact that could be seen as completing a conversion, had that woman been practising Judaism in all other ways.

And then she goes to the ritual bath that could potentially, according to Jewish law, complete her conversion. So that's probably other than racism by the mamma is angry about it. But so certainly in Barbados and Curacao and Suriname we see instances of this where probably there are women who have been sort of snuck in to the community as well, who aren't necessarily recognised but actually are Halachically Jewish. So really an interesting issue and again, interesting to see that women get the blame for this, not the men who are having the relationships. Okay. Da da da da.

Q: Was Jewish identity transfers from the mother or the father in mixed marriages?

A: Very interesting question. So in most cases in the colonies that Jewish identity is through the maternal line, just like everywhere else. Aviva Ben-Ur who works on Suriname, has suggested that there are instances, particularly in Suriname, where people were taking their Jewish identity through their father's line, even if they weren't necessarily going through a formal conversion, but certainly would be more likely to convert if their fathers were Jewish. And we do see similarly in Curacao a number of these sort of second households where people have, even if they aren't

a member of the congregation, their gravestones in the non-Jewish cemeteries have all the same look as the Jewish gravestones. So it's an interesting way in which they're Catholic, but they're even at death, that moment of death sort of symbolising their ties to the Jewish community.

So really interesting how it's not quite as clear cut as it might seem from afar that people really seem to be moving in the boundaries. And we do know in different places, Curacao, in Rafe, remember Rafe from long, long ago, that first colony that there are these edicts about non-Jewish women sitting in the balcony and trying to forbid them from doing that. Excuse me. And these are all women of colour. So again, there's clearly some concerns about the people who are attending services who are not Jewish according to the synagogue officials. Okay. Yes. So. Sorry, coughing fits.

So Yolanda had a really interesting point, which was, she says, unfortunate that some women gave galleries yet became poor when the husband died and left money to the children. Thank you so much for raising that. I think this is part of what interests me about the marriage contracts. Marriage contracts are supposed to protect the women. So if you keep your marriage contract and the synagogues, I'll keep copies of them, that should have protected women like Hannah. We don't know what happened to her marriage contract because the early records from New York are missing from that time period. So we don't know that that was kind of the rule of the marriage contract is to protect Jewish women in spite of whatever the colonial laws would be, that they should have had the money that came in coming back to them. So it doesn't always work, but if you can't find your marriage contract, it doesn't work. But yes, that's part of the role of the catchy boat is.

I think we think a marriage contracts as being like somehow negative for this time period. They're really about protecting the women and protecting them financially. So very interesting that either those poor women, they didn't bring any money to the marriage or they lost their marriage contracts. But yes, you know, certainly not everybody brings a huge dowry to their marriage.

Q: I am seeing a bunch of questions that are more about the slavery part of it, about how did Jews become enslaved and were enslaved women black or mixed race?

A: So I would say all of those things. So like we have some enslaved women who are first generation coming from Africa who are converted. So that happens all the time. Or all of their ancestors are from Africa, particularly in Suriname who are converted, some of them who are mixed, right? So again, variety of different things. In addition, something that sort of complicates things as well is in Suriname, one of the maroon communities, one of the groups of people who are descendants of enslaved people who escaped and formed their own communities in the jungle, they also had ties to Jewish rituals and practised Jewish rituals. So that's another way that people sort of come back to Judaism as well.

Q: How did Jews become enslaved?

A: Again, I would say it's more how did enslaved people become Jews? In some cases of conversion but in the case of people like Sarah, I think it's also really important to note that the part of Africa, and I know this thanks to DNA evidence from some of her descendants that they shared, the parts of Africa that she's from are parts where there are African peoples who have claimed ties to Judaism and genetically that sort of bears out. So I think there's certainly in Suriname some of the people come to the colonies with these sort of stories about oral tradition, about being from related to Jews and that sort of mixes with Jewish tradition as well.

- Laura, I'm going to jump in.

- Yeah.

- Sorry, I sort of lost you. I've been struggling. I've been going in and out.

- That's okay.

- I just want to say thank you very, very, very much Laura.

- Sure.

- outstanding presentation.

- I'm so glad.

- Yes. Yeah, go get a glass of water.

- Yeah, I have, I have one here, but it's apparently not enough. It's that time in the morning when I'm just coughing.

- Oh. But thank you. That was fabulous.

- Sure.

- Thank you. Great. And we'll see you again soon.

- Okay. We'll see you tomorrow morning.

- Thank you very, very much.

- Thank you.

- Bye.