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THE JEWS
OF
SOUTH CAROLINA

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY
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RABBI OF K. K. BETH ELOHIM, CHARLESTON, S. C.

PRESS OF
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA
1905

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TO THE

FRIEND OF MY YOUTH

MADAME EMILY S. KIEFE

OF PARIS

THIS VOLUME IS

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BY

THE AUTHOR

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"Wherever possible, let us not be told about this man or that. Let us hear the man himself speak, let us see him act, and let us be left to form our own opinions about him. The historian, we are told, must not leave his readers to themselves. He must not only lay the facts before them: he must tell them what he himself thinks about those facts. In my opinion this is precisely what he ought not to do."—FROUDE on *The Science of History*.

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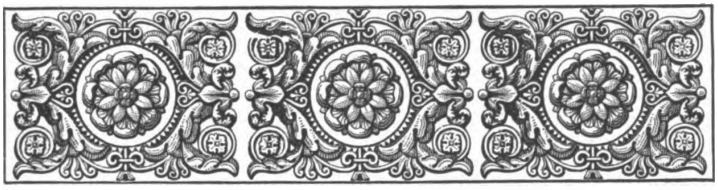

PREFACE

TO write a comprehensive history of the Jews of South Carolina is to-day a task of no small difficulty: not that there is any dearth of material at the disposal of the historian, but by reason of the very vastness of that material, of which scarcely anything has hitherto been utilized. Twenty years ago the task would have been a much easier one. There were then several people still living in Charleston who were born in the first decade of the nineteenth century and who could have filled in many an interesting gap that must now remain void.

Strange as it may seem, very little of historical value has been written on the subject. Four brief sketches of the Jewish Congregation at Charleston, by the late Nathaniel Levin, in the first volume of Leeser's *Occident*, reproduced in substance in the *Year Book* of the City of Charleston for 1883, useful as far as they go but exceedingly imperfect and erroneous; a few biographical notices in Markens's *The Hebrews in America* and in the recently published *Jewish Encyclopædia;* a few items collected in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, and a few miscellaneous articles in the Jewish newspapers of the last fifty years are all that we possess. For the rest, the data have been buried in the voluminous records of various character existing in South Carolina and in the newspaper files of the

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last hundred and seventy years. The story is here presented for the first time from original sources.

Until quite recently the Congregation Beth Elohim had no records prior to 1866. These were long supposed to have been burnt in Columbia, where they were sent for safe-keeping during the war between the States. A singular accident has brought most of these books, beginning with the year 1800, to light again. They form, indeed, a most remarkable collection, and correct many fictions that till now have passed current as history.

In the preparation of this work the author has carefully collated all files of newspapers published in Charleston from 1732 to the present time; he has examined all the public documents of the State from the earliest times to the present day; he has ransacked the historical collections of the Charleston Library Society, the South Carolina Historical Society, the Winyah Indigo Society, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the Wisconsin State Historical Society; and the treasures of many private libraries have passed through his hands.

In the following chapters tradition will play but an insignificant part. A whole volume might be written on the traditions of the Jews of South Carolina, but it is perhaps as well to let these traditions die. Traditions, while interesting to the general reader, do not help the truth of history. The story will therefore be treated objectively. The records will speak for themselves. Here and there personal interpretation of the documents and of the facts will be necessary. They will be interpreted in as faithful a light as possible, nothing extenuated and nothing set down in malice.

The author would here acknowledge his deep sense of obligation to numerous friends without whose assistance this volume could never have been carried to successful completion: to the late General Edward McCrady, whose

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name will ever be indissolubly associated with the history of South Carolina; to the late Henry A. de Saussure, Esq., whose valuable collection of historical material he ungrudgingly placed at his disposal; to Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., the able secretary till recently of the South Carolina Historical Society, whose time and knowledge have been unsparingly drawn upon on innumerable occasions; to the Hon. William A. Courtenay, of Newry, who, at his own expense, sent to him some of his most precious volumes; to Mr. Yates Snowden, late of *The News and Courier*, who has called his attention to many suggestive data; to Mr. A. S. Freidus and Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the New York Public Library; to J. Quintus Cohen, Esq., of New York, to whom the author is indebted for much valuable material; and, finally, to Henry A. M. Smith, Esq., of Charleston, to whose unceasing encouragement the publication of this volume is largely due.

The author would only add that the following chapters are the result of several years of steady work done in the intervals of a busy life. He has striven to make the story as complete and as accurate as possible. Other facts may yet come to light, but all the sources at present available have been laid under contribution. Many interesting data have doubtless been omitted, but the author only claims to tell the story in as far as it is revealed in the records. When the reader considers the immensity of the task here undertaken, and the fact that this history is now written for the first time, the author feels that he may reasonably seek indulgence for any small shortcomings of which he may unconsciously be guilty.

CHARLESTON, S. C., September, 1905.

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THE JEWS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

CHAPTER I—BEGINNINGS
1670–1750

THE history of South Carolina is a thrilling history. From her settlement in 1670 to our own day it has been one long tale of glorious achievement. In not a few things has South Carolina set the pace to her sister States, but in nothing may she feel a more justifiable pride than in the broad and liberal principles on which she was founded.

"In the year 1669, the Lords 'did encourage severall people to come in their Vessells to inhabitt this part of their province & with the said people did alsoe send Fundamll Lawes, Constitucons under the hands & Seales of six of their Lordshipps bearing date 21st July, '69, as the unalterable forme & rule of Governmt for ever.' "[1]

This Constitution of John Locke (1669) was a veritable Magna Charta of liberty and tolerance. South Carolina

[1] Note of Langdon Cheves to "Shaftesbury Papers," Vol. 5, *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, p. 117.

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started right. Our chief concern being with the Jews of South Carolina, it would be well to note carefully Article 87 of this wise and far-seeing Constitution:

"87. But since ye natives of yt place who will be concernd in or. plantations are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idollatry, ignorance, or mistake gives us noe right to expell or use ym. ill, & those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoydably be of diffrent opinions concerning matters of religion, ye liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed ym., & it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep ym. out yt civil peace may be maintaind amidst ye diversity of opinions, & our agreement & compact with all men may be duly & faithfully observed, ye violation whereof upon what p'tence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, & great scandal to the true religion yt we p'fesse, & also yt heathens, Jues, and other disenters from the purity of Christian religion may not be scared and kept at a distance from it, but by having an oppertunity of acquainting themselves with ye truth & reasonablenes of its doctrines, & ye peacablenes & inoffencivenes of its professors, may by good usage and perswasion, & all those convincing methods of gentlenes & meeknes sutable to ye rules & designe of the Ghospel, be wone over to imbrace and unfeynedly receive ye truth. Therefore any seaven or more persons agreeing in any religion shall constitute a church or profession to wch. they shall give some name to distinguish it from others."[3]

Little wonder, then, that the persecuted Jew, like the persecuted Huguenot and German Palatine, soon came here to find a haven of rest. To be undisturbed in the possession of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and to enjoy the privilege of worshipping God as his conscience dictated—these have ever been the ideals of the Jew, even as they were the ideals upon which this great Republic was established. For by far the greater part of his history, in every country, some or all of these "inalienable rights of man" have been denied him. Here he could have them all, and in fullest measure. South Carolina welcomed him, welcomed him as a man and as a citizen, and the Jew showed

[3] "Shaftesbury Papers," p. 113.

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himself worthy of the confidence that was reposed in him. It is no idle boast to claim that there are none who have shed more lustre upon the annals of this State or have done more towards its upbuilding than have its Jewish citizens.

When did the Jews first come here and where did they come from? Thereby hangs an interesting tale.

In the Charleston Library there is a reprint of a unique volume entitled *A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina*, by John Archdale, Late Governor of the Same. (London, 1707.) On page 22 we read the following quaint narrative:

"Now that the Reader may plainly discern, that the Almighty and Omniscient God, takes cognizance of Human Affairs, and directs them by a wise and prudent Chain of Causes, I shall relate some remarkable Passages that happened quickly after that I entered upon the Government, which was the 17th of *August*, 1695. There is a Nation of *Indians* call'd the *Yammassees*, who formerly liv'd under the *Spanish* Government, but now live under the *English*, about 80 Miles from *Charles-Town*. Some of these *Indians* going a Hunting, about 200 Miles to the Southward, met with some *Spanish Indians* that lived about *Sancta Maria*, not far from *Augustine*, the Seat of the *Spanish* Government; and taking them Prisoners, brought them Home, designing to sell them for Slaves to *Barbadoes* or *Jamaica* as was usual; but I understanding thereof, sent for their King, and ordered him to bring these *Indians* with him to *Charles-Town*, which accordingly he did: There were three Men and one Woman; they could speak *Spanish*, and I had a *Jew* for an Interpreter, so upon examination I found they profess'd the Christian Religion as the Papists do; upon which I thought in a most peculiar manner, they ought to be freed from Slavery; and thereupon order'd the King to carry them to *Augustine* to the *Spanish* Governour with a Letter, desiring an Answer relating to the receit of them; who having receiv'd them; sent me the following Letter; So far as relates to this Affair, I copy it forth:"

(Here follows the letter, which is of no interest to our investigation.)

So there was a Jew in Charles Town in 1695. There were other Jews here, too, at that early date. Hereby, also, hangs an interesting tale.

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After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 a considerable number of French Huguenots refugeed to South Carolina. They had fled from persecution at home and here they were treated as aliens and denied the liberty of subjects.[3] Toleration, however, as we have seen, was the fundamental principle of the Constitution, and when the Huguenots appealed to the Lords Proprietors to redress their numerous grievances, as soon as the temper of the colonists permitted, the General Assembly passed for their especial relief *An Act for the making aliens free of this part of the Province and for granting liberty of conscience to all Protestants.*[4]

There were sixty-four men who were made citizens under this Act of 1697 and among them were four Jews: Simon Valentine, merchant; Jacob Mendis, merchant; Avila, merchant; and ——, merchant,—the name of the fourth being unfortunately obliterated in the original text.[5] A copy of the naturalization papers of one of these Jews, Simon Valentine, is preserved in an old volume in the Secretary of State's Office in Columbia.[6] It reads as follows:

"CAROLINA

"The Rt Honble Joseph Blake Esqr, one of the true and absolute Lds and Proprietors of the Province of Carolina Commandr in Chief vice Admiral and Governr of South Carolina

"To all Judges Justices Magistrates, ministors & officers Ecclesiastical and Civil and to all psons whatsoever to whome this shall come to be seen heard read or known

---

[3] Dalcho: *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, p. 28 *et seq.*

[4] This Act was passed in March, 1696–7. In the old style, the year ended on March 25. According to our method of writing, it would be 1697. For the main provisions of the Act, see Appendix A.

[5] The full list of names is given in Trott's *Laws of the Province of South Carolina*, p. 62, also in *The Statutes of South Carolina*, Vol. 2, pp. 131–133.

[6] Grants, Sales, etc., Book D, 1703–9.

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"GREETEING

"KNOW Yee that Simon Valentine Mercht: an alien of ye Jewish Nation borne out of the Crown of England hath Taken his oath of Allegiance to our Sovereigne Lord William ye Third over England Scottland France and Ireland King &c Defender of ye faith and hath done every other thing wch by an act of assembly made att Charles Town in ye ninth Yeare of ye Reigne of our Sovereign Lord King Willm, &c, Anno Dom: One Thousd Six hundred ninety Six and Seven entituled an Act to make alien free of this pte of the Province and for granting Liberty of Conscience to all Protestants as one is required to do And is fully and effectually to all Intents Constructions and Purposes Qualified and Capacitated to have use and Enjoy all the rights Priviledges Powers and Immunityes Given or Intended to bee given to any Alien then Inhabitant of South Carolina by the aforesd Act to Certifie wch I have hereunto Sett my hand and Caused the Publick Seale to be affixed at Charles Town the Twenty Sixth day of May Anno Dom. one Thousd six hundred ninety and seaven.

"JOSEPH BLAKE."

This Simon Valentine must have been a man of considerable prominence in Charles Town, for we meet with him far more frequently in the records than we do any other Jew of the period. He came to Charles Town from New York, in the records of which city his name occurs as having paid for his "burgher right" in 1682. He was a party to a lawsuit in Albany, New York, in 1684. His full name appears to have been Simon Valentine Vander-Wilden.[7] We find him in Charles Town in 1696, where he signs his name as a surety on an administration bond.[8] His name appears several times on similar documents.[9] He signs his name Simon Valentijn.

In 1698 "Abraham Avilah, of Charles Towne, in ye County of Berkeley and Province of Carolina, for divers

[7] Hon. Simon Rosendale: "An Early Ownership of Real Estate in Albany, New York, by a Jewish Trader," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 3, pp. 68–71. See also ibid., No. 8, p. 22.

[8] Probate Court Records, Book 1692–3, pp. 280–281.

[9] Ibid., pp. 248, 256, 357. See also Book 1671–1727, p. 71.

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good causes and considerations me at this time especially moveing and more especially out of trust and confidence which I repose in Mr. Simon Valentine M-cht," makes him his true and lawful attorney.[10]

He must have had business relations with Jamaica, for on July 3, 1701, "Jacob Mears, of ye Parish of Port Royall, in ye Island aforesaid" (Jamaica), appoints "his trusty friend William Smith, of Carolina, merchant, his true and lawfull Attorney, to demand of Simon Valentine, of Carolina, shopkeeper, all and every such Debt and Debts, Sum and Sums &c, as may be owing to him."[11]

The last reference to this Simon Valentine is of particular interest, inasmuch as it is the earliest record of a Jew holding land in South Carolina. On November 23, 1715, Mordicai Nathan mortgages to Henry Peronneau a farm of three hundred and fifty acres, which land, the deed tells us, "was formerly purchased by the said Mordicai Nathan and Symond Valentine, Deceased, being Joyn purchers, whom the said Mordicai has survived."[12] They had bought the land as joint-tenants and according to the old law, which has since been repealed by statute, it fell to the survivor.

It is not practicable to tell a connected story yet. There is as yet no organized community. Apart from what we gather from the records themselves, we know nothing of the individuals mentioned, though descendants of some of

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[10] Probate Court Records, Book 1694–1704, p. 133. The name also appears on p. 410 of this volume, on a document bearing the date January 24, 1703–4.

[11] Ibid., 339.

[12] Ibid., Book Miscellaneous Records, 1714–1717, p. 233. This Mordicai Nathan, like Simon Valentine, came to Charles Town from New York. His name occurs in a list of "The Jews' Contributions" towards the finishing of the steeple of Trinity Church, in New York. This list is dated May 1, 1711. See Sparger in *The American Hebrew* for June 26, 1903.

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these early settlers are still in South Carolina. There may have been a semblance of a community about this time, but we do not know of any communal organization prior to 1750.

As one of the main objects of this volume is to preserve the early memorials of the Jews of this State, many of which are crumbling to pieces and will soon be no longer in existence, and the rest in imminent danger of being irrevocably lost, this end would be defeated if we dismissed this pre-organization period in a few hasty generalizations. To carry out our purpose it will be necessary to give an exhaustive list of references to the Jews of South Carolina prior to 1750, preserving the chronological order as far as possible.

The first document, then, to which our attention is attracted is an old will. It is the oldest Jewish will on record in South Carolina:

"In the Name of God Amen I: Abraham Isack of Cyty of New Yorke Being bound to Sea and therefore being present in good health, but not knowing when it may please the Almighty God to take me out of ye world my Will is yt after my just debts are paid I bequeath all my Estate whatsoever be it in houses Lands Good Chatles or what else unto my Dear and Loveing Sister Sarah Isack & to her heires for ever shee paying out of ye same ye Sum of ten Pounds New Yourke mony to my Brother Henry Isack if Liveing, after my Deceas and I do Constitute and appoynt my dear Sister Sarah my whole and Sole Executrix of this my Will; revokeing all Wills by me heretofore made and this alone to Stand in Force. In Testimony wereof I have hereunto Sett my hand and Seale in New Yorke this Twenty Sixth day of May Anno Dom. One Thousand Seven hundred & Nine.

"Signd Seald published and
Declared by ye said Abra: Isack
in ye presence of us
Edmd. Creiswell
Jno Basford

"ABRAHAM ISACK (Seale)

"Recorded Febry 20th 1710 per J. H. D. Secy."[3]

[3] Probate Court Records, Book Wills, 1671-1727, p. 91.

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It is some years before the records make further mention of Jews. In an old volume in the Secretary of State's Office in Columbia there is a bond from Edward Horne Forest to Mr. Joseph Tobias, shopkeeper, of Charles Town, dated 1737.[14] This Joseph Tobias was the first President of the Congregation Beth Elohim when it was organized in 1750. He is mentioned in a list of those who paid quit rent in 1739.[15] His name occurs also in an old volume of mortgages.[16] In the documents copied from the State Paper Office in London his name is included in a "List of persons qualified according to the Act for naturalising Protestants in his Majesty's Colonies in America." He is granted a "Jew Certificate." This document was recorded on December 11, 1741.[17] We meet with him several times in the Charleston records in the office of Register of Mesne Conveyances.[18] He advertises for the first time in *The South-Carolina Gazette* of November 5, 1737. He died on January 29, 1761, aged seventy-six.

The last reference to Jews in the records during this period occurs in the Probate Court Records for 1736–1740. On page 300 there is a bond of Samuel Levy and Moses Solomons, of Charles Town, merchants, to Daniel La Roche and Thomas La Roche, of Winyau, for £2605.6.8. It is dated March 20, 1741. On page 3 of this volume there is a letter from New York, dated November 25, 1743, and addressed to Messrs. Daniel and Thomas La Roche, of Charles Town. Mr. Jacob Franks refers to his nephew, Mr. Moses Solomons, and some difficulty which the said

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[14] Records in the Secretary of State's Office, Columbia, Book MM, pp. 191–3. These records will hereafter be referred to as "Columbia Records."

[15] Ibid., Receipts of the Quit Rent, 1732–1741.

[16] Ibid., Book YY.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Mesne Conveyance Records, Book W, p. 471, Book PP, p. 696, Book Inventories, 1749–1750, p. 75.

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Moses Solomons had had with a London shipping house. On the next page David Franks, of Charles Town, Gent., declares that the letter signed Jacob Franks is in the handwriting of his father. It would seem from another letter here recorded that Franks had connections in Lisbon. In this letter reference is made to Moses Solomons's intention of going to India. It is worthy of note that David Franks's name is mentioned in the list of members of the St. Andrew's Society of Charles Town for 1740–1748.

Leaving the records, let us now look at the Jews of early South Carolina in their private life. As we have seen, the Jew here has never labored under any civil or religious disability whatsoever. As early as 1703 it is on record that Jews voted at the popular election for members of the Commons House of Assembly. This toleration on the part of the Established Church party in South Carolina brought forth a protest from the bigoted Dissenters of that day, who complained that "at this last Election, Jews, Strangers, Sailors, Servants, Negroes and almost every French man in Craven and Berkely county came down to elect, & their Votes were taken, & the persons by them voted for were returned by the Sheriff."[19]

McCrady points out that this protest was especially directed against the Huguenots, and it was by reason of the fact that they would not join the Dissenters to control the Province that their indignation was aroused.[20] The protest was carried to England, Joseph Boone being sent over to present their grievances. He presented a petition to the Lords Proprietors but met with little sympathy; he managed, however, to present a memorial to the House of Lords on behalf of himself and many other inhabitants of

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[19] Rivers: *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, Appendix, p. 459.

[20] McCrady: *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, pp. 391–2.

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the Province of Carolina, and also of several merchants of London trading to Carolina, setting forth the "dangerous situation and the threatened ruin of the trade of the Colony to the great prejudice of her Majesty's Customs," etc. By intrigue and misrepresentation, the Dissenters gained the day.[21] There is nothing to show, however, that the Jews were ever subsequently interfered with in the exercise of the franchise.

The next point of interest in our investigation is the question of how the Jews earned their livelihood in those early days. Here the wonderful collection of *Gazettes* that have been preserved in the Charleston Library will throw the fullest light.

There were but few professional men in the Province in those days. With the exception of a small number of handicraftsmen, the entire population subsisted by planting and trade. Competition must have been very keen, for everybody seems to have had almost the same things for sale and to have advertised them in the very same way. Let us look at the advertisements in the *South-Carolina Gazettes* between the years 1731 and 1750.[22]

We do not meet with any Jewish names in the *Gazettes* prior to 1734. In that year Messrs. Carvallo & Gutteres announce that they "have to dispose of Good Old Barbados Rum. Good Madera Wine. Muscovado Sugar & Limejuice; Likewise some dry goods, &c, living in Church street, where formerly the printing office was."[23]

On April 19, 1735, they are in Broad Street with a large selection of goods. The accompanying fac-simile of their advertisement will give an idea of the contents of a typical

[21] McCrady: *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, pp. 425 *et seq.*

[22] These references to the Jews of South Carolina, 1731–1750, are practically exhaustive.

[23] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, August 17, 1734.

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AN EARLY DAVIS ADVERTISEMENT

From *The [illegible] Gazette*, April [illegible]

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To be sold by [illegible] Gent-
ners at their Store in Broad-street, China [illegible], silk
romalls, cherrydaries, ginghams, sundry [illegible],
silk damasks, silk handkerchiefs, silk [illegible],
sians, bread cloths with linings and trimmings, [illegible] with
ditto, shaloons, 3 fourth, 7 eighth and yard wide garlists,
platilloes, bag hollands, india and english chintz, several
colours of cotton romals, callimancoes, white callimancoes, [illegible]
and knitted caps, black durants, silk camlets with trim-
mings, mens & boys woosted & thread hose, flower'd fring'd
& plain ribbons, flat & round silk laces, dyaper, table-cloths
& napkins of ditto, pins, ivorycombs, fine nuns thread, whi-
ted brown thread, brown oznabrigs, blue linnen, ruffia lin-
nen, 3 fourth linnen, checks, silk stays, bohea tea, mens &
boys fine hats, mens, boys, womens & girls shoes, Boxes of
Castile soap, of dip't candles, & very good Limejuice, all at
reasonable rates, by wholesale and retail.

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store in Charles Town in the early years of the eighteenth century.

On September 13, 1735, they are in Elliott Street. On November 8, 1735, Mr. Carvallo, in Elliott Street, advertises for sale "A very good Rhode Island Pacing-Horse." On January 17, 1735–6, they announce that they intend to leave the Province early in the spring, and on January 31st Aaron Gutterez advertises in his own name. They seem to have carried out their intention of leaving the Province, for this is the last mention of them.

On March 30, 1738, Mr. Is: Depaz, in Union Street, advertises for the first time. On September 7, 1738, he advertises as Isaac De Pas, offering to sell "Good White Sugar, very good Barbados Rum & very fine Citron Water," etc., etc. On March 8, 1739, he advertises as Isaac De Paz. On February 20, 1744, as Isaac De Pass, he advertises his wares at his shop on Broad Street, and on March 19, 1744, he announces to his patrons that "All gentlemen that have rice to dispose of may have two Parts in ready Cash and the Balance in Cordials of all sorts, or any other goods that I have to sell." [24]

On August 25, 1739, we read the following: "To Be Sold in Union St, by Moses de Mattos, White, Milk, Ship, Middling & Brown Bread & Loaf Sugar. The same may be had of Mr. Tobias on the Bay. Also good Esopius Flour." He is still in Union Street on November 1, 1742.

The next notice is interesting, as one of the earliest references to social life in South Carolina. On March 26, 1741, we read of the establishment of the "Right Worthy & Amicable Order of UBIQUARIANS, by some gentlemen, members of the Grand Convention in England." The following paragraph informs us of the purposes of this Society:

[24] The original name is De Paz. There are many descendants of this Isaac De Paz still living in South Carolina. They are no longer identified, however, with the Jewish faith.

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"This order is justly celebrated at home, for the generous and benevolent principles of its institution. It has ever been conducted with the most genteel ease and decency and attended with the greatest improvement of any Society hitherto erected. It's no secret, that the Roman Constitution in its most perfect state, is the settled polity of this most worthy order; as the virtue and morality of the antient Romans are the models recommended to the imitation of every person, who aspires to become an accomplished member of it. Induced by such laudable purposes, under so right an oeconomy, several gentlemen of Tast and Distinction have been enfranchis'd here, by the Praetor, Censors and Senators."

Many distinguished people in Charles Town were members of this Society. In the *Gazette* of April 3, 1742, we read that at its half-yearly Festival, Moses Solomon, Esq., was one of the Ædils. This Moses Solomon was a member of the St. Andrew's Society of the City of Charles Town between 1740 and 1748. We have met him before in the records.

The next reference in the *Gazettes* is the earliest death notice of a Jew in South Carolina and the only one prior to 1750.

"On Sunday, the 8th instant, the *Charles-Town*, one of the Government's Gallies, having sailed over the Bar to convoy a Sloop, met with a sudden hard Gale of Wind, overset, and sunk, 10 men were drowned, and among them was Mr. *Hart* the *Jew*."[25]

Who this Mr. Hart was we do not know, for it is the only reference to him.

In 1748 we have a notice of Mr. Solomon Isaacs. He is a plaintiff in a lawsuit.[26] In the same year Solomon Isaacs & Co. offer for sale "Negro Cloth and other woolen goods, linnens, callicoes, ironware and sundry other goods, at the

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[25] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, April 16, 1744.

[26] Ibid., April 27, 1748.

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House on the Bay, in which Capt. Colcock lives."[27] This is the last Jewish advertisement prior to 1750.

So far the records and the *Gazettes*. Summing up our investigation thus far: We found a Jew in Charles Town in 1695, and several Jews prior to 1700. They probably came directly from London, though some may have come here from Jamaica or Barbadoes, where Jews have lived from an early date.[28] It is worth remembering that the West Indies furnished South Carolina with many of its most substantial citizens in the Provincial period. We have followed the Jew in his daily life and as a citizen. We have seen how, socially and religiously, he was at peace with his neighbors. He lived the same life and followed the same occupations, taking his full part in the burdens as well as in the privileges of citizenship. There were other Jews living in Charles Town in the year 1750—of these we shall tell in the next chapter.

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[27] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 3, 1748.

[28] Hotten: *List of Emigrants to America*, 1600–1700.

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CHAPTER II—ORGANIZATION

1750–1775

IN the last chapter we saw that quite a number of Jews were living in Charles Town prior to 1750. A few years before there was an accession to the community from the neighboring colony of Georgia.

Georgia was colonized in 1733, and we are told that a few days after its first settlement forty Jews arrived in Savannah. So illiberal was the policy of the Trustees, that in 1741 the bulk of the Jews left it. Some went to Pennsylvania, others to New York, and four, viz.: Mordecai Sheftall, Levi Sheftall, David de Olivera, and Jacob de Olivera, came to Charles Town. We do not meet with any of them, however, in the records prior to 1750.

There is a local tradition which tells that some time between 1732 and 1739 Moses Cohen, the first Haham, or Chief Rabbi, came to Charles Town, bringing with him from London a settlement of Jews, who afterwards formed the first Congregation Beth Elohim. This tradition can no longer be accepted.

The State Paper Office in London has preserved an immense number of documents relating to South Carolina. Thirty-six volumes of these documents have been copied

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and are available in Columbia.[1] They include the entire data relating to a proposed settlement of Jews in South Carolina in 1748.[2]

The circumstances of this proposed settlement are interesting. The English writer, Picciotto, to whom we are indebted for much of our information concerning Anglo-Jewish history in the eighteenth century, has this to say on the subject:

"The questions of labor, of the poor, and of emigration, appear to have vexed the minds of the chiefs of the Sephardi community during last century, just as they bewilder at present other important bodies. Notwithstanding the presence of many persons in affluent circumstances among the Jews, the poor unfortunately have always been in greater numbers than the totality of the Hebrew population warranted. A hundred years ago the Jews possessed no middle class. There were perhaps 150 to 200 families that might be considered rich, about two-thirds of which belonged to the Spanish and Portuguese congregation. Then we should find at most as many families engaged in small retail trade, and finally we should see a floating mass, at least five times as numerous as the other two classes together, consisting of hucksters, hawkers, journeymen and others, either verging on pauperism or steeped hopelessly in its abyss.

"To endeavor to diminish the strain of pauperism by emigration the Sephardi Congregation in 1734 appointed a committee to apply for grants of land in Georgia, which the British Government was freely distributing to intending emigrants under certain conditions. This committee remained standing for some years, but we do not gather that it led to any practical results. Three years afterwards the committee reported that some lands in Carolina had been offered to them, and that they were negotiating on the subject. In 1745 this committee was still in existence, and obtained an extension of powers and an allowance to cover expenditure. After

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[1] *Colonial Records of South Carolina* (MSS.) copied from the State Paper Office, London. Secretary of State's Office, Columbia, S. C.

[2] These documents have been published in full. See Elzas: *Documents Relative to a Proposed Settlement of Jews in South Carolina in 1748.* (Pamphlet Reprint, Charleston, 1903.)

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this time we hear no more of it, and it is fair to assume that had it achieved anything worth recording it would have been recorded."[3]

Picciotto is correct in his surmise. The documents from the State Paper Office, to which reference has just been made, show that a certain John Hamilton, a well-meaning and public-spirited but apparently financially irresponsible promoter, had entered into negotiations with the Committee of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community in London, composed of three of its most prominent members: Solomon Da Costa, Francis Salvador, and Benjamin Mendes Da Costa, with a view of transporting Jews to South Carolina and settling them there; he had petitioned the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs for a grant of 200,000 acres of land in South Carolina, but after appearing several times before the Committee, being unable to carry out certain conditions, his petition was not granted. Thus his negotiations with the Jews likewise came to nothing.

The Jews who came to Charles Town from London in 1750 came, not as a colony, but as individuals. Nor did they belong to the pauper class who were assisted to emigrate in order to relieve the strain and stress at home. This is in perfect accord with the information that we derive from other sources.

In 1750, then, several Jews came to Charles Town and we read that in that year the following Jews lived there: Moses Cohen, Isaac Da Costa, Abraham Da Costa, Joseph Tobias, Meshod Tobias, Moses Pimenta, David de Olivera, Mordecai Sheftall, Levy Sheftall, Michael Lazarus, Abraham Nunez Cardozo, and Philip Hart.[4] This same year

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[3] Picciotto: *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 152–153.

[4] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, p. 337. See also *Year Book*, City of Charleston, 1883, p. 301. This list of Jewish residents in Charles Town in 1750 is not complete, as the reader will be able to see.

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(1750) saw the first beginnings of the congregational history of K. K. Beth Elohim.

The late Nathaniel Levin, who wrote both the sketch in the *Year Book* and that in *The Occident*,—the two articles are practically identical,—apparently used an old record-book of the Congregation Beth Elohim as the source of his information. The volume is, unfortunately, no longer in existence. It recorded the fact that at the conclusion of the Jewish New Year 5510 (1750) a meeting was called for the purpose of organizing a congregation. Moses Cohen was elected Chief Rabbi; Isaac Da Costa, Reader, and Joseph Tobias, President. The name selected for the Congregation, he tells us, was the same which it still bears: "Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim" (The Holy Congregation Beth Elohim, or House of God).[5] The Congregation was strictly orthodox and its ritual was that of the Spanish and Portuguese communities as practised in London and Amsterdam.[6]

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[5] This is a mistake. There is evidence enough to show that prior to its incorporation in 1791 the name of the Congregation was "Beth Elohim Unveh Shallom." It was probably abbreviated to "Beth Elohim" for convenience of reference. [See Will of Moses Molina (Will Book A, p. 597), who bequeaths "£15 sterling to the Portuguese Jew Congregation of Beth Elohim Unve Shallom;" Will of Joseph Salvador (Will Book, 1786-1793), who leaves "£100 sterling to the Portuguese Congregation in the City of Charleston, known by the name of Beth Elohim Unveh Shallom, or The House of the Lord and Mansion of Peace." See, finally, *The Charleston Evening Gazette* of February 3, 1786, which says: "Yesterday, the Portuguese Jewish Congregation of this City, called 'Beth Elohim Unveh Shallom' or the House of the Lord and Mansion of Peace, proceeded to their burying ground in Hampstead, in order to lay the Foundation Stones of the Wall."]

It is just within the bounds of possibility that there were formerly two societies or congregations which afterwards amalgamated. There is no evidence for such a supposition, however, and it is exceedingly improbable.

[6] A good account of the early communal history of the Congregation is

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The organization of the Congregation Beth Elohim was brought about through the zeal of Moses Cohen. Who Moses Cohen was we do not know. He came from London in 1750 a married man with at least one son.[7] In that year, as we have already seen, he was elected the first Chief Rabbi. His full title was "Haham v' Abh Beth Din" (Chief Rabbi and Chief of the Beth Din, or Ecclesiastical Court).[8] This was probably nothing more than a high-sounding title in imitation of the old Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in London, of which the Congregation Beth Elohim is a direct offshoot. Of his activity in this community we know nothing.

The early ministers of the Congregation Beth Elohim were not salaried officials and we find them earning their living by trade. Moses Cohen was a shopkeeper.[9] The only references to him in the contemporary literature are two advertisements in *The South-Carolina Gazette*. In the supplement to the *Gazette* of August 15, 1753, he advertises for "a runaway Dutch servant-girl about 10 years of age and 4 feet 6 inches high," and on October 21, 1756, his name is mentioned in a published list of unrecorded plats.[10]

Moses Cohen, or as he is described on his tombstone, "The R. R. Moses Cohen, D.D.," died on April 19, 1762.

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contained in the report of the case of The State *vs.* Ancker in Richardson's *South Carolina Law Reports*, Vol. 2, pp. 245-286.

[7] See Obituary Notice of Abraham Cohen, of Georgetown, the son of this Moses Cohen: "Died in the 61st year of his age, Abraham Cohen, postmaster. Born in London and as early as the year 1762, commenced and carried on commercial business in this place."—*The Georgetown Gazette*, Saturday, Dec. 13, 1800.

[8] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, p. 337.

[9] Mesne Conveyance Records, Vol. I 4, p. 241. "Deed of Conveyance from Moses Cohen, of Charles Town, shopkeeper, to Isaac Da Costa, merchant, of the same place." This document is dated 1759.

[10] The records in Columbia show three grants of land made to him in 1755 and 1759. [Index to Grants, A to K, 1695-1776.]

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His tombstone is still to be seen in the Coming Street cemetery in Charleston. This cemetery was then the private burial ground of Isaac Da Costa and was only transferred to the Congregation Beth Elohim in 1764.[11] He was much esteemed by his people and in the Constitution of the Congregation Beth Elohim, dated 1820, it is especially enacted that "on every Kippur night perpetually, the first 'escaba' [prayer for the dead] shall be made for the Reverend Moses Cohen, deceased, because he was appointed and confirmed the Reverend Doctor of this Congregation from its first establishment, and as such it is conceived every mark of respect is due to his memory."[12]

The first Hazan, or Reader, of the Congregation Beth Elohim was Isaac Da Costa. He was a member of an illustrious family that played an important part in English Jewry during the early days after the Resettlement under Cromwell.[13] Educated for the ministry, he came to Charles Town from London in 1750. The date of his arrival is confirmed by an entry in the *Literary Diary* of Ezra Stiles, Volume 1, page 453, under the date August 2, 1774:

"In the Afternoon I was visited by Mr Acosta a Jew Huzzan of the Synagogue in Charleston, So Carolina. He is aet. 52, born in London & educated under Hochem Rabbi Nieto there till aet. 29. Then he came to America & in 1754 instituted a Synagogue at Charleston."[14]

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[11] For a full history of the old Jewish cemeteries at Charleston, see Elzas: *The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S. C.*, Charleston, 1903.

[12] Elzas: *Constitution of the Hebrew Congregation of Kaal Kadosh Beth Elohim, or House of God, M,DCCCXX* (Reprinted Charleston, 1904), Rule xx.

[13] Wolf: *Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth*, p. 71. For further information concerning this family, see *The Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan., 1812, pp. 21-4. This article contains a full genealogy of the Mendes-Da Costa families. See also the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, art. Da Costa.

[14] Kohut: *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, p. 134. The date 1754 is a manifest error for 1750.

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Like his colleague, Moses Cohen, Isaac Da Costa engaged in trade. He seems to have been possessed of considerable means when he came to South Carolina. We meet with him first as a shopkeeper in *The South-Carolina Gazette* of July 22, 1751. In 1752, he is on Broad Street.[15] In 1753, he advertises as an administrator of an estate.[16] In this year we find his name in the records of King Solomon's Lodge, No. 1—the oldest regularly constituted lodge in South Carolina. In 1756, his name occurs in a list of unrecorded plats.[17] In 1757, he is still on Broad Street, where he advertises "European and Indian goods."[18] In 1758, he is in partnership with Thomas Farr and the firm is now Da Costa & Farr.[19] In 1759, he advertises as treasurer of Solomon's Lodge.[20] In 1761, the firm is still Da Costa & Farr. They are extensive ship agents.[21] In 1762, Isaac Da Costa advertises alone—it is no longer Da Costa & Farr.[22] In 1764, having some misunderstanding with his Congregation, Isaac Da Costa resigned his position as Reader.[23] In 1765, he seems to have met with misfortune in business.[24] In 1766, he advertises again.[25] In 1772, he is agent for the Spanish transport, "The Diana."[26] He is on King Street in 1773.[27] In 1778, he is in partnership with

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[15] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, May 28, 1752.
[16] Ibid., Nov. 26, 1753
[17] Ibid., Oct. 21, 1756.
[18] Ibid., June 23, 1757.
[19] Ibid., Nov. 17, 1758.
[20] Ibid., April 7, 1759.
[21] Ibid., Jan. 17, Nov. 28, and Dec. 5, 1761.
[22] Ibid., Oct. 30, 1762.
[23] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, p. 338.
[24] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, August 3, 1765.
[25] Ibid., July 14, 1766.
[26] Ibid., April 2, 1772.
[27] Ibid., April 19, 1773.

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his son.[28] In 1779, he was elected one of the stewards of the Palmetto Society.[29] In 1781, during the period of British occupation, his estates were seized and confiscated.[30] Refusing to take British protection, he was banished. From a contemporary diary we learn that he arrived in Philadelphia on December 31, 1781.[31] On March 17, 1782, he was the chairman of the meeting called for the purpose of raising funds for the erection of a regular Synagogue in Philadelphia.[32] His son was likewise one of the original members of the Mikveh Israel Congregation of that city.[33] In 1783 he returned to Charleston, and in February of that year he established the "Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection."[34] He died on Monday, November 23, 1783, in the sixty-second year of his age.[35] He is buried in the cemetery at Hanover Street that still bears his name. He left no will, but letters of administration to his estate were granted to Mrs. Sarah Da Costa, Joseph Da Costa, and Samuel Da Costa on March 31, 1784.[36]

We do not know quite as much about Abraham Da Costa.

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[28] *Gazette of the State of South-Carolina*, July 8, 1778.

[29] Ibid., July 21, 1779.

[30] Supplement to *The Royal Gazette*, March 14, 1781.

[31] Diary of Josiah Smith, Jr., one of the exiles from Charles Town to St. Augustine during the British occupation, 1780–1781, unpublished MSS. (*Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*), "List of Heads of families banished, who would not take protection."

[32] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 1, p. 14.

[33] Morais: *Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 15.

[34] Mackey: *Cryptic Masonry*, p. 151.

[35] "On Monday died, after a few days illness, by the wound of a splinter in his hand, Mr. Isaac Da Costa, Sen., a respectable and valuable citizen." —*The Gazette of the State of South-Carolina*, November 27, 1783.

[36] Probate Records, Administration Book OO, 1775–1783, p. 347.

There are numerous descendants of Isaac Da Costa still in South Carolina. As is the case with all the old Jewish families, these descendants are for the most part Christians.

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He is mentioned in a most interesting document, a marriage agreement that is reminiscent of mediæval times. The parties to this agreement are Abraham Da Costa, Rebecca Pimento, and Leah Pimento, her mother:

> "Abraham Da Costa, with the consent and good liking of the said Leah, covenants, promises and agrees to take Rebecca Pimento to wife according to the rights and ceremonies of the Jews without portion to be demanded or required, within the space of three months from the date of these presents" * * * "the said parties binding themselves each to the other in the sum or penalty of £3000 current money of South Carolina."[37]

A copy of the marriage settlement which he made upon his wife is also preserved in the records.[38] He seems to have had a business in Georgetown, for in an advertisement in one of the *Gazettes* he "informs his town and country friends that since the late dreadful fire, he is under an obligation to open a store at the upper end of King Street, where he has to sell a great quantity of the goods lately sold at Georgetown, and some of the remains saved out of the above fire."[39] He remained in Charles Town during the period of British occupation. He was then the proprietor of the "Irish Coffee House" on Broad Street.[40]

Jacob Olivera was a merchant of means. His daughter Leah married Joseph Tobias. His name does not appear in the *Gazettes*, but his will is well worthy of mention as a veritable ethical will of the olden days. This will was made on July 27, 1751, and proved on May 15, 1752. It is witnessed by Solomon Isaacs, and "his good friend Isaac Da Costa" is one of his executors. After a conventional preamble, he writes:

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[37] Probate Records, Book MM, 1763-1767, p. 222.

[38] Ibid., Book Miscellaneous, 1767-1771, p. 479.

[39] *The South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, March 26, 1778.

[40] *The Royal Gazette*, May 22, 1782.

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"I commend my soul to the Almighty God of Israel, Creator of Heaven and Earth, imploring His most gracious pardon for all my past sins and transgressions of which I most sincerely repent and hoping His infinite mercies will be extended to me. Also I most vehemently and sincerely invoke His holy name, saying, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is One."

After making various bequests, among which are "£10 lawfull money of South Carolina to each Jew who should have a hand in washing or burying my body," and £10 to the Portuguese Synagogue at London, with a request for prayers to be said for him, he concludes:

"I also recommend to my said son" [David Lopez de Olivera] "to walk in the fear of God and in the path of virtue, which is the last and best legacy I can leave him. I conclude with imploring the Divine Mercy of my Creator to receive my soul with pity on my frail nature, saying, Into Thy hands I will deposit my spirit; Thou hast rescued me, O Lord God of Truth."[41]

Such were the Jews who settled in South Carolina in Provincial days. There is an inventory of his estate in the records of the Probate Court.[42]

Of David Olivera, who was one of the original Jewish settlers in Savannah, the records make no mention.

Abraham Nunez Cardozo, or Abraham Cardozo, as he was more commonly called, advertises only once in the *Gazettes*.[43] The only other reference to him is the notice of his death:

"November 17th, 1762.

"This day died, Abraham Cardozo, first cousin to Madam Sarah Da Costa, of a hurt received the 10th instant, in Rebellion-Road, to the great grief of his wife. HANNAH CARDOZO."[44]

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[41] Probate Records, Book Wills, 1747–1752, pp. 522–524.

[42] Ibid., Book Inventories, 1751–3, pp. 409–410.

[43] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1756.

[44] Ibid., Nov. 20, 1762.

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Joseph Tobias has already been referred to at length.

Masoad Tobias (pronounced Meshod) was the son of Joseph Tobias. He died on February 27, 1798, aged fifty-seven. He must therefore have been born in Charles Town.

Joseph Tobias had a son Jacob, who died in 1773. He had another son Joseph whose son, Jacob Tobias, was a member of Captain Drayton's militia company in 1775.[45] He died on November 16, 1775, aged twenty-six. He could therefore hardly have seen service in the Revolution.

Moses Pimenta, we are told, was "a man learned in the law and a teacher of the Jewish youth."[46] In the inventory of the estate of Solomon Isaacs there is a note of his.[47] Moses Pimenta apparently learnt by experience that teaching Jewish youth is by no means an easy road to affluence.

Mordecai Sheftall and Levi Sheftall were the sons of Benjamin Sheftall, one of the original Jews who settled in Savannah.[48] They are more closely connected with the history of that community, though they did business and for a while lived in Charles Town. In the Mesne Conveyance Records there is a marriage settlement, dated 1761, from "Mordecai Sheftall, of the Province of Georgia, to Frances Hart, the daughter of Moses Hart, at present in the Hague in Europe."[49] Levi Sheftall was more closely identified with Charles Town.[50]

Of Michael Lazarus we know very little. He was in business in King Street in 1762.[51] He was probably the father of Marks Lazarus, the Revolutionary patriot, but this is not certain.

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[45] *The South Carolina Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, Vol. 1, pp. 135 and 187.

[46] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, p. 337.

[47] Probate Records, Book Inventories, 1756-8, p. 64.

[48] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, p. 382.

[49] Mesne Conveyance Records, Book O 3, p. 501.

[50] Ibid., Book M 5, p. 308 (also Book Z, p. 472).

[51] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, April 24, 1762.

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Philip Hart was a native of Hamburg and one of the officials of the Congregation Beth Elohim.[52] He was also a merchant.[53] He was a partner in the business of Samuel Isaacs, at Georgetown.[54] His name is registered in the Columbia Records as part owner of a vessel.[55] He fought in Lushington's militia company in the Revolution[56] and furnished supplies to the State Commissary.[57] He was a prominent member of the Jewish community and a generous contributor towards the erection of the Synagogue in 1794.[58] He was also a benefactor of the Charleston Orphan House and his name appears on one of the memorial tablets that adorn the walls of that institution. He died on February 1, 1796. Among the bequests in his will are £200 to the Synagogue in Charleston, £50 to the poor in the Poor House, and £50 to the orphans in the Orphan House.[59]

Another Jew of this period, whom we have met before, was Solomon Isaacs. He advertises in the *Gazettes* in 1752 and 1755.[60] He died in 1757. His will, proved January 14, 1757, mentions his nephew, Sampson Simson, of New York, as one of his executors.[61]

In *The South-Carolina Gazette* of August 19, 1756, there occurs the first notice of Moses Lindo, the most conspicuous Jew in South Carolina in Provincial days. To this remarkable man a special chapter will be devoted.

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[52] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, p. 337.

[53] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, May 30, 1761.

[54] Ibid., Jan. 17, 1761.

[55] Columbia Records, Registered Vessels, etc.

[56] Orderly Book, Charles Town Regiment of Militia, New York Public Library (Uncalendared MSS.).

[57] Columbia Records, Indent Stubs, Book A, No. 224.

[58] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, p. 387. See also Constitution of 1820, Rule xx.

[59] Will Book C, 1793–1800, p. 270.

[60] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, August 17, 1752, April 24, 1755, and Oct. 9, 1755.

[61] Probate Records, Will Book 1757–1760, pp. 8–9.

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Joseph Levy is the first Jew whom we meet with in connection with military affairs. He was a lieutenant of Captain Gaillard's company of the South Carolina Regiment of Foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Probart Howarth. There is a copy of his commission, dated September 3, 1757, in the Probate Office in Charleston.[62] He also held a commission as lieutenant in Colonel Middleton's South Carolina Regiment in the Cherokee War of 1760–1, and was on recruiting service in North Carolina in 1761.[63] After the war, he went back to business. He advertises in the *Gazette* of November 13, 1762. His last advertisement appears on August 6, 1772.

Though the advertiser does not belong to South Carolina, it would be well to notice here an interesting advertisement which appears in *The South-Carolina Gazette* of October 20, 1759. Isaac Levy makes claim to the islands of Ossaba and Sappelo on the sea-coast of Georgia, which have been announced for sale, and gives notice to intending purchasers that they will buy lands without a clear title. He is going to petition his Majesty. On November 24 he publishes papers in proof of his own title. This Isaac Levy was a native of New York who lived for some years in England. The full story of this case and its sequel is told in a paper read by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald before the American Jewish Historical Society.[64]

In the Probate Records, Volume 1758–1763, page 238, there is a document of Israel Levy, merchant, of Charles Town, dated November 29, 1759.

In *The South-Carolina Gazette* of December 16, 1760, Isaac Pinto advertises as a wholesale wine merchant. He

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[62] Probate Records, Book Wills, 1754–8, p. 705.

[63] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, April 11, 1761. See also Probate Records, Book 1758–1763, p. 306. This commission is dated Sept. 23, 1760.

[64] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 9, pp. 57–62.

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advertises also on February 21, 1761, and on January 23, 1762.

In the *Gazette* of December 11, 1762, we meet with Simon Hart, and on September 25, 1762, Imanuel Cortissoz advertises "Fine fresh Butter, in Keggs, just brought to town," "at his store in Market-square, facing Broad-Street."

In the *Gazette* of April 24, 1762, we first meet with Joshua Hart "on the Bay." He advertises steadily till April 28, 1777. On November 18, 1777, there is this notice —the first Jewish marriage-notice in the *Gazettes:*

"The same day [Wednesday] Mr. Abraham Mendez Sexias, of the State of Georgia, was married to Miss Ritcey Hart, a young lady of the most amiable qualifications, daughter of Mr. Joshua Hart, of this town."

This notice is interesting as an early example of intermarriage between Portuguese and German Jews. Such intermarriages were by no means uncommon in South Carolina in the early days. In later days they are less frequent.

In the *Gazette* of September 10, 1763, we meet with Jacob Jacobs. He leaves for Savannah, but is back again on April 7, 1779.

On December 31, 1764, Dr. Andrew Judah, a physician from London, advertises. His next advertisement states that he is from Holland. One cannot say with certainty whether he is a Jew.

In the *Gazette* of August 18, 1766, we read:

"On Friday, in the ship Queen Charlotte, Capt. Reeves, also from London, arrived (among others) Mr. Mordecai Sheftall (for Georgia) and the Rev. Mr. Alexander."

This Rev. Mr. Alexander is most likely the Abraham Alexander who succeeded Isaac Da Costa as Reader of Beth Elohim, though Mr. Levin in *The Occident* gives the date of his appointment as 1764. We cannot always accept the

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statements of this writer, however, who is extremely reckless in the matter of dates.[65]

Abraham Alexander was the son of Joseph Raphael Alexander, and came from London. He appears to have come to Charles Town a widower, leaving behind him a young son who came to South Carolina after the Revolution. He afterwards married again. Like his predecessors, he appears to have served as Reader in the Synagogue without remuneration till he resigned in 1784.[66] He earned his living as a scrivener. A manuscript prayer-book according to the ritual of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in his own handwriting is still in existence, in the possession of one of his descendants. A document on record in Columbia shows that he made his wife, Ann Sarah Alexander, a sole trader in 1791. He was a clerk in the Charleston Custom House in 1802 and afterwards auditor. He was one of the founders of Scottish Rite Masonry in Charleston.[67] He died in 1816, beloved and respected in the community.

In the Probate Records, Volume MM, 1763–7, page 432, there is a deed of Solomon Levi. He mentions in it Bernard De Young and Isaac De Lyon, saddler.

On page 579 of this volume there is a promissory note of Henry Isaacks, dated June 18, 1765, and on page 429 there is a deed of Isaac De Lyon, of Charles Town, dated June 11, 1766. In this deed occurs the name of Emanuel Abrahams, who was a prominent member of Lushington's company

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[65] Compare, *e.g.*, the dates given in *The Occident* with those in the reproduction of the same article in the *Year Book* for 1883. A more extraordinary compilation of dates than those given in the *Year Book*, pp. 315–6, would be hard to imagine. How Mr. Levin could have compiled such a table with his own article before him passes all comprehension.

[66] "The seventh *escaba* shall be made for Mr. Abraham Alexander, sen., deceased, who volunteered his services to perform divine service." (Constitution of 1820, Rule xx.)

[67] Richardson: *Centennial Address*, p. 8.

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during the Revolution. This Emanuel Abrahams is mentioned in an earlier document, a deed of settlement made in April, 1763, by Joseph David, who married Dinah Cohen, widow of Moses Cohen, deceased.[68]

In the *Gazette* of October 27, 1766, among the list of passengers arrived are Mr. Franks and daughter.

In the postscript to the *Gazette* of May 11, 1767, we meet with Philip Abraham and Samuel Nunez Cardozo.

In the *Gazette* of June 1, 1767, we read that "On the 26th inst. Mr. Lopez and many other passengers embarked for Rhode Island." The Lopez family, however, did not settle in Charleston till after the Revolution.

In the *Gazette* of July 6, 1767, we read of the arrival of Mr. Joseph Jacobs from Philadelphia, and in that of August 3 Francis Cohen is mentioned.

In the *Gazette* of August 1, 1771, Mordecai Myers advertises, and again, from Georgetown, on August 25, 1772.

On September 19, 1771, we meet with Myer Moses for the first time in the *Gazettes*, though he had been living in Charles Town for some years.

On November 1, 1773, there is mention made of Jacob Ramos, and on December 6, 1773, we read of the arrival of Francis Salvador, the hero and patriot, whose life and death are invested with quite a romantic interest. To this distinguished man a special chapter will be devoted.

From now on we meet with many new names. There is nothing to be gained any more by detailed references. It is worth noting, however, that there are not many men who lived in Charles Town before the Revolution whom we do not meet in some or other connection in the records. A complete directory will serve a useful purpose, inasmuch as

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[68] Probate Records, Book 1758–1763, p. 599.

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it will enable us to discuss intelligently the part played in the Revolution by the Jews of South Carolina.[59]

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[59] See Appendix B.

The critic may find fault with the author's method of writing this early history, but no other method was possible consistent with his design of preserving these early memorials of the Jews of South Carolina. Apart from the notices here given, nothing is known of many of the individuals mentioned. The records of this State are in imminent danger of going out of existence at any moment. The old records are going to pieces. A few years from now many of the documents referred to will no longer be legible. Many of them are already crumbling. The ink on the pages of many of the *Gazettes* is fading. It should be remembered, too, that by far the greater part of this material is unindexed. Even with accurate references the investigator may have to spend hours in looking up a single reference, for not a few of the papers have been misplaced by the careless binder. Every reference in this volume has been carefully verified. The author finds consolation in the thought that the real student of history will prefer the dulness of detail of recorded facts to the fascinating narratives invented by family vanity or by professional genealogists to meet the requirements of patriotic societies, so called, whose influence upon historical writing has not been one of entirely unmixed good.

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CHAPTER III—MOSES LINDO

THE subject of this sketch is a most interesting figure in the early days of South Carolina's history. Who Moses Lindo was we do not know positively. What we know of him is mainly contained in that wonderfully rich collection of *Gazettes* that is to be found in the Charleston Library alone. There can be no doubt, however, as to the fact of his being a member of the Lindo family of London, England, which has been prominently connected with the Spanish and Portuguese community of that city for several generations. The present generation of the Lindo family know nothing of him, even traditionally, but it is worthy of note that Moses D. Lindo, the grandfather of one of the distinguished Elders of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, of London, who died about 1867, was an indigo broker in Bury Court not far from Wormwood Street, where our Moses Lindo had his office. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1753 there is mention made of a Moses Lindo, merchant, of St. Mary Axe.[1] He is probably the Moses Lindo who came shortly afterwards to South Carolina. Picciotto, in his charming *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*,[2] makes mention of a Moses Lindo, Jr., as a prominent

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 23, p. 53.
[2] *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 124.

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member of the "Deputies of British Jews," a body appointed "To watch all Acts of Parliament, Acts of Government, laws, libels, addresses, or whatever else may affect the body of Jews," and which is to-day the most influential organization of Jews in the world. He may be a son of our Moses Lindo. The latter was himself an important personage in London prior to his coming to South Carolina. He himself tells us:

"I have been allowed to be one of the best judges of Cochineal and Indico on the ROYAL EXCHANGE, for upwards of 25 years past; and have not been thought unworthy (when Sir Stephen Theodore Jansen represented the city of London in Parliament) to be called with Mr. Samuel Torin, and Mr. Daniel Valentine, to give my sentiments of Carolina Indico to the hon. House of Commons of Great Britain."[1]

Suffice it to say, then, that Moses Lindo was an expert indigo sorter in London, who, noticing that a particularly fine grade of indigo was received from South Carolina, changed his headquarters in 1756 from London to Charles Town. The rest of his story cannot be told better than by the *Gazettes* themselves.

We first meet with Moses Lindo in the *Gazettes*, some three months before he arrives in Charles Town. The following is the first notice of him and appears in the supplement to *The South-Carolina Gazette* of Thursday, August 19, 1756:

"A Correspondent in London, has sent us the following Advertisement, and with it proper Directions for making Lime Water to subside Indico.

"To the Printer of the Public Advertiser:

"SIR:

"I HAVE examined the major Part of the Carolina Indico entered this year, and have the Pleasure to find a considerable Quantity equal to the BEST French; and tho' there is some inferior to the Sight by

[1] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 19, 1767. Peter Timothy was the publisher of this *Gazette*.

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3s. 6d. per Pound, yet on using it as under, I am convinced the Inferiority is not more than 1s. 6d. a Pound. Therefore, Sir, your publishing this, will be a singular Service to the consumer, and consequently oblige.

"Your constant Reader,

"MOSES LINDO, Wormwood-street."

The next notice of Moses Lindo is the announcement of his arrival in Charles Town.

"MOSES LINDO gives this public Notice, that he is arrived from London, with an Intent to purchase Indico of the Growth and Manufacture of this Province, and to remit the same to his Constituents in London, classed, sorted and packed in a Manner proper for the foreign market.—If any are desirous to know upon what Credit, and to what Extent he purposes to carry on his Branch of Business, he begs leave to refer them for Particulars to Mr. John Rattray, who is possessed of his Papers, and to whom he is recommended."[4]

The following is the notice of his first shipment:

"FOR LONDON

"The snow Dodgson, Burthen 130 Tons, with 8 Guns, Men answerable, William Dunn Master, will sail about the 10th of January (Wind and Weather permitting), Mr. Lindo having engaged to ship 20,000 lb of INDICO with all his COFFEE purchased from the French prizes. No other goods to be admitted but Coffee and Indico. Any person inclinable to ship, may apply to *Mr. Lindo* or the aforesaid Master."[5]

The magnitude of Lindo's business transactions may be gathered from the following:

"Whereas I have employ'd the Sum of One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds Currency in the Produce of this Country, besides 30,000 Pounds in Prize-Goods and other Articles, all which are paid for, as appears by my Receipt-Book, except about 3,800 Pounds Currency, 2,000 of which does not become due 'till the 22d Instant. The Remaining 1,800 Pounds I have my objections for not paying.

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[4] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 11, 1756.

[5] Ibid., Dec. 23, 1756.

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"NOW THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE, to every Gentleman, Planter and Trader in this Province, who has any Demands on me, that they come and receive their Money from the 15th to the 25th Instant. If any One should take the Liberty of contradicting the above Advertisement, or give out any other malicious Insinuation, in order to prejudice me in the Good Opinion of those I have dealt with, I shall esteem it one of the greatest Favours done to me, to let me know the same by a Line, and their Names shall be concealed. And if such Information comes from a person of midling Circumstances, on due Proof thereof, I do hereby promise to reward him with the Sum of Five Hundred Pounds Currency.

"I return my Thanks to those Gentlemen who assisted me in taking my Bills for 12,000 Pounds Sterling; and to the Planters of Winyah and those of the Southward, for giving me the Preference of their Indico. And do hereby assure them, that (if it please God I live 'till the next Season) I will not let their Fine Indico Fall under 20 Shillings per Pound, having all the Reason to believe I shall have 200,000 Pounds Currency to lay out the ensuing Year in that Article; wherefore I hope they will not be discouraged.

"MOSES LINDO.

"Whoever is desirous of being informed what I paid for what I bought, may know of William Branford, John Hutchinson, John Butler, William Gibbs, Jonas Butterfield, Andrew Govan, &c., &c.

"N. B.—If any Person is willing to part with a plantation of 500 Acres, with 60 or 70 Negroes, I am ready to purchase it for ready money. Please to leave a Line directed to me at Mrs. Shepard's in Tradd-street, and Secrecy shall be observed if not agreed on."*

Moses Lindo was not only an expert indigo sorter, but was also a scientific experimenter with dyes. He sought to encourage investigation, likewise, on the part of others by offering prizes for discoveries if they proved to be of value. Witness the following:

"Mr Timothy:

"I HAVE made Trial of Two CRIMSON DYES lately discovered in this Province; and in Justice to Mr. John Story of Port Royal, Car-

* Supplement to *The South-Carolina Gazette*, March 3, 1757.

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penter, I am obliged to declare, that I find his Crimson called JOHN'S-BLOOD, answers all the Purposes of Cochineal; for it dyes a fine Crimson on Cotton, so as to stand washing with Soap-Lees; and it is my firm Opinion will likewise dye Scarlet. I have sent Samples of it Home, via Bristol, that, when approved of in London, by Messrs George Farmer and George Honour, two eminent Dyers there, the said Mr Story may be entitled to Part of the Reward offered by the Society for encouraging Arts, to such as can fix a Scarlet or Turky-Red on Cotton.

"And as there are many Roots and Weeds to be found in this Province and Georgia, that will dye REDS, I shall be obliged to all who will meet with such in their Way, to send me a Pound dried in the Shade; that I may make Trials of them. And if the Discoverers be persons in middling Circumstances, and what they produce to me be proven a DYE, I will reward them with Fifty Pounds Currency, and use my best Endeavours to obtain for them further Gratuities from the Dyers Company in London.

"I am sensible, Mr. Timothy, you are a Well-Wisher to the Interest of this Province and the Mother-Country; therefore, hope you will not omit publishing in your Gazettes any Hints tending to the Advantage of both whenever such are offered you; and thereby, amongst others, oblige

"Your Constant Reader,

"MOSES LINDO.

"Charles Town, July 16, 1759."[7]

Moses Lindo's contract with the London house which he represented having expired, and their agent having failed to pay for the indigo consigned to them, as also his annual allowance, he next announces that during his stay here he would mark Carolina indigo, first, second, and third sort, as he had done for them, on a reasonable commission. He does not expect to be paid unless the indigo so sorted "adds credit to this province and profit to those who chuse to ship that article," so as to prevent impositions by the purchasers of Carolina indigo in England.[8]

In the next notice he announces that in consequence of

[7] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, July 28, 1759.

[8] Ibid., Nov. 14, 1761.

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his advertisement of the 12th of November last, several gentlemen have left their indigo to his care. He assures the public that out of the twenty thousand weight on board of the vessels under convoy there are 18,000 as good as the French. Should it appear at home to the purchasers of it that he has not demonstrated it as such, he says that it will be doing the gentlemen here a piece of service if they will signify his fault in Lloyd's *Evening Post*, under the attestation of Messrs. Mark Hudson, Peter Fearon, Aaron Lara, and William Richardson, eminent brokers in this and other dyes, "To whose judgment only I submit, as well as to their equity in doing me justice, whether they ever saw so large a parcel of Carolina indico so even sorted as not to differ in value two pence sterling per pound from the first lot to the last."

Lindo had met with such marked success in his business that he roused the jealousy of his competitors, who seem to have spread false reports concerning him. He retaliates in this same advertisement:

"As some purchasers of indico may imagine that by this advertisement I want to get more indico to sort, I do hereby declare that I will only do it for those that I am engaged with, they being well known to be capital people, and capable of purchasing as much indico of the planters as I can well attend to."

He indignantly denies that he owes more than 3,000 guineas in this province than is due to him at home, "as some people have through their correspondence insinuated to my friends and relatives." The advertisement ends with a humorous touch of scorn:

"Sealed with my seal, well known in most markets in Europe for these 25 years, as always prime indico, which to this time of life I have not yet forfeited; and it is to me really a diversion to see some people in this town pretend to be judges of the quality of indico, to one that has had the experience of upwards of thirty years in it; and I wish they

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may not, by which they have shipped on board the fleet, experience the presumption."[9]

The importance of the indigo industry to the Province of South Carolina may be appreciated from the following historical facts: Indigo began to be cultivated in South Carolina in 1744 and was exported to England as early as 1747, where it attracted considerable attention. Great Britain was consuming annually 600,000 pounds weight of French indigo, paying for it 150,000 pounds sterling, and the statistics showed an annual increase of consumption. In 1748 Parliament passed an Act, allowing a bounty of six pence per pound on indigo from the British Colonies. This stimulated the South Carolina production and in 1754 the export of indigo from Charles Town amounted to 216,924 pounds, and shortly before the Revolution had risen to 1,176,660 pounds.[10]

The man who had done more to encourage this important industry—after rice, the greatest source of revenue in those days to South Carolina—than anyone in the Province was Moses Lindo. This is clearly evident from the following:

"The services heretofore rendered to this province by Mr. Moses Lindo, in ascertaining the quality and establishing the reputation of our indico-manufacture, both at home and at the foreign markets, in April last induced many gentlemen of rank and fortune, merchants, planters and others, to give him the following testimonial of their opinion of his abilities, in writing, and of the necessity of having a public inspector, subscribed with their names, viz:

"'In order to bring our indico-produce into reputation at home as well as at foreign markets, it becomes necessary to have a proper person qualified to ascertain the value of our First Sort. We merchants, planters, principal traders and others, do, therefore, hereby certify under our hands, that Mr. Moses Lindo, of Charles Town, merchant, is the only

[9] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 27, 1762.

[10] *Year Book*, City of Charleston, 1883, pp. 402–403.

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person known to us, capable of rendering this province further service in that article, if he is willing to undertake ascertaining the same and to grant his certificate for the First Sort.' "

This testimonial was signed by the Hon. William Bull, Lieutenant-Governor, five members of his Majesty's Council, the Speaker and nineteen members of the late Commons House of Assembly, forty-one merchants and seven "considerable planters of, or dealers in indico." Because of the local interest attaching to the names appended to this testimonial, the list is here quoted in full:

" *Hon William Bull, Esq, Lieutenant-Governor; the Hon Othniel Beale, Esq, *Henry Middleton, John Guerard, *John Drayton and *Daniel Blake, Esqrs, members of his Majesty's Council.

" Benjamin Smith, Esq, Speaker, and *Thomas Middleton, *William Moultrie, *Peter Manigault, William Scott, *Thomas Bee, *William Blake, William Roper, *Robert Pringle, *Thomas Lynch, *Rawlins Lowndes, *Benjamin Dart, George Roupell, *John Ainslie, *Thomas Ferguson, *John Parker, James Parsons, *William Maxwell, *Doct. John Murray and *Sir John Colleton, members of the late Commons House of Assembly.

" Messrs John Chapman, John Torrans, John Greg, John Poaug, *John Smith, Thomas Liston, *Paul Douxsaint, *Miles Brewton, Henry Peronneau, Thomas Corker, John Lloyd, Arthur Peronneau, William Ancrum, Lambert Lance, *Richard Downes, John Benfield, Henry Laurens, George Appleby, John Logan, Martin Campbell, John Neufville, Edward Neufville, Thomas Ellis, John Scott, Thomas Farr, jun, James Poyas, Evan Jones, *John M'Queen, William Guerin, John Parnham, Robert Smyth, Peter Bacot, James Laurens, George Ancrum, Thomas Shirley, George Inglis, Robert Rowand, John Nowell, Samuel Peronneau, Peter Mazyck and Thomas Moultrie, merchants.

" Andrew Johnston, John Moultrie, jun, William Gibbes, Job Milner, Alexander Fraser, John Mayrant, William Brandford, considerable planters of, or dealers in indico.

" (Note—The gentlemen with the mark * prefixed to their names are likewise considerable planters of indico.)

" In consequence of the above testimonial and an application to the Governor, his Excellency, on Tuesday last, was pleased to order the following commission to be issued, viz:

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"'SOUTH CAROLINA:

"'By his Excellency THOMAS BOONE, Esquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over the said Province.

"'TO MOSES LINDO, GENTLEMAN:

"'WHEREAS, several of the most considerable inhabitants of the said province, as well planters as merchants, have by a writing signed by them, certified, that, in order to bring the indico produce into reputation at home and at foreign markets, it is become necessary to have a proper person qualified to ascertain the First Sort; and that the said Moses Lindo is the only person known to them capable of rendering the province further service in that article, if he is willing to undertake ascertaining the same, and grant his certificate of its being the First Sort. And, whereas, the said Moses Lindo, in order to give such his certificates the more weight and authority in Great-Britain, has made application to me, that he may be appointed Surveyor and Inspector-General of Indico in the province aforesaid. I, therefore, in consideration of the premises, and being convinced of the fitness and ability of the said Moses Lindo for discharging the said office, do hereby nominate, constitute and appoint you the said Moses Lindo to be Surveyor and Inspector-General of the Indico made in the said province, for the ends and purposes above mentioned.

"'This commission to continue during pleasure.

"'Given under my Hand and Seal at Charles Town, this 21st day of September, Anno Dom. 1762, and in the second year of his Majesty's reign.

"'THOMAS BOONE.

"'By his Excellency's command.

"'GEORGE JOHNSTON for
"'JOHN MURRAY, Dep Sec.'"[11]

The next notice in the *Gazette* is an announcement of Moses Lindo officially as Surveyor and Inspector-General of Indico. It is as follows:

"MOSES LINDO.

"Surveyor and Inspector-General of INDICO made in South Carolina,
"GIVES THE FOLLOWING NOTICES:

"That as there is at present no obligation on any merchants or planters to submit their Indico to his inspection, or on him to take that trouble for

[11] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1762.

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nothing, he will be ready and willing, after the 16th instant, to inspect any parcel for either, ascertain the FIRST SORT, and give his certificate therefor for the small consideration of ONE per cent on the value of the Indico so certified.

"That he will make no distinction of persons in inspecting and giving certificates, in regard to the quantity, but will with equal readiness serve a planter who brings only 50 lb to market, as him who may bring thousands.

"That where any differences arise, on allowances to be made for bad mixtures, the accidental dampness, or designed wetness of Indico to disguise the quality, he will expect TWO per cent for his decision and ascertaining the value; i.e., ONE per cent from the seller, and as much from the buyer.

"That all orders gentlemen intend to favour him with, to purchase Indico on their accounts for exportation, must be delivered to him, or left at Messrs Inglis, Lloyd & Hall's, on or before the 16th instant; after which he will receive no more till those then in his hands are compleated.

"And, that no planter or other person may complain that he means to injure them (which is far from his intention) he declares, that he will not buy any parcel, till they have tried the market eight or ten days; when he will purchase, on orders upon some of the principal houses in town, at three months' credit.

"N. B.—He begs pardon for having omitted among the subscribers to the testimonial or certificate, in consequence of which he obtained his commission from the Governor, to give the printer the following gentlemen's names:" * * *[12]

A few days later Moses Lindo announces:

"That he has opened an office on Mr. Beresford's wharf, where constant attendance will be given every day in the week. (Saturdays, Sundays and holidays observed at other offices, excepted,) from 8 o'clock in the morning till 1 in the afternoon, in order to survey, inspect and grant certificates for all parcels of indico that shall be brought to him for that purpose, of the FIRST SORT.

"That he will not give his certificate for any indico, unless the planter produces a proper certificate of its being the growth of his plantation.

"That for declaring the first sort, and granting his certificate thereof, he expects to be paid at the rate of twenty shillings currency, for every

[12] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 9, 1762.

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hundred pounds weight of indico mentioned in such certificates, and the like sum for settling any difference between buyer and seller, on every hundred pounds weight.

"That if any planter, in eight days after obtaining his certificate for the first sort, desires him to procure a purchaser for the same, he in that case expects to be paid 5 per cent commission, if such indico is not in any merchant or factor's hands; but if in a merchant or factor's hands, then only 20s. per cent.

"That he will not sort, garble, and seal the first, second and third Sorts of indico of the present crop for exportation, but for the following gentlemen, who favoured him with their orders for that purpose before the 16th instant, or by orders obtained from them; for which his charge will be 3 per cent, casks and all other expences included.

"That all his fees must be paid him before the delivery of his certificates.

"That he will not accept, or undertake to execute any orders from Europe or from any of his correspondents elsewhere, to purchase indico for them this crop. And,

"That if any unfair dealings should be discovered, by fraudulent mixtures, after he has given his certificate for any parcels of indico, he is determined to expose such intended imposition.

"That after the first day of February next, he will not act in this or any other capacity, in purchasing or declaring the qualities of indico, until some regulation is made by Act of Parliament to encourage the planting and manufacturing that valuable dye." * * *[18]

The following will give an idea of the prices received for South Carolina indigo of the first sort:

"MOSES LINDO, Inspector and Surveyor-General of South Carolina INDICO. Having granted certificates for the FIRST SORT, sold at the prices opposite to the names of the respective makers (which he declares to be equal in quality to the best French that has been taken during the last or present war) viz:

	s.	d.	
"His Honor the Lieut. Governor's, sold at	27	6	per lb
George Saxby, Esq	40		per lb
John Moultrie, jun, Esq	40		per lb
Sir John Colleton, Bart	30		per lb

[18] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 23, 1762.

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	s.	d.	
Mr. Edmund Bellinger	30		per lb
Alexander Fraser, Esq	26 and 40		per lb
Mr. Charles Elliott	23		per lb
David Deas, Esq	27	6	per lb
Mr. George Marshal	24		per lb
John Pamor, Esq	27		per lb
George Seaman, Esq	26		per lb
Mrs. Mary M. Daniel	23		per lb
Mr. William Campbell	21		per lb
Mr. William Pearson	25		per lb
Mr. Philip Porcher	27	6	per lb
Mr. James Laroach	22	6	per lb
Mr. James Commander	25		per lb
Mr. William Johnson	27	6	per lb

"Part of which is now on board the Boscawen, capt. David Jenkins, commander, bound for London.

"IN THIS PUBLIC MANNER

"Requests, that the commissioners of his Majesty's customs in London, will desire 15 or 16 gentlemen, merchants, salters and brokers, conversant in this trade, to inspect the said indico when landed, and declare their sentiments thereon in all the public papers.

"And, whereas, several other parcels of indico have been shipped on board the said frigate, by divers persons, in like packages, which have not been inspected or surveyed by him, he has, therefore, thought proper to give a certificate for every cask that has undergone his inspection, and been sealed by him, specifying in the margin the kind, weight and tare, and registered the same in his office; which certificates Mr. William Richardson, broker in London (one of the best judges of indico now left in England) will take care to cancel after inspection. This precaution is so essentially necessary for the interest of a colony where any manufactures are produced, that in England the law has made it felony punishable with death, to counterfeit, imitate or alter any public inspector's mark." [14]

In his next notice Mr. Lindo refers to his last big shipment:

[14] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1763.

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"When the last 55 hogsheads arrive in England, I flatter myself the world will be satisfied of my integrity of heart and the uprightness of my intentions; as well as be convinced, that I have devoted myself to the service of my native country, and equally so to this province; for, if the indico that has undergone my inspection, and obtained my certificates, shall be proved equal in quality to the best French (which I am confident it will) in that case £12,000 sterling per annum bounty will be saved to the Government; and the planter here always sure of getting 25s currency a pound for the First Sort, and in proportion for the Second and Third, which will be sufficient to encourage them to go on in the planting and manufacturing that valuable dye." * * *

It would thus seem as if Moses Lindo had been meeting with considerable criticism and opposition. He ends his long letter:

"Your publishing this letter may prevent some evil-minded persons continuing to insinuate, that, sensible of my superior knowledge and experience in all dyes and drugs to any in Europe or America, I only take the advantage of exposing the ignorance of some pretenders to the like, which is not my intention. I must, however, say that no person whatever, that has not been ten or twelve years constantly employed as a broker of indico, can be a competent judge of that article, or the true value of each quality; therefore, an error in judgment after that time must be deemed a crime, not an oversight."[15]

In his next notice he announces, among other things, that he will not purchase any indigo himself, in less than three or four days after it has been surveyed; when, if no better price can be obtained for it than his valuation, he will receive it at that, and pay for the same as he has hitherto done.[16]

On September 2, 1763, he writes the following letter to Mr. Emanuel Mendez da Costa, the librarian of the Royal Society of London. This letter was communicated to the

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[15] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, March 26, 1763.

[16] Ibid., Oct. 22, 1763.

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Society on November 10, 1763, and is incorporated in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1763.[17]

"In August 1757, I observed the mocking bird fond of a berry, which grows on a weed called Pouck, represented to me as of a poisonous quality; the juice of this berry being a blooming crimson. I was several times inclined to try, if I could extract a die from it; yet the very thoughts of its quality prevented me from proceeding, till observing these birds to void their excrement of the same colour as the berry, on the Chinese rails in my garden, convinced me it was not of the quality represented. I therefore made a tryal in the following manner.

"1st I ordered one of my negroes to gather me a pint of those berries, from which I extracted almost three quarters of a pint of juice, and boiled it with a pint of Bristol water, one quarter of an hour.

"2dly. I then took two pieces of flannel and numbered them 1 and 2, boiled them in a separate tin pot with alum a quarter of an hour, and rinced them in cold water.

"3dly. I then dipped the piece of flannel No. 1 into the pot, where the juice was, and left it to simmer five minutes, then took it out, and rinced it in cold water; when, to my surprize, I found a superior crimson dye fixed on the flannel than the juice of the berry.

"4thly. I then dipped the piece of flannel No. 2 in the same juice, and being desirous to clean my hands from the stain, which No. 1 had caused, I ordered some lime water to be brought me, such as we use to settle our indico, and found the colour of the stain change to a bright yellow. This unexpected change urged me to throw a wine glass-full of lime water into the pot, where the piece of flannel No. 2 was simmering; on which all the juice, as well as the flannel, became of a bright yellow, by which I find alum fixed the crimson, and lime the yellow.

"5thly. Having then put a quart of fresh juice in 2 pint decanters, in one of which I put a small quantity of powdered alum, I laid them up; about six weeks after, I then examined them, and found the juice in the decanter, which had no alum, was turned black, and the other retained its colour."[18]

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[17] An Account of a new Die from the Berries of a Weed in South Carolina: In a letter from Mr. Moses Lindo, dated at Charles Town, September 2, 1763, to Mr. Emanuel Mendez da Costa, Librarian of the Royal Society. *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 53, pp. 238–239.

[18] Dr. Kayserling, in Frankel-Graetz's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Vol. 8, p. 165, refers to Lindo as a

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We continue to meet with Moses Lindo in the *Gazettes* for some years longer. Several of the advertisements are of no particular interest, others are extremely interesting. For the sake of completeness, we note here all the references to him in chronological order. He advertises on October 8, 1764. In his advertisement of May 4, 1765, he refers to "the iniquitous practices which have been committed with Carolina Indico," and which he declares he will never countenance.

In June, 1765, there is an interesting reference to him in a contemporary diary.[19] Here is the entry:

"Monday, 3. Dined this day with Mr. Thomas Liston, a reputable mercht born here: is a man of great openess & politeness, of generous sentiments & very genteel behaviour: passed the afternoon very agreably in his sumer house with him & Mr. Lindo, a noted Jew, inspector of Indigo here."

The next item is very amusing. It occurs in the *Gazette* of July 28, 1766. Moses Lindo, in his investigation into the properties of "roots and weeds," makes a valuable medical discovery, and, while not, as far as we know, a member of the medical profession, he is public-spirited enough not to

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rich farmer who owned many negroes. There is nothing to show that Lindo planted at all. From what we know of his life, this is most unlikely. The Columbia records show two grants of land to him but in the upper part of the State, remote from Charleston. The records likewise show that he purchased a negro man on two occasions. These were probably merely his personal servants. *The Jewish Encyclopædia* likewise represents Lindo as a wealthy planter and slave-owner." If we are to believe Lindo himself, he was not wealthy and as we have just stated, he was not a planter. In his paper, read before the American Jewish Historical Society, Mr. Hühner tells us that Moses Lindo "was in the army and held an important post"! (See *The American Hebrew*, Dec. 29, 1899.)

[19] *Journal of a voyage to Charlestown in So. Carolina by Pelatiah Webster in 1765.* (Charleston, S. C., 1898.)

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desire to retain the boon for himself, so he writes this letter to the *Gazette:*

"MR. TIMOTHY:

"HAVING lately made a valuable discovery, the CURE of that grievous and common disease among the Negroes, called the YAWS." * * * "I beg leave to make use of the channel of your paper to make the Recipe public for the good of mankind, without the least view to my private advantage; and to request that such gentlemen whose negroes have been, or may be cured, will make the same publickly known, so as to be communicated to his Majesty's other American dominions. I am yours, &c.

"MOSES LINDO,
"Inspector-General of Indico."

The recipe is interesting, as a fair sample of the therapeutics of the eighteenth century:

"RECIPE TO CURE THE YAWS, &c.

"To a pound of Poke root, add three ounces of Tobacco, and an ounce of Roman Vitriol, boil the same in five quarts of water, till reduced to a gallon, and strain it. With this, wash the infected part three times a day. A pint is sufficient for ten or twelve days.

"At the same time use a diet drink, made of Two pounds of Lignum Vitæ shavings, four ounces of the bark of Sassafras root, four ounces of Anniseeds, and half a pound of brown sugar, boiled in four gallons of water till reduced to three. The patient to take a pint a day, mixed with three pints of water for twenty-one days."

Moses Lindo advertises again on November 10, 1766, and on January 19, 1767, he writes a long letter to Mr. Timothy on the present status of Carolina indigo abroad:

"I have lately observed with concern, in an account of a public sale of 12 casks of French, and 23 of Carolina Indico on the 28th of August last" * * * "that all the French sold at 4s 5d to 5s 5d per lb, while only one cask of the Carolina allowed to be fully as good as the best French, obtained no more than 3s 8d, and all the rest sold amazingly low."

He attributes the difference to a combination at home among the importers of foreign indigo, to discourage its cultivation in his Majesty's Colonies. He "publickly

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avers" that the Carolina indigo, which he distinguishes as first sort, properly prepared by the dyer, will yield a superior dye to the very best French. He ought to know more certainly than the generality of people by reason of his long experience and expert knowledge.

Lindo was a man of resources and a true protectionist. He suggests, that as there exists a prejudice of 25 per cent against Carolina indigo brought about by the combination, that the British Parliament, instead of continuing the present bounty, should lay 1s. a pound duty on all the French, exported from Britain and which would save no less than £12,000 per annum to the Government, and at the same time give sufficient encouragement to cultivate 1,500,000 pounds in his Majesty's Colonies, for the use of British manufactories. As Inspector-General of Indico in this Province (though without a salary) he thinks it his duty "to rescue that valuable branch of our staples from the malign influence of designing men" as far as it lies in his power.

In the *Gazette* of October 10, 1771, Moses Lindo has a lengthy communication in defence of the custom of packing Carolina indigo in the Spanish shape. "Judges," he says, "never buy from outward appearance; they will examine its inward Quality. Therefore, there can be no Fraud in the Imitation." He quotes in defence of his contention the custom of mercers who, in order to get off their fine silks, are often obliged to call them French, though wholly wove in Spitalfields. He makes several observations on Carolina, Florida, and Guatemala indigo and ends by the statement that he has the interest of this country "as disinterestedly as much at heart" as any native, and is resolved to spend the remainder of his days here, where merit will meet with its reward, without partiality, from the highest to the lowest of its inhabitants.

In the *Gazette* of July 23, 1772, he advertises that it

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would afford him great satisfaction, if three or four persons, well experienced in the indigo business, would undertake the sorting and garbling of indigo for exportation, by which means that valuable produce might recover its reputation both at home and at foreign markets. His own services are only at the disposal of his regular patrons, whose names are appended.

On August 6, 1772, there is an announcement that "Moses Lindo, Esq., has resigned the place of Inspector-General of Indico for this Province."

On August 20, 1772, Lindo publishes a letter to Henry Laurens, Esq., containing his reasons for refusing to act any longer as Inspector-General of Indico. He would not seal certain classes of indigo "and bring disgrace on the Seal with a Crown over G. R." He would still continue, however, to serve his friends, if his knowledge could be of any use to them.

On November 12, 1772, he advertises again vindicating the action he has taken.

The next item is a most interesting one and deserves to be investigated further, if only as a matter of curiosity, by some English-Jewish antiquarian. It occurs in the *Gazette* of March 15, 1773:

"Moses Lindo, Esq., his Majesty's Inspector General of Indico, having, about eight years ago, accidentally met with, and for a Trifle purchased, a Stone (among others) found in this Province, which he judged to be a WATER SAPPHIRE or TOPAZ, and then declared to be too valuable a jewel to be possessed by any other than the Queen of England, making a Vow, that it should be sent to her Majesty; we hear, has accordingly sent the same, in the Eagle Packet-Boat, by the Hands of the Right Hon. Lord Charles-Greville Montagu, to be presented to her Majesty. The size and shape of this Stone is like Half a Hen's Egg, and the Weight 526 Carats."

On July 13, 1773, Moses Lindo gives a testimonial of character to Jonas Phillips, of New York, who, it would seem,

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had become involved in some charge reflecting on his integrity. The original is still extant.[20] This interesting document recites that Moses Lindo had "arrived in this Province in the Month of November, 1756, in the good vessel called the Charming Nancy, Commanded by Captain William White, that some Three months before he left London he engaged in his Service to come with him to this Province one Mr. Jonas Phillips, that after their arrival together in the same Vessel here, the said Jonas Phillips lived with him some months and that the said Jonas Phillips was in his employ and that he did behave and deport himself faithfully and honestly." He expresses his belief that "the said Jonas is trustworthy even to Gold untold." This affidavit was accompanied by a letter in similar terms from Joshua Hart, of Charles Town, in whose house Phillips had likewise stayed.

On September 6, 1773, he publishes a lengthy letter to Mr. John Ledyard, of Melksham, in Wiltshire, pointing out many fallacies in the statements made abroad concerning Carolina indigo and showing him how he may prove his own statements by actual experiment, the materials for which he is sending him. This letter is a splendid illustration of Lindo's patriotic feeling and of his untiring efforts in behalf of the Province.

On November 22, 1773, he makes a statement of the fight he is making against the combination in London against Carolina indigo. He recites what he has done to promote the welfare of the Province and refers to a recommendation that is to be made to the General Assembly to allow him a yearly salary besides fees. He has not become wealthy as the result of his work: "Should any accident befall me thro' the infirmities of age or otherwise, I am persuaded it

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[20] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 2, pp. 51–55.

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is not difficult for you, or any of my friends to conceive how very wretched a being would be Yours, &c,

"MOSES LINDO."

He still signs himself Inspector-General of Indico, and on December 27, 1773, there is a notice that "13,000 pounds weight of indigo, belonging to two planters, were last week sold by Mr. Samuel Prioleau, jun., at a dollar a pound to Moses Lindo, Esq., Inspector-General, who has declared that the whole quantity is equal if not superior to any French that, in the many years' experience he has had, has gone through his hands, or fallen under his observation."

Moses Lindo died in 1774. *The South-Carolina Gazette*, in which he had advertised so extensively for so many years, makes no mention of his death, but in *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* of Tuesday, April 26, 1774, we read:

"DIED, Moses Lindo, Esq; for many years Inspector-General of Indico in this Town."

There is but one notice more and that in *The South-Carolina Gazette* of May 23, 1774:

"Moses Lindo, Inspector-General of Indico, having departed this life, his estate and effects, consisting of Household Furniture, a Variety of Plate, Books, a Gold Watch, Chain and Seals, and other Articles, will be sold at public outcry on Saturday the 11th of June next, about Ten o'Clock in the forenoon at the back stores of Messrs. Martin Campbell & Son; on the Bay" * * *

"May 17th. 1774."

We have thus kept track of the subject of our sketch from the time he landed in South Carolina till his death. Moses Lindo left no will. The inventory of his estate, dated May 17, 1774, and appraised at £1,199.17.8, is recorded in the

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Probate Office in Charleston.[21] It has been a source of much gratification to perpetuate the memory of this public-spirited and patriotic Jew, who was a resident of Charles Town from 1756 to 1774. He is but one example of many of his faith who have contributed in no small way to the upbuilding of this great country.

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[21] Probate Records, Book V (1772), p. 591.

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CHAPTER IV—FRANCIS SALVADOR

"More than one hundred passengers are come, in the vessels that have arrived here since our last."[1]

THE "last" number of *The South-Carolina Gazette*, prior to the one containing the above announcement, was dated November 29, 1773. Following the statement is a list of some of the passengers, and on the list appears the name of Francis Salvador. He was a young English Jew, who had come to settle in the Province and who was destined within the brief space of not quite three years' residence therein to engrave his name firmly upon the pages of the history of South Carolina. But before proceeding to tell how he accomplished this, it is necessary to give some account of the antecedents of this remarkable young man.

His grandfather, Francis Salvador, was a son of Joseph Salvador, a Portuguese-Jewish merchant, of Amsterdam. Though the family was known to the commercial world by the name of Salvador, the name which this family had originally borne in Portugal was that of Jessurun, or Isurune, Rodrigues. After the death of Joseph Jessurun Rodrigues, or Salvador, his son removed to England, where he was

[1] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Dec. 6, 1773.

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enfranchised and made a free denizen by letters patent dated at Westminster, April 24, 1719. The father and son were both men of prominence and used a coat-of-arms, but after coming to England the son found that under the laws of heraldry observed in England he could not show a valid title to these arms. He therefore applied, in 1744, to Thomas, Earl of Effingham, Deputy to Edward, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England, to have the arms confirmed unto him, his descendants, and all descendants of his father, Joseph Salvador. The application was approved by his Lordship, who issued a warrant to the Garter and Clarenceux Kings of Arms on March 19, 1744, and the arms were properly confirmed by a grant made by these officials on June 1, 1745.[2]

The grantee of these arms, Francis Salvador, and his sons, Jacob and Joseph, were for many years wealthy merchants of London and were conspicuously identified with the ancient Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Congregation of that city. It is worthy of note that in the records of the Synagogue the old family name—Jessurun Rodrigues—is retained as late as 1764.[3]

The subject of this sketch was the son of Jacob Salvador, who died when his son Francis was about two years old. Shortly after Jacob's death his widow gave birth to another son, Moses. The two sons were liberally educated by a private tutor and the best masters, and were taught the accom-

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[2] This original grant was subsequently brought to South Carolina by a member of the Salvador family and is now preserved in the library of the College of Charleston. This beautiful specimen of heraldic art is now unfortunately ruined, having sustained irreparable damage from water through the carelessness of its custodians during the South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition in 1902. For a transcript of this document see Appendix C.

[3] Picciotto: *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 161–164. Gaster: *History of the Antient Synagogue, Bevis Marks—A Memorial Volume.*

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plishments suitable to their wealth and rank. Upon coming of age, each of them inherited £60,000 sterling. Francis, after spending some time in France, returned to England and married his first cousin, Sarah, second daughter of Joseph Salvador, received with her a marriage portion of £13,000, and resided at Twickenham, near his mother, who had married Abraham Prado. Moses Salvador lived for many years in the Hague.[4]

Unfortunate investments having reduced his fortune, and the earthquake in Lisbon and the failure of the Dutch East India Company having impaired that of Joseph Salvador, his father-in-law and uncle, Francis Salvador determined to settle in South Carolina, where Joseph Salvador owned a hundred thousand acres of land in Ninety Six District, which he had purchased from John Hamilton, of Charles Town, South Carolina, in 1755, for £2,000 sterling.[5] In 1769 Joseph Salvador executed a power of attorney to Richard Andrews Rapley, who was about to depart for South Carolina, to sell a part of this land for him. In October, 1773, Rapley sold two tracts of it, containing 1,062 and 1,638 acres respectively, to Abraham Prado, stepfather of Francis Salvador. On the sixth day of the same month Joseph Salvador sent to Rapley a special power of attorney, by which Rapley, on May 17, 1774, in consideration of £1,611 currency, conveyed to "Francis Salvador, late of Twickenham in the County of Middlesex but now of the Province aforesaid Esqr," 921 acres of the one hundred thousand acre tract. Again, on May 31, 1774, by the same special power of attorney, Rapley conveyed to Francis Salvador, by way of mortgage, "in consideration of seven thousand Lawfull money of the said Province" which Joseph Salvador owed him, 5,165 acres more of this land, so that

[4] Drayton: *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, Vol. 2, pp. 347–349.
[5] Mesne Conveyance Records, Book F 3, p. 133.

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by collecting a debt and by direct purchase the accomplished young gentleman, who had come to cast his lot in a new and almost unbroken section, was now the possessor of a plantation of nearly seven thousand acres. Drayton tells us that he purchased slaves and began the life of a planter, living with his friend, Rapley, at Coronaca, in Ninety Six District.[6] His education and polished manners soon won for him a prominent position in his District and in the Province. He sympathized with the popular movement in South Carolina against British oppression, and at the election held on Monday, December 19, 1774, for deputies to the First Provincial Congress of South Carolina, he was returned as one of the ten deputies from Ninety Six District—his friend, Rapley, being another.[7] The first session of the Provincial Congress convened in Charles Town on Wednesday morning, January 11, 1775, and continued in session until Tuesday evening, January 17th.[8] Salvador was in attendance and his fine abilities were soon recognized, and when on Sunday, the 15th, an election was held for members for the several election districts on the Committee for Effectually Carrying into Execution the Continental Association and for Receiving and Determining upon Applications Relative to Law Processes, he was chosen one of the committee for Ninety Six District.[9] He also attended the second session of the Congress in June, 1775, and was again conspicuous in its work. At the election held on Monday and Tuesday,

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[6] Drayton: *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, Vol. 2, p. 348. In the supplement to *The South-Carolina and American General Gazette* for Sept. 9, 1774, he advertised for an indigo overseer to live near Ninety Six and look after about thirty slaves.

[7] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Dec. 26, 1774.

[8] *The South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1775; *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 23, 1775; Moultrie: *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, Vol. 1, pp. 14–18.

[9] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 30, 1775.

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August 7 and 8, 1775, he was returned as a Deputy from Ninety Six District to the Second Provincial Congress,[10] taking his seat when the Congress convened on Wednesday, November 1, 1775, and was, as in the previous Congress, placed upon important committees and conspicuous in debate. At the second session of the Second Provincial Congress, held in February and March, 1776, Salvador was again conspicuous in committee work and in debate. On February 6th he was placed upon a special committee to inquire into the state of the interior parts of the Province lately in commotion; to consider what measures to pursue to preserve the peace, secure safety, and prevent future commotions in that quarter, and to consider the cases of the state prisoners and report what measures should be pursued in relation thereto.[11] On February 13th he was named as one of a special committee of three to extract such parts as they should judge proper to be generally known from the intercepted letters taken from Moses Kirkland and one written by John Stuart to the Committee of Intelligence.[12] On February 21st Mr. Salvador, from the first special committee mentioned above, made a report to the Congress, but consideration of it was postponed,[13] and subsequently a part of the report was recommitted. In Congress, on February 28th, Salvador was appointed a teller for the "Yeas" on the question of raising another regiment of riflemen for the regular service of the Revolutionary Government of South Carolina, and had the satisfaction of seeing the question carried by his side by a vote of fifty-one to thirty-

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[10] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1775.

[11] *Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of South-Carolina*, second session, held at Charles Town, Feb. 1–March 26, 1776 (Charles Town, 1776), p. 13.

[12] Ibid., pp. 29–30.

[13] Ibid., pp. 51–52.

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seven.[14] On March 2d Mr. Salvador, for the special committee, reported on the recommitted part of the original report, and consideration of the report was agreed upon for the next day. On March 3d, before proceeding with the consideration of Mr. Salvador's report, a committee of seven was appointed to consider ways and means of paying for services already voted and report the next day, and Mr. Salvador was named as one of this committee.[15] On March 20th Mr. Salvador was placed upon a special committee of five to report the next day what salaries were proper to be allowed to the several public officers.[16] During the consideration of the report the next day, a motion was made to agree to the provision fixing the salary of the President at £10,000 per annum, and when the question was put to the house Mr. Salvador was appointed teller for the "Nays," who won.[17] On March 26th the engrossed copy of the new Constitution being laid before Congress, Colonel Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Mr. Salvador were appointed a special committee to examine it and compare it with the rough draft thereof.[18] Later in the day Colonel Pinckney for this committee reported that he and Mr. Salvador had carefully examined the engrossed copy of the Constitution and found it correct.[19] The new Constitution was adopted that day and by one of its provisions the Provincial Congress was declared to be the General Assembly of the new State until the 21st of October following,[20] thus making Salvador one of the members of the first General Assembly of the new independent State of South Carolina.

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[14] *Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of South-Carolina*, second session, held at Charles Town, Feb. 1–March 26, 1776 (Charles Town, 1776), p. 69.

[15] Ibid., p. 81.

[16] Ibid., p. 111.

[17] Ibid., p. 115.

[18] Ibid., p. 132.

[19] Ibid., p. 133.

[20] Ibid., p. 140.

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He participated in its proceedings until its adjournment on April 11, 1776.

Soon after the adjournment of the General Assembly a British fleet, having under convoy transports bearing a British army, appeared before Charles Town and began preparations for an attack on the town. At the same time British emissaries on the frontier of South Carolina began to instigate the Cherokee Indians to deeds of violence against the people of the upper part of the Province. The Tories and Indians in the rear were expected to coöperate with the fleet and army in front and crush the rebellion at once. The fleet and army made a combined attack on the 28th of June and were severely defeated. The Indians made their onslaught on Monday, July 1st. They poured down upon the people of Ninety Six District, massacring all who fell in their way. One of the plantations they attacked was that of Captain Aaron Smith, on Little River. Two of Captain Smith's sons escaped on horseback—one riding to Mr. Salvador's plantation, on Coronaca Creek, and one to Major Andrew Williamson's plantation (White Hall). Mr. Salvador immediately rode to Williamson's. Major Williamson was then in command of the militia regiment of Ninety Six District, and he, with Salvador's assistance, immediately began to collect the militia of the neighborhood, and by Wednesday, July 3d, having collected forty men, marched to Smith's, whence they moved to a point about six miles above Captain Pickens's fort. Their force increased each day until the 8th, when it amounted to two hundred and twenty men, and they marched to Holmes's field, on Hogskin Creek, about four miles from the Cherokee boundary line, at De Witt's Corner, and encamped. By the 16th Williamson's force had increased to four hundred and fifty, and he advanced to Barker's Creek. As Williamson had not been joined by any of the militia commands from the eastward of Saluda River, Mr. Salvador

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rode thither on Saturday, July 13th, and found Colonel Williams and Colonel Lisle, with detachments from their commands, and two companies from Colonel Richardson's regiment, amounting in all to four hundred and thirty men. This force was attacked on Monday, the 15th, but repulsed the Indians and Tories. Williamson's force now rapidly increased. He was joined by a detachment of the 3d Regiment under Captain Felix Warley and Captain John Bowie's company of the 5th Regiment, and on July 25th marched to Hencoop Creek, destroying in the meantime all Indian villages and corn from the Cherokee boundary line to their middle settlement, and on the 29th to Twenty-Three Mile Creek, his force now amounting to 1,151 militia and regulars. Having been informed by two white prisoners, captured by his scouts, that some white men in the service of the British were encamped at Oconee Creek, about thirty miles away, and that they had been joined by the Essenecca Indians, who had completely abandoned their town on the Keowee River, Williamson decided to march at once to their camp and attack them. With a detachment of three hundred and thirty men on horseback, and the two prisoners as guides, he set out about six o'clock on the evening of July 31st for the purpose of surrounding the enemy's camp at daybreak the next morning. The Keowee River crossing Williamson's route, and only fordable at Seneca, obliged him to take the road by that village. Before he arrived at that point the enemy, having either learned of his march or expecting to ambush some of his scouts, had taken possession of the first houses in Seneca and had posted men behind a long fence on an eminence close to the road along which Williamson's detachment was to march, and, to prevent being seen, had filled up the openings between the rails with bushes and cornblades. When Williamson's force reached the spot, about half-past one o'clock in the morning, they allowed the guides and advance guard to pass and

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then poured in a heavy fire upon Williamson's men. The attack, being unexpected, staggered the advance party. Williamson's horse was shot down and Salvador, riding with him, received three wounds and fell by his side, and before he could be found in the dark an Indian took his scalp—his being the only one taken. Captain Smith, son of the murdered Captain Aaron Smith, saw the Indian and could have stopped him, but thought it was Mr. Salvador's servant assisting his master and made no effort to stop him. He died forty-five minutes after receiving his wounds, sensible to the last. When Williamson returned to him, after defeating the enemy, he asked him if the enemy had been beaten, and, when answered in the affirmative, said he was glad of it and shook Williamson's hand, bade him farewell, and said he would die in a few moments.

Thus perished, in the heyday of young manhood, one whose future was full of promise both to himself and to the young Republic.[21] "The whole army regretted his loss, as he was universally loved and esteemed by them."[22] Where he was buried we are not informed, but his body

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[21] Francis Salvador was only twenty-nine years of age at the time of his death. Mr. Hühner, in his paper on Francis Salvador, read before the American Jewish Historical Society, informs us that "he was certainly no more than thirty-five or forty years of age at the time of his arrival." (*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 9, p. 111.) His guess is somewhat wide of the mark. His age at the time of his arrival was twenty-six. This fact is easily obtained from the following data: His father, Jacob Salvador, died in 1749. (See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 19, p. 189.) Francis Salvador was about two years of age when his father died. (See Drayton: *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, p. 347.) He was therefore born in 1747. He arrived in Charles Town in December, 1773. For further data concerning the family of Salvador see *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 6, p. 112; Vol. 8, p. 546; Vol. 10, p. 36; Vol. 11, pp. 554 and 608; Vol. 19, p. 189; Vol. 24, p. 484; Vol. 30, p. 249; Vol. 33, p. 618.

[22] *The Remembrancer* for 1776, Part 2, p. 320.

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was doubtless taken back to his plantation at Coronaca. He was the first Jew in America to represent the masses in a popular assembly.[28]

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[28] See Drayton: *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, Vol. 2, pp. 339–350. Williamson's report to President Rutledge, published in Gibbes: *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 1764–1776, pp. 125–126. This report as published in Gibbes is incorrectly copied. It is headed "Col. Thomson to W. H. Drayton" and the date is printed "1775." It should, of course, be 1776. At the outset of this expedition Williamson was only major of the Ninety Six District regiment, being the senior officer and in command, but while on this expedition he was promoted to the colonelcy of the regiment, receiving his commission about August 1st, Captain Le Roy Hammond receiving at the same time the lieutenant-colonelcy. See also *The* [London] *Remembrancer* for 1776, Part 1, p. 114, and Part 2, pp. 319–20. For some interesting Salvador correspondence see Gibbes: *Documentary History*, 1776–1782, pp. 24–30.

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CHAPTER V—THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

O describe the part played by the Jews of South Carolina—or rather by the Jews of Charles Town, for there is nothing in the records, with one or two exceptions, of any other Jews of South Carolina who saw service in the field—is a task quite easy and yet difficult. Till now the story has not been written. A few traditional tales, distorted according as the imagination of the story-teller was more or less vigorous, and still further distorted by Jewish editors, are all that we now possess. No attempt has hitherto been made to go to original sources. Hence it is that the traditional items that found their way into Leeser's *Occident* some fifty years ago have gone the rounds of the newspapers and the books, and have been so often repeated that they have come to be looked upon as narratives of fact. Read the story of the Jews of Charleston where you will, you will find nothing but the same old stories told over and over again, with variations more or less absurd.

The trouble with all past writers, without exception, has been that they have made no attempt to ascertain the facts. Our present data are all of them traditions which, while containing a germ of truth, are, like all traditions, largely unreliable. Fortunately for us, historical material in Charleston is so abundant that it is possible to write the story of the

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Jews of Charleston in the eighteenth century in almost as complete detail and with the same historical accuracy that one could write their history of twenty years ago. The newspapers are here almost complete. The records are here almost complete. These will furnish the historian with the facts, and these facts will testify as eloquently to the value of the Jew as a citizen as the glittering generalities and the specious absurdities that have till now passed current as history. We are far away enough removed from the scene to view the story in its true perspective. As before, we shall, wherever possible, let the records speak for themselves.

If it be the verdict of history that the Jew has been an important factor in the material development of every country in which he has lived, it is equally true that he has everywhere manifested his appreciation of the protection and freedom which have been vouchsafed to him by his willingness to bear the full burdens of citizenship, even to the extent of ungrudgingly laying down his life in his country's defence. One needs no better illustration of Jewish patriotism than the story of the Jews of South Carolina. To appreciate the part that the Jews of this State played in the Revolution, however, one must possess an adequate knowledge of the history of South Carolina as well as a knowledge of the local field. Without this local knowledge, the writing of reliable local history is manifestly impossible, but this truth has not yet dawned upon the minds of many latter-day writers.

To understand the position of the Jews of South Carolina in the Revolution we must understand the position of South Carolina in the Revolution. South Carolina was a favored colony. She had none of the grievances, *e. g.*, of Massachusetts. Her trade with the mother country was large. Her agricultural products were sold at good prices to England, and her industries were fostered by generous bounties on

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the part of the home government. Her only grievance was the question of "home rule," and that question was of little concern to the people at large. The only aggrieved ones were the intellectual and ambitious classes, and with such, a commercial population could scarcely be expected to be in sympathy. The masses were naturally hostile to a revolution which threatened to disturb the quiet progress of a trade of which, having interests unlike those of New England, they had nothing to complain.

The population of South Carolina, too, was a very mixed one. South Carolina was an English colony, and the English are by nature loyal. So are the Scotch, and they were numerous. The foreign settlers were opposed to the Revolution, and it is only what is to be expected, therefore, that public opinion in South Carolina should have been well divided.

Not that the sentiments of the masses were always known. A merchant to-day, if he is wise, does not go out of his way to proclaim his political views to every customer who enters his store, yet one can talk freely with far more impunity to-day than he could have spoken at the beginning of the Revolution. The commercial population simply watched the course of events, awaited developments, and later on showed unmistakably where they stood.[1]

Jews are proverbially loyal to the ruling power. As was the case with the rest of the population, Jewish sentiment was divided. We shall see later that there were a number of Jews whose sentiments were known to be pro-British. The number of Jews who served in the field, however, and who rendered other service to the Revolutionary cause, in

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[1] These facts are forcibly set forth in two brilliant articles from the pen of W. Gilmore Simms in the July and October numbers of *The Southern Quarterly Review* for 1848—articles which ought to be read and read again by all who are interested in the history of South Carolina.

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proportion to their total number, was phenomenally large. Of this the records leave no doubt.

Before referring to these records, however, it would be well to glance at the militia system of South Carolina at the outbreak of and during the Revolution. We take note only of pertinent points.

Every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty who was able to bear arms was compelled to enroll himself in some militia company. Prior to 1775 he could enroll himself in any company he pleased, but subsequent to November 20, 1775, he could only enroll himself in the regiment of the district in which he lived.[2]

By a resolution of the Provincial Congress dated June 17, 1775, volunteer companies of not less than fifty might organize themselves into companies of foot, choosing their own officers.[3]

By an Act of 1778 a company consisted of sixty men.[4]

In the same Act it is further enacted "that there shall not be formed any volunteer company in this State after the passing of this Act."[5]

The duties of a militiaman were "to appear completely armed once in every fortnight for muster, train, and exercise," to do patrol duty, and to be drafted for a limited time, usually thirty or sixty days, according to the season of the year, when deemed necessary by the Governor or Commander-in-chief.[6]

A man could furnish a substitute and thus be himself exempt from militia duty.[7]

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[2] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 28, 1775.

[3] Supplement to *The South-Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1775.

[4] *Statutes of South Carolina*, Vol. 9, p. 667.

[5] Ibid., p. 667.

[6] Ibid. See also *The Gazette of the State of South-Carolina*, March 10, 1779.

[7] *The South-Carolina Gazette*, March 10, 1779.

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Among those exempt from military services were clergymen and teachers.[8]

These militia laws do not seem to have been generally observed. We find one presentment after another of the grand juries calling attention to their neglect. It is worth remembering, too, that every man was not physically able to do military duty. Many were excused. Moultrie himself tells us this in referring to those who surrendered after the siege.[9]

Before proceeding with the story it would be well to indicate the present status of our knowledge of this most interesting chapter of American Jewish history. It may teach a useful lesson to those who undertake to write history. Here, then, is the latest production on the subject, printed under the auspices of the American Jewish Historical Society and the author, Leon Hühner, Esq., A.M., LL.B., the Curator of the Society. It is taken from the article "Charleston" in Volume 3 of *The Jewish Encyclopædia* (New York, 1902) and is presented without abridgment:

"During the struggle for independence the Jews of Charleston distinguished themselves by their patriotism. Not a single case of Toryism was to be found among them,[10] while many instances of devotion to the cause of independence are recorded. The majority did good service in the field, mainly as officers.[11] The most prominent Jew at the

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[8] *Statutes of South Carolina,* Vol. 9, p. 620.

[9] * * * "This threat brought out the aged, the timid, the disaffected, and the infirm, many of them who had never appeared during the whole siege." * * * "I saw the column march out, and was surprised to see it so large, but many of them we had excused from age and infirmities."—*Memoirs,* Vol. 2, pp. 108–9.

[10] This is not true, as will be clearly shown.

[11] The only officer in the Revolution among the Jews of South Carolina was Captain Abraham Seixas, who fought as a lieutenant of the Continental Line in Georgia.

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outbreak of the war was Francis Salvador, who resided near Charleston[12] and whose remains are interred in the old Charleston Cemetery.[13] Salvador was a member of the Colonial Assembly[14] as early as 1774,[15] and of the Provincial Congress as well. He was one of the leading patriots of the South.

"In 1779 a special corps of volunteer infantry was organized for the defence of the city,[16] and this regiment was com-

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[12] Francis Salvador did not reside near Charles Town, but at Ninety Six, which is in the northwest of the State, almost as far from Charles Town as one could get without leaving South Carolina.

[13] Francis Salvador's remains are not interred in the old Charleston Cemetery. It is Joseph Salvador who is buried here,—the uncle and father-in-law of the patriot,—and he is buried, not in the old cemetery, but in the Da Costa burial-ground in Hanover Street.

[14] There never was such a body in South Carolina as the "Colonial Assembly." There was a "Commons House of Assembly of the Province of South Carolina," but Salvador was not a member of that body. The last election held prior to the independent government established on March 26, 1776, was held during the latter part of 1772,—before Salvador came to South Carolina,—and the first election for the General Assembly, created by the Constitution of 1776, took place in October, 1776—after Salvador's death. (See *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for January, 1902.)

[15] Salvador was not a member of any legislative body in 1774. He was a Deputy to the Provincial Congress of 1775, and also to the second Provincial Congress of 1775–6.

[16] This company, referred to by all previous writers, is a myth. Abundant reason for this opinion will be given in the text. The reference is to Captain Richard Lushington's Company of the Charles Town Regiment of Militia, which regiment had been in existence since 1738. This company, consisting of about sixty men, included possibly twenty Jews. We have several references to Lushington's Company in the literature. In *The Gazette of the State of South-Carolina* of Nov. 11, 1778, there are the names of twelve members of this company, of whom but two are Jews. In the same *Gazette* for March 10, 1779, five more names are given and only one is a Jew. So that out of seventeen men who served in this company at the time it is supposed to have been organized, there were only three

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posed almost exclusively of Israelites.[17] Among its members were Daniel N. Cardozo, Jacob I. Cohen, and Isaiah Isaacs.[18] The regiment subsequently fought under General Moultrie at the battle of Beaufort. Among those who served in the field may be mentioned Jacob De La Motta, Jacob De Leon, Marks Lazarus, and Mordecai Sheftail, who was Commissary-General for South Carolina and Georgia,[19] but who must be considered as a resident of Savannah, rather than of Charleston.[20] Major Benjamin Nones, a French Jew in Pulaski's regiment, distinguished himself during the siege of Charleston and won the praise of his commander for gallantry and daring."[21]

Jews. We have the names of twenty-five of Lushington's men who were not Jews, and others will doubtless be brought to light. If further proof is needed that there was no volunteer company organized in 1779, it is sufficient to refer to the Militia Act of 1778, which expressly prohibited the organization of volunteer companies after its passage.

[17] The transition from a "corps" (*sic*) to a regiment, in two lines, is really too violent even for historical romance. A regiment, composed almost exclusively of Jews, and the majority officers!

[18] By Daniel N. Cardozo is probably meant David N. Cardozo. We have no record of Jacob I. Cohen as a member of Lushington's Company, and who Isaiah Isaacs is we cannot imagine.

[19] "Sheftail" should be Sheftall. Mordecai Sheftall was not Commissary-General for South Carolina and Georgia. He was "Deputy Commissary-General of Issues for the Southern Department," *i.e.*, to the Continental army assigned to the Southern Department. The Commissary-General of South Carolina was a State officer of militia and this office was held by Thomas Farr, Jr.

[20] He was a resident of Savannah and cannot be considered as anything else.

[21] The author has dealt at length with the article "Charleston" in *The Jewish Encyclopædia* in a review of that article published in *The* [Charleston] *Sunday News* of Dec. 14, 1902, which has been reprinted in pamphlet form. The article "Charleston" is a historical curiosity. Consisting of less than a thousand words, it contains more mistakes than one would ordinarily find in a volume of a thousand pages, and such mistakes

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Such is history as "made to order" to-day. The day is past, however, when such writing can be allowed to pass unchallenged.

Let us now look at the records and see what they have to tell. These records are by no means as incomplete as we have hitherto been led to imagine. We have so many side sources of information that we may claim that it is possible to present a picture of the part that the Jews of South Carolina played in the Revolution with almost absolute fidelity. We must, however, dismiss completely the fictions of the early writers.

What are these side sources of information? We have first of all the Record and Pension Office and the Bureau of

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as could not have been made had the article been entrusted to anyone in the slightest degree familiar with the subject. There is scarcely a statement that is correct. The writing of this review was anything but a pleasant task, but it was a public duty. The time is fast approaching when the complete story of the Jews in America will have to be written. *The Jewish Encyclopædia* is going to furnish much of the material for the future historian. This work has been widely heralded as the acme of accuracy. In the department of American Jewish History, however, it is far from perfection. The best that can be said of it is that it is not worse than some other encyclopædias, and some of them are bad enough.

It should be noted here that the author's review has given rise to an interesting controversy with the writer of the article. This gentleman's reply, together with the author's rejoinder, appeared in *The* [Charleston] *Sunday News* of Feb. 8, 1903. This rejoinder was suppressed in *The American Israelite* and *The American Hebrew*, both of which published Mr. Hühner's communication. In marked contrast to the unfairness of these papers was the attitude of the *Jewish Comment*, which published the rejoinder in full abstract. That such an original contribution to the history of South Carolina might not be hidden away in two obscure religious weekly papers and thus perhaps be lost to posterity, the author has reprinted both Mr. Hühner's reply and his own rejoinder in his Pamphlet Reprints. These can be consulted in many of the large public libraries and in the libraries of the leading historical societies of this country.

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Pensions at Washington. We have a vast number of Revolutionary records in this State. There is that wonderful Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library. There are a number of contemporary diaries available to us. There are the tombstones in our cemeteries and the files of the newspapers, which rarely fail to mention military services in the obituary notices of deceased patriots. We have, finally, a list that is fairly complete of the Jews who lived in South Carolina during the Revolutionary period, and we can account for the vast majority of them. We can now proceed to deal with the records intelligently.

The first real fighting in which the Charles Town militia were called into service was the battle of Fort Moultrie, in June, 1776. There were only a few militia in service on Sullivan's Island, Fort Moultrie being garrisoned principally by South Carolina regulars. There were quite a number of Jews in the Charles Town militia. Who they were we shall see later. Several of them saw service at Fort Moultrie.

Simms, in his *History of South Carolina*, has preserved a most interesting reminiscence of the battle of Fort Moultrie in a letter from Joseph Johnson, the author of the well-known *Traditions and Reminiscences*, to Colonel Wade Hampton, dated 27th June, 1842. Here is an extract from the letter:

"When the fire from Fort Moultrie first began to slacken for want of powder, it was proposed to Colonel Moultrie by the commissary, De Lion,* that some refreshment should be served out to the men, who had been on duty ever since daylight. This being approved, a rum cask

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* It would be interesting to know who this "De Lion" was. The only man of this name of whom the records make mention is Isaac De Lyon, but he was a Tory and he appears to have settled in Charles Town in 1779. Nor can the name be a misprint for De Leon. Jacob De Leon was only twelve years old at the time.

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sawed into two parts was brought out on the platform and filled with rum and water, the usual drink of the inhabitants and the rations of the troops."[23]

The result of the battle of Fort Moultrie was to insure undisturbed peace to South Carolina from June, 1776, to February, 1779. Trade went on pretty much as usual. The people married and gave in marriage, and beyond internal dissensions on account of the Loyalists there is nothing to be noted of interest.

Between 1776 and 1778 Richard Lushington was promoted to be captain in the Charles Town Regiment of Militia. His company included nearly all of the Jews of Charles Town who fought in the Revolution, and that for reasons we have already seen: Soldiers had to enroll themselves in the district in which they lived. Richard Lushington's district extended on King Street, from Broad Street to Charles Town Neck, above the modern Calhoun Street. King Street was then, as now, a principal business street, and most of the Jews had their stores there. It would be an easy matter to compile a list of Jews who lived in King Street, but this would serve no useful purpose. The newspapers show that quite a number of Jews lived in other streets. Of the names of men in Lushington's Company that have come down to us the Jewish names are in a decided minority.

Lushington's Company took part in several engagements. It fought in the battle of Beaufort in February, 1779. Here Joseph Solomon was killed.[24] The Charles Town militia likewise took part in the attempt to recapture Savannah in the same year. Here David Nunez Cardozo distinguished himself.[25]

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[23] Simms: *History of South Carolina*, 2d edition, Charleston, 1842, p. 342.

[24] *Gazette of the State of South-Carolina*, March 10, 1779.

[25] "The deceased served as a Subaltern Officer in the militia of South Carolina during a great part of the Revolution, until made a prisoner

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That the Jews both of Charles Town and Savannah had done their full duty to the patriot cause is attested by a splendid piece of uncontradicted contemporary testimony. It occurs in a letter in *The South-Carolina and American General Gazette* of December 3, 1778. Mrs. Crouch's paper containing the libel is no longer in existence, and while the attack has come down to us by reason of the reply, we have in this instance, at least, no cause to regret it. The style of the letter is quaint, but its contents are telling:

"MR. WELLS,

"On perusing Mrs Crouch and Co's paper of the 1st instant, I was extremely surprised to find, in a piece signed *An American*, a signature sufficient to lead every honest and judicious man to imagine, that whatever was said in so publick a manner, should be ingenuous and true, assertions directly contrary. Here are his words:

"'Yesterday being by my business posted in a much frequented corner of this town, I observed, in a small space of time, a number of chairs and loaded horses belonging to those who journeyed, come into town.—Upon inspection of their faces and enquiry, I found them to be of the *Tribe of Israel*—who, after taking every advantage in trade the times admitted of in the State of Georgia, as soon as it was attacked by an enemy, fled here for an asylum, with their ill-got wealth—dastardly turning their backs upon the country when in danger, which gave them bread and protection—Thus it will be in this State if it should ever be assailed by our enemies—Let judgment take place.'

"I am apt to think, Mr. Printer, that the gentleman is either very blind, or he is willing to make himself so; for I am well convinced, had he taken the trouble of going closer to the chairs, he would have found that what he has thus publickly asserted was erroneous and a palpable mistake,

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of war in 1780. He was also attached to the Forlorn Hope when the lines of Savannah were attacked by the combined forces of Gen. Lincoln and Count de Estaing."—From inscription on his tombstone, Jewish Cemetery, Coming Street.

"He marched with the Grenadier corps from Charleston to the Lines before Savannah, and as first non-commissioned officer of Capt Boquet's company, volunteered and led the Forlorn Hope in the assault on the British lines."—Obituary notice in *The Charleston Courier*, July 10, 1835.

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as he might have been convinced they were of the female kind, with their dear babes, who had happily arrived at an asylum, where a tyrannical enemy was not at theirs or their dear offsprings heels. I do, therefore, in vindication of many a worthy Israelite now in Georgia, assert, that there is not, at this present hour, a single Georgia Israelite in Charles Town; and that so far to the contrary of that gentleman's assertion, I do declare to the Publick, that many merchants of that State were here on the 22d ult, and on being informed of the enemy landing, they instantly left this, as many a worthy Gentile knows, and proceeded post haste to Georgia, leaving all their concerns unsettled, and are now with their brother citizens in the field, doing that which every honest American should do.

"The truth of this assertion will, in the course of a few days, be known to gentlemen of veracity, who are entitled to the appellation of Americans. The Charlestown Israelites, I bless Heaven, hitherto have behaved as staunch as any other citizens of this State, and I hope their further conduct will be such as will invalidate the malicious and designing fallacy of the author of the piece alluded to.

"I am, Sir, Yours, etc,
"A real AMERICAN,
and
True hearted ISRAELITE.

"Charlestown, Wednesday, December 2, 1778."

We next meet with Lushington's Company at the siege of Charles Town in 1780. Here our information concerning the Jews who fought in the militia is most complete. The original papers of General Lincoln, who was in command of the American army in South Carolina in 1780, are still in existence and are to be seen in the "Emmet Collection" in the New York Public Library.[26]

The defence of Charles Town is unique in the history of

[26] The documents in this collection relating to the siege of Charles Town have been incorporated into the *Year Book*, City of Charleston, for 1897. To Ex-Mayor Courtenay and to Ex-Mayor Smyth the people of South Carolina are under lasting obligations for the making available to students of this vast mass of priceless material. The accompanying cuts, in reduced fac-simile, are reproduced through the courtesy of Ex-Mayor Smyth.

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beleaguered cities. That it withstood a siege of two months against such overwhelming odds must excite the admiration of all who read the story. Its doom was sealed from the first, but not until provisions had given out and all the ammunition was practically spent; not until the British were within twenty yards of the American lines, and every hope of assistance was cut off, was there ever a thought of surrender. But the inevitable came at last. All hope being gone, and further resistance being impossible, to avoid a useless slaughter the principal inhabitants of Charles Town and a number of the country militia petitioned General Lincoln to surrender. These petitions have come down to us, and on them are many Jewish names. There are three lists, one of civilians, containing three hundred names appended, including a number of Jews; another of country militia, with one hundred and eleven names, but no Jews, and a third, of country militia, with three hundred and forty-six names appended, including a number of Jews. The two petitions that contain the names of Jews, with their fac-simile signatures, are here reproduced. One of these signers, Joseph Myers, it will be seen, tried to make "his mark" in script Hebrew. From his Hebrew signature "Joseph" he appears to be almost as illiterate in that language as he was in English.

I.

"To the Honorable Major General Lincoln—

"The Humble petition of divers Inhabitants of Charlestown in behalf of themselves and others, their fellow citizens—

"Sheweth

"That your petitioners being informd the difficulties that arose in the Negotiation yesterday, and the day preceding, related wholly to the Citizens, to whom the British Commanders offer'd their estates, and to admit them to their parole as Prisoners of War; and your petitioners understanding it as an indisputable proposition, that they can derive no advantage by a perseverance in resistance; with every thing that is dear to them at stake, they think it their Indispensable duty, in this perilous

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To the Honorable Major General Leslie

The Humble Petition of Isaac Lazarus of Charleston in behalf of themselves & others their fellow citizens.

Sheweth

That your petitioners having in mind the difficulties that, even in the Negotiation yesterday, and the day preceding, related wholly to the Citizens, to whom the British Commander offered their Estates, and to admit them to their Parole as Prisoners of War; and your petitioners understanding this as an indisputable proposition, that they can derive no advantage by a perseverance in resistance, with every thing that is dear to them at stake, they think it their bounden duty, in this perilous situation of affairs, to request your Honor will send out a flag, in the name of the people, intimating their acquiescence in the terms proposed yesterday.

Charlestown 10th May 1780

Isaac Lazarus
Solomon Aaron
Phil Jonas
Gershon Cohen
Isaac Faitoche
Abraham Israel
J. Dabeta Jr.
Zadok Salavo
Abraham Moses
Isaac Moses
Joseph de Fonseca
Joseph his + mark Solomons
Joseph de Fonseca
Joseph his O211 mark Myers

SIGNATURES OF JEWS DURING THE SIEGE OF CHARLES TOWN IN 1780

Originals in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

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To the Honorable Major General Lincoln

The humble petition of some Country Militias on behalf of themselves and other their fellow Citizens —

Sheweth

That your Petitioners being informed the difference that arose in the negociation yesterday and the day preceding related entirely to the Citizens, to whom the British commanded it ought their estates and to admit them to their family as prisoners of war, and your Petitioners understanding it as an indisputable proposition that they can derive no advantage from a surrender in resistance, with every thing that is dear to them at stake, they think it their indispensable duty, in this perilous situation of affairs, to request your Honor will send out a Flag, in the name of the people intimating their Acquiescence in the terms proposed

Thos Lyons
Abraham Cohen

Isaac Moses
Judah Abrahams
Moses Cohen

Wm Jones

Meyer Salomon

Isaac Mehrens

Bernard Myers Junr

Moses Harris

Samuel Judah

Abraham

Solomon Moses

Philip Jacobs & Co

Sam Mordecai

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situation of affairs, to request your Honor will send out a flag, in the name of the people, intimating their acquiescence in the terms propounded.

"CHARLESTOWN, 10th May, 1780."

[Three hundred names are attached to this petition. Among them are:]

Markes Lazarus, Solomon Aaron, Philip Minis, Is Da Costa, Jr., Joseph Solomons (x.), Gershon Cohen, Jacob Jacobs, Zadok Solomo, Meyer Moses, Joseph de Palacios, Philip Hart, David Sarzedas, Abraham Moses, Joseph De Palacios, Joseph Myers (x.).

II.

"To the Honorable Major General Lincoln

"The Humble petition of divers Country Militia on behalf of themselves and others their fellow citizens—

"Sheweth

"That your petitioners being inform'd the difficulties that arose in the negotiation yesterday and the day preceding related wholly to the Citizens to whom the British commanders offered their estates and to admit them to their parole as prisoners of war, and your petitioners understanding it as an indisputable proposition that they can derive no advantage from a perseverance in resistance, with every thing that is dear to them at stake, they think it their indispensable duty in this perilous situation of affairs, to request your Honor will send out a Flag in the name of the people intimating their acquiescence in the terms proposed."

[Here are appended the names of field-officers and men—in all three hundred and forty-six names, among which are the following:]

Philip Moses, Abraham Cohen, Myer Salomons, Moses Harris, Philip Jacob Cohen, Jacob Moses, Juda Abrahams, Moses Cohen, Emanuel Abrahams, Samuel Polak, Samuel Jones, Barnard Moses, Junr., J. Cohen, Samuel Mordecai.

We have on this last petition the names of fourteen Charles Town Jews who served in the militia during the siege. There are several others whose names have come down to us.

A Revolutionary "Orderly Book" in the New York Public Library[27] that covers a period of several months, beginning

[27] Discovered among the uncalendared MSS. and identified by the author.

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with March, 1780, makes mention of the following Jews as members of the Charles Town Regiment of Militia: David Sarsadas (Sarzedas), Myers Solomon, Frederick Jacobs, Philip Hart, Sampson Simon (Simons), Phillip Minas (Minis), Zodiack Solomon, and Solomon Polock.

Of these, David Sarzedas had seen service in Savannah. His widow was afterwards pensioned.[28] He came to Charles Town together with several other Savannah Jews after the fall of that city in 1779.

Philip Minis likewise came to Charles Town in 1779 and was a resident of that city for several years. He had rendered service to the Revolutionary cause in Georgia, and was one of those mentioned in the Disqualifying Act of Georgia passed in May, 1780, "disqualifying the parties indicated, and rendering them ever afterwards incapable of holding or exercising any office of trust, honor or profit within the limits of Georgia."[29]

Markes Lazarus saw service in 1776, 1779, and 1780. He was a sergeant-major and was one of the petitioners to Clinton in 1780. His record is preserved among those of applicants for pensions in the Bureau of Pensions at Washington.[30]

David Nunez Cardozo was also a sergeant-major. We have already taken note of him.

Abraham Seixas was a captain of militia in Charles Town,

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[28] See *A Census of Pensioners for Revolutionary or Military Services* * * * (Washington, 1841.)

[29] Jones: *History of Georgia*, Vol. 2, pp. 421–3. The name of Philip Jacob Cohen is likewise found on this list.

[30] "Mr. Lazarus was an actor in some of the eventful scenes of the Revolution and earned the distinction of a single-minded and zealous patriot."—Obituary notice in *The Southern Patriot*, Nov. 7, 1835.

The *Census of Pensioners* shows the following Jewish names: Rachel Lazarus (Mrs. Markes Lazarus), Sarah Cardozo (Mrs. David N. Cardozo), Rebecca Cohen (Mrs. Gershon Cohen), Judith Abrahams (Mrs. Emanuel Abrahams), Dr. Sarzedas, and Moses Harris.

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but fought as a lieutenant in the Continental Line in Georgia. His prayer-book, now in the possession of the author, contains several pages of family records in his own handwriting, and relates, among other things, that he was "banish'd from Chs Town as disaffected to British Govt and arrived in Philada, 29th May, 1782."[31] He returned to Charleston after peace had been declared.

Joseph Solomon, we have already seen, was killed at the battle of Beaufort.

Jacob Cohen, we are told in the *Diary of Josiah Smith, Jr.*, was "one of the prisoners on parole, that were sent on board the prison ship Torbay and Schooner Pack Horse, the 17th of May, 1781." It is worthy of note that his name is not mentioned in any of the lists of these prisoners in Garden, Ramsay, Drayton, Gibbes, or McCrady. It is confirmed, however, by a British list of these prisoners on file in Washington.[32]

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[31] In the *Diary of Josiah Smith, Jr.*, he is mentioned in the following interesting note:

"November 1782. Mordecai Sheftal of Georgia having found Friends in Philadelphia to Assist him in the purchase of a Shallop, Something less in Size than Mr. Savage's, by application thro. a friend at New York, he also readily obtain'd a Flagg and Passports from Admiral Digby and was allowed to take with him about 100 Barrils of Flour, Bread, &c, for Savannah, and having fully Stuffed his vessel I may truly Say, with Goods and Passengers he departed hence on the Instant, besides his own family, there was Ab. Sexias and family, Capt. Wm. Hall and Wife, Capt Albuoy and wife, and some Single Men, amounting in all to Persons to whom I most heartily wich a safe and Speedy Passage." (P. 163.)

[32] Boogher: *Gleanings of Virginia History* (Washington, D. C., 1903), pp. 226–227.

Curious, indeed, is the mistake that has been made in connection with this Jacob Cohen. In 1839 the heirs of Captain Jacob Cohen (Cowen), of Cumberland County, Virginia, memorialized the 26th Congress for compensation for the service of their father as captain of a company of troopers of the Virginia Continental Line. This British list of prisoners confined on the British ship *Torbay* was filed, together with

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There is but one name more and the story is complete as far as our present knowledge of the records goes. The name is that of Joseph Marques or Marquise, a member of the 6th Regiment, South Carolina Line.[33]

There are a few other names that have come down to us traditionally. They are mentioned here merely because they have gone the rounds of the newspapers and the books, and are stamped as quasi-authoritative by the American Jewish Historical Society.

Mordecai Manuel Noah, of South Carolina (1747-1825), is said to have served with General Marion and also on the staff of General Washington.[34] He is represented as having contributed £20,000 to the Revolutionary cause.

Jacob De La Motta is said to have been a captain on General Pulaski's staff.[35] It would be interesting to know who this Jacob De La Motta was. The records do not show this name till long after the Revolutionary period.

Emanuel De La Motta, we are told, "served in the Revolution and in the War of 1812. In recognition of his valor as displayed in battle he was promoted from the ranks to a military position of honor."[36] Confirmation of this story is lacking.

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an enormous number of exhibits and depositions, in substantiation of the claim. The exhibits prove conclusively that there was a Captain Jacob Cohen in the Virginia Continental Line, but there is no evidence whatsoever that he is the Jacob Cohen of the *Torbay*. *All* of these prisoners belonged to the militia of North and South Carolina. The claim was rightly disallowed. (See *Congressional Globe*, First Session 26th Congress, p. 239.) Jacob Cohen, of the *Torbay*, was the son of Moses Cohen, the first Chief Rabbi of the Congregation Beth Elohim, and was the President of this Congregation in 1790, who wrote the historic letter to Washington.

[33] *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for April, 1904, pp. 87-8.

[34] Wolf: *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, p. 51.

[35] Ibid. [36] Ibid.

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Israel De Lieben is also supposed to have risen from the ranks "to a military position of honor and trust."[37]

Jacob I. Cohen, we are informed, "went to Charleston in 1783 [*sic*] and during the campaign which followed, took part as a volunteer soldier in the Continental army, serving under Moultrie and Lincoln. Frequent references to Mr. Cohen are found in the Madison Papers, and his valuable services are repeatedly adverted to."[38]

Under the heading "South Carolina Jewish Patriots" Mr. Kohler reprints from *The Occident*[39] the oft-repeated story of a company of soldiers who did good service in the defence of Charleston Harbor and who were nearly all, if not all, Jews.[40] The original writer of the paragraph says: "The names of Daniel W. Cardozo, Jacob I. Cohen, Sr., and Isaiah Isaacs, we think, must have been on the roll of that company. * * * Sheftall Sheftall, Isaac N. Cardozo, a brother of David, and Colonel Bush, occur to us just now as brave soldiers in the Revolution."[41]

Jacob De Leon, we are informed, was "a distinguished officer of the War of the Revolution.[42] He served as captain on the staff of General DeKalb, and when the latter was mortally wounded at the battle of Camden, S. C., De Leon, in company with Major Benjamin Nones and Captain Jacob De La Motta, of the staff, carried De Kalb from the field."[43]

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[37] Wolf: *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, p. 50.

[38] Ibid., p. 47.

[39] *The Occident*, Vol. 16, p. 142.

[40] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 4, p. 96.

[41] Daniel W. Cardozo is probably David Nunez Cardozo, we do not know of any Isaiah Isaacs in South Carolina, Sheftall Sheftall belonged to Savannah, Isaac N. Cardozo is not of record, and Colonel Bush belonged to Pennsylvania.

[42] Wolf: *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, p. 50.

[43] This story of Captain Jacob De Leon is one of the many myths of the Jews of South Carolina. The most diligent inquiry and research, continued for many months, failed to discover the date of Jacob De

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Leaving tradition, let us now return to the records. Before resuming, however, let us make this observation,—commonplace, in truth, but ignored by latter-day writers,—that

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Leon's birth or death, or the place of his burial. He was followed up in the records till 1828, when all trace of him was lost. His tombstone was finally discovered by the author in an old, abandoned cemetery in Columbia, S. C. The inscription reads as follows:

"Sacred | to the Memory of | Mr. Jacob De Leon | who | Rendered up his Spirit to | Him who gave it on the | 29th September 1828 | aged 64 years | Eternity how long."

Jacob De Leon might thus possibly have been at the battle of Camden, but that he was a captain on De Kalb's staff is hardly imaginable. The story that De Leon, De La Motta, and Nones carried the wounded De Kalb from the field is mythical on its very face. There was no battle fought in the Revolution that has been described in such detail and by eye-witnesses as has the battle of Camden. The accounts agree in all essential details. De Kalb was shot and at once captured *by the British*. It is difficult to see how his own staff officers could have carried him from the field. (See Lossing: *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, Vol. 2, pp. 461 *et seq.* See also Kapp: *Life of De Kalb*, pp. 234–6. See also the account by Colonel O. H. Williams, an eye-witness of the battle, in *A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780* in the appendix to Johnson's *Life of Nathanael Greene*, Charleston, 1822.)

The origin of the tradition is not difficult to account for in this case. On the occasion of the visit of Lafayette to the United States in 1824–5, De Kalb's body was removed, re-interred, and a monument raised over his remains by the citizens of Camden. The corner-stone of this monument was laid by General Lafayette, and the ceremonies were conducted under the Masonic auspices of Kershaw Lodge, of which Dr. Abraham De Leon was master at the time. (See *Voice of Masonry and Tidings from the Craft*, Vol. 1, No. 23, Louisville, Ky., 1859.) From Abraham De Leon, who took part in the ceremonies at the re-interment of De Kalb at Camden, to Jacob De Leon, who carried De Kalb from the field at Camden, is not an unintelligible transition.

It may be worth while to note here an interesting item in reference to the re-interment of De Kalb. A writer in the Baltimore *Sun* (1886) tells that at the battle of Camden six of the officers were Masons. Among these were several from the Maryland Line, and Major Benjamin Nones, of Philadelphia. After the death of De Kalb, who was a Mason,

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an entire population never fights. Many are physically unable to fight, and these will always form a goodly portion of a population; others are not sufficiently interested to fight, while not caring to run away; and still others, having families dependent upon them, cannot afford to fight. That there were Jews in Charles Town who did not take any active part in the Revolution is evidenced by the minutes of testimony of a Court of Inquiry, held in 1783, which were discovered by the author, under very peculiar circumstances, in the Secretary of State's Office in Columbia.[44] The events that led up to this Court of Inquiry are worthy of note.

After the evacuation of Charles Town by the British in 1782 the city again came into the possession of the Americans. During the period of British occupation many of those who formerly, perhaps, had favored the patriot cause had gone back to their allegiance. It was now the patriots' inning. Feeling ran very high in Charles Town. In 1782 a Confiscation Act was passed, and a committee was appointed to examine into the standing of every man in town. Many were banished forever and others were called before the committee to give an account of themselves. The Minutes of Testimony to which we have just referred relate to

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the brethren assembled and buried his remains with Masonic ceremonies. At the time of the erection of a monument over the remains, many years afterwards, Major Nones, who was present at the first burial, was appealed to in order to locate the forgotten grave, which had become level and the headboards rotted, so that it was difficult to locate the exact spot. A full account of this story will be given by Messrs. Kirkland and Kennedy in their forthcoming history of Camden.

[44] See *The Sunday News*, Nov. 29, 1903. These minutes of testimony are contained in a bundle of papers consisting of ten quarto sheets, each of them folded separately into four, thus exhibiting eight narrow pages of writing. The sheets are not in very good condition and are written in a small, crabbed, and illegible hand, with many abbreviations. The lines are close together and notes are added between the lines. They are to be deciphered only with great difficulty.

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proceedings before this committee. The papers bear the date of February and March, 1783, and contain a number of Jewish references which are here reproduced. It will be observed that each man who comes before the committee brings one or more witnesses to testify to his character. For the rest, the documents shall speak for themselves. Here are the items in the order in which they occur:

"JEWS.

"Henry Moses.
"Samuel Levy.
"Montague Simons.
"Hyam Solomons.
"Levy Solomons.
"Mordicai Lyon.

"HENRY MOSES. Came in 18 months since from N. York, is a Prussian. Never assisted the British. Has been 3 years in America. Gershon Cohen believes this Petitioner to be an honest man. Mr. Jacobs says he has had a good deal of dealing with Petitioner, he is an honest man.

"SAMUEL LEVY. Came 18 months agone. He is by birth a German, came from England to N. York & from thence here. He has not taken an active part, did intend to go out 18 months agone but had no opportunity. Mr. Cohen says this man came as a sutler with a Hessian General and left him. Thinks him an honest man. Jacobs says same of Levy.

"MONTAGUE SIMONS. Native of London. May will be 2 years since his arrival in America, (this town.) His motive for coming here was to join his 3 Brothers in this town—has not taken a part with the British. Cohen says this is true, believes he is honest. Jacobs says same as of Cohen.

"HYAM SOLOMONS. Has arrived about 4 months in this town, he was clerk to Messrs McGilvary and Struthers in West Florida. After the reduction of Florida he came and lived in Georgia with Mr Wm Struthers and came to Chas Town to sell a cargo of skins and remit the money. Was born in England but came out young, remembers little of that country. Cohen says this man is a man of good character.

"LEVY SOLOMON. A German, arrived about 2 years since in York and came from thence to this place. He has not interfered, but has minded only his shop. Mr. Cohen says he came from Germany with a

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Hessian General, and left him, wishing to stay in this country. Jacobs has known petitioner from a child, he is an honest man.

"MORDICAI LYON, a Polander, has been 14 months in Chas Town with a wife & child—is a taylor, has done nothing against the American cause, had enough to do to maintain his wife & children. Mr. Cohen says this is true, he is an inoffensive man. Jacobs says this is an honest man, & attentive to his work."

In the second folder, and dated February 20, 1783, we have the following:

"WOLF & others.
"MOSES SIMONS.
"HENRY HARRIS.
"Mr Gershon Cohen knows these Petitioners to be honest men. Simons keeps shop. Arrived in May last 12 month. Harris is a taylor, an honest inoffensive man. Mr. Jacobs says these petitioners are honest men."

In the fifth folder there is a very amusing item—"David Cameron's Case."

"'Moses with the big nose' testifies that he knew Cameron, that he is an industrious man, &c, &c. Mr Abrahams gives similar testimony."

There is only one more reference and that is in the eighth folder, where Mr. Gershon Cohen appears to testify for William Cox.

There were other Jews in Charles Town who did not fight, but who rendered equally valuable service to the cause. It should be remembered that during the siege of Charles Town there was no lack of fighting men, and most of the early writers have noted the fact that if there had been more men, the only purpose they could have served would have been to make provisions scarce in a shorter time. Of men who rendered good service to the American cause and who were not fighters we have also documentary evidence.

In *The North American Review* for July, 1826, page 73, Isaac Harby, referring to the Jews of the Revolution, writes:

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"My maternal grandfather contributed pecuniary aid to South Carolina, and particularly to Charleston, when besieged by the British. My father-in-law was a brave grenadier in the regular American army, and fought and bled for the liberty he lived to enjoy and to hand down to his children." The maternal grandfather of Isaac Harby was Meyer Moses and his father-in-law was Samuel Mordecai. To the services rendered by Meyer Moses, General Sumter testified in after years in a letter to Franklin J. Moses, a grandson of the Jewish patriot, who had died in 1787. This letter and a testimonial of similar purport were till quite recently to be seen in Columbia, in the collection of Sumter MSS. They are no longer there, however. The following is the testimonial:[45]

"SOUTH MOUNT, October 11, 1831.

"I certify that I was well acquainted with Myer Moses, Esq, Merchant in Charleston, So. Ca. I understood and believed that he was friendly and attached to the American cause during the Revolution. I further understood and believe that his treatment to the American wounded and prisoners were such as to entitle him to the good wishes and gratitude of all those who had the success of the Revolution at heart. After the fall of Charleston his treatment to the wounded and prisoners who were taken and sent to Charleston was extremely friendly and humane, they being in the greatest possible distress. Moreover I have understood and believed that on these occasions he expended a considerable sum in relieving them.

(Signed) "THOS SUMTER."

Mordecai Myers, of Georgetown, was another Jew who furnished supplies to the American army.[46]

We have already referred to the division of sentiment that existed among the population of South Carolina and of

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[45] The author is indebted to Mr. Altamont Moses, of Sumter, for the copy.

[46] See Gibbes: *Documentary History* (1781–2), pp. 182–3. See, however, also Gibbes (1776–1782), p. 160, "Gen Marion to Col. P. Horry."

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Charles Town at the outbreak of and during the Revolution. The *Gazettes* print the names of some who "embarked under an unhappy delusion" for other parts.[47] We read of many who "left the State to join the enemies thereof."[48] Charles Town, in fact, was full of British sympathizers—witness the large lists of petitioners to Clinton, of addressors of Cornwallis, and of Clinton and Arbuthnot. In conversation with Moultrie, after the surrender, Captain Rochfort, a British officer, remarked: "Sir, you have made a gallant defence, but you had a great many rascals among you who came out every night and gave us information of what was passing in your garrison."[49] Many at first, naturally enough, were very careful as to how they betrayed their real sentiments. When Charles Town surrendered, however, they did not hesitate to show what their sentiments really were. Others, thinking that South Carolina would finally remain a British province, and hoping to save their property, sincerely returned to their allegiance. Still others were by necessity compelled to accept British protection.[50]

Referring to the Jewish merchants, Ramsay remarks: "While prisoners, they were encouraged to make purchases from the British merchants who came with the conquering army, and after they had contracted large debts of this kind, were precluded by proclamation from selling the goods they had purchased, unless they assumed the name and character of British subjects."[51] This could only have been the case with a minority. The majority did not

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[47] *Gazette of the State of South-Carolina*, July 8, 1778.

[48] Ibid., Nov. 24, 1779.

[49] Moultrie: *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, p. 108.

[50] Ramsay: *The History of the Revolution in South Carolina*, Vol. 2, pp. 120 *et seq.*

[51] Ibid.

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take protection or swear allegiance, but left Charles Town after the surrender.

About August or September, 1780, many citizens of Charles Town presented a petition to the Commandant setting forth "that they were very desirous to show every mark of allegiance and attachment to his Majesty's person and Government, to which they were most sincerely well affected, and, therefore, humbly prayed that they might have an opportunity to evince the sincerity of their professions." This petition was referred to "gentlemen of known loyalty and integrity, as well as knowledge of the persons and characters of the inhabitants, in order to report the manner in which the Memorialists had heretofore conducted themselves." This committee reported favorably in the cases of one hundred and sixty-six citizens, including the following Jews: Joseph Myers, Saul Simons, Abraham Alexander, Moses Eliazer, Philip Cohen, Marcus Lazarus, Philip Moses.[52]

Of these Marcus (Markes or Marks) Lazarus and Philip Moses had been soldiers in the war, and for some or other reason now swore allegiance. Abraham Alexander was the minister of Beth Elohim, and the Synagogue Constitution of 1820 (Rule XX) tells us that Rabbi Moses Eleizar was "a learned man in the laws of God, and until his death had taught the youth of this congregation and manifested unremitted zeal to promote religion in this country."

There is no evidence to show and no reason for supposing that these men were not expressing their real convictions when they, together with many of the most prominent citizens of Charles Town, signed the petition to Sir Henry Clin-

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[52] *The Royal South-Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 21, 1780. The original oaths of allegiance are still in existence and can be seen in the British State Paper Office, London.

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ton.[53] Some of them had doubtless been loyal from the start, and as for those who had taken an active part in the war, they felt that they had fought a good fight, but that now "the game was up"—to use the language of common parlance. And why blame them for returning to their allegiance? Was it not most natural? Who, living in Charles Town in 1780, could have dreamt that subsequent events would take the turn they did? Those who refused to take protection were deprived of every means of making a living. The only alternative was starvation. Judging by the number and character of those who took protection, the sentiment must, indeed, have been very strong that the Revolution would prove a failure and that South Carolina would finally remain a British province. It is most natural that under the circumstances men should strive to save the little property that remained to them.

The Royal Gazette and *The Royal South-Carolina Gazette*, published during the period of British occupation, show the following Jews as doing business here during that period: Joseph Abrahams, Jacob Jacobs, Delyon and Moses, Isaac Delyon, Gershon Cohen, Emanuel Abrahams, Abraham Cohen, Abraham Da Costa.

Of these Emanuel Abrahams, Abraham Cohen, and Gershon Cohen had fought in the war. All of these men, however, must either have taken protection after the surrender or have been known to have been well affected or at least not openly hostile to the British cause. Most of them had been doing business right along since 1779. Those whose sentiments were known to have been hostile were sought out

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[53] It is worthy of note that in a subsequent petition for protection of two hundred and eleven citizens, published in *The Royal Gazette* of July 11, 1781, nothing is said about the petition being referred to a committee of citizens of known loyalty and integrity, etc. In this second petition such a reference was unnecessary. The petitioners had been admittedly anti-British.

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by the British and banished. Among these was Isaac Da Costa, Sr., whose estates we have seen were promptly seized and confiscated by the British and himself banished.[54] We have likewise seen Jacob Cohen put on board a prison ship.

Isaac Delyon was a known Tory and his property was amerced after the Revolution.[55] He came here in 1779. There would doubtless have been other amercements, but the records do not show any wealth among the Jews who remained here in business during the period of British occupation.

Levi Sheftall was at first a patriot, but afterwards a Loyalist.[56] At the outbreak of the Revolution he was living in Savannah, where he was appointed a Commissary "to provide necessaries for the several companies of men that are ordered out upon duty at and about Savannah." He came to Charles Town in 1779.

Myer Franks, of Ninety Six District, was another Jewish Tory, of whom an interesting tradition has been preserved:

"After killing Edward Hampton, the Tories thought it prudent to leave a neighborhood in which they had committed so many murders. The next day Captain John Barry raised a company of militia, and started in pursuit of the 'Bloody Scout,' but did not overtake them. Whilst on the pursuit, in Laurens District, they came to the house of an old Tory, by the name of Franks, who had a very bountiful supply of bacon on hand. The Whigs feeling quite hungry, and not having tasted food for twenty-four hours, thought there was no harm in quartering themselves for a short time in the smoke-house of an enemy. Consequently, they not only made free use, for the time being, of the old Tory's bacon, but provided themselves with rations for several days. David Anderson acted as commissary on this occasion, and took the responsibility of judging how much would be a proper supply for the company. It is said that he proved quite a liberal caterer, and that

[54] *The Royal Gazette*, March 10, 1781. Also ibid., March 14.

[55] Sabine: *American Loyalists*, p. 255. See also *Statutes of South Carolina*, Vol. 6, p. 633.

[56] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, Vol. 5, Part 1, p. 30.

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Franks's smoke-house required neither lock nor key after the Whigs left it. This was in 1781. In 1783 peace was concluded, and the independence of the country acknowledged. Some years afterwards the people in the upper country, who had been long without law, found the Circuit Court re-established in Ninety Six District. One of the first cases brought in this court was docketed by Myer Franks *vs.* David Anderson—trespass. Many years had passed by, and many things forgotten in the Revolution, but not the taking of Myer Franks's bacon." * * *

"Be this as it may, Myer Franks brought suit for his bacon, as soon as the luxury of the law was allowed him, by the establishment of the court at Ninety Six. He thought it rather troublesome to bring suits against all who had helped to eat his bacon; or may have been advised by his counsel to begin with the agent in the business. He, therefore, singled out Anderson, the commissary, as the object of his legal vengeance. The case was called, and a host of witnesses were in attendance, to prove the fact on the part of the plaintiff, and the use to which the bacon had been appropriated by the defendant. After getting through the testimony, his honor, the presiding judge, ordered the case to be stricken from the docket, and left Mr. Franks to brood over his not having 'saved his bacon,' and to lament that the royalists had not conquered the rebels." [11]

Concerning these Loyalists, it should be remarked here that there was just as much true patriotism in them as there was in the most ardent Revolutionists. Their conduct was actuated by just as high motives. What they did was done according to their best judgment of what was for their country's good, and it required the highest courage to show devotion to principle amid the opposing current of popular opinion.

In the Columbia records there are many thousands of "indents" or certificates, entitling the holder to payment of sums due for services rendered or supplies furnished in the war. There are a few made out in favor of Jews and these are principally for supplies. The dates of these in-

[11] Johnson: *Traditions and Reminiscences*, pp. 454–5. This story was originally printed in *The Orion*, Vol. 3, pp. 218–9. The facetious ending is Johnson's and is not in the original.

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dents explain the reason. They are nearly all for services rendered subsequent to 1780. After May, 1780, the Charles Town militia were prisoners on parole and very few afterwards took the field. Some did, but there were special reasons in their cases. We can account fairly well for the Jewish population.[58]

After the fall of Charles Town the British compelled all the inhabitants either to swear allegiance or to discontinue business.[59] As many seem not to have regarded the British proclamation, more stringent measures were enacted, and those who refused to take protection were expelled. Many of the Jewish merchants left for Philadelphia, and in 1782 we find ten Charles Town Jews in the list of original members of the Mickveh Israel Congregation of that city.[60] There were others, doubtless, whose names do not appear on this list. They all came back, however, after peace had been restored.

Thus far, then, for the records of this most interesting period of American history. We believe that the facts as here given represent a well-nigh complete statement of the

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[58] The following indents are made out to Jews and those with Jewish names: Philip Hart (A. No. 224), Abraham Cohen, Georgetown (D. 67), Joseph Markess (V. 199), Solomon Pollock, an express rider (N. 1470), Lieutenant Abraham Meyers (?) (V. 198 and R. 259), Moses Harris (S. 579, T. 380, and V. 514), J. N. Hart, Georgetown (?), Joshua Jacobs (?) (M. 482 and X. 2561), Joshua Jones (?) (K. 53). Those marked as doubtful we have not been able to prove Jews or to the contrary.

[59] "No person now a prisoner on Parole in Charles Town, shall have the liberty of exercising any profession, trade, mechanick art, business or occupation" * * *—Revolutionary Documents, Library of Congress, No. 55.

[60] Morais: *Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 15. The following are the names referred to: Isaac Da Costa, Sr., Isaac Da Costa, Jr., Samuel Da Costa, Philip Moses, Israel Jacobs, Jacob Cohen, Ezekiel Levy, Abraham Sasportas, Abraham Seixas, and Solomon Aaron.

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story, and that little remains to be revealed by future research. The traditional tales of the Jews of South Carolina in the Revolution have in them, like all traditions, an element of truth. This element of truth we have essayed to discover. If we have destroyed myths, we have put facts in their place, and the facts are no less pleasing than the fictions. We have no more, it is true, the "remarkable fact" of "a regiment composed almost exclusively of Jews and mainly officers," "whose names have unfortunately been lost," but we have the names of at least thirty-four Jews of South Carolina whose services to the cause of independence are matters of record.

Of Lushington's Company of King Street Jews enough has been said. There is not the slightest difficulty in explaining the tradition.

Nearly all the Jews of Charles Town who saw service in the Revolution fought in Lushington's command. We have seen why this was the case. From the number of Jews in this company it got the name of the "Jew Company." Forty years afterwards, time enough for legend and fancy to have had full play, we find the writers and speakers—and there was some excuse for them—referring to Lushington's Company of Jews. In furnishing material for a plea for toleration for the Jews of Maryland, in 1826, a little exaggeration was surely pardonable. There is no such excuse, however, for those who undertake to write history.

And is not the tale that the facts unfold glorious enough? The Jews of South Carolina furnished the Revolution with Francis Salvador, one of its must trusted leaders. In proportion to their numbers they furnished at least as many men as did their neighbors, and gave as freely of their means to the cause. Is it not enough?

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CHAPTER VI—JOSEPH SALVADOR

THE subject of this sketch was a man with a most remarkable career, and in whose latter end pathos and tragedy were largely commingled—Joseph Salvador, the uncle and father-in-law of Francis Salvador—a prince among men, as he was a prince among merchants, who, overtaken by misfortune, came to Charleston in his old age and died here some two years after his arrival.

We are mainly indebted to Picciotto for our knowledge of the Salvador family. Of the later history of that family, however, that writer knows nothing. We shall let Picciotto speak for himself, and supplement his account by the facts revealed in the records in Charleston. Here, then, is his story. It would be a pity to spoil it by presenting it in mutilated paraphrase:

"Among the most distinguished families of that Congregation[1] during the eighteenth century, we must mention the family bearing the name of Jessurun Rodrigues. They had originally come over from Holland, bringing with them considerable sums of money, which they had invested principally in commerce, and they ranked as merchant princes among the Jews. The most noted scion of that lineage was Joseph Jessurun Rodrigues, to whom we have already adverted by the appellation of

[1] The Spanish and Portuguese Congregation at Bevis Marks, London.

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Joseph Salvador, under which guise the world knew him. He took a leading part in the affairs of his Synagogue and he was ever to the fore when the sufferings of poor humanity were to be relieved. He was president of the Congregation, and one of the most efficient members of the original Committee of Portuguese Deputies. Notwithstanding the extensive financial and mercantile transactions in which he was engaged, he devoted a portion of his time to the improvement of the condition of the needy. He not only gave largely to all existing institutions, but was ever seeking new plans for conquering the hydra-headed evil of pauperism. Now he would help to establish a new society, like that intended to assist Jewish young men in earning their livelihood by hard work, and which, unfortunately, was unsuccessful. At another time he would be found asking permission of the Wardens to enter into a speculation on behalf of some deserving families in humble circumstances. He was always a liberal donor to the necessitous. Joseph Jessurun Rodrigues was a partner in the well-known house of Francis and Joseph Salvador, which, after the death of Sampson Gideon, repeatedly negotiated loans for the British Government. We cannot tell at precisely what period the name of Salvador was first adopted, but certainly it must be in the early part of the last century, though it does not occur in the Synagogue registers until about 1760.

"Personally, Joseph Salvador, to style him by the most familiar designation, was popular, and enjoyed considerable repute among Jew and Gentile; albeit, when he appeared in a theatre on one occasion after the passing of the Naturalization Bill in 1753, he and his party were hooted, and were constrained to withdraw, to the utter disgrace of the civilized and Christian audience. The principal part of his career was accompanied by unbounded prosperity. He had vastly increased the wealth he had inherited, and he was the first Jew who had been appointed Director of the East India Company. He constructed a handsome house in White Hart Court, Bishopsgate-street, which bore until recent times, if it does not still bear, his name; and in the northeast corner of one of the cellars may yet be seen the foundation-stone, with an inscription laid upon it by his daughter, Judith Salvador. He also was the owner of a country residence, with an extensive park, at Tooting.

"Joseph Salvador was less fortunate in his latter days. Misfortunes began to befall him. He lost heavily in consequence of the earthquake at Lisbon, he holding much property in various shapes in that city, though this did not appear to affect him much. It was the failure of the Dutch East India Company that brought ruin on him, and that proved almost a calamity to many of the rich Portuguese Jews of England and of Hol-

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land. This disaster was a great blow to those communities, from which they found it difficult to recover. As for Joseph Salvador, he never raised his head again. All his available property in Europe little by little disappeared, and his last days were spent in obscurity. The family were still possessed of some tracts of land in America, which were in charge of a steward. A nephew of Joseph Salvador, Francis, determined to undertake a voyage to the new continent. It is said that Mrs. Joshua Mendez Da Costa, a daughter of Joseph Salvador, gave up a part of her marriage settlement to furnish funds for the expedition. Francis started to retrieve the family fortunes. In due course letters came advising his safe arrival to the new continent, and announcing his intention of seeking his property. He never wrote again. A long silence ensued, and then it was reported that the unhappy Salvador had been murdered and scalped by Indians!

"It is related that in 1802 an American arrived in Amsterdam and waited upon Mrs. Texeira de Mattos, Salvador's eldest daughter, and offered her $10,000 to sign a deed giving up all claim on the American property. The lady declined the transaction. In 1812 the stranger once more returned and repeated his offer. He alleged that he was the grandson of Salvador's former steward; that the land in Mr. Salvador's time had been a tract of barren forests and utterly valueless; that now it was covered with villages and towns and that he himself had a good holding title thereto. Finally he added that, during the War of Independence, British subjects had forfeited all their rights to property in the United States, and that she could advance no claim whatever to the land. Under these circumstances Mrs. Texeira De Mattos, who was eighty years of age at that time, and who had not the slightest idea as to the State or part of the Union in which the demesne was situated, accepted the sum tendered and signed the required assignment, which thus conferred a valid selling title on the descendant of the steward. The last male representative of the family of Salvador or Jessurun Rodrigues was a member of Lloyd's, and is believed to have died about 1830. In this manner terminated that ancient and honorable lineage."[3]

Let us now look at the Charleston records and see what they have to tell. They will enable us to separate the facts from traditions which, while containing an element of truth, are largely erroneous.

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[3] Picciotto: *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 161–4.

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First, as to the date at which the name of Salvador was adopted. We have already referred to the "grant of arms" from the Heralds' College, London, to Francis Salvador, the grandfather of the Revolutionary patriot.[3] In his application for this grant of arms, in 1744, Francis Salvador states that he is a son of Joseph Salvador, late of Amsterdam, and that he was made a citizen of England (as Francis Salvador) in 1719. It is worthy of note, however, that in the records of the old Bevis Marks Synagogue, London, the names of Jessurun Rodrigues, Jacob Jessurun Rodrigues, and Joseph Jessurun Rodrigues occur in the lists of members between 1760 and 1764.[4] It would thus seem that the name of Salvador had already been adopted by the family in Amsterdam—possibly even in Portugal in their commercial transactions, while they still retained the original name of Rodrigues or Jessurun Rodrigues in the Synagogue. It is not unreasonable to surmise that Salvador was the Marano name of the family.[5]

We have seen that when misfortune overtook Joseph Salvador he was still possessed of land in South Carolina—indeed, he was a very extensive land-owner, for he owned no less than 100,000 acres. The history of this land is very interesting.

In the Mesne Conveyance Records, Volume F 3, page 133, we have the deed of Joseph Salvador's purchase of this land recorded. It is dated November 27, 1755. John Hamilton,

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[3] For a transcript of this document see Appendix C.

[4] Gaster: *History of the Antient Synagogue. A Memorial Volume* (London, 1901).

[5] During the Inquisition, thousands of Jews in Spain and Portugal were compelled, outwardly at least, to adopt Christianity. They were called Christaos Novos, or Neo-Christians. The name is derived either from *maran atha*, meaning "accursed" or "damned," or from the Spanish word *marano*, which means "hog." The name was applied opprobriously by the Portuguese to the Jews because they did not eat pork.

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late of the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, in the County of Middlesex, but now of Charles Town, in the Province of South Carolina, in consideration of £2,000 sterling, money of Great Britain, sells to Joseph Salvador, of Lime Street, merchant, 100,000 acres of land situated at Ninety Six, in the Province of South Carolina. We hear nothing further of this land till 1769, when Joseph Salvador gives Richard Andrews Rapley, then on his departure into foreign parts, his power of attorney to look after his interests in South Carolina and to sell some 45,000 acres.[6] The records show that Rapley succeeded in disposing of a good portion of this land.

The first transaction on record occurs after the arrival of Francis Salvador in South Carolina. In Volume O 4, page 12, we have a mortgage recorded from Joseph Salvador per Rapley to Francis Salvador of 5,160 acres of land at Ninety Six. It is dated May 31, 1774, though the transaction was concluded before Francis Salvador left England, in October, 1773. On October 29, 1773, Joseph Salvador per Rapley sells to Abraham Prado, Francis Salvador's stepfather, 1,062 acres for a consideration of £2,124, lawful currency of South Carolina.[7] On the same date he sells to Abraham Prado 1,638 acres more.[8] On May 16, 1774, he sells to Francis Salvador 921 acres.[9] On May 24, 1774, he sells 1,480 acres to Mathew Edwards.[10] On June 20, 1774, he sells to Andrew Williamson 1,795 acres.[11] On February 23, 1775, Joseph Salvador conveys to Rebecca Mendes Da Costa 20,000 acres of land to satisfy a judgment

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[6] Mesne Conveyance Records, Vol. F 4, p. 243.
[7] Ibid., p. 191.
[8] Ibid., p. 200.
[9] Ibid., Vol. M 4, p. 286.
[10] Ibid., p. 358.
[11] Ibid., p. 362.

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which she had obtained against him.[12] On March 2, 1775, there is a deed executed between Joseph Salvador of the first part, and Phineas Serra, Moses Isaac Levey, Emanuel Baruk Louvado, Nathan Modigliani, Solomon D'Anynilar, Samuel Haine, Joseph Franco, David Franco, Jacob Consalo, Rebecca Mendes Decosta, Benjamin D'Anynilar, Jacob Franco, Francis Franco,— all of London,—who had advanced and lent to him the sum of £3,000 in certain proportions. He makes over to them 59,900 acres of land excepting such tracts as had been already sold by Rapley, his attorney, and the tract secured to Rebecca Mendes Da Costa.[13]

On March 31, 1775, he sells to John Lesley 450 acres.[14] On December 8, 1777, he sells to Nicholas Eveleigh 3,022 acres.[15] On April 13, 1778, he sells to Benjamin Mitchell 300 acres.[16] On April 29, 1778, he sells 1,480 acres to Nicholas Eveleigh.[17] Also another tract of 3,900 acres,[18] and a third tract of 1,048 acres.[19] On October 6, 1779, he sells to John McCord 500 acres.[20] On November 3, 1779, he sells 1,013 acres to Thomas Sanders.[21] The last recorded deed is dated April 21, 1783, when Joseph Salvador, "having occasion for the sum of £1,000, mortgages his plantation, 'Cornacre,' of 5,160 acres, to William Stephens, of Lime Street, London, Packer."[22]

In 1783 Joseph Salvador was still in London. All his transactions till now have been made per Richard Andrews

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[12] Mesne Conveyance Records, Vol. T 4, p. 1.

[13] Ibid., Vol. N 7, p. 140. This deed was not recorded till August 29, 1804,—long after Joseph Salvador's death.

[14] Ibid., Vol. Z 4, p. 286.

[15] Ibid., Vol. Y 4, p. 236.

[16] Ibid., Vol. Z 4, p. 282.

[17] Ibid., Vol. Y 4, p. 238.

[18] Ibid., p. 241.

[19] Ibid., p. 243.

[20] Ibid., Vol. K 5, p. 57.

[21] Ibid., Vol. N 5, p. 201.

[22] Ibid., p. 81.

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Rapley, his attorney. He had been living on the money he obtained from the sale of his lands in South Carolina,—comparatively little, in truth,—but it is pleasant to know that he must have had enough to live comfortably. We have accounted for every acre of his vast estate. All that is left to him now is a mortgaged plantation.

In 1784, when Joseph Salvador was sixty-eight years of age, he came to South Carolina. On April 3, 1784, there is a deed recorded in Charleston of Joseph Salvador, "now of Ninety Six District," revoking his former letters of attorney to Richard Andrews Rapley.[23] It is surely pathetic to think of a man at his time of life coming to a new world to seek the wreckage of his former fortune. He did not remain long, however, at Ninety Six, for on August 9, 1785, we find a power of attorney recorded from William Stephens to Joseph Salvador, "now of Charles Town."[24]

Of his life and doings in Charleston we know nothing, for the records are silent. We should indeed like to know something of how he spent the last months of his life. Let us hope that he spent them happily. He did not live long after his arrival here. In *The Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* of Saturday, December 30, 1786, there is the following notice of his death:

"Yesterday died, JOSEPH SALVADORE, Esq; aged 86 years. He was formerly a most eminent merchant in England, being one of those who furnished that Government with a million of money in two hours' notice, during the rebellion in the year 1745; and likewise was one of the greatest landholders in this country."[25]

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[23] Mesne Conveyance Records, Vol. K 5, p. 135.

[24] Ibid., Vol. S 5, p. 143.

[25] The Charleston records are manifestly in error in the matter of the age of Joseph Salvador. In *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1812, Part 1, there is a full genealogy of the families of Mendes and DaCosta. In that most interesting chapter there occurs the following entry: "Joseph" [Salvador] "born 21 Jan. 1716, died at Charles-town, Carolina, 29 Dec.

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Joseph Salvador is buried in the old Da Costa burial ground at Hanover Street. He rests next to his friend, Isaac Da Costa. Here is all that is left of the inscription on his tombstone, the dashes showing where the edges of the slab are broken:

"—cred to the memory o—
Isurune Rodrigues other—
—oseph Salvadore of Coron—
Fort 96 in the Province of
Carolina and late of Tooting
in the Kingdom of Grate B—
he was one of the Elders—
of the Portugeuse Jewish—
He likewise was F. R. S.—
Governer of several Hos—
He was a respectable—
bearing misfortunes with—
& resignation to the will of—
Almighty God trusting in h—
Departed this transitory lif—
Eve of Sabath 8 of—
5547 which answers—
of December 1786—
May his soul enj—"

Thus died this "representative of generosity, kindliness, and courtliness," as Picciotto calls him. His will, made on October 7, 1782, whilst he is still in London, is recorded here in the Probate Court.[26] He bequeathes all his real estate in Great Britain or elsewhere, together with his plantations, etc., in South Carolina, to his daughters, Abigail Salvador, Elisebah Salvador, Sosannah, otherwise Susannah, Salvador, and William Stephens, of London, packer.

1786, aged 70 years 11 months; and was buried in the Jew burial-ground there" (p. 22). Joseph Salvador would thus have been sixty-eight years of age when he came to South Carolina.

[26] Book Wills, 1786–1793, pp. 66–73.

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In addition, he gives £1000 to each of the above-named daughters. He leaves £100 in trust to William Stephens to be paid to such person or persons as his daughter, Judith Mendes Da Costa Salvador, wife of Mr. Joshua Mendes Da Costa, shall appoint by note or writing, or in default of such direction, to herself for her own and separate use. He also leaves to her an annuity of £50 a year. He leaves to Sarah Salvador, widow of Francis Salvador, Esq., £10, and £100 to William Stephens. To his grandson, Jacob Salvador, he leaves £100, when he becomes twenty-one, and to his granddaughters, who may be living at the time of his decease, £200. He leaves £100 to the Portuguese Jews' Synagogue of the city of London. The residuary estate is to go to his daughters.

In a codicil made at Charleston on November 11, 1786, he adds his "worthy friend Joseph DaCosta" to the list of his executors. He leaves to him in trust £100 sterling "to pay the same to the Portuguese Congregation in the city of Charleston, known by the name of Beth Elohim Unveh Shallom, or the House of the Lord and Mansion of Peace," and to Mr. Gershon Cohen £20 sterling for the German Jewish Congregation in the city of Charleston, known by the name of Beth Elohim, or House of the Lord.[27] To his clerk, Michael Hart, he leaves £100 sterling.

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[27] This reference to a German-Jewish congregation in Charleston in 1786 is not without its difficulties. Apart from this reference in the will of Joseph Salvador, we know no place where such a German-Jewish congregation is mentioned. Though there are many bequests in contemporary wills to Beth Elohim, there is not a single one to a German-Jewish congregation. This is remarkable in view of the fact that with few exceptions these bequests were made by those who were not Portuguese Jews by birth. None of the contemporary writers who have referred to the Charleston Jewish community know of more than one congregation and place of worship. Besides this, there is the fact that in the eighteenth century the custom was not usual among the German Jews of giving names to con-

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There is another codicil added on December 27, 1786. Joseph Salvador is on his death-bed. He cannot sign his name any more, but makes his mark. It reads as follows: "Fifty pounds more to Mr Michael Hart, my clerk; twenty-five pounds to Mrs Jane Davis; twenty pounds to Mr Charles Brown and a hundred pound to Mrs Sary Da Costa, widow."

The subsequent history of the Salvador estate is somewhat uncertain. Picciotto's story of the American's visit to Mrs. Texeira De Mattos is probably apocryphal. It is strange that Joseph Salvador does not mention her in his will. The story is highly improbable for reasons that are self-evident. We know, however, that there was considerable litigation in after years about those lands, which have always been known as "the Jews' lands." It is impossible

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gregations or synagogues. And if they gave such a name to a congregation in Charleston, would they have given the same name as that which the Portuguese Congregation bore? And, finally, there is no reason for the existence of such a congregation here in 1786. All writers have taken particular pains to emphasize the fact of the prejudice or antagonism that existed between the German and Portuguese Jews. There is no trace of such prejudice or antagonism in the history of the Jews of South Carolina prior to 1800. German and Portuguese Jews intermarried freely, and the only lines of demarcation between them were the natural distinctions of birth and education. As a matter of fact, except at the very beginning of the communal history of Beth Elohim, German Jews have always formed a decided majority. When the eight corner-stones of the "New Synagogue" were laid in 1792, of the eight men who laid them—Israel Joseph, Philip Hart, Lyon Moses, Isaac Moses, Emanuel Abrahams, Mark Tongues, Hart Moses, and Abraham Moses, Sr.—seven were German Jews, and of the Committee of Arrangements on this occasion—Daniel Hart, Gershon Cohen, and Moses C. Levy—all three were German Jews. We do not care to be dogmatic in the face of record evidence, but it looks as if there were some mistake here. Is "Charleston" a copyist's mistake for some other place? The "Return Books" are no longer in existence, so that we cannot say positively. Until further evidence is forthcoming we must continue to doubt.

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to ascertain the details to-day, for the records of Ninety Six District and of its successor, Abbeville District, now Abbeville County, in which it was situated, were burnt many years ago.[28]

Thus ends the singular story of the checkered career of a noble philanthropist. We are proud to perpetuate his memory and proud to think that his ashes now mingle with those of our own beloved dead.

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[28] The late Judge McGowan wrote an article on the subject of these "Jews' lands" many years ago, we believe, in the *News and Courier*. The reference is, unfortunately, not at hand.

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CHAPTER VII—1783–1800

THE period from the end of the Revolution to the year 1800 is interesting to the student, as the period of the most rapid growth and development in the history of the Jewish community in South Carolina. Nothing very remarkable happened during this period, nor were there any Jews here of special prominence. There were some Jews, however, who afterwards became very distinguished. Most of those who had left during the period of British occupation returned in 1783, or shortly after. The Jews had suffered in common with their neighbors, and many of them, comparatively wealthy before the Revolution, had to begin the battle of life over again. Many of them engaged in the "vendue," or auctioneer and brokerage business. They seem to have possessed the confidence of the community and to have soon regained their former flourishing condition, a circumstance that roused the envy of their less successful competitors, for we find more than one spiteful reference to them in the *Gazettes* of this period—a sure sign of hard times.[1]

Commercially, South Carolina recovered rapidly from the effects of the Revolution, and in the years succeeding that epoch-making event there was a great influx of Jewish

[1] See, *e.g.*, *Gazette of the State of South-Carolina*, Sept. 8, 1785.

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population. Jews came here from everywhere—from England, Germany, Holland, Denmark, France, Russia, Poland, Curaçoa, Jamaica, St. Eustatius, St. Domingo, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia. In 1800, or shortly thereafter, Charleston had the largest Jewish population in America.

Communally, too, we notice a great development during the period under consideration. From 1750 to 1757 the small Congregation worshipped in a small wooden building in Union Street, near Queen Street. From 1757 to 1764 they assembled for worship at 318 King Street, near Hasell Street, in a house "standing back in the yard." In 1764 they purchased the old burial-ground on Coming Street from Isaac Da Costa.[2] In the same year the Synagogue was removed to a building in Beresford Street, near King, where they remained till 1780, when they rented a lot and brick building in Hasell Street from Joseph Tobias. This building had been occupied as a cotton-gin factory, and was now altered and arranged as a place of worship. It was known as the "Old Synagogue." This property, with an adjoining lot, was afterwards purchased from the estate of Joseph Tobias in 1792.[3] This was not the site, however, on which the present Synagogue stands. The site of the "New Synagogue" was bought from Susannah Quince in 1791.[4]

In 1784 the Hebrew Benevolent Society was established —a society that is still in existence and carries on the beneficent work of its founders.[5]

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[2] Mesne Conveyance Records, Vol. C 3, p. 108.

[3] Ibid., Vol. M 6, pp. 45 and 48.

[4] Ibid., Vol. H 6, p. 98. The various sites of the buildings where the Congregation Beth Elohim worshipped are discussed in Sheeut: *Essays*, p. 30; *The Occident*, Vol. 1, pp. 338-9; *Year Book*, City of Charleston, 1883, p. 302.

[5] For a history of this Society see Appendix D.

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In 1791, we are informed, the Congregation had increased to fifty-three families, numbering upwards of four hundred persons. In this year it became incorporated by an Act of the Legislature.[6] A copy of the petition for incorporation is still preserved.[7] The original is no longer in existence. It is entitled: "The petition of the Wardens and Elders of the Jewish Congregation in Charleston, called Beth Elohim or House of God."

The following account of the "New Synagogue" is taken from the *Year Book,* City of Charleston, 1883, pages 306-8:

"In January, 1792, the Synagogue being too small for the increased number of members, the Congregation purchased the adjoining lot from the heirs of Nicholas Trott, former Chief Justice of the Province, and determined to erect a larger place of worship. A subscription was commenced for this purpose, and the members contributed most liberally. The necessary amount was soon raised, proposals issued, and the contract made with Messrs. Steedman & Horlbeck. The building with the ornamental work and cupola cost $20,000. The committee who procured the subscription and superintended the erection of the edifice were Messrs. Jacob Cohen, Gershom Cohen, and Philip Hart. To the indefatigable exertions of these gentlemen, who frequently advanced large sums from their individual purses, was the Congregation indebted for the beautiful building they afterwards possessed.

"Friday, the 14th day of September, 1792, was the day appointed for the ceremony of laying the corner-stones of the sacred edifice. On that day the Congregation assembled in the 'Old Synagogue,' and after Divine service proceeded in procession to the spot where the new building was to be erected. Eight marble stones were laid—one at each corner of the building, and one at each corner of the porch. Each stone bore the name of the person laying it, also the date and an inscription in Hebrew and English. The first stone was placed in the East by Mr. Israel Joseph, and the second in the West by Mr. Philip Hart. These two gentlemen having contributed very generously to the building fund the Congregation awarded them this honor. The privilege of laying the other six was disposed of at auction, privately, and was secured by the following gentlemen, at the annexed prices: Mr. Lyon Moses the third at £15; Mr.

[6] *Statutes of South Carolina,* Vol. 8, pp. 161-3.

[7] *The Occident,* Vol. 1, pp. 384-5.

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Isaac Moses the fourth for £13; Mr. Emanuel Abrahams the fifth for £18; Mr. Mark Tongues the sixth for £9 6s.; Mr. Hart Moses the seventh for £8 10s., and Mr. Abraham Moses, Sr., the eighth for £8 7s. The Committee of Arrangements having charge of the ceremony, in their report to the Vestry speak in glowing terms of its having been 'conducted by the rules and regulations of the ancient and honorable fraternity of Freemasons.'

"In 1794 the Synagogue was completed, and on Friday, the 19th of September of that year, the consecration took place, at which solemn and imposing ceremony Governor Moultrie, the civil and military officers of the State, the municipal authorities, the clergy and citizens, attended. At the consecration and at every succeeding anniversary the highest honors were awarded to Israel Joseph and Philip Hart as the principal benefactors to the building, to Lyon Moses for presenting a set of beautiful brass chandeliers, and to Messrs. Jacob Cohen and Gershom Cohen for their zeal and energy in superintending the work until its completion. In 1799 the Congregation, at the suggestion of Mr. David Lopez, opened a subscription for the purpose of erecting a handsome 'ark.' The sum required was soon realized, and a chaste and beautiful one built, the construction of which with its rich and graceful drapery added greatly to the beauty of the building.

"The ceremony of the erection of the ark was similar to that of laying the corner-stones of the Synagogue. Eight stones were deposited under each column of the ark. The one under the southwest corner contained the following inscription:

"'This marble laid under the S. W. column of the Achal of "Beth Elohim," on the 9th of Elul, 5550, by David Lopez, one of the committee under whose superintendence this Achal was planned and erected by the liberal contribution of the members.

"'*In perpetuam rei memoriam.*'"*

We must now go back a little. The Federal Government was established in 1789, and in 1790 the Jewish community of Charleston addressed the following letter of congratulation to General Washington on his elevation to the Presidency:

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* A short account of the ceremonies at the consecration of the Synagogue is given in *The South-Carolina State Gazette* of Sept. 20, 1794.

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"CHARLESTON, S. C., July 15th, 1790.

"To the President of the United States:

"SIR: We presume to divert your attention for a few moments from the more important matters which require it, in order to express the sincere desire and lively gratitude we experience, in common with our fellow-citizens in your election to and acceptance of the exalted office of President of the United States. As soon as the Federal Government was instituted, the eyes of your fellow-citizens throughout the States were drawn towards you; their unanimous voices at once proclaimed you the most worthy to preside over it, and their anxious wishes awaited your consent to assume your proper station. The spontaneous effusions of heartfelt satisfaction which burst forth, the unstudied plaudits which universally and publicly resounded on the occasion, seemed to us to obviate the necessity of any particular address. But as these have been presented to you from different classes and sects of our fellow-citizens, as additional attestations of your eminent deserts, and their well-assured prospect of increasing happiness from your wise and virtuous administration, we are desirous even thus late not to appear deficient in this respect, especially as every day which has intervened has tended to realize what we so fondly anticipated. Various, extensive and invaluable are the benefits which your fellow-citizens have derived from the glorious revolution which, under Providence, you have been the principal instrument in effecting. To them it has secured the natural and inalienable rights of human nature—all the requisite privileges and immunities of freedom, and has placed within their reach peace, plenty, and the other blessings of good government. To the equal participation and enjoyment of all these, it has raised us from the state of political degradation and grievous oppression to which partial, narrow, and illiberal policy and intolerant bigotry has reduced us in almost every other part of the world. Peculiar and extraordinary reason have we, therefore, to be attached to the free and generous Constitution of our respective States, and to be indebted to you, whose heroic deeds have contributed so much to their preservation and establishment. In a degree commensurate to its wise and enlarged plan, does the general government attract our regard, framed on principles consentaneous to those of the Constitution of the different States, and calculated by its energy to embrace and harmonize their various interests, combine their scattered powers, cement their union, and prolong their duration. They have already felt their salutary effects. The great exploits you performed while you commanded in chief the armies of the United States, during the arduous and perilous conflicts which purchased their freedom; the toils, fatigues and dangers you surmounted during that glorious warfare, entitled you to

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honorable exemption from public services, and to spend the remainder of your valuable life under the shade of your well-earned laurels in sage retirement and dignified repose, to which your truly magnanimous disposition invited, and for the pure and rational enjoyment of which your conscious virtue fitted you. But the infancy of the Federal Government particularly required your fostering care, and invoked the aid of your virtues to animate its friends and reconcile its adversaries. The genuine authority which you alone possessed, which has its source in virtue, and is built on the sure basis of merited esteem and implicit veneration, and which once recognized, has more irresistible sway than arbitrary power itself, was requisite to launch the Federal Government on its new and untried voyage into the ocean, clear of rocks and quicksands, and with favorable gales. Your consummate prudence and firmness were necessary to trace out to your successors the courses they should steer, your example to enlighten, excite, and strengthen them. When laudable ambition had nothing more to tempt you with, when fame had wearied itself in trumpeting your renown; yielding to the disinterested impulses of uniform protestations, and the urgent invocations of your fellow-citizens, you quitted your peaceful and pleasurable mansion to involve yourself in the cares and fatigues which now throng on you; and you have shown yourself as eminently qualified to preside at the helm of government, as at the head of armies. While historians of this and every age shall vie with each other in doing justice to your character, and in adorning their pages with the splendor of your endowments, and of your patriotic and noble achievements; and while they cull and combine the various good and shining qualities of the Pagan and modern heroes, to display your character, we, and our posterity, will not cease to chronicle and commemorate you, with Moses, Joshua, Othniel, Gideon, Samuel, David, Maccabeus, and other holy men of old, who were raised up by God for the deliverance of our nation, His people, from their oppression. May the Great Being, our universal Lord, continue propitious to you and to the United States; perfect and give increase and duration of prosperity to the great empire which He has made you so instrumental in producing. May He grant you health to preside over the same, until He shall, after length of days, call you to eternal felicity, which will be the reward of your virtues in the next, as lasting glory must be in this world.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"JACOB COHEN,

"President Congregation 'Beth Elohim.'"

To this letter the President made the following reply:

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"*To the Hebrew Congregation, at Charleston, S. C.:*

"GENTLEMEN: The liberality of sentiment toward each other, which marks every political and religious denomination of men in this country, stands unparalleled in the history of nations.

"The affection of such a people is a treasure beyond the reach of calculation, and the repeated proofs which my fellow-citizens have given of their attachment to me and approbation of my doings, form the purest source of my temporal felicity. The affectionate expressions of your address again excite my gratitude and receive my warmest acknowledgment.

"The power and goodness of the Almighty, so strongly manifested in the events of our late glorious revolution, and His kind interposition in our behalf, have been no less visible in the establishment of our present equal government. In war He directed the sword, and in peace He has ruled in our councils. My agency in both has been guided by the best intentions and a sense of duty I owe to my country.

"And as my exertions have hitherto been amply rewarded by the approbation of my fellow-citizens, I shall endeavor to deserve a continuance of it by my future conduct.

"May the same temporal and eternal blessings which you implore for me, rest upon your congregation.

"G. WASHINGTON."

The Charleston community likewise joined the Jewish Congregations of Philadelphia, New York, and Richmond in the following letter, to which Washington replied in the exact words of his letter to the Congregation at Charleston:

"*The address of the Hebrew Congregations in the cities of Philadelphia, New York, Richmond, and Charleston, to the President of the United States:*

"SIR: It is reserved for you to unite in affection for your character and person every political and religious denomination of men, and in this will the Hebrew Congregations aforesaid yield to no class of their fellow-citizens.

"We have hitherto been prevented by various circumstances peculiar to our situation from adding our congratulations to those which the rest of America have offered on your elevation to the chair of the Federal Government. Deign, then, illustrious sir, to accept this our homage.

"The wonders which the Lord of Hosts hath worked in the days of our forefathers have taught us to observe the greatness of His wisdom

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and His might throughout the events of the late glorious Revolution; and, while we humble ourselves at His footstool in thanksgiving and praise for the blessing of His deliverance, we acknowledge you, the leader of American armies, as His chosen and beloved servant. But not to your sword alone is present happiness to be ascribed; that, indeed, opened the way to the reign of freedom, but never was it perfectly secure until your hand gave birth to the Federal Constitution and you renounced the joys of retirement to seal by your administration in peace what you had achieved in war.

"To the Eternal God, who is thy refuge, we commit in our prayers the care of thy precious life; and when, full of years, thou shalt be gathered unto thy people, 'thy righteousness shall go before thee,' and we shall remember, amidst our regret, 'that the Lord hath set apart the godly for Himself,' whilst thy name and thy virtues will remain an indelible memorial on our minds.

"MANUEL JOSEPHSON.

"For and in behalf and under the authority of the several Congregations aforesaid.

"PHILADELPHIA, December 13, 1790."*

The character of the Jewish community in 1790 may be judged by the following incident, which has been preserved to us in *The Occident*. In that year a constitutional convention was held in Columbia and in the election of delegates to that convention the Jews took an active part. Grateful for the assistance which the Jews had rendered him, one of the elected delegates sent the following communication to the Vestry:

"*To the Vestry of the Jewish Congregation:*

"GENTLEMEN: I feel myself greatly obliged by the assistance I received from you and the members of your Congregation at the late election. If

* The letter of the Jews of Charleston to Washington is to be found in the *Year Book*, City of Charleston, 1883, pp. 303–5. Washington's reply to the individual letter is printed in the *Year Book* for 1884, pp. 280–1, and the reply to the joint letter in Wolf's *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, pp. 58–9. The original reply to the Charleston Congregation was probably burnt in the great fire of 1838.

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the enclosed can serve the poor, or be of any use in any respect to the Congregation, I request their acceptance of it, to be applied in any such manner as they shall think proper. I shall be glad of any future opportunity of rendering any service to the Congregation. Your obliged and humble servant,

"CHRISTOPHER KNIGHT."

The following reply, re-enclosing the order for 50 guineas, was sent to Mr. Knight:

"*Mr. C. Knight:*

"SIR: Your favor of the 26th ultimo, with the enclosed acceptance for fifty guineas, has been laid before our body, for which token of esteem we are extremely obliged to you, but when we consider the motive that has induced you to offer it, consistent with the tenor of your letter, we cannot on any consideration think of accepting it, as it may be suggested at some future period that the members of our community were to be bought. We have, therefore, thought necessary to return it, assuring you, we shall entertain a deep sensibility of your good intentions. We remain your obedient servants,

"JACOB COHEN,
"*President of the Congregation K. K. B. E.*"[10]

The Jews of South Carolina do not appear to have taken any very prominent part in public life during this period, and this is not to be wondered at. There are a few references, however, to Jews who held public office. Solomon Cohen was Postmaster in Georgetown in 1794,[11] and was Tax Collector in 1798.[12] Abraham Cohen was Postmaster in Georgetown from 1797 to the time of his death in 1800.[13] He was the secretary of the Winyah Indigo Society in 1798,[14] and was one of the Commissioners on Streets and

[10] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, pp. 339–40.

[11] *The South Carolina and Georgia Almanac* for 1794.

[12] *The Georgetown Gazette*, May 22, 1798.

[13] Ibid., Dec. 13, 1800. The Postmasters mentioned may have occupied their positions prior to the dates here given, but the authoritative sources of reference, beyond those quoted, are not at hand.

[14] Ibid., Nov. 27, 1798.

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Markets in 1799.[15] Moses Myers, of Georgetown, was Clerk of the Court of General Sessions and Common Pleas in 1798.[16] Eleazer Elizer was Postmaster in Greenville in 1794. Abraham Mendez Seixas was one of the magistrates of the City of Charleston and Warden of the Work House in 1797. He occupied this position at the time of his death in 1799.[17] Dr. Levi Myers was a member of the Legislature in 1796, and prior to 1800 was appointed Apothecary-General of the State, a position that he occupied till his death, in 1822.

Nor do we find many Jews in the professions during this period. Moses Myers, of Georgetown, was admitted to the Bar in 1793—the first Jewish attorney in South Carolina.[18] Abraham Myers, also of Georgetown, was admitted in 1796.[19] Dr. Sarzedas was a practising physician in Charleston in 1795—the only Jewish physician in Charleston in his

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[15] *The Georgetown Gazette*, Feb. 20, 1799.

[16] Ibid., May 22, 1798.

[17] The following note, in the handwriting of his son, is taken from the prayer-book of Captain Abraham Seixas, in the possession of the author:

"9th April, '99—Corresponding with the 4th of Nisan 5559. Departed this Life, my Hond. Father Abraham Mendes Seixas, Esqr. Aged 49 years & 26 Days at 12 o'Clock in the Day (Tuesday) after an Illness of 4 Days, during all which Time he was continually deranged in his Mind, at the time he Died he was Magistrate of the City & Warden of the Work House, Parnas Presidenta of K. K. Beth eloim and Trustee for the same. his Corpse was taken from the House on Wednesday after noon 4 o Clock, & carried to the snogar and all round the outside, while prayers was sung adapted to the occasion after once going round, it was carried in & Lodged in front, while the Kinah of Kol al le lah was sung, from thence to the Bet Hayim were he was Intered at 5 o Clock. A greater Number of People never was seen at a Funeral in Charleston before among our Profession my Father was Born in New York & came to Charleston in June 1774 which place he has resided in ever since."

[18] O'Neall: *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, Vol. 2, p. 602.

[19] Ibid.

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day.[20] After 1800, however, the Jews of Charleston played a conspicuous part in art, in science, and in literature, to all of which they made eminent contributions. They attained considerable prominence commercially, however, principally in the "vendue" business. One of these "vendue masters" has left us an advertisement, which gives us a good insight into the miscellaneous nature of an auction and brokerage business of those days. This advertisement is unique—there is nothing like it in the *Gazettes:*

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"ABRAHAM SEIXAS,
All so gracious,
Once again does offer
His service pure
For to secure
Money in the coffer.

"He has for sale
Some negroes, male,
Will suit full well grooms,
He has likewise
Some of their wives
Can make clean, dirty rooms.

"For planting, too,
He has a few
To sell, all for the cash,
Of various price,
To work the rice
Or bring them to the lash.

"The young ones true,
If that will do,
May some be had of him
To learn your trade
They may be made
Or bring them to your trim.

"The boatmen great,
Will you elate
They are so brisk and free;
What e'er you say,
They will obey,
If you buy them of me.

"He also can
Suit any man
With land all o'er the State;
A bargain, sure,
They may procure
If they dont stay too late.

---

[20] His name occurs as an M.D. in a list of subscribers to *The Traiteur*, Charleston, 1795. There is an earlier mention of a Jewish physician in Charleston, in the Columbia records. It occurs in a "Bill of Sale of negroes from Nathan Levy, 'pysician,' to Meyer Moses, merchant." It is dated April, 1772. (Columbia Records, Book PP, 1771–4, p. 193.)

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"For papers he
Will sure agree,
Bond, note or publick debt;
To sell the same
If with good name
And buyer can be met

"To such of those
As will dispose
He begs of them to tell;
By note or phiz,
What e'er it is
That they have got to sell

"He surely will
Try all his skill
To sell, for more or less,
The articles
Of beaux and belles,
That they to him address."[21]

The Jewish community is now a large and prosperous one. It will soon be at the zenith of its greatness. It is already the largest, the most cultured, and the wealthiest Jewish community in America.[22]

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[21] *The South-Carolina State Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1794.

[22] The following interesting reference to the Jews of Charleston of this period is to be found in Winterbotham: *A Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the United States of America* (New York, 1796), Vol. 1, p. 394:

"The Jews in Charleston, among other peculiarities in burying their dead, have these: After the funeral dirge is sung, and just before the corpse is deposited in the grave, the coffin is opened, and a small bag of earth, taken from the grave, is carefully put under the head of the deceased; then some powder, said to be earth brought from Jerusalem, and carefully kept for this purpose, is taken and put upon the eyes of the corpse, in token of their remembrance of the Holy Land, and of their expectations of returning thither in God's appointed time. The articles of their faith are well known, and therefore need no description. They generally expect a glorious return to the Holy Land, when they shall be exalted above all the nations of the earth. And they flatter themselves that the period of their return will speedily arrive, though they do not venture to fix the precise time."

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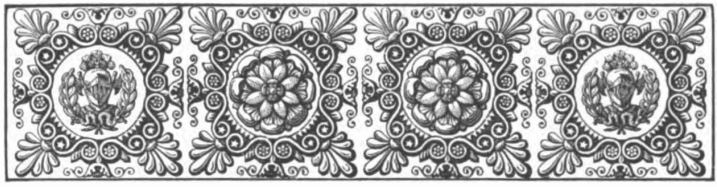

CHAPTER VIII—1800–1824

EFORE discussing this most interesting period in the history of the Jews of South Carolina, it would be well to glance at the Jews of the United States in the year 1800.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only a few, small, scattered communities of Jews in the United States. The total Jewish population did not exceed, if indeed it represented, a total of 2,500 souls, though there are writers who have made a somewhat higher estimate of the Jewish population of that period. There was the Congregation Shearith Israel, of New York, the oldest of them all. Then there was the Congregation Yeshuat Israel, of Newport, R. I., or what was left of it—for most of the Jewish population had departed with the decadence of its commerce after the Revolution. There was the small Mickveh Israel Congregation, of Savannah, and the Congregation that bore the same name at Philadelphia. There was the Beth Shalome Congregation of Richmond, Va., and possibly a small Congregation at Lancaster, Pa. And, finally, there was the largest community of all—K. K. Beth Elohim of Charleston, S. C. We are fortunately to-day in possession of the records of this last Congregation, recovered by a peculiar accident in the summer of 1902. Without these records,

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this wondrously interesting chapter could not have been completely written.[1]

First, then, as to the community itself. In the year 1800 there were, in round numbers, about one hundred Jewish heads of families in Charleston. The total number of Jewish souls was about five hundred. There were also a few Jews scattered through the State, notably in Jacksonborough, Pon Pon, Camden, Georgetown, Beaufort, and Black Mingo. By 1824 their number was considerably increased.

During this period the Jews were to be found in every branch of trade and commerce. They were principally merchants, store-keepers, shop-keepers, vendue-masters, brokers, and auctioneers. They were likewise well represented in the arts and professions. In public life, too, their influence was considerable.

The following is a fairly complete Directory of the Jews of South Carolina for 1800-1824:[2]

Aaron, Solomon (1800).
Aarons, Moses (1811).
Abendanone, David (1800).
" , Hyam (1801).
Abendanone, Jacob.[3]
" , Joseph (1800).
Abrahams, Abraham.
" , " S.[4]

[1] See Elzas: *A History of Congregation Beth Elohim, of Charleston, S. C., 1800–1810. Compiled from Recently Discovered Records.* (Charleston, S. C., 1902.)

[2] This Directory is compiled from newspaper files, synagogue archives, directories, and almanacs scattered in public and private libraries in this State, many of which are exceedingly rare and inaccessible to the public. There are many doubtful names in the records. Only such names have been included as could positively be identified through the many sources of information now available. Names which are manifestly those of transients have been excluded. The dates in brackets are the years in which these names are first found in the records of Beth Elohim. It will be observed that practically every Jew who lived in Charleston was a contributor to the Congregation. The Synagogue compelled *every* Jew to support it, under the severest penalties. (See Constitution of 1820, § 12.)

[3] Directory for 1809.

[4] Ibid. Edisto.

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Abrahams, Elias (1814).
" , Emanuel (1802).
" , Hyam (1802).
" , Hyman.
" , Isaac (1800).
" , Israel.
" , Jacob (1800).
" , Levy J.[5]
" , Moses (1800).
" , Samuel.[6]
Abrams, Moïse (1800).
Aguilar, Joseph (1804).
Albergo, Judah (1800).
" , Moses (1801).
Alexander, Abraham (1800).
" , " , Jr. (1800).
" , Alexander (1818).
" , Judah (1800).
" , Moses (1800).
Amesquita, R. D. (1811).
Aronson, Woolf (1800).
Audler, E. (1814).
" , Myer (1817).
" , Sol. (1823).
Azevedo, B. C. D'. (1805).
" , Isaac D'. (1800).
" , M. Cohen D'. (1819).
Azuby, Abraham (1800).
Barnard, Alexander (1806).
Barnet, Barnet (1801).
" , Moses (1818).
Barrett, Abraham (1803).
" , Isaac (1814).
" , Jacob (1818).
" , Judah (1802).
Benjamin, Philip (1823).
Bernard, M.
Bramson, Jacob (1823).
Brandon, David (1805).
Buley, Jacob (1806).
Canter, Abraham (1801).
" , Benjamin (1802).
" , David (1800).
" , Emanuel (1800).
" , Isaac (1800).
" , Jacob (1800).
" , John (1802).
" , Jonathan (1800).
" , Joshua (1800).
Cantor, David (1800).
" , Jacob (1800).
Cardozo, David (1800).
" , Isaac N (1818).
" , Jacob N. (1807).
Carvalho, D. N. (1811).
" , E. N. D. (1807).
Cohen, Abraham (1800).[7]
" , " (1810).[8]
" , " , Jr. (1800).
" , " A. (1823).
" , Barnard (1800).
" , " , Jr. (1819).
" , Barnet (1802).
" , Benjamin (1801).
" , Esdaile P. (1825).
" , Gershon (1800).
" , " (1807).[9]
" , Hartwig (1815).
" , Henry (1800).
" , Hyam (1807).
" , Isaac (1814).[10]
" , " S. (1823).
" , Isdel (1818).
" , Jacob (1800).

[5] Directory for 1809.
[6] Ibid. Edisto.
[7] Georgetown.
[8] Edisto.
[9] Son of Philip Cohen.
[10] Beaufort.

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Cohen, Jacob, Jr. (1802).
" , " (1818).[11]
" , " D. (1809).
" , " I. (1806).
" , John.[12]
" , Jonas (1818).
" , Joseph (1801).
" , Judah (1823).
" , Lewin (1818).[13]
" , Lewis (1818).
" , Mordecai (1800).
" , " S. (1809).
" , Moses (1800).
" , Myer M.
" , Nathaniel (1823).[14]
" , Philip (1800).
" , Samuel (1804).
" , Solomon (1800).[15]
" , " Jr. (1800).
" , " I. (1803).
" , Wolf (1803).
Coleman, Benjamin.[16]
" , Sylvester (1804).
Corre, Jacob (1805).
Cortissoz, Emanuel (1819).
Da Costa, Aaron (1802).
" , Isaac (1800).
" , Joseph.[17]
Daniels, Henry (1818).
Davega, David.[18]
" , Isaac (1818).
" , Moses (1803).
David, Jacob.[19]
Davis, Davis (1805).
" , George (1818).
" , H. (1823).
" , Israel (1800).
" , Moses (1814).
De Jongh, J.
De La Motta, Emanuel (1800).
" , Jacob (1811).
De Leon, Abraham (1811).
" , Jacob (1800).
" , M. H. (1814).
De Lieben, Israel (1800).
De Lyon, Isaac (1802).
De Pass, Abraham.[20]
" , Jacob (1823).
" , Joseph (1808).
" , Ralph (1800).
De Young, M. H. (1819).
Elizer, Eleazer (1800).
" , Elisha.[21]
" , Isaac (1800).
Ellis, Myer (1818).
Emanuel, Emanuel (1800).
" , Isaac (1806).
" , Michael (1801).
" , Nathan (1803).
Emsden, August (1818).[22]
Etting, Elkan (1801).
Ezekiel, Emanuel (1818).[23]
Florance, Jacob (1819).
" , Levy (1811).

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[11] Columbia.
[12] Directory for 1813.
[13] Georgetown.
[14] Directory for 1806.
[15] Georgetown.
[16] Directory for 1806.
[17] Directory for 1802.
[18] Cheraw. Buried Charleston Cemetery.
[19] Directory for 1807.
[20] Directory for 1802.
[21] Directory for 1806
[22] Georgetown.
[23] Killer of cattle for the Congregation Beth Elohim.

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Florance, Lewis (1818).
" , Zachariah (1802).
Frideburg, —— (1807).
Goldsmith, Abraham (1802).
" , Isaac (1803).
" , I. M. (1809).
" , Morris (1810).
" , Moses (1802).
" , Richard (1818).
" , Samuel (1804).
" , Solomon (1804).
Gomez, Elias (1802).
" , Isaac D. C. (1805).
" , Jacob (1800).
" , Lewis.[24]
" , P. H.[25]
Goodman, M., Dr. (1805).
Green, David (1818).
Harby, G. W. (1820).
" , Isaac (1806).
" , Solomon (1803).
Harris, Andrew (1800).
" , Hyam (1800).
" , Jacob (1800).
" , " , Jr. (1800).
" , Moses (1806).
Hart, Daniel (1800).
" , Henry (1801).
" , Joseph (1802).
" , Leo (1804).
" , Levi (1812).
" , Mathias (1803).
" , Moses (1811).
" , Naphthaly (1801).
" , Nathan (1802).
" , Simon M. (1800).
" , Solomon (1803).
Henry, Barnard (1807).
Henry, Jacob (1823).[26]
" , Joel (1809).
" , Maurice L. (1801).[27]
Hertz, Alexander (1804).
" , H. M. (1802).
" , Jacob (1809).
Heydenfeld, Jacob (1808).
Hunt, Solomon (1823).
Hyam, Daniel (1818).
Hyams, David (1800).
" , Henry (1814).
" , Isaac (1808).
" , Mordecai (1812).
" , M. K. (1822).
" , Samuel (1800).
" , Solomon (1800).
Hyman, B. (1823).
Isaacks, Abraham (1802).
" , " , Jr. (1800).
" , A. M. (1800).
" , Michael (1819).
" , Sampson (1804).
" , Solomon (1803).
Jackson, Montagu (1811).
Jacobs, Abraham (1800).
" , Barnard (1800).
" , Fisher (1823).
" , Hyam (1800).
" , Hyman (1802).
" , Jacob (1806).
" , Levi (1818).
" , Moses (1823).
" , Myer (1811).
" , Samuel (1805).
Jones, Abraham (1800).
" , Samuel (1800).
Joseph, A. (1811).
" , Barnet (1802).

[24] Directory for 1803.
[25] Directory for 1802.
[26] Directory for 1806.
[27] Living in Georgetown in 1812.

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Joseph, Daniel M. (1818).
" , Henry (1818).[29]
" , Isaac (1818).
" , Israel (1800).
" , Joseph (1800).[30]
" , Lazarus (1802).
" , Levy (1810).
" , Lizer (1800).[31]
" , Moses (1818).
" , Samuel (1802).
" , Sol. M. (1800).
Judah, Jacob (1800).
Labat, A. C.[32]
" , David (1800).
" , Isaac C.
Lazarus, Aaron (1800).
" , Benj. D. (1823).
" , Henry (1814).
" , Isaac (1804).
" , Jacob (1805).
" , " , Jr. (1814).
" , " B. (1823).
" , Joseph (1803).
" , Joshua (1823).
" , Marks (1800).
" , Michael (1811).
" , Moses L. (1818).
" , Simon (1800).
Lee, Joseph (1818).
Lemmon, —— (1823).
Levin, Emanuel (1819).
" , Lewis (1808).
" , " , Jr. (1818).
Levy, Abraham (1811).
" , " L. (1818).
Levy, Barnard (1818).
" , Chapman (1819).[33]
" , David (1801).
" , Eleazer.[34]
" , Elias (1814).
" , Emanuel (1800).
" , George (1818).
" , Hart (1800).
" , Hayman (1818).[35]
" , Jacob (1806).
" , " C. (1811) .
" , " L. (1814).
" , Jonas J. (1818).
" , Judah B. (1818).
" , Lyon (1800).
" , Mordecai (1809).
" , Moses (1805).
" , " C. (1800).
" , Nathan (1800).
" , Reuben (1800).
" , Samuel (1801).
" , Sam. L. (1818).[36]
" , Simon (1802).
" , Solomon (1803).
" , " , Jr. (1803).
" , Uriah (1823).
" , Zachariah (1800).
Lewis, David (1804).
Lindo, Charles (1818).
Lipman, A. (1810).
Lobell, Moses (1803).
Loevenstein, —— (1818).
Lopez, Aaron (1800).
" , Abraham (1800).
" , David (1800).

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[29] Georgetown.
[30] Georgetown in 1823.
[31] Georgetown.
[32] Directory for 1816.
[33] Camden.
[34] Directory for 1803.
[35] Camden.
[36] Columbia.

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Lopez, John.[26]
" , Joseph (1804).
" , Moses (1819).
" , Samuel (1800).
Lyon, Isaac (1805).[27]
" , Joseph (1818).
" , Levy (1804).
" , Mordecai (1800).
" , Moses (1806).
" , Solomon D. (1809).
" , William (1818).[28]
Lyons, Isaac (1815).
" , Jacob (1823).
" , Joseph (1818).
Mairs, Levy (1823).
" , Simon (1803).
Manheim, Israel (1801).
" , Sol. (1800).
Marchand, Levy (1819).
Marks, Alexander (1804).
" , Elias.[29]
" , Hyam (1800).
" , Humphrey (1802).
" , Joseph.[30]
" , Mark (1804).
" , Solomon (1805).
" , S. M. (1800).
Massias, Abraham (1804).
" , A. A. (1819).
" , Sol. H. (1802).
Melhado, Benjamin (1800).
" , David (1801).
" , Emanuel (1803).
Mendez, Aaron (1802).
Moïse, Aaron (1800).
Moïse, Aaron, Jr. (1818).
" , Abraham (1823).
" " , Jr.
" , Benjamin (1805).
" , Cherry (1800).
" , Hyam (1802).
" , Isaac (1823).
" , Jacob (1818).
Monsanta, M. R. (1805).
" , Rodrigues (1804).
Morales, Jacob (1800).
Mordecai, David (1801).
" , Goodman (1809).
" , Isaac (1823).
" , Jacob.
" , Joseph.
" , Noah (1810).
Morley, N. (1810).
Morris, Aaron (1811).
" , Henry (1802).
" , Simpson (1809).
Morse, Solomon (1818).
Moses, Abraham (1800).
" , " , Jr. (1814).
" , Andrew (1810).
" , Chapman (1805).
" , David (1804).
" , Daniel L. (1815).
" , Fishel (1803).
" , Franklin J.
" , Hart, Jr. (1818).
" , Henry (1803).
" , Isaac (1800).
" , " , Jr. (1800).
" , " C. (1802).

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[26] Directory for 1809.

[27] The distinction between Lyon and Lyons is not always clearly made in the records of Beth Elohim.

[28] Pineville.

[29] Directory for 1816.

[30] Directory for 1802.

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Moses, Isaiah (1800).
" " , Jr. (1804).
" , Israel (1806).
" , J. C.[a]
" , Joseph (1802).
" , Levy (1803).
" , Lyon (1800).
" , Moses L. (1818).
" , Myer (1800).
" , Philip (1818).
" , Reuben (1818).
" , Simon.
" , Solomon (1800).
" , " , Jr. (1808).
Moss, Joseph (1823).
Motta, Isaac (1800).
" , Judah A. (1802).
Myers, Abraham (1801).
" , Israel (1800).
" , Jacob (1801).
" , Levi (1805).[b]
" , Lewis (1802).
" , Michael (1801).
" , Mordecai (1804).
" , Moses (1801).[c]
" , Samuel (1800).
" , Solomon (1801).[d]
Naar, Moïse (1801).
" , Mordecai.[e]
Nathan, A. M. (1804).[f]
" , David (1800).
Nathan, Henry (1812).
" , Isaiah (1819).
" , Moses.[g]
" , Nathan (1803).
" , Solomon (1800).
Nettling, Solomon (1802).
Noah, Mordecai (1811).
" , Uriah (1811).
Offen, Jacobus V. (1810).
Oppenheim, H. W. (1823).
Ottolengui, Abraham (1808).
Peixotto, S. C. (1819).
Perrera, Jacob (1800).
Phillips, Aaron (1809).[h]
" , Abraham (1809).
" , Benjamin (1800).
" , " I. (1819).
" , David (1800).
" , Jacob (1808).
" , Philip (1818).
" , Solomon (1803).
Pinto, David (1808).
Pollock, Joseph (1823).
" , Levy (1809).
" , Solomon.[i]
Pool, Isaac (1800).
Rees, —— (1819).
Ricardo, Benjamin (1800).
" , Joseph (1801).
" , Ralph (1802).
Riverra, Abraham R. (1801).

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[a] Directory for 1818.
[b] Georgetown in 1805 and Charleston in 1814.
[c] Georgetown.
[d] Directory for 1802.
[e] Georgetown.
[f] The names Nathan and Nathans are not kept distinct in the records of Beth Elohim.
[g] Directory for 1816.
[h] Directory for 1802.
[i] Beaufort in 1812.

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Rodrigues, Abraham (1800).
" , Moïse.[80]
" , Theodore.
Russel, Moses (1818).
" , Samuel (1802).
" , Solomon (1801).
Sacedote, Joseph C. (1818).
Salamon, Levy (1805).
" , Lewis.[81]
" , Salamon.[82]
Sampson, Elias (1805).
" , Henry (1819).
" , Joseph (1818).
" , Michael (1805).
" , Samuel (1823).
Samuel, Hyman.[83]
" , Joshua (1810).
Sarzedas, David.[84]
" , " , Jr.[84]
Sasportas, Abraham (1800).
Seixas, Isaac M. (1800).
" , Jacob (1823).
Simon, Michael (1805).
Simons, Israel (1801).
" , Montague (1800).
" , Moses (1800).
" , Sampson (1800).
" , Samuel (1800).
Simpson, Jacob (1823).
" , Michael (1806).
Sirqui, Joseph (1804).
Slowman, Abraham (1819).
Solomon, Aaron (1809).
" , Abraham (1818).
" , Israel (1818).[85]
" , Lewis (1818).
Solomons, Alexander (1802).
" , Benjamin (1802).
" , Chapman (1802).
" , Hart (1804).
" , Israel (1800).
" , Joseph (1800).
" , Judah.
" , Levy (1800).
" , Mark (1805).
" , Nathan (1802).
" , Sampson (1819).[86]
" , Solomon (1805).
Spitz, I. A. (1818).
Suares, David I. (1801).
" , Isaac (1804).
" , Jacob (1800).
" , " , Jr. (1809).
" , " I. (1800).
Tobias, Abraham (1811).
" , Isaac (1800).
" , Jacob (1800).
" , Joseph (1800).
Tongue, Abraham (1802).
Torres, Abraham (1801).

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[80] Directory for 1806.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid. The names Salaman, Solomon, and Solomons are not differentiated in the records of Beth Elohim.

[83] Directory for 1806.

[84] Directory for 1816.

[85] Georgetown. The distinction between Solomon and Solomons is not carefully made in the records of Beth Elohim, nor is the author able to distinguish between these names.

[86] Georgetown.

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Valance, Moses (1801).
Valentine, Abraham O.
" , Samuel (1823).
Waage, Mordecai G. (1802).
Warner, William (1819).
Waterman, S. A. (1823).
Weissenberger, —— (1818).
Woolf, Isaac (1806).
Zemach, Abraham (1801).

Of this large and flourishing community most of its members, as we have already stated, followed commercial pursuits. A more than ordinarily large percentage, however, found scope for their efforts in fields outside of commerce. The following brief and necessarily incomplete notes will furnish an idea of their multifarious activities during this period.

Myer Moses was a member of the Legislature in 1810. Chapman Levy, of Camden, represented Kershaw in 1812, and was Senator from Kershaw in 1818.

Joshua Canter and John Canter were portrait and miniature painters.

Joshua Canter came to Charleston from Denmark in 1792. He had received his education as an artist under a professor of the academy at Copenhagen. He painted and taught drawing for many years in Charleston. He was here as late as 1822. "He was devotedly attached to the art, and possessed talents which, under more favoring circumstances, and with that professional competition which he did not find at that time in South Carolina, might have raised him to a higher standing among artists than he actually enjoyed. He died in New York." [57]

John Canter (1782-1823) was likewise a portrait and min-

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[57] Dunlap: *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, Vol. 1, pp. 426-7.

"He made great exertions to create a correct taste in drawing among our citizens, in which he succeeded. His productions possess considerable merit."—Mills: *Statistics of South Carolina*, p. 466.

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iature painter who attained considerable distinction. He was also a well-known drawing teacher.[58]

David Sarzedas, Sr., had been practising as a physician in Charleston since 1795. He was still practising in 1822; Isaac Da Costa was a physician in 1809; Dr. Levi Myers removed to Charleston from Georgetown in 1812, and after practising there for some time returned to Georgetown; Jacob De La Motta, who afterwards became very distinguished, was a physician in 1810, and Abraham De Leon, who afterwards settled in Camden, was practising in Charleston in 1813. Zachariah Florance was a dentist in 1802.

Moses Myers, of Georgetown, was Clerk of the Court of General Sessions and Common Pleas from 1800 to 1817. He was Prothonotary of Georgetown in 1806; Chapman Levy, of Camden, was admitted to the Bar in Columbia in 1806; Abraham Moïse, afterwards a distinguished lawyer, was admitted in Charleston in 1822, and Solomon Cohen at Columbia in 1823.

Eleazer Elizer was a Notary Public in 1803. He was the compiler of the Charleston Directory for that year. He was a Justice of the Peace in 1813; Lyon Levy was a Justice Q. U. in 1806; Isaac C. Moses was a Justice of the Peace in 1819, and Moses K. Hyams in 1823.

Isaac Harby, dramatist, critic, and journalist, had done his best work and had almost completed his career during this period; Mordecai M. Noah, romantic dreamer and "the most graceful paragraphist in the United States," had begun his public career as an editor of a paper in Charleston;[59] Jacob N. Cardozo was editing *The Southern Patriot*,

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[58] Sheeut: *Medical and Philosophical Essays*, pp. 53–4.

[59] For the romantic career of this remarkable man see Wolf: *Mordecai Manuel Noah—A Biographical Sketch.* (Philadelphia, 1897.) See also *The Asmonean*, March 28, 1851. Some interesting stories are told about him in *The Jewish Messenger* for June 25, 1897. Mr. G. A. Kohut has

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and was already an acknowledged authority on statistics, banking, and political economy.

Abraham Jacobs was a tutor in 1804; Abraham Ottolengui, afterwards a prominent merchant, started his career as a teacher in 1807, and Abraham Tongue was a schoolmaster in the same year; Isaac Harby taught school in 1809; Mrs. R. J. Ricardo conducted a school of music in 1810; David Cardozo was a free school teacher in 1812, and master of Free School No. 1 in 1813; Myer M. Cohen established his "Academy" in 1824, and the distinguished Elias Marks founded his famous "Columbia Female Academy" about the same time.

Dr. Levi Myers was Apothecary-General of the State throughout this period to the time of his death in 1822; Lyon Levy was clerk to the State Treasurer in 1806, Deputy State Treasurer in 1813, and State Treasurer from 1817 to 1822.

Lizar Joseph was Coroner for Georgetown in 1821.

Lewis Gomez was Turnkey of the jail in 1802, and J. M. Seixas, Master of the Workhouse in the same year; Moses Solomon was a Constable in 1802, Nathan Hart in 1821, and Solomon Moses in 1822; Samuel Hyams was Crier of the Court in 1816 and Keeper of the Jail in 1822; Morris Goldsmith was Deputy Marshal in 1819; Henry Goldsmith was Deputy Registrar in Equity in 1822; Elisha Elizer was City Deputy Sheriff of Charleston in 1806, and Mark Marks and Solomon Moses, Jr., Deputy Sheriffs in 1822.

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published a most interesting literary autobiography of him in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 6, pp. 113-121. In No. 11 of the *Publications*, pp. 131-7, G. Herbert Cone, Esq., publishes some "New Matter relating to Mordecai M. Noah." See finally Daly: *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, pp. 96 *et seq.*, and Morais: *Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 255-258. There is a notice of his appointment as Consul at Tunis in the *City Gazette* of March 29, 1813.

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Abraham Alexander was a clerk in the Charleston Custom House in 1802, and Auditor in 1809; David Cardozo was Lumber Measurer in 1802 and for more than twenty years afterwards; Israel Myers was Import Inspector in 1802.

Jacob Cantor was an interpreter and translator of languages in 1802; so was S. H. Massias; Isaac Cardozo was an accountant in 1813; so was Abraham Tobias in 1822, who afterwards became a prominent merchant. Manning Cantor was a comedian.

Isaac Lyons, Isaiah Moses, Barnet A. Cohen, and Mordecai Cohen were planters.

Myer Moses was a member of the "South Carolina Society for the Promotion of Domestic Arts and Manufactories" in 1809. He was a Commissioner of Free Schools in 1811,[60] a Director of the Planters and Mechanics' Bank in 1811, he was one of "a Committee of Twenty-one for Adding to the Defences of the City" in 1813, and a Commissioner of Public Schools in 1823.

Solomon Cohen was a director of the Bank of the State of South Carolina, in Georgetown, in 1819.

Philip Cohen was a member of the Board of Health from 1819 to 1823; Mordecai Cohen was a Commissioner of the Poor House from 1811 to 1818, a Commissioner of Streets and Lamps in 1817, a member of the Board of Health in 1819, and a Commissioner of Markets from 1819 to 1823.

In military affairs—as in every other period of the history of South Carolina—the Jews played a not unimportant part. Myer Moses was a captain in the 1st Battalion of

[60] Not "Commissioner of Education," as stated in *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, art. "Charleston." There was no such office in existence at the time. Nor was he, as stated in that article, one of the *first* Commissioners. This office had been in existence for over a hundred years before he was elected to it. The writer of the article is in utter confusion concerning the personality of this Myer Moses.

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South Carolina Volunteers in 1809—afterwards promoted to major. Philip Cohen was lieutenant in the same company, and Solomon I. Cohen, ensign; J. C. Levy was secretary of the Charleston Riflemen from 1811 to 1813; Elias Levy was 2d lieutenant of the Charleston Neck Rangers in 1822.[61] In the War of 1812 Jacob De La Motta served as surgeon in the regular army;[62] Abraham De Leon served as surgeon's mate;[63] Abraham A. Massias was a captain—promoted to major in 1814.[64] Hyam Cohen was commissioned 2d lieutenant of Rifles in 1812 and was promoted to 1st lieutenant of the 1st Rifle Regiment in 1814.[65] Levi Charles Harby was a midshipman in 1807, in the United States Navy, and was captured by the British during the war.[66] Myer Moses was a captain of militia in this war; so was Chapman Levy, of Camden.[67] Jacob Cohen enlisted at Savannah, Ga., on January 22, 1815, and served as a private in Captain William F. Bullett's company of the Georgia militia.[68]

In Freemasonry the Jews of South Carolina have always taken a prominent part. We have seen Isaac Da Costa a member of a Masonic lodge in Charleston in 1753. We have seen, likewise, that he established the "Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection" in that city in 1783. In an old volume of minutes, kept in French, of La Candeur Lodge, dated 1798, there are no less than twelve Jews whose names are inscribed as visitors during that year.[69] The Supreme

[61] These data are compiled from newspaper files and almanacs in the Charleston Library.

[62] Heitman: *Historical Register* (1789–1903), p. 365.

[63] Ibid., p. 366.

[64] Ibid., p. 696.

[65] Ibid., p. 315.

[66] Wolf: *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, p. 83.

[67] O'Neall: *Bench and Bar*, Vol. 2, p. 282.

[68] Taken from a "Military Declaration" on file in Washington.

[69] Minutes of La Candeur Lodge.—*Collections of the Home of the Temple*, Washington, D. C.

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Council of the Thirty-third Degree for the United States of America, Scottish Rite Masonry, originated in Charleston in 1801.[70] The first Register of the Supreme Council, sent out in 1802, included among its officers and members: Emanuel De La Motta, Treasurer-General of the Holy Empire; Abraham Alexander, Secretary-General of the Holy Empire; Israel De Lieben and Moses C. Levy, Grand Inspectors-General. In 1806 Lodge No. 9 was a Jewish lodge. Emanuel De La Motta was Worshipful Master; David Brandon, Senior Warden; Samuel Hyams, Junior Warden; Cherry Moïse, Treasurer, and M. L. Henry, Secretary.[71] David Labat was Treasurer of Lodge No. 45, a French lodge—La Reunion Française. Isaac Canter was Secretary of the Grand Lodge, Israel De Lieben Hospitaller Brother, and David Labat Tyler.

So much, then, for the record of the Jews of South Carolina commercially, professionally, politically, and socially. It is in truth a remarkable record. The Jewish community is now at its zenith.[72]

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[70] For a history of Scottish Rite Masonry see Richardson: *Centennial Address.* (Washington, D. C., 1901.) See also *Allocution of the Acting Grand Commander,* etc. (Washington, D. C., 1901.)

[71] This lodge is now known as Friendship Lodge, No. 9.

[72] The following are two interesting references in the literature to the Jews of Charleston at this period:

"The Jews of Charleston enjoy equal literary advantages with the other members of the community. Most of the parents being rich, the prejudice is here despised which confines the important object of education to the tenets of religion; and the Hebrews can boast of several men of talents and learning among them. Those Jewish children who are intended for professions receive a handsome classical education. There is now in the city an academy, where the French, Italian, Latin, and Greek languages are taught, together with other branches of learning. The Rev. Carvalho, mentioned above, also teaches the Hebrew and Spanish languages."—From a letter written by Mr. Philip Cohen, a merchant in Charleston in 1811, and printed in Hannah Adams's *History of the Jews,* p. 465 (Boston, 1818).

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Not less interesting and equally remarkable is the story of the religious development of the Jews of South Carolina during this period, for it was during this period that those events were gradually shaping themselves which were later to exercise an enormous influence upon the evolution of American Judaism, an influence that has hitherto not been sufficiently recognized—if, indeed, it has been recognized at all. It was in Charleston, in 1824, that the first great intellectual movement was born among the Jews of America. This movement will be the object of our next consideration.

"In the province of South Carolina, especially in Charles Town, there were, as my friend Leo de Blogg wrote me in 1816, very many Jewish scholars who especially devoted their attention to the teaching of the Hebrew language. Their former Rabbi was called Carvalo, formerly a teacher in the Jewish school at New York. This man was very active and organized a school where instruction was given in Latin, French, English, and Spanish, besides Hebrew."—Sol. Ephr. Blogg: *Ædificium Salomonis* (Hanover, 1831).

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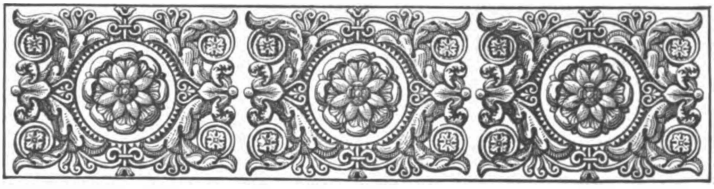

CHAPTER IX—THE REFORMED SOCIETY OF ISRAELITES

WE have discussed at length the personnel of the Jewish community in Charleston during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. We repeat here the statement that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jewish community of Charleston was the largest, the most cultured, and the wealthiest Jewish community in America—a statement that is not without bearing upon the subject of our present study.

To understand the historical development of Judaism in South Carolina we must remember that Beth Elohim of Charleston was practically an offshoot of the old Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community of Bevis Marks, London. True, in 1800 the Portuguese Jews in Charleston were already in a minority, but Bevis Marks had left its imprint on the synagogue so indelibly that for nearly half a century thereafter the ritual followed was that of the Portuguese communities "as practised in London and Amsterdam."

Let us now try to get a glimpse of the Charleston community ecclesiastically in the year 1800. We can give no better picture of it than that furnished by an English writer of the parent community in a series of articles which he contributed to *The* [London] *Jewish Chronicle* of Decem-

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ber 28, 1900, and January 4, 1901, entitled, "A Hundred Years Ago." Here is what he has to tell of it:

"The Jews were strictly orthodox. * * * Members of congregations were ruled with a rod of iron. The most venial offence was punished with a fine, failure to pay which might be visited with severer penalties still. Members were frequently called before the *Kahal* [congregation] and made to explain their conduct or apologize for it. * * * In Bevis Marks the government was far more autocratic than in the German congregation and it is an oft-told tale how the tyrannous character of their *Ascamot* [by-laws] had the effect of driving Isaac D'Israeli and many another from the fold of the community. Among the Portuguese the penalty for establishing or even attending a Minyan [assembly for prayer] within the city of London and its suburbs, except during the week of mourning, was excommunication. Anyone even knowing of such a meeting and not informing the Mahamad [Board of Elders] of it, was liable to the same penalty. And as late as the year 1822 a gentleman was visited with the utmost rigors of the law because he ventured to have a Minyan at his house on the first night of Pentecost, followed by prayers in the early morning. He and his fellow-worshippers were deprived of their seats in synagogue, their names were erased from the list of *Yehidim* [voting members], they were relegated to certain places at the back of the reading desk, disqualified from being called up to the law, declared ineligible for two years for any pious duties, and finally fines of £40 and £20 respectively were inflicted upon them. * * * It was a punishable offence to offend the President, to stir up public opinion against the action of the Elders or the Mahamad, to strike a person either in the synagogue or the court-yard, to strike or insult anyone in the burial-ground or its precincts. * * * Such offences were variously punished by fine or deprivation of rights. * * * Anyone openly desecrating the Sabbath ceased to be a *Yahid*. A person who married out of the faith was excluded from being a *Yahid* and from all the offices and honors of the synagogue. * * * Then there was a whole system of fines in vogue, for refusing to accept office, for refusing to be called up, for not attending synagogue when due to be called up, for not attending congregational or committee meetings, for not being present to answer to one's name when it was called, or leaving before the meeting was over without the President's permission. * * * The wonder is that people could be found willing to submit to such extraordinary penalties. The synagogue must have had an immense hold upon people in those days to exact so entire a submission. It could only have wielded such a power so long as it

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remained the centre of the social life of the community. A defiance of its ruling would have involved a social ostracism, the fear of which must have exercised as strong a deterrent as the religious penalties that would have been incurred by contumacy. Nor is it difficult to understand why, in early times, the synagogue should have desired to maintain so strict a rule. Some such *imperium in imperio* was necessary in the interests of the Jewish community. The synagogue authorities felt themselves in a measure responsible to the political powers for the good behavior of their coreligionists. The position of English Jews was not yet consolidated. The footing on which they had been admitted into this country was still somewhat insecure, they enjoyed but scant liberties. A single false step might retard their emancipation, or endanger the liberties already won. With the growth of a new order of things, this régime has passed entirely away."[1]

We have presented the story of the Spanish and Portuguese community in London in considerable detail and we have done so for very good reasons. In the first place, if for "London" we substitute "Charleston," we shall have an absolutely accurate picture of the Jewish community in that city in the year 1800 and for twenty-four years thereafter. And in the next place, we have in this narrative a key to the origin of the great intellectual movement, which was born in Charleston in the year 1824, to which we have already referred, and of which we must now write at some little length.

South Carolina was not England. In 1800 Jews in England were excluded from all civil, municipal, and political offices. No Jew could become a freeman of the city of London. Jews were thus precluded from opening retail shops and even from plying handicrafts within the precincts of the city proper. In South Carolina, from the day of its settlement, the Jew has never labored under the slightest civil or religious disability whatsoever. In this respect South Carolina was unique among the British provinces. It took the Jews of England over one hundred and fifty years to win by steady fighting, step by step, the civil and

[1] *The Jewish Chronicle*, Jan. 4, 1901. [Editorial.]

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religious equality that were guaranteed to the first Jew who set foot on South Carolina soil. Is it to be wondered at that the Jew in an atmosphere of perfect civil and religious freedom should develop far more rapidly and in a different way from that in which he developed in the stifling atmosphere at home?

The Jews of South Carolina at the beginning of the nineteenth century present, indeed, a curious picture. The Jew is by nature essentially conservative. Left to himself he modifies his ideas and his practices very slowly. Wherever he goes he carries the traditions of his old home with him and clings to these traditions as tender memories of bygone days. He had come originally to South Carolina, a child of the old Spanish and Portuguese community in London. It must have seemed strange to him, who was accustomed to speak "with bated breath and whispered humbleness," to find a land where his brethren in faith labored under no disabilities and where they even occupied positions of the highest trust. Yet here he was, living the old life under new skies, where circumstances were so different and where his whole environment was changed. What was a natural life to him in England became an artificial life in South Carolina, and it was only a question of time when he was compelled to adapt himself to his environment or to pay the penalty which isolation invariably entails.

The personnel of the Jewish community in Charleston comes into evidence here and enables us to understand the subsequent course of events. In the early years of the nineteenth century Beth Elohim numbered among its members the most intellectual men among the Jews of America; many, too, whose fathers had lived here before them, and who by their industry and by their integrity had made the name Jew respected. The Jew was a man here. The synagogue did not, as in England, have to feel itself responsible to the political powers for the good behavior of its mem-

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bers. The position of the Jew was assured and that position had been strengthened by the conduct of the Jew himself. The régime of Bevis Marks, which had been in vogue in South Carolina for at least seventy years, was now an anomaly. The Jews of South Carolina had outgrown that régime, and when this fact once became patent there were not wanting men with courage enough to take the first great step in the direction of progress.

And now, before speaking of the reform movement of 1824, we would protest against the prevailing conception that this movement came into existence in consequence of "early tendencies towards laxness and irreligion" and "to stem the tide of already existing disloyalty and irreligion, which were enormous in volume before the reform movement took hold." We confess that we once held this view ourselves, but further investigation has convinced us that it is erroneous.

We are fortunate, indeed, in that we possess to-day a copy of the Constitution of the Congregation Beth Elohim of the year 1820.[2] This furnishes a good idea of the community religiously, as regards its internal economy, just before the time when reform was born. Read along with it the anniversary address of Isaac Harby before the Reformed Society of Israelites,[3] and the article in *The North American Review* for July, 1826 (pages 67–79), and the picture is complete.

The following extracts from the Constitution of 1820 are worthy of careful note by the student of the development of American Judaism:

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[2] This document has been reprinted in full by the author from a unique copy in the possession of J. Quintus Cohen, Esq., of New York, to whom he is under obligation for the transcript. Before reprinting, he carefully compared this transcript with the original.

[3] *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Writings of the late Isaac Harby, Esq.* (Charleston, 1829), pp. 57–87.

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"The Parnass Presidenta shall have the sole direction in the Synagogue, during divine service, and all officers under pay shall be under his control. * * * He shall be authorized to call before the Private Adjunta any person or persons, who may misbehave either in Synagogue, its enclosures during divine service, or other legal occasions of meeting, and moreover shall make it his indispensable duty to support, protect, and defend this Constitution, and call any one to account who shall violate the same."—*Rule VI.*

"And if any new and unforeseen case shall arise and come before them, for which this Constitution does not expressly provide, they shall be empowered to investigate the same, according to their best judgment and discretion, and if necessary for the good example and advantage of this Congregation, the said Private Adjunta shall place the offenders under disabilities, and inflict a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars; and all persons whatsoever coming under the penalty of the laws, shall absolutely be deprived of their honors, rights, and privileges, in and out of Synagogue, until he, she, or they comply with the fine, disabilities, or otherwise be reconciled to the Congregation."—*Rule VII.*

"No person or persons shall be sanctioned to combine for the purpose of erecting any other Synagogue or for uniting in any other unlawful Minyan, within five miles of Charleston; nor shall any person or persons, under the jurisdiction of this Congregation, be permitted, under any pretence whatever, to aid, join, or assist at any such unlawful Minyan or Combination.

"All strangers arriving here, who do not, after the lapse of time affixed by the Constitution, become members of the Congregation, shall be liable to all the penalties and restrictions that members are subject to, and shall not be admitted members, until such restrictions are removed. And if any person under the jurisdiction of this Congregation, be guilty of such an atrocious offence, as either to be concerned, aid, or assist as aforesaid, he shall on sufficient proof thereof before the Private Adjunta, forfeit all his rights and privileges in this Congregation, and be subject to a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars; and such offender or offenders, shall never be reinstated into his or their rights and privileges, and moreover be deprived the right of burial inside of the Beth Hiam, until he or they by themselves, executors, or administrators, relations, or friends, pay up and settle the fine that may be inflicted. And any person or persons placing themselves into such predicament, shall incur the penalty, inasmuch as the same, either in joy or in sorrow, shall extend to the whole family under his or their control and jurisdiction."—*Rule VIII.*

"All Israelites now in Charleston, who are not Yachidim, and such as

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may arrive hereafter, after one year's residence shall be bound to subscribe to the subscription list, and provide themselves and wives (if any) with seats as aforesaid. * * * This law embraces all persons indiscriminately above twenty-one years of age, under an obligation, as before stated, to give their support towards this Congregation."—*Rule XII.*

"No person being called to the Sephar, having Portos-Hechal, or going up there to offer, shall leave the same, without offering at least one shilling for the Parnass Presidenta, and prosperity of the Congregation, nor shall any ridiculous or unusual offering be permitted.

"Any person offending in either of these cases, shall be called before the Private Adjunta, and at their discretion fined, or dealt with according to the nature and aggravation of the offence, and shall continue under all disabilities in and out of Synagogue, until such decision is complied with."—*Rule XIII.*

"This Congregation will not encourage or interfere with making proselytes under any pretence whatever, nor shall any such be admitted under the jurisdiction of this Congregation, until he, she, or they produce legal and satisfactory credentials, from some other Congregation, where a regular Chief, or Rabbi and Hebrew Consistory is established; and, provided, he, she, or they are not people of color."—*Rule XXIII.*

"Any person or persons being married contrary to the Mosaical Law, or renouncing his or their religion, shall themselves and their issue, never be recognized members of this Congregation; and should such person or persons die, they shall not be buried within the walls of the Beth-Hiam, unless he, she, or they shall have reformed, at least one year previous to his or their death, and undergone such penance as is prescribed by the laws of our Holy religion.

"Nor shall any person, desirous of consummating a marriage with any female who has lived as a prostitute, or kept a disorderly house, be permitted such marriage under the sanction of this Congregation, but should such person or persons so marry without its jurisdiction, and after having lived some years a moral and decent life, he or they shall be entitled to the same right of becoming Yachidim as all strangers arriving in this city."—*Rule XXIV.*

"Any person or persons publicly violating the Sabbath, or other sacred days, shall be deprived of every privilege of Synagogue and the services of its officers. He or they shall also be subject to such fine and penalties as the Parnassim and Adjunta may deem fit, nor shall he or they be readmitted to the privileges aforesaid, until he or they shall have paid the fine and suffered the punishment to be inflicted under this law."—*Rule XXV.*

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This Constitution of 1820, then, reveals the Synagogue as a severely autocratic institution. It controlled its members, both within the Synagogue and without. Of this we have likewise additional documentary evidence.[4] The Con-

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[4] The author is indebted to Mr. H. Harby, Jr., of Sumter, for the following original papers relating to the case of The State *vs.* Solomon Moses—*Assault.:*

"Simon M. Hart: Was engaged as a member of the Benevolent Society in burying the dead during the last fall, when defendant came to the place & insisted upon assisting. Witness told him he should not do so unless he had permission from the Society. Deft. immediately raised his fist & struck witn. in the face. Deft. had before threatened that he wd. have revenge on him. Guilty. Fined one dollar, in consideration of the defendant having made amends by order of the Heb. Congregation." (May, 1802.)

Here is the part of the Synagogue in the transaction:

"SIR

"The following is taken from the Minute Book of the Adjunta 25 Chisvan 5562—

"RESOLVED unanimously that said Solomon Moses, for the said very unwarentable Conduct at Mr. Abm. Torres house be fined in the sum of Three pounds, and that he make such Concessions as this adjunta shall dictate on the Teba, Just before taken out the Sepher, and that he be depriv'd of all his rights and privilidges untill he fully complies with this resolve. I furnish you with the Copy of the Resolve.

"By Order of P. Pr.—

"ISAAC D'AZEVEDO, Secty.

"CHARLESTON, 2d Novr. 1801.

"Received the amount of above fine in full.

"D. CARDOZO, Gabay.

"MR. SOLOMON MOSES."

The following affidavit was exhibited at the trial:

"STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

"Personally appeared Solomon Moses who being duly Sworn made Oath and Saith that he paid the Sum of Three pound and begged Pardon in

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gregation was orthodox in its ritual and observance. Its members kept the Sabbath and the other sacred days, and attended the services regularly. The discipline of the Synagogue compelled allegiance in these respects. The Synagogue did not encourage the making of proselytes and visited with severe penalties those who might marry out of the faith. The ritual was that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. A portion of the service was conducted in mongrel Spanish, which no one understood. Even Hebrew was not sufficiently understood by the congregation generally to make the service intelligible. The service was long and unattractive, and had to be hurried if the hours of worship were not to be unduly protracted, which they often were. Decorum was bad. There was no discourse or religious instruction of any kind except on special occasions. Such was the state of affairs in the Synagogue in Charleston in 1824, when forty-seven members of Beth Elohim presented a petition to the vestry asking for a revision of the ritual. It was the first step that had been made in the direction of reform among the Jews of America. What the memorialists sought is seen from the following extracts from the petition itself:

"Your memorialists seek no other end than the future welfare and respectability of the nation. As members of the great family of Israel, they cannot consent to place before their children examples which are only calculated to darken the mind and withhold from the rising generation the more rational means of worshipping the true God.

"It is to this, therefore, your memorialists would, in the first place, invite the serious attention of your honorable body. By causing the *Hazan*, or reader, to *repeat* in English such part of the Hebrew prayers

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the Sinogogue for the offence that he was then Charged with and that he is now restored to his full right and privilege of the Hebrew Congregation as per his Letters & Receipt.

"Sworn to and Subscribed before me this 12 of May 1802

"JOHN JOHNSON J. P."

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as may be deemed necessary, it is confidently believed that the congregation generally would be more forcibly impressed with the necessity of Divine worship, and the moral obligations which they owe to themselves and their Creator; while such a course would lead to more decency and decorum during the time they are engaged in the performance of religious duties. It is not every one who has the means, and many have not the time, to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew language, and consequently to become enlightened in the principles of Judaism. What then is the course pursued in all religious societies for the purpose of disseminating the peculiar tenets of their faith among the poor and uninformed?

"The principles of their religion are expounded to them from the pulpit in language that they understand; for instance, in the Catholic, the German, and the French Protestant churches; by this means the ignorant part of mankind attend their places of worship with some profit to their morals and even improvement to their minds; they return from them with hearts turned to piety, and with feelings elevated by their sacred character. In this consists the beauty of religion—when men are invoked by its divine spirit to the practice of virtue and morality. * * *

"With regard to such parts of the service as it is desired should undergo this change, your memorialists would strenuously recommend that the most solemn portions be retained, and everything superfluous excluded; and that the principal parts, and if possible all that is read in *Hebrew*, should also be read in *English* (that being the language of the country), so as to enable every member of the congregation fully to understand each part of this service.

"In submitting this article of our memorial to the consideration of your honorable body, your memorialists are well aware of the difficulties with which they must contend, before they will be enabled to accomplish this desirable end; but while they would respectfully invite the attention of your honorable body to this part of their memorial, they desire to rest the propriety and expediency of such a measure solely upon the *reason* by which it may be maintained. * * *

"Your memorialists would next call the particular attention of your honorable body to the absolute necessity of *abridging* the service generally. They have reflected seriously upon its present length, and are confident that this is one of the principal causes why so much of it is hastily and improperly hurried over. * * *

"According to the present mode of reading the Parasa [Pentateuch] it affords to the hearer neither instruction nor entertainment, unless he be competent to read as well as *comprehend* the Hebrew language. But if, like all other ministers, our reader would make a chapter or verse

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the subject of an English discourse once a week, at the expiration of the year the people would, at all events, know something of that religion which at present they so little regard."[5]

The petition was sensible, moderate, and dignified, but the vestry laid it on the table without discussion and thus deprived the petitioners of the right of appeal, a right that was expressly provided for in the Constitution. [Rule VII.] By so doing it violated in spirit, if not in letter, that Constitution which it had sworn to defend. It is absurd to claim that the vestry believed that the proposed changes struck at the fundamental principles of Judaism. No one who reads the petition can imagine any such thing. The vestry was satisfied with things as they were and that was enough. It was the régime of Bevis Marks still. But that petition was signed by men who represented the intellect of the community and they were not willing that their proposals should be thus kept even from discussion by any such mean subterfuge.

On November 21, 1824,[6] a meeting was called and the

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[5] Harby's "Anniversary Address," in *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 61–2.

[6] The actual date of the organization of the Reformed Society of Israelites is a matter only of surmise. Goldsmith's Directory for 1831 gives the date Jan. 16, 1825; so does the Constitution of the Society. Writing to Mr. Jefferson on Jan. 14, 1826, Isaac Harby says: "Our Society commenced with about a *dozen* membezrs; it already (within a year) can enumerate about *fifty*." (*Select Writings*, p. 36.) Harby's *Discourse*, delivered Nov. 21, 1825, was delivered before the Society "*on their first Anniversary*." (*North Am. Rev.* for July, 1826, p. 67.) The title-page of the prayer-book of the Society reads: "Founded in Charleston, South Carolina, November 21, 1825." A careful search of all the files of newspapers for 1824–5 has failed to discover any reference to the Society earlier than Nov. 22, 1825—the first anniversary meeting. Inasmuch as these anniversary meetings were held on Nov. 21st of each year or thereabouts, we may take it with reasonable certainty that the preliminary organization of the Society took place in November, 1824, while permanent organization was not effected till Jan. 16, 1825.

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"Reformed Society of Israelites" organized. The Society started with about a dozen members. In two months its numbers had increased to thirty-eight, and in July, 1826, exceeded fifty. In 1826 Beth Elohim had seventy subscribing members, representing about three hundred souls; and the Society fifty members, making with their families over two hundred souls. "The Jews born in Carolina," writes Isaac Harby in 1826, "are mostly of our way of thinking on the subject of worship, and act from a tender regard for the opinions and feelings of their parents in not joining the Society."[7]

Apart from what we know of the almost patriarchal government in the family that obtained among the Jews of South Carolina in the early days, the above figures show how utterly at variance with the facts is the statement that this first reform movement was either small or insignificant —consisting of a mere handful, as one writer over-confidently puts it. Even the late Nathaniel Levin could only see in the Society a movement in which "a spirit of innovation raised its miscreant front among our people," * * * "a Society that did not increase in numbers and which, after a few years of sickly existence, became extinct."[8]

As a matter of fact, the best and most influential people in the community were in the Society and a large number of those who were not actually affiliated with it were in sympathy with its aims. No writer till now seems to have deemed it worth his while to ascertain the names of the people who constituted the Society and who directed it. Beyond the names of Isaac Harby and David N. Carvalho we do not find, in the scant literature which we possess on the subject, a single name associated with it. Thus has the history of the past come down to us. But such historical

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[7] *The North American Review*, July, 1826, p. 74.

[8] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, pp. 436 and 439.

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writing will no longer pass muster. We must be in possession of facts if we would pass judgment.

We have thus endeavored to trace, in its proper setting, the origin of the reform movement in America. It was an indigenous movement, a "spontaneous impulse towards better things," "not produced either by foreign or internal violence or solicitation," as the sympathetic reviewer of Harby's "Discourse" in *The North American Review*, above quoted, well puts it (page 67). The reviewer estimates the movement far more accurately than do subsequent writers, most of whom are imbued with orthodox bias.[9] Leeser ludicrously thinks from his commendation of the "Discourse" that he "no doubt intended by his remarks to foment yet farther the spirit of discord which had exhibited itself among the Israelites of that place" (Charleston).[10]

We now come to the Society itself and reproduce here for its historical value a published statement of its principles. It is to be found in Goldsmith's Directory for 1831, page 146. The publisher was the secretary of the Society in 1825:

"THE REFORMED SOCIETY OF ISRAELITES.

"This Society was formed with a view of making such alterations in the customs and ceremonies of the Jewish religion as would comport with the present enlightened state of the world. It adopted, in its outset, this fundamental principle, that a correct understanding of divine worship

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[9] The following observation of the reviewer is worthy of note:

"How far innovation will eventually go, when once positively begun, we are unable to conjecture. We have heard it vaguely suggested, beside other things, that the new reformers among the Jews, both in this country and in Europe, have it in contemplation to remove their Sabbath forward one day, so as to make it coincide with the day of rest of the Christian. But nothing of the kind is hinted at in the documents before us, nor does it come from any authentic source of information with which we are acquainted."—*North American Review* for July, 1826, p. 72. Certain it is, that no such move was contemplated.

[10] *The Occident*, Vol. 9, p. 211.

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is not only essential to our own happiness and a duty we owe to the Almighty Disposer of events, but is well calculated at the same time to enlarge the mind and improve the heart. In their creed, which accompanies their ritual, they subscribe to nothing of rabbinical interpretation, or rabbinical doctrines. They are their own teachers, drawing their knowledge from the Bible, and following only the laws of Moses, and those only as far as they can be adapted to the institutions of the Society in which they live and enjoy the blessings of liberty. They do nothing against the laws of Moses, but omit everything belonging to the former independent condition of their ancestors. They have simplified the worship of God and brought the great objects of public meeting—piety, morals, and sense—so as to be perfectly comprehensible to the understanding of the humblest capacity." In the appendix to their constitution, they say, they wish not to *overthrow*, but rebuild—not to *destroy*, but to *reform* and *revise* the evils of which they complain—not to *abandon* the institutions of Moses, but to *understand* and to *observe them;* in fine, they wish to worship God, not as slaves of bigotry and priestcraft, but as the enlightened descendants of that chosen race, whose blessings have been scattered throughout the land of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."

We will not go into details here about the "Creed" of the Society, or their method of worship,[11] as the prayer-book of the Society—a very remarkable volume—will be published in the near future.[12] Suffice it to say, that the revised "Creed" consisted of ten articles, which differed materially from the thirteen articles of Maimonides that were then universally accepted in orthodox communities. The service was short and simple, and the prayer-book was a compilation of the most beautiful passages in the old ritual. There were also some original prayers. Parts of the service were recited both in Hebrew and English. An English discourse

[11] These have been described, though somewhat inaccurately, in a series of articles by Dr. Mayer, in Einhorn's *Sinai* (Baltimore, 1856); in Leeser's *Occident*, Vol. 1, pp. 438–9; in *The American Hebrew*, Jan. 29, 1886; and by Dr. Philipson in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* for October, 1897. Dr. Mayer was Rabbi of Beth Elohim from 1851 to 1856.

[12] As far as can be ascertained, only two copies of this book are in existence, one of which is in the possession of the author.

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formed part of the morning service. There was instrumental music and the congregation worshipped with uncovered heads. David Nunez Carvalho was the volunteer "Reader," and the Society met in Seyle's Masonic Hall, on Meeting Street. The Society had as part of its programme the education of a youth or youths "so as to render him or them fully competent to perform divine service, not only with ability, bearing and dignity, but also according to the true spirit of Judaism, for which this institution was formed."[13] This part of the programme seems not to have been realized.

At the first anniversary meeting of the Society, held on November 21, 1825, the following officers were elected:

Aaron Phillips, president.
Michael Lazarus, vice-president.
Morris Goldsmith, secretary.
Isaac Mordecai, treasurer.
Abraham Moïse, orator.

Corresponding Committee — Isaac Harby, Abraham Moïse, Isaac N. Cardozo, D. N. Carvalho, and E. P. Cohen.[14]

In 1826 the Society issued an appeal for subscriptions "for erecting in the city of Charleston a new place of worship in honor of Almighty God." The following is the circular:

"Nearly two years have now elapsed since a large and respectable meeting of Israelites was held in this city, for the purpose of endeavoring to effect some changes, and eradicating many acknowledged errors in the mode of worship at present observed in the Synagogue. For the attainment of these objects a Society was soon after organized called '*The Reformed Society of Israelites*,' which has since been incorporated by the Legislature. The ends proposed to be attained were chiefly these:

"*First*. To introduce such a change in the mode of worship, that a

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[13] *The North American Review*, July, 1826, p. 71.

[14] See *The Charleston Mercury*, Nov. 22, 1825. See also *The Southern Patriot* of the same date.

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considerable portion of the prayers be said in the English language, so that by being *understood*, they would be attended with that religious instruction in our particular faith, essential to the rising generation, and so generally neglected; and which, by promoting pious and elevated feelings, would also render the service solemn, impressive and dignified—such as should belong to all our addresses to the Divine power.

"*Secondly.* To discontinue the observance of such ceremonies as partake strongly of bigotry; as owe their origin only to *Rabbinical* Institutions; as are not embraced in the *moral* laws of Moses; and in many instances are contrary to their spirit, to their beauty and sublimity and to that elevated piety and virtue which so highly distinguish them.

"*Thirdly.* To abolish the use of such portions of the Hebrew prayers as are superfluous and consist of mere *repetitions*, and to select such of them as are sufficient and appropriate to the occasion.

"*Fourthly.* To follow the portions of the *Pentateuch* which are to be said in the original Hebrew, with an English Discourse, in which the principles of the Jewish faith, and the force and beauty of the moral law, may be expounded to the rising generation, so that they, *and all others* may know how to cherish and venerate those sublime truths which emanated from the Almighty Father, and which are acknowledged as the first, and most hallowed principles of all religion.

"Such were, with a few other minor alterations, the principal objects that led to the institution of 'The Reformed Society of Israelites' in the city of Charleston. This explanation we deem due to those whose assistance may be extended towards erecting this new Temple to the Service of the Almighty. It is an appeal to all who are influenced by tolerant and unprejudiced feelings, and who can properly appreciate the conduct of those who are actuated in their wish for the above changes, by a desire to disencumber their religion of what disfigures instead of ornamenting it, and by the religious instruction which distinguishes the present age. It appeals to no sectarian spirit, as it directs itself solely to the bosoms of those that respond to the pure and uncontaminated feelings of an enlightened piety. Exclusive principles belong, more or less, to all sects, but the virtue of Benevolence may belong to *all* of every sect. Impressed with these sentiments, we therefore make our application general, and to such as are influenced by the spirit of true Religion, and by a manly and discriminating feeling of what is really good and ennobling in human charity.

"Donations will be thankfully received, and all communications noticed by either of the subscribers.

"Aaron Phillips, President; Michael Lazarus, Vice-President; Isaac

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Mordecai, Treasurer; D. N. Carvalho, Isaac N. Cardozo, E. P. Cohen, Abraham Moïse and Isaac Harby—Committee.[15]

"CHARLESTON, Sept. 1, 1826."

The files of the Charleston newspapers from 1825 to 1832 furnish the lists of officers of the Society year by year.[16] They were as follows:

Presidents: Aaron Phillips (1825), Isaac Harby (1827), Abraham Moïse (1828–1832).

Vice-Presidents: Michael Lazarus (1825), Abraham Moïse (1827), Isaac N. Cardozo (1828–1832).

Secretaries: Morris Goldsmith (1825), Henry M. Hyams (1827), Philip Phillips (1828), Thomas W. Mordecai (1829–1832).

Treasurers: Isaac Mordecai (1825–1827), Joseph Phillips (1828), Thomas W. Mordecai (1829–32).

Orators: Abraham Moïse (1825), D. N. Carvalho (1827).

Most of these officers served likewise on the Corresponding Committee, as did also E. P. Cohen (1825), Philip Benjamin (1827), Colonel Myer Jacobs (1829), David C. Levy (1832), and Isaac C. Moses (1832). The meetings were held on November 21 of each year, and the last meeting on record at which officers were elected was that of November 21, 1832. On May 2, 1833, a special meeting was held for the purpose, apparently, of winding up the affairs of the Society. Witness the following:

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[15] This circular was printed in *The Mercury* every day, from Sept. 2, 1826, till the end of the year. It is worthy of note that in the paper of Oct. 26th, and all subsequent issues the names of Aaron Phillips and E. P. Cohen are omitted. Suggested reasons for the change would be mere guesses.

[16] See *The Courier*, Nov. 22, 1825, Nov. 22, 1827, Nov. 26, 1828, Nov. 23, 1829, Nov. 24, 1830, Nov. 23, 1831, Nov. 23, 1832. The file July–Dec., 1826, is missing both in the Charleston Library and in the library of the Chamber of Commerce. The numbers of *The Mercury* and *The Southern Patriot* are likewise missing.

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"The following circular was addressed through the P. O., to the many citizens who subscribed about 5 years ago, to raise a fund for building a second synagogue in this city. It is a document which speaks for itself. There is a moral beauty in the act, which makes it a subject for grateful contemplation. How rare, very rare are such instances!

"'CHARLESTON, 7th. May, 1833.

"'SIR—

"'*The Reformed Society of Israelites* at a meeting held on the 2nd. inst. having abandoned their intention of building a new Synagogue in the city of Charleston, *Resolved unanimously*, "that such sums of money as were subscribed by their fellow-citizens for that purpose, be forthwith returned, with the interest which has accrued thereon." Your name appearing on the lists appended to the sum of five dollars, we herewith inclose the same with interest, and the thanks of the Society for the liberal feeling which prompted the donation.

"'Your obedient servants,

"'ABRAHAM MOISE
"'I. N. CARDOZO
"'ISAAC MORDECAI } *Committee.*
"'MICHAEL LAZARUS
"'THOMAS W. MORDECAI

"'Donation	$5.00
Interest	1.68
	6.68

"'Sept. 6, 1833.'"[11]

Thus ended the first great struggle for reform among the Jews of America. There were several causes that contributed to the dissolution of the Society. There was, of course, opposition from without, but this had little or nothing to do with it. There was the pressure from those connected with the members by family ties. The removal from the city of Isaac Harby in 1828 must have been severely felt, and several others likewise left Charleston at that time. The lack of theological equipment of its leaders had

[11] *The Courier*, Sept. 11, 1833.

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nothing to do with it. The Society sought edification in its worship, and among its members were several distinguished orators, who were fully equal to the demands of their day. The main reason was the fact that the movement was ahead of its time, and the masses were afraid to risk the experiment. That the movement lasted as long as it did—at least eight years—shows what a firm hold it had taken upon the people. Success is a relative term after all. Let the critic who would judge it fairly compare it, *e.g.*, with two small movements on similar lines that have taken place in London within the last few years,—we refer to the Hampstead Sabbath afternoon services and the present Religious Union services,—movements by no means as revolutionary as the one in Charleston in 1824, and he will come to a far truer estimate of the first Reformed Society of Israelites. The Society failed, but its very failure was success, for it had sowed the seeds of progress, which germinated very soon thereafter, this time successfully.

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CHAPTER X—1824–1860

WE have thus far traced the rise and development of the Jews of South Carolina to the zenith of their history. During the present period the Jewish community continued to increase by steady immigration. Charleston was a very important business centre in those days, much more so than it is to-day, and its commercial opportunities attracted settlers from everywhere. As before, Jews were to be found in every sphere of commercial and political life, and in public life generally they attained great prominence. Several members of the Charleston community won national recognition. As a whole, it was a magnificent community, noted for its culture as well as for its commercial integrity. The Jewish community, however, was growing too rapidly for the city, and many of its prominent members left for other places during this period. New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Mobile, San Francisco, Augusta, Wilmington, and Savannah received additions to their Jewish population from Charleston—indeed, there were few of the older Jewish communities of this country that had not Charleston Jews among their founders. The Jews of Charleston were scattering through the State, too, and significant settlements of Jews were to be found in Sumter, Columbia, Camden, Georgetown, Marion, Beaufort, and Cheraw.

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Following the plan adopted in a former chapter, we will give here a directory of the Jews of Charleston from 1824 to 1860, which, while far from complete, includes the leading Jews of the period. The Jews of the rest of the State will be noted elsewhere:

DIRECTORY—1824–1860.

Aarons, Moses.
Abrahams, A. H.
" , Alexander.
" , E.
" , Elias.
" , Moses.
" , T. H.
Alexander, Aaron.
" , Abm.
Ancker, G. V.
Ashim, L. N.
" , Simon.
Audler, I.
Barnet, Woolf.
Barrett, Isaac.
" , Jacob,
" , S. I.
Baruc, B. S.
Baum, Elkin.
" , Heman.
Belitzer, Isaac.
" , T.
Benjamin, David.
" , S. A.
Bensadon, J., Dr.
" , Judah.
Bentschner, Isaac.
" , I. W.
" , Jacob.
Bergen, Morris.
Berlin, Ralph.
Bernard, Levy.
Bernstine, Nathan.
Blank, Josiah.
Breslau, M.
Canter, Emanuel.
Cardozo, D. N.
" , I. N.
" , J. N.
Carvalho, D. N.
" , E. N.
" , S. N.
Cohen, A. N.
" , Asher D.
" , Aug. E.
" , C. H.
" , David D.
" , David L.
" , E.
" , E. H.
" , Esdaile P.
" , G.
" , H., Rev.
" , H. C.
" , Hyam.
" , Hy. S.
" , I. S.
" , Jacob.
" , " , Jr.
" , J. Barrett.
" , Jacob H.
" , John J.
" , J. S.
" , Joseph.
" , L. L., Dr.
" , Leopold.

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Cohen, Lewis.
" , Marx E.
" , McDuff.
" , Melvin M.
" , Mordecai.
" , Myer M.
" , N. A.
" , Philip.
" , P. M., Dr.
" , P. S.
" , Samuel.
" , Sol., Jr.
" , Sol. I.
Cohn, L.
Davega, C., Dr.
" , Isaac.
David, R. L.
Davis, D.
" , Henry.
" , Isaac B.
" , Joseph.
" , Moses.
Dehaan, L. S.
" , Samuel.
De La Motta, J., Dr.
" , J.
De Lange, J. L.
" , S. J.
De Leon, H. H.
" , M. H.
Delong, Leo.
Droutman, T.
Dublin, Henry.
Eckman, J., Rev.
Elias, Levy.
Emanuel, Joel.
" , Nathan.
Engelberg, M.
Esdra, Eugene.
" , J. E.
Fabian, H.
Falk, Abraham.
" , George.
" , Isaac L.
" , Zachariah.
Frank, Joseph.
Frankford, S.
Friedlander, M.
Furst, Dl.
Furth, Joseph.
Garretson, I.
Goldsmidt, Jonas.
Goldsmith, A. A.
" , Henry.
" , I. H.
" , Morris.
" , Moses.
Goldstein, A.
" , I.
" , J.
Harby, Abm.
" , H. J.
" , Isaac.
" , Sol. H.
Harris, A., Rev.
" , A. J., Sr.
" , A. J., Jr.
" , George.
" , Isaac.
" , N.
" , Z.
Hart, Daniel.
" , Hyam N.
" , J. J.
" , Levi.
" , Naphtali.
" , Nathan.
" , Philip.
" , S., Sr.
" , S. N., Sr.
" , S. N., Jr.
Hendricks, J.

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Henry, Barnard.
" , P. J.
Hertz, H. M.
" , I. E.
" , Jacob.
" , L.
" , Thad. E.
Heydenfeldt, S.
Hirsch, I. W.
" , J. M.
Hoffman, G.
Hyams, Hamilton.
" , Henry M.
" , Isaac.
" , Mordecai.
" , Moses D.
" , M. K.
" , Pinckney.
" , Sol.
Hyneman, L.
Isaacs, Alexander.
" , S. F.
Isenburg, B.
" , J.
Israel, M.
" , N. H.
Jacobi, M.
" , W. J.
Jacobs, C.
" , D.
" , F. C.
" , H. R.
" , H. S., Rev.
" , J. S.
" , Moses.
" , Myer.
" , P. S.
" , Sol., Rev.
Joseph, E. C.
" , J.
" , J. J.
Joseph, L. H.
Koopman, M.
Labatt, Isaac C.
Lange, John H.
Lazarus, B. D.
" , G.
" , J. E. P.
" , Joshua.
" , Marks.
" , Michael.
Levin, L. J.
" , Lewis C.
" , Moritz.
" , Nathaniel.
Levy, A.
" , Barnet.
" , C. F.
" , Clarence.
" , Cossman.
" , D. C.
" , D. J.
" , Elias.
" , Eml.
" , Ezra L.
" , G. J.
" , Isaac.
" , J. C.
" , L. C.
" , L. L.
" , Lyon.
" , Marks.
" , Moses A.
" , " C.
" , " E.
" , Orlando.
" , Reuben.
Lewith, R. J.
Lichtenstein, L.
Lipman, A.
" , Raphael.
Livingston, J.

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Loovis, M.
Lopez, Aaron.
" , David.
" , John.
" , Moses.
Loryea, A.
" , E.
" , Isaac.
Lyon, L. S. D.
" , Philip.
Lyons, Ellis, Rev.
" , George.
Mairs, Levy.
" , Simon.
Marks, J. M.
" , M.
Massias, Maj. A. A.
Mayer, I.
" , M., Rev.
Meyer, E. J.
" , Morris.
Meyers, Eleazer.
Moïse, Aaron.
" , Abraham.
" , Ab., Jr.
" , B. F.
" , C. H.
" , C. T.
" , Columbus.
" , E. W.
" , Franklin.
" , Howard S.
" , Isaac.
" , Jacob.
" , T. J.
" , T. S.
" , Philip A.
" , Warren.
Mordecai, Ben.
" , I. D.
" , J.
Mordecai, J. R.
" , M. C.
" , T. W.
Moses, A. J.
" , C. B.
" , D. L.
" , E. L.
" , E. J.
" , Isaiah.
" , Jacob.
" , J. L.
" , Joseph.
" , Levy.
" , L. J.
" , Myer.
" , M. J.
" , M. S.
" , Perry.
" , Raphael J.
" , Reuben.
" , Samuel.
" , Simon.
" , Solomon.
Moss, Joseph.
Myers, Eleazer.
" , L. J.
" , Philip.
" , Samuel.
" , Sol.
Nathan, Hyman.
" , L.
" , M. H.
" , Sol.
Nathans, Henry.
" , J. N.
" , Levy.
" , Meyer.
" , Nathan.
Nauman, Wm.
Oppenheim, Henry.
" , H. W.

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Oppenheim, J. H.
" , S. H.
Ottolengui, A.
" , Dan.
" , I.
" , J.
Pecare, J.
" , M.
" , S.
Peixotto, J. C.
Phillips, Aaron.
" , B.
" , N., Jr.
" , Philip.
Pinkussohn, P.
Poznanski, G., Rev.
" , Gershon.
" , Hyam.
Prince, George.
Riesenberg, M.
Rodriguez, B. A., Dr.
" , Moses.
Roos, David.
Rosenfeld, J., Rev.
Rothschild, M.
Sampson, A. J.
" , E.
" , Jos.
" , J. H.
" , Sam., Sr.
" , " , Jr.
" , Thomas.
Samuel, Moses.
Sarzedas, D.
Schur, B.
" , D.
" , I.
Schwabe, L. B.
Schwerin, J.
Seckendorf, Isaac.
Segar, Isaac.
Seixas, D. C.
" , J. M.
Silverston, M.
Simmonds, M. B.
Simons, Jacob.
" , Mordecai.
Simpson, A.
" , M. M.
Solomon, Ab.
" , A. L.
" , Augustus.
" , Henry.
" , M.
" , Phineas.
" , R.
" , Solomon.
Solomons, D.
" , E.
" , J. R., Dr.
" , Lizer.
" , L. J.
" , Mordecai.
" , S. S.
Sommers, E.
Suares, A.
" , B.
" , Ben. C.
" , Jacob.
" , J. E.
Tobias, A.
" , Henry.
" , I.
" , J. L.
" , T. J.
Triest, J.
" , M.
" , S.
Uhlman, J. H.
Valentine, I. D.
" , J.
" , S.

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Walters, J.
Wesel, D. V.
Wetherhorn, M.
Wineberg, M.
Wineman, P.
Winestock, M.
Woolf, H. L. P.
" , Isaac.
" , Ralph.
Zachariah, J.

Of this large community, as before, most of its members engaged in commercial pursuits, some attaining great wealth. The limits of this volume will only allow the briefest mention of the many men who achieved ordinary prominence. Four names, however, stand out in special relief: Isaac Harby, Jacob N. Cardozo, Jacob De La Motta, and Penina Moïse. To these we shall now refer at length.

Isaac Harby was the eldest son of Solomon Harby, whose father came originally from Barbary, where he occupied the post of Lapidary to the Emperor of Morocco. Falling into disfavor, he fled to England, where he married an Italian lady. His son, Solomon Harby, left England for Jamaica before he was twenty-one years of age, and afterwards settled in Charleston, where Isaac Harby was born on November 9, 1788. He was educated at the academy of the famous Dr. Best, and early manifested signs of capacity as a teacher. Quite early in life, we are told, he became an assistant teacher in Charleston College and published short articles in the local newspapers.[1] In 1805, assisted by his friend, Langdon Cheves, he began the study of law, which, however, he soon abandoned. The death of his father leaving him the sole support of a large family, he opened a school at Edisto Island in 1808. This proving a success, he ventured the following year to remove to Charleston, where his academy became known as one of the best teaching institutions in the city. The following is the announcement he made to the Charleston public in 1809:[2]

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[1] Moïse: Memoir prefacing Harby's *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 7.
[2] *The Courier*, Jan. 1, 1810.

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"ISAAC HARBY

The subscriber has opened an Academy in BEDON ALLEY No. ——, where will be taught the usual branches of an English Education, viz. *Elocution, Arithmetick, Penmanship, Grammar, Geography*—also *the Latin & Greek Classicks, Composition, & the first Books of Euclid's Elements.*

"He pledges himself, not only to pay every attention to the routine of his Pupils' improvement, but also to instruct them in the principles of virtue & patriotism. To instil into their minds honour & morality; & so far to effect the wish of the noble Spartan, as to teach Boys those things *when they are young*, which will prove most useful to them, *when they become men.*

"ISAAC HARBY.

"December 19."

Many amusing stories are related of him as a teacher. It is said that "while a schoolmaster, he would join in the sports of the boys during the hours of recess, but woe to the urchins with whom he played who were not perfect in their recitations. He generally thrashed them soundly, though he might engage in the ball play with them the very next hour."[3] His Academy continued to exist for some years, when he retired from teaching and took up newspaper work. He returned to teaching, however, in 1822. In 1825 he was elected one of the teachers of the Free Schools,[4] but resigned his position prior to his removal to New York in 1828.[5]

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were many distinguished local littérateurs in Charleston: Crafts, Percival, Gilman, Ed. Jones, the elder Timrod, White, Holland, James, and Simmons—to mention only the best known. It was a period of great literary activity. Among the most distinguished of this coterie of writers was Isaac Harby.

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[3] *The XIX Century* (Charleston, S. C., 1869), Vol. 1, p. 280.

[4] *The Courier*, Feb. 15, 1825.

[5] Ibid., May 27, 1828.

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His first work as an editor was done while he conducted *The Quiver*, a literary weekly that was short-lived. Becoming interested in politics, associated with a friend, he purchased *The Investigator* in 1814, which forthwith became the eloquent champion of the Republican cause. It was a bold venture to change the character of an established paper. He even changed its name to *The Southern Patriot and Commercial Advertiser*,[6] and diversifying its columns with his own writings, he made a success of his venture. In his paper he supported the administration of Mr. Madison with much ability. He retired from *The Patriot* on October 6, 1822, and shortly afterwards associated himself with John Geddes, Jr., who had become the proprietor and editor of *The City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*. Harby was Geddes's assistant.[7] He retired from *The City Gazette* in 1823, and at the end of the year issued a prospectus of an afternoon paper—*The Examiner*—which was designed to support Mr. Calhoun, in the first instance, for the Presidency; failing in this, his second choice was Andrew Jackson. This paper never materialized. He was also an occasional contributor to *The Charleston Mercury*.

Isaac Harby was best known as an essayist. His essays were distinguished for their choice diction and good taste. Among these essays are the following: "Essay on Criticism," "The Quarterly Review and Melmoth," "Le Sage and De Solis," " The Field of Waterloo—a Poem by Sir Walter Scott," " Byron's Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte," "Letters on the Presidency."[8] His dramatic criticisms, too, were much admired and brought him into note on both sides of the Atlantic.

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[6] King: *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C.*, p. 74.

[7] Ibid., p. 62.

[8] These essays, together with numerous theatrical criticisms selected from his newspaper writings and his play, *Alberti*, are included in the memorial volume, *Miscellaneous Writings*.

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Harby was not only a dramatic critic, but a successful dramatist. Charleston at that time enjoyed the reputation of being one of the first cities in America to encourage the transportation of the drama from Europe and to foster its growth. Several of his dramas were played with comparative success on the Charleston boards. His earliest effort, written in 1805, when he was just seventeen years old, was *Alexander Severus*, a tragedy in five acts. This was followed in 1807 by *The Gordian Knot, or Causes and Effects*, and was not a great success. In his preface the author gives a most amusing description of the difficulties he had to surmount before he saw his play performed.[9]

His next attempt was not made till 1819, when he published his *Alberti*, a play in five acts, the original object of which was the vindication of the character and conduct of Lorenzo De Medici from the calumnies of Alfieri in his tragedy called *The Conspiracy of the Pazzi*. President Monroe, who was then on a tour through the States, was present at the second representation of the play—a benefit performance for the author. This was a great success. Though Harby's dramatic work lacks originality, it will bear comparison with the best productions of his day.

Not as a littérateur and publicist alone, however, will the name of Isaac Harby be handed down to posterity. He will be chiefly remembered as one of the founders of the Reformed Society of Israelites, whose soul he was till a few months before his death. Though he was only a dilletante in the history and literature of Judaism, yet was every fibre of his being attuned to the spirit of the faith of his fathers. He had the gift to advocate his people's cause before the world, and nobly did he use it. In October, 1813, he delivered a discourse before the Hebrew Orphan Society, of which he was a member and whose chil-

[9] Preface to *The Gordian Knot*, pp. 6–9.

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dren he had at one time taught. At this gathering was present a large assembly of citizens, including most of the first literary characters of whom Charleston could then boast. His address made the profoundest impression upon his auditors.[10] His *Anniversary Address*, delivered before the Reformed Society of Israelites on November 21, 1825, is to-day the best known of his literary remains. This address was everywhere well received, and among letters of commendation that reached the author were two from Thomas Jefferson and Edward Livingston.[11]

In June, 1828, he determined to leave Charleston for New York, where he hoped to find a wider field for his literary activity. Nor was he disappointed. He established a school and readily found an outlet for the products of his pen. He contributed to *The Evening Post* and other papers, principally dramatic criticisms. But the bright prospect that had opened before him was soon to be darkened. The death of his wife, who was Miss Rachel Mordecai, of Savannah, had been a sad blow to him. His health, impaired from excessive work and perhaps from real privation, soon broke down. He died on December 14, 1828, having just completed his fortieth year—barely six months after he had left his native city.[12]

Jacob N. Cardozo was born in Savannah on June 17, 1786. His family removed to Charleston before he had passed his eighth year. He received a plain English education, and from his twelfth year was employed in mechanical and mer-

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[10] See Memoir in *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 26–8. Mr. Moïse gives the date of this discourse as Oct., 1817. It should be 1813. (See *The Courier*, Oct. 22, 1813.)

[11] Ibid., pp. 34–6.

[12] There is a fine obituary notice of him in *The City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 27, 1828, copied from *The Southern Patriot*. In *The Mercury*, Dec. 25, 1828, Penina Moïse contributes a poem "On the Death of Isaac Harby, Esq."

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cantile pursuits. Possessing a well-disciplined and practical mind, while still a young man he forged his way to the front among the leading writers of his day. In 1816 he assumed the editorship of *The Southern Patriot*, of which he became the sole proprietor in 1823. He had long studied the principles of trade, commerce, and finance, and his purpose from the first was to render his journal the organ of Free Trade doctrines. Having a constant view to those commercial questions in which the interests of the Southern States were involved, the commercial relations of the United States with the British West India Islands, in their restricted condition, engaged a large share of his attention. The removal of these restrictions was an object of constant solicitude with Monroe's Administration. To force a relaxation by the British Government, Congress in 1818 and 1820 adopted counteracting regulations. These, whatever their effect on the British, were found to be oppressive on Southern commerce. In 1822 various seaport towns of the South, such as Norfolk and Baltimore, petitioned Congress for their removal. The city of Charleston was so far inclined to second the movement that a large public meeting was held and a memorial was drafted for its adoption. Cardozo regarded the case as an exceptional one, and opposed the Memorial. He argued against unlimited intercourse when reciprocity was denied, and at an adjourned meeting of the citizens the Memorial was rejected, leaving the whole matter, as before, in the hands of Congress and the Executive. The result which was arrived at in the countervailing resolutions of Congress was soon seen in the partial removal of the British restrictions. When this was done President Monroe opened the ports of the United States to the vessels of the British West Indies.

The tariff of 1824 met with but little opposition from the South. The agitation for an increase of protection in 1827 was followed by the Act of 1828. Cardozo brought the

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subject before the Charleston Chamber of Commerce and was one of a committee to draft a Memorial to Congress, which was unanimously adopted by the citizens of Charleston in a public meeting. The arguments on the subject, new though they were, rapidly made their way into the public mind and constituted the chief political capital of the press and party. The agitation ripened into Nullification, the controversies upon which began in 1828. Cardozo continued his opposition to the protective tariff, still maintained his Free Trade argument, but declined to adopt the extreme practical results to which Nullification was expected to lead. The advocates of Nullification succeeded in South Carolina, but Cardozo forfeited none of the public esteem in consequence of his course. He continued to conduct *The Southern Patriot*, still keeping it the exponent of the commercial principles of which he had so long been the advocate, until 1845, when he sold the paper. In the same year he established *The Evening News*, with which he was associated during its existence as commercial editor.

As a journalist, Cardozo was a recognized authority on banking, commercial statistics, and political economy. His writings on these subjects were characterized by the greatest ability. He exhibited a fine taste, too, in criticism, and his editorial papers on the drama and other departments of the fine arts gained him repute far outside of his immediate neighborhood. He was a most prolific writer. He contributed many able articles on his favorite themes to *The Southern Quarterly Review* and other periodicals, and in 1826 published his *Notes on Political Economy*, which attracted much attention.[13]

During the war he filled editorial positions in Mobile, Atlanta, and Charleston, and after the war was a contribu-

[13] This work is noticed by Adams: *Life and Writings of Jared Sparks*, Vol. 1, p. 271.

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tor to the Savannah *Morning News*, for which he continued to write until a year before his death, when failing eyesight compelled him to abandon his pen. In 1866 he published his *Reminiscences of Charleston*, and in 1870 was the successful competitor for the prize essay of the Charleston Board of Trade, receiving the commendation of that body at its anniversary meeting on April 6, 1870—a remarkable record, indeed, for a man eighty-four years of age. After an absence of eleven years he returned to Charleston, nearly blind. He remained here but a little while. In April, 1873, he returned to Savannah, and died in that city on August 30th of that year. At the time of his death he was the oldest editor in the South. It is worthy of note that the "Cotton Statements" which now form an important feature in all commercial papers were first introduced by him between 1845 and 1862.[14]

Jacob De La Motta was born in Savannah on February 24, 1789, but during the greater part of his life was a resident of Charleston. He graduated as a physician in Philadelphia, and after graduation was elected a junior member of the Philadelphia Medical Society.[15] He began the practice of medicine in Charleston, starting as an attending physician at the Charleston Dispensary.[16] He served as a surgeon in the regular army in the War of 1812 and after the

[14] For a highly appreciative editorial notice see *The News and Courier*, Sept. 2, 1873. See also an article reproduced on p. 1 of this issue from the Savannah *Morning News*. This article has been generously utilized by the author in the preparation of this sketch. See also *The News and Courier*, Sept. 3, 1873, for some interesting reminiscences by King, and that author's *Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C.*, p. 80. Appleton's *Encyclopædia of American Biography* confuses Isaac N. Cardozo with Jacob N. Cardozo. The former did not die, as stated in this work, on Aug. 26, 1850, but on Aug. 18, 1855. (See the author's *The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S. C.*, p. 12.)

[15] *The Courier*, March 16, 1810.

[16] Ibid., August 9, 1810.

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war returned to Charleston. In 1824 he was elected secretary of the Medical Society, a position that he occupied for many years. Though a resident of Charleston, he took a deep interest in the religious affairs of his native city and was one of the leading spirits in the reorganization of the small Congregation of the Jews of Savannah, in the erection of whose Synagogue he took a prominent part. For several years he officiated there as Minister, acting later in a similar capacity in Charleston. He took an active interest in politics, too, and was chosen to read the Declaration of Independence at the anniversary celebration in 1830.[17] In 1832 he was chairman of a meeting of the Union and States' Rights Party.[18] On the occasion of the Whig dinner in 1840 he sang a song composed by himself.[19] He was a member of the Clay Club in 1843.[20]

In 1831 he was elected a Commissioner of the Poorhouse.[21] From 1832 to 1840 he was secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society, before which distinguished body he made several addresses. In 1836 he was elected a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Medicine at Paris.[22] He was a frequent contributor to *The Courier*,[23] in which paper several of his lectures on scientific subjects were printed. Among these were the following: "On the Natural History and Product of the Silk Worm"[24] and "On the Philosophy of Botany."[25] He was an occasional contributor, too, to *The Occident*. He was Assistant Commissioner of Health in 1837.[26] He was at one time President of the Congregation Beth Elohim, and after the division of that Congregation through the introduction of

[17] *The Courier*, July 7, 1830.
[18] Ibid., June 26, 1832.
[19] Ibid., Dec. 9, 1840.
[20] Ibid., Dec. 12, 1843.
[21] Ibid., April 20, 1831.
[22] Ibid., May 30, 1836.
[23] See, *e.g.*, ibid., Sept. 6, 1834, Sept. 17 and Nov. 19.
[24] Ibid., July 16, 1836.
[25] Ibid., Sept. 15, 1837.
[26] Ibid., May 20, 1840.

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the organ he was President of the seceders for two years. He was the author of two pamphlets: *An Oration, on the Causes of the Mortality Among Strangers, During the Late Summer and Fall* (1820), also of a *Discourse*—delivered at the consecration of the Synagogue at Savannah (1820).[27]

Penina Moïse was born in Charleston on April 23, 1797. Her father, Abraham Moïse, was an Alsatian Jew who had settled in St. Domingo and who fled with his family to Charleston during the negro insurrection of 1791. She had barely passed her twelfth year when her father died and she was compelled to leave school and to take her part in supporting the large and almost helpless family he left behind. Being studiously inclined, she devoted every spare moment to reading and soon possessed a well-developed mind. She manifested literary tendencies at an early age, but it was not till 1830 that her poems were printed in number. From that time on, however, she wrote incessantly, mainly poetry, though numerous examples of her prose are preserved in the files of *The Charleston Courier*.[28] Her pen was remarkably prolific, and while much of her writing does not rise above the level of the average feminine verse, she certainly must have possessed an extraordinary gift to be able week after week—frequently as often as three times a week—to contribute long poems on almost every conceivable subject to the columns of a single paper. Several of her best poems were devoted to topics relating to the emancipation of her

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[27] For an obituary notice see *The Occident*, Vol. 3, pp. 59–60. Dr. De La Motta's *Discourse*, two copies of which are preserved in the Leeser Library in Philadelphia, is often referred to by writers who have manifestly not seen it. The author expects some day to reprint this pamphlet together with other documents relating to the early history of the Jews in America.

[28] The author has collected references to several hundred of her poems, stories, and essays, a selection from which he hopes some day to preserve in permanent form.

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people: "The Rejection of the Jew Bill in the House of Lords" (1833), "The Jews of Damascus" (1840), "To Sir Moses Montefiore." In 1833 she published a small volume of poems, which she called *Fancy's Sketch Book*, and also contributed to *The Charleston Book* in 1845. Her best known work, however, and which will keep her name alive, is the volume of hymns which she wrote for the use of the Congregation Beth Elohim, of which she was a member. This volume went through four editions. Her hymns have been incorporated in many collections, as a rule without acknowledgment. Charlotte Adams characterizes these hymns well when she says of them: "They are beautiful and stately songs, reminding one in their rhythmic march of the religious verses that Cowper, Pope, Addison, and other eighteenth-century poets bequeathed to the world."

Penina Moïse was not merely a gifted writer, but also a splendid type of exalted womanhood. Her devotion to her mother, who had become paralyzed, and to her brother Isaac,[29] who was likewise an invalid, is to this day spoken of by those who knew her. For many years she was superintendent of the Sunday-school, succeeding its founder, Miss Sally Lopez.[30] She wrote hymns and exercises for the younger pupils, and recitations and poems for the older ones.

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[29] The smart sayings and brilliant humor of Isaac Moïse are among the cherished traditions of the Jews of South Carolina.

[30] This school was established by Miss Sally Lopez in 1838. There was then only one other Sabbath-school in America—that of Rebecca Gratz in Philadelphia. There were no text-books for Jewish children in those days. Rebecca Gratz used to write out the lessons in a copy-book, which was forwarded to Charleston every week. Several copies of these lessons were made by Miss Sally and distributed to the teachers. Thus was the teaching done! (See Elzas in *The American Israelite* for Jan., 1902. See also article by Julia Richman in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* for July, 1900.)

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Shortly before the war her sight began to fail and she soon became totally blind. With her sister, Rachel, then a widow, she opened a school after the war, she giving oral instruction to the pupils. She still continued to write, however, her niece acting as her amanuensis. In 1872 her sister died. This was a sad blow to her. In one of her hymns [81] she gives exquisite expression to her sorrow and faith. She continued to live with her niece, Miss Jacqueline Levy, who kept up the school till her death, which occurred on September 13, 1880. Almost to the last she wrote her verses—now chiefly to her friends, whose attentions were unceasing. A great sufferer herself, she had learnt in suffering what she taught in song, and when she died the grief of her friends was unbounded.

The following paragraph, taken from a sympathetic tribute by Charlotte Adams in *The Critic*, gives an admirable picture of her personality:

"There died in Charleston in 1880, at the age of eighty-three, a Jewish poetess, whose life most admirably illustrates the literary idea of the old South, in the person of intellectual, talented, and, alas, sadly limited womanhood. This was Penina Moïse, who for many years was the literary pivot of Hebrew Charleston, and whose influence extended far beyond the circle of her co-religionists. Blind, poor, getting her living in her old age by keeping a little school, she yet created a literary salon, to which the best minds of Charleston flocked. Her Friday afternoons were a centre of intellectual intercourse. To the romantic imagination of the young girls whom she taught, sitting in her large rocking-chair, in her plain calico gown, with her sightless eyes looking out from under the black coif which completely hid her hair, she presented herself as an incarnation of intellectual and social splendor—a queen of literary society. Madame de Staël squabbling with Napoleon Buonaparte, Madame Récamier reclining in limp garments on her tub-like couch with Chateaubriand reading his manuscripts to her, Madame du Deffand exchanging epigrams with Horace Walpole—these were but the prototypes of Penina. Miss Moïse was connected, by blood and marriage, with the best Hebrew families of

[81] No. 78.

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Charleston, and many of her scholars were of her own kindred. Her methods of instruction were of the Magnall's Questions order, and might have befitted the reign of George IV. She delighted in composing alphabets for literary novices, geographical rhymes, and historical conundrums. Her pupils read aloud to her, and by her system of education girls of twelve were made familiar with George Eliot, Charlotte Brontë, Walter Scott, and other English classics. Numerous volumes of French female memoirs were perused by Miss Moïse's scholars, for 'Penina,' as her pupils fondly called her, although born at Charleston, was the child of San Domingo French parents, who had found a refuge in South Carolina when the Revolution of 1791 drove them from the West Indies and stripped them of their wealth. Miss Moïse had all the gayety, the contentment, and the joyous philosophy of the French temperament. Twenty-five years of blindness did not diminish her fondness for life's pleasures. She lived in books, and especially in the lives of noted French women found the enjoyment of the keenest sympathy. The melodious Hebrew name borne by this remarkable woman seemed to define her position in the Jewish colony at Charleston, which was very largely of San Domingo origin. Was not the 'Peninah' of Scripture the sister of the pious Hannah and the aunt of the prophet Samuel? And was it not fit that her namesake should be regarded as a 'Mother in Israel'? Living her chastened life apart from the gay world, in a rarefied, impersonal atmosphere, Penina was, in the finest sense, the mother of her people. To her the girl babies were brought before their names were called aloud in the Synagogue. Secrets of betrothal, marriage, business, and illness were confided to her tender care, and her advice was asked upon all important occasions."[22]

Besides the distinguished names we have discussed at length, there were a number of others among the Jews of South Carolina who attained more or less prominence. The following brief and necessarily incomplete notes on the principal Jews of South Carolina during this period will

[22] *The Critic*, Vol. 15. An interesting sketch of Penina Moïse was published by Mrs. S. A. Dinkins in *American Jews' Annual* for 1885–6. It may be noted that Penina Moïse contributed to many papers and magazines: *The Occident*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, *The Home Journal*, the Boston *Daily Times*, the Washington *Union*, *Heriot's Magazine*, and New Orleans *Commercial Times*.

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give a good idea of the multifarious activities of the community. For the sake of convenience, they are arranged alphabetically:[33]

JACOB BARRETT was a prominent merchant. He was a director of the State Bank in 1842–43, a generous contributor and benefactor of Beth Elohim.

JUDAH P. BENJAMIN, born at St. Croix in 1811, died at Paris in 1884. He was Attorney-General of the Confederacy in 1861, for a time acting Secretary of War, and Secretary of State from 1862 to the end of the war. He has often been referred to as "the brains of the Confederacy," while James G. Blaine in his *Twenty Years of Congress* characterizes him as "the Mephistopheles of the Rebellion, the brilliant, learned, sinister Secretary of State." Removing to England, he became the leader of the English Bar. It is remarkable that so little is known of the ancestry of one who became so famous. His father's name was Philip Benjamin. His mother's maiden name was Levy.[34] It is well established from the testimony of people who lived in Charleston during the first quarter of the nineteenth century that his parents were very poor people and that they kept a small shop on King Street, between Clifford and Queen. Just when the Benjamin family came to

[33] These notes are compiled mainly from City of Charleston Year Books, directories, almanacs, and newspaper files. The author is fully cognizant of the incompleteness of these notes, but he has done the best he could with the *record evidence* at present available and with which alone he is concerned. There are few among his readers who will appreciate the infinite labor that the compilation of these notes has cost. Many of the dates here given may be inaccurate by reason of the fact that the directories and almanacs are incomplete. As far as possible, the author has spared no pains to insure completeness as well as accuracy.

[34] Mr. Joseph Lebowich in *The Jewish Exponent* of Feb. 10, 1905, refers to his mother's maiden name as Rebecca De Mendes, of London. The author's statement is made on the authority of relatives of Judah P. Benjamin.

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Charleston is uncertain. Most of Benjamin's biographers place him in Wilmington in 1815, and they are probably correct. The family was certainly in Charleston in 1823, as is proved from the following entry in the Cash Book of Beth Elohim for that year:

"5683.	Philip Benjamin	
Aug. 20.	To subscription & Assessment of Seat.....	$16
	Pre-emption for Ladies Seat No. 77.....	$1
	Do for Do No. 142.....	$1
		$18
Sept. 6.	By cash in full.....	$18"[35]

It is unfortunate that we only possess a few of the Charleston Directories of this interesting period. In the Directory for 1831 there is the entry: "PHILIP BENJAMIN —15 St. Philip st.," and in that of 1837: "PHILIP BENJAMIN, fruiterer, 16 St. Philip st." In the Directory for 1840–41 we find: "PHILIP BENJAMIN, fruits, 29 Beaufain;" and in 1849: "PHILIP BENJAMIN, 9 Princess." Later directories do not mention the name.

In *The Charlotte Observer* of July 22, 1903,[36] a Mr. J. S. Leary communicates some interesting data about Judah P. Benjamin, which have the appearance of genuineness. Among other things he relates is the fact of his attending a Mr. Stewart's school in Fayetteville, N. C. He does not give any dates, however, and it looks as if he went to school there prior to the removal of the family to Charleston. Charleston tradition tells that he was placed in the school

[35] The name of Philip Benjamin does not occur in the Cash Book of 1818. From 1819 to 1822 the books are missing, as they are for some years after 1823.

[36] Reprinted in *The News and Courier* of July 29, 1903. Mr. Leary states that the mother of Judah P. Benjamin was a Miss Levy, and that her brother, Mr. Jacob Levy, conducted a wholesale store and auction business at Fayetteville.

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of the Hebrew Orphan Society and that he received a thorough English and classical education through the generosity of Mr. Moses Lopez. The records of the College of Charleston and of South Carolina College, at Columbia, do not show that he ever attended either of these institutions, and we can take it as certain that he never did. With his life after he left Charleston we are not concerned.[37]

David Nunez Carvalho (1784–1860), a brother of Rev. E. N. Carvalho, was a merchant in Charleston; removed to Baltimore in 1828 and afterwards to Philadelphia, where he was appointed one of the City Judges of the Court of Arbitration; returned later to Baltimore, where he died. He was the author of a tragedy, *Queen Esther*, also of *A Metrical Translation of the Psalms*, neither of which has been published.[38]

Solomon N. Carvalho, born in Charleston, April 27, 1815. He attained distinction as a scholar, artist, inventor, and writer. One of his paintings, a picture of the interior of the Charleston Synagogue as it existed prior to the fire of 1838, has recently come to light.[39] In 1852 he received a diploma and silver medal for his painting, "The Intercession of Moses for Israel," from the South Carolina Institute. The best known of his portraits are those of Thomas Hunter and Isaac Leeser. In 1853 he accompanied John C. Frémont, as artist and daguerrotypist, on his famous expedition to the West. He kept a journal of this expedition, which he published in 1857: *Last Expedition Across the Rocky Mountains: Including Three Months' Residence in*

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[37] For an exhaustive biography of Judah P. Benjamin see *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, art. "Benjamin." For an extended bibliography see Lebowich in *The Menorah* for Nov., 1902.

[38] Markens: *The Hebrews in America*, pp. 96-7. See also *The Occident* for Feb. 23, 1860.

[39] Recovered by the author. This picture was painted in 1838, just after the fire.

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Utah and a Perilous Trip Across the Great American Desert to the Pacific. This volume contains a graphic description of the journey from Salt Lake City to San Bernardino, also interesting observations concerning the Mormons and Mormonism. He was also the author of a volume entitled *The Two Creations*, a treatise on the Mosaic Cosmogony. He lived also in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.[40]

Isaac S. Cohen was a director of the Commercial Bank of Columbia from 1838 to 1844 and of the Southwestern Railroad Bank from 1851 to 1859.

Marx E. Cohen, a son of Mordecai Cohen, was a planter who lived near Charleston. He was a Magistrate for St. Andrew's from 1843 to 1845 and a member of the Board of Health from 1846 to 1849. He removed to Sumter after the war, where he died in 1881.

Mordecai Cohen (1763–1848), a native of Poland and for upwards of sixty years a resident of Charleston. He was one of the most extensive owners of real estate in the city, a good citizen and of unblemished reputation. He was noted for his philanthropy. He was a Commissioner of Markets from 1826 to 1832; a prominent member of the Union and States' Rights Party; a director of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad in 1836; a Commissioner of the Orphan House from 1838 to 1844, of which institution he was a generous benefactor. One of the tablets on the walls of the Orphan House is inscribed with his name.[41]

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[40] See *The Occident*, Vol. 10, p. 174, also pp. 503–4; Markens: *The Hebrews in America*, pp. 203-4; Morais: *The Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 361.

[41] "In Memory of Mordecai Cohen, who died the 20th July, 1848. For ten years he faithfully fulfilled the duties of a Commissioner of this Institution and for forty-five years contributed by annual donations to the comfort of its inmates."—Inscription on tablet. See also *The Evening News*, July 10, 1848. The date of death on the tablet is incorrect. Mordecai Cohen died on July 8th.

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Myer M. Cohen conducted an "English and Classical Seminary" in Charleston very successfully from 1824 to 1828.[42] He was admitted to the Bar in 1829; was one of the "Washington's Birthday Committee" in 1832;[43] represented St. Philip's and St. Michael's in the Legislature in 1835-6, being elected on the Independent Republican ticket; was a Justice Q. U., 1835–7; removed to New Orleans in 1837.[44]

Philip Cohen was a Commissioner of the Marine Hospital from 1826 to 1833. He was a prominent member of the States' Rights Party in 1832 and one of the delegates to the "Nullification" Convention of that year.

Dr. P. Melvin Cohen was secretary and treasurer of the Friendship Literary Society in 1825; City Apothecary in 1838; a member of the Board of Health from 1843 to 1849 and chairman of that body from 1850 to 1854. He was a director of the Bank of the State of South Carolina from 1849 to 1855.

Solomon Cohen was born at Georgetown on August 15, 1802. He began the study of law at an early age and practised in his native town till 1838, when he removed to Savannah. He was a director of the Bank of South Carolina (Georgetown) from 1819 to 1826, and represented Prince George's, Winyah, in the Legislature from 1831 to 1836, being elected on the Nullification ticket in 1832. He was a Commissioner in Equity for Georgetown from 1835 to 1837. After his removal to Savannah he continued to practise his profession and took a deep interest in all affairs affecting the prosperity of his adopted city. He was frequently elected to positions of honor and trust by his fellow-citizens. He represented Chatham County in the Legislature with great satisfaction to his constituents. He also repre-

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[42] *The Courier*, Nov. 19, 1824.

[43] Ibid., Feb. 20, 1832.

[44] Ibid., May 3, 1837.

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sented the city in the Board of Aldermen, and was one of the most zealous members of that body. He was Postmaster of Savannah during the latter part of President Pierce's Administration. He was in the office at the commencement of the war and was continued in the position under the Confederate Government. He was one of the inaugurators of the Public School system in Savannah and was an active member of the Board of Education. In 1860 he was elected a member of the Georgia delegation to the Democratic Convention in Charleston and took a prominent part in the deliberations of that important body. In 1866 he was elected a member of Congress from the First Congressional District of Georgia, but was not allowed to take his seat. He was for several years cashier of the Central Railroad Bank, president of the Union Society, President of the Mickva Israel Congregation, and was one of the original directors of the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad. He had also occupied many other prominent positions in the community. He died on August 14, 1875.[45]

Jacob De La Motta, a native of Charleston, but for many years a resident of Savannah. He was a cousin of Dr. Jacob De La Motta and practised law both in Charleston and Savannah. A memorial tablet was erected to his memory in the Savannah Synagogue by the Jews of that city.[46]

Dr. Mordecai H. De Leon was a prominent physician in Columbia in 1834. He was a contributor to the Baltimore *Medical and Surgical Journal and Review*,[47] and was regent of the Columbia Lunatic Asylum from 1841 to 1849.

George Washington Harby, a brother of Isaac Harby.

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[45] See the Savannah *Morning News*, August 16, 1875, from which the above sketch is mainly taken. For Memoir see *The Occident*, Vol. 11, pp. 267-270.

[46] The inscription reads as follows: "Erected by the Congregation, in grateful memory of Jacob De La Motta, who died 23 Oct. 1856."

[47] *The Courier*, June 11, 1834.

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He removed early to New Orleans, where he wrote several plays. His farce, *The Loafers*, became quite popular,[48] as did his *Nick of the Woods*.

Henry J. Harby, another brother of Isaac Harby, took an active part in politics at the time of the "Nullification" movement. He was a lieutenant of the Marion Artillery in 1834; City Blacksmith in 1835, and a member of the Board of Health from 1838 to 1842.

Samuel Hart, Sr. (1805–1896), was a well-known figure in Charleston up to the time of his death. He was a bookseller and publisher, and had engaged in this business since 1840. He was secretary of the American Art Union in 1847 and a Commissioner of the Market from 1852 to 1859.

Solomon Heydenfeldt, a native of Charleston, was born in 1816. He removed to Alabama in 1837,[49] and was chosen Judge of the County Court of Tallapoosa in 1840. In 1850 he went to California, where he became a distinguished Justice of the Supreme Court. He died in San Francisco in 1890.[50]

Henry M. Hyams was born in Charleston in 1809. He removed to New Orleans in 1828, where he studied law. He was for several years a banker. He practised law for sixteen years in Rapides Parish, was prominent as an Old-Line Whig politician, and from 1854 as a Democratic leader. He was for four years in the State Senate, and for four years (1859–1864) Lieutenant-Governor with Moore. "He was an excellent financier, a sagacious legislator, a careful lawyer, an able party leader, a thorough lover of his adopted State, a fine scholar, philanthropist, and patriot." He died at New Orleans in 1875.[51]

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[48] *The Courier*, Sept. 29, 1838.

[49] In the *Courier* of August 12, 1837, he advertised as "Attorney-at-Law, Wetumpka, Ala."

[50] *American Jews' Annual* for 1888, p. 103.

[51] Taken from a clipping from a New Orleans paper, *n. d.*

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Colonel Myer Jacobs was an Englishman. He was Warden of Beaufort in 1831; represented St. Helena's in the Legislature in 1833; elected on the Union ticket in 1836; represented St. Philip's and St. Michael's in 1838–9, elected on the Democratic Independent Treasury ticket; was colonel of the 12th Regiment from 1828 to 1833; a surveyor in the Custom-House, 1847–9; clerk in the Bank of the State of South Carolina, 1852–4; and again in the Custom-House, 1854–58.[52]

Major Joshua Lazarus was president of the Cheraw Bank in 1825; major in the 7th Brigade in 1830; a member of the Union Party of Chesterfield District in 1832; president of the Gas Light Company, of Charleston, from 1848 to 1856.[53]

Michael Lazarus was vice-president of the Palmetto Society in 1827. He served as a trustee of the Shirras Dispensary from 1835 to 1859. "He was the first that opened the navigation by steam of the Savannah River, between Charleston and Augusta."[54]

Lewis C. Levin was born in Charleston in 1808. Early in life he removed to Woodville, Miss., where he became a school-teacher. After fighting a duel, he left that city and began the study of law, which he practised in Maryland, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Pennsylvania. In 1838 he settled in Philadelphia. Here he espoused the cause of temperance, editing *The Temperance Advocate*. In the interest of the "Native American" Party, which he was instrumental in forming, he published *The Sun*, of which he became the editor. He served in Congress from 1845 to 1851, acting for a

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[52] "He was appointed by President Polk Surveyor of the Customs and subsequently by President Buchanan to the same office, in which position he was continued at the dissolution of the old Union by President Davis." —*The Courier*, Nov. 29, 1861.

[53] Coal gas was introduced in Charleston in 1848.

[54] See Obituary Notice in *The Courier*, Sept. 20, 1862.

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time as chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs. He died in Philadelphia on March 14, 1860.[55]

Nathaniel Levin (1816–1899) was an import inspector in the Custom-House, 1850–1; record clerk, 1852–6, and Collector's clerk, 1857–8. He was a very intellectual man, noted for his fine reading. In 1859 he was invited by Edwin Booth to appear as Othello to Booth's Iago. He was a prominent Freemason and at the time of his death was acting Inspector-General of the Supreme Council of Scottish Rite Masonry for South Carolina.

Colonel Chapman Levy, a native of Camden, born July 4, 1787. He studied law and was admitted to the Bar in Columbia in 1806. He practised with eminent success in his native town and district, as well as in Lancaster. He represented Kershaw in the Legislature from 1829 to 1833 and from 1836 to 1838. He was chairman of the Committee on Retrenchment. He was a member of the "Nullification" Convention in 1832 and was an ardent Union man. He removed to Camden, Miss., where he died in December, 1850.[56]

David C. Levy (1805–1877), a son of Lyon Levy and grandson of David N. Cardozo, was a prominent merchant of Charleston. He was a director of the Charleston Insurance Company from 1837 to 1847, a member of the Board of Health in 1842, and a director of the Southwestern Railroad Bank from 1843 to 1846. He left Charleston in 1847 and in 1860 settled in Philadelphia, where he engaged in business as a banker and broker. For twenty years he was a highly respected member of the Philadelphia Board of Brokers. He was likewise active in charitable and educational work. He retired from business in 1880, being succeeded by his son Solomon, who is to-day a conspicuous member of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange.

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[55] Morais: *The Jews of Philadelphia*, pp. 395–6.

[56] O'Neall: *Bench and Bar*, Vol. 2, pp. 281–2.

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Hayman Levy, a prominent merchant and cotton factor of Camden. He was Warden of Camden in 1835, Intendant in 1843, and a director of the Bank of Camden from 1842 to 1854.

Jacob C. Levy, a native of Charleston, was a prominent merchant and a gentleman of many accomplishments. He was a director of the Union Insurance Company from 1830 to 1840, a delegate to the Knoxville Railroad Convention in 1836, and a member of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce from 1841 to 1847. He was politically affiliated with the Union Party. A very scholarly article from his pen on "The Reformed Israelites" was printed in *The Southern Quarterly Review* for April, 1844 (pages 312–360). He removed to Savannah in 1848 and died in that city in 1875.[57]

Mordecai M. Levy was a merchant of Camden. He conducted a drug business in partnership with Dr. Abraham De Leon. He represented Kershaw in the Legislature from 1834 to 1838 and was a candidate for Congress in 1836.[58]

Aaron Lopez was Warden of Georgetown from 1828 to 1830 and Intendant of that town in 1836.

David Lopez, the builder of the present Synagogue of Beth Elohim in 1840. He was a member of the committee of the Democratic Party in 1843,[59] a trustee of the Apprentices' Library in 1847,[60] and a Commissioner of the Work-House from 1850 to 1855.

Captain Henry Lyons, a prominent citizen of Columbia.

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[57] See the Savannah *Morning News*, June 11, 1875. For a detailed history of the Levy family see *The Hebrew Journal* for Dec., 1887: "An Account of the Lazarus and Levy Families," by Chas. H. Moïse. This hyperbolical sketch is incorporated into Wolf's *History and Genealogy of the Jewish Families of Yates and Samuel of Liverpool* (London, 1901). "For private circulation."

[58] *The Courier*, July 20, 1836.

[59] Ibid., April 17, 1843.

[60] Ibid., Feb. 17, 1847.

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He was Warden of that town from 1843 to 1851 and afterwards Intendant. He was a director of the Commercial Bank of Columbia from 1854 to 1858.[61]

Elias Marks, M. D. (1790–1886), a prominent educator, writer, and poet, was the son of Humphrey Marks, who settled in Charleston in 1785. He founded the Columbia Female Academy about 1820 and afterwards conducted the famous Barhamville School—a well-known institution for the higher education of women, and from which many famous women were graduated, including Miss Pamela Cuningham and Miss Martha Bulloch, the mother of President Roosevelt. He is supposed to have been converted to Christianity in childhood by an old negro nurse, although his children and members of his family are buried in an old Jewish cemetery in Columbia.[62]

Major Abraham A. Massias was born in New York. He was appointed from New York 1st lieutenant of Rifles in 1808, captain in 1809, and paymaster with the rank of major in 1820.[63]

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[61] For Obituary Notice see *The Occident*, Vol. 16, p. 507.

[62] For a detailed history of Dr. Marks and the Barhamville School see the Columbia *State*, March 15, 1903. This article, four columns in length, contains many interesting reminiscences, though there are several inaccuracies. For a notice of his volume: *Preliminary Discourse to Lectures on Belles Lettres connected with Female Education*, see *The Courier*, March 2, 1850. His volume of poems is noticed in *The Courier* of March 14, 1850. For a critical notice of his poetry see *The News and Courier*, August 23, 1903.

[63] "Major Abraham A. Massias, Obt. Charleston, So. Ca., the 28th June, 1848, aged 76 years. Receiving his brevet for twenty years' services in the field, he was subsequently appointed paymaster to the army U. S., discharging the responsible duties of his office with distinguished integrity and uprightness. To the Synagogue of Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim, or House of God, he was, by his last will, a generous benefactor, and after a provision for several relatives, the bulk of his estate was bequeathed to friends in Charleston, So. Ca., the home of his choice."—Inscription on tombstone, Da Costa Cemetery, Charleston, S. C.

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Abraham Moïse was a prominent lawyer and politician. He was admitted to the Bar in 1822; was a Justice of the Peace from 1827 to 1840, and a Magistrate of the City of Charleston, 1842 to 1859. He was a conspicuous member of the Union and States' Rights Party.

Abraham Moïse, Jr., was a clerk and assistant cashier in the Bank of Charleston, 1839 to 1852. He was a patriotic citizen and an eloquent speaker. He was secretary of the Democratic meeting in 1843.

Edwin Warren Moïse (1811–1868) was educated as a physician in Charleston and removed early to Woodville, Miss., where he practised his profession. Later in life he studied law, and, removing to New Orleans, became quite eminent. He was a member of the Legislature for many years and for several years was Speaker of the House. In 1861 he was made a Judge of the Confederate States Court in Louisiana and afterwards became Attorney-General of the State.

General E. W. Moïse. See Jews of Sumter.

Jacob Moïse, one of the first Jewish settlers in Augusta, Ga., was a director of the Georgia Insurance Company in 1836.

Theodore S. Moïse was a self-taught artist and portrait painter who attained considerable prominence. Many fine examples of his art are still to be seen in South Carolina and in New Orleans, to which city he removed in 1843 and where he obtained good recognition.[64]

M. C. Mordecai was one of the most prominent merchants in Charleston. He was vice-president of the Charleston Antient Artillery Society, 1830–1847; a member of the Board of Health, 1833-1836; captain of the Marion Artil-

[64] See *The Courier* July 1, 1835, August 24, 1835, Nov. 20, 1835, Sept. 30, 1836, and May 8, 1843. (Copied from the New Orleans *Picayune*.) For further data concerning the Moïse family see *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, art. "Moïse." All statements must be received with caution.

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lery in 1834; Alderman of Charleston in 1836; a member of the Committee on Civic Improvements in 1837; Warden of Police in 1837; a Commissioner of Markets in 1837; a delegate to the Augusta Convention in 1838; a director of the Southwestern Railroad Bank, 1840–1852; a Commissioner of Pilotage, 1842–1850; a director of the Gas Light Company, 1848–1856; a director of the South Carolina Insurance Company, 1849–1857; a director of the Farmers' and Exchange Bank, 1854–1859; Representative in the Legislature for St. Philip's and St. Michael's, 1845–1846, and State Senator, 1855–1858. He was one of the founders of *The Southern Standard* in 1851—an organ opposed to the agitation of the question of secession in South Carolina. He removed to Baltimore after the war.[65]

Franklin J. Moses was born in Charleston on August 13, 1804. He was a son of Major Myer Moses. At an early age he was sent to South Carolina College, where he graduated when only seventeen years old. After leaving college he commenced the study of law and was admitted to the Bar in 1825. Having fixed upon no place to practise, he took a trip through the State and was fortunate in meeting Judge Richardson in Clarendon. There were no hotels in those days, but the door of every house was open. Following the custom of the time and country, Judge Richardson invited Mr. Moses to spend the night at his house. The invitation was accepted, and Judge Richardson was so struck by the manners and force of character of the young visitor that he persuaded him to stay several days and finally advised him to settle at Sumter, which he did. He formed a law partnership with John L. Wilson, which was dissolved in 1827,[66] and afterwards with his brother, Montgomery Moses.[67]

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[65] King: *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C.*, p. 160.

[66] *The Courier*, Dec. 15, 1827.

[67] Ibid., Dec. 16, 1831.

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Judge Richardson introduced him into society and gave him a helping hand. He soon made his mark and acquired a lucrative practice, extending to the neighboring districts of Kershaw, Darlington, and Williamsburg. Soon after attaining a prominent position at the Sumter Bar he was elected to the Legislature and in 1842 was elected State Senator from Claremont and served till 1862. During the greater part of his service as Senator he was chairman of the Judiciary Committee. This was a great honor and a signal proof of capacity, for among his colleagues were gentlemen of distinguished ability.

As a public man, Senator Moses was remarkable for his carefulness, watchfulness, thorough preparation and attention, and for his fidelity to the interests of his constituents. No man of his day was better acquainted with the working of public affairs and the course of the State's political history. In December, 1865, he was elected a Law Judge, under the old Constitution, by the State Legislature assembled under the proclamation of President Johnson. As a Circuit Judge he displayed the rarely combined qualities of fairness and quickness, and gave constant evidence of his thorough knowledge of the precedents and practice in common law. Under the Reconstruction Acts a new Constitution was framed and adopted, the whole judicial system of the State being rooted up. The new Supreme Court of the State was to consist of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices. On July 28, 1868, Judge Moses was elected Chief Justice for six years and upon the expiration of his first term was reelected without opposition. From 1851 to the time of his death he was a trustee of the South Carolina College and was Professor of Law in that institution, succeeding the late C. D. Melton.

By accepting the office of Chief Justice at the hands of the first Legislature which met under the new Constitution, Judge Moses separated himself from his life-long com-

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panions and associates. It was a heavy blow to his friends, though many of them believed that his motives were pure and that his object was to serve the best interests of his people. The last act of his public life, however, reconciled him somewhat to them. In the contested election of Wade Hampton as Governor of the State, Judge Moses intimated that when the Supreme Court should reassemble, he would deliver an opinion in favor of Wade Hampton. He died, however, before he could carry out his determination, on March 6, 1877. He married Miss McClenahan, of Chesterfield District. His son, Franklin J. Moses, Jr., the notorious Governor of South Carolina from 1872 to 1874, was not brought up as a Jew, nor were his affiliations Jewish in any way.[88]

Myer Moses, a son of the elder Myer Moses, who died in 1787, has already been noticed. He removed to New York about 1825 and died in that city on March 20, 1833.[89] He was the father of Chief-Justice Moses. He was the author of two books: *Oration Delivered at Tammany Hall on the 12th May, 1831*, and *Full Annals of the Revolution in France*.

Raphael J. Moses, lawyer and statesman, was born in Charleston on January 20, 1812. He was the son of Israel Moses, who was himself a native of Charleston. He started life as a merchant, but after a few years abandoned trade and studied law. He removed to Apalachicola, Fla., about 1837, and soon attained distinction in his profession. Removing to Columbus, Ga., in the forties, he at once assumed front rank among the lawyers of that city. He was a prominent figure, likewise, in politics. As an orator he was excelled by few, sharing honors easily with Robert Toombs,

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[88] The above sketch is practically copied from an editorial in *The News and Courier* of March 7, 1877.

[89] *The Courier*, March 30 and April 1, 1833.

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Alexander H. Stephens, and Benjamin H. Hill. A descendant of the families of Nunez and Luria, he changed the names of two of his sons in 1856 to Israel M. Nunez and Albert M. Luria—the third son, Raphael J. Moses, Jr., now a distinguished lawyer of New York, retaining his own name. At the outbreak of the war he enlisted with his three sons. He himself served on the staff of General Longstreet as Chief Commissary of Subsistence, ranking as major. His efficiency is frequently referred to in the highest terms.[70] His eldest son, Israel M. Nunez, served throughout the war. The second son, Albert M. Luria, was a lieutenant in the 23d Regiment (N. C.). In 1861, while Sewell's Point was being shelled, it was necessary, in order that the guns might be trained on the Monocacy, to dig away the sand in front of the breastworks. Volunteers were called for, and young Luria and another young man jumped out and dug the sand away, returning unhurt. Their gallantry is mentioned in the official reports of both the captain and colonel.[71] In recognition of young Luria's bravery, the company sent an eight-inch iron shell to his mother, together with a brass plate on which is inscribed:

"Sergt. A. M. Luria, C. L. G. Sewell's Point, Norfolk, Va., May 19th, 1861.

"'The pride of all his comrades,
The bravest of the brave.'"

He was killed at the battle of Seven Pines, on May 31, 1862. Resting on a pillar of marble that stands on his grave is the shell, with the brass plate adorning its shaft.

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[70] References to his services can be found in many of the volumes of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, published by the United States Government. As these volumes are fully indexed, detailed references are unnecessary.

[71] A highly-colored version of this incident is given in Wolf: *The American Jew*, etc., p. 303.

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The third son, Raphael J. Moses, Jr., was at Annapolis when the war broke out. He resigned and was appointed in the Georgia navy and afterwards in the Confederate navy, serving on the Virginia (Merrimac) and other ships.

After the war Major Moses resumed the practice of law. He was elected to the Legislature in 1866, where his oratory and statesmanship won him lasting fame. His open letter to the Hon. W. O. Tuggle, of LaGrange, who in his Congressional campaign had taunted him with being a Jew, has become a classic.[72] He died in Brussels on October 13, 1893, widely esteemed for his culture, character, and services. Among the great men whom the Jews of South Carolina have furnished to this country—great by reason of service—Raphael J. Moses will always occupy an honored place.

The following pen-picture of him, from *The Occident* of April, 1866, is worthy of reproduction:

"Hon. R. J. Moses, member for Muscogee, the generally acknowledged leader of the House, is a short, heavy-built Israelite—proud of his tribe—with raven hair, which the snows of fifty winters have had no power to bleach, and dark eyes, languid in repose, but which when aroused kindle with promethean fire. His face is truly leonine in type, and in so far not unfitly mirrors his heart, which is the residence of will, and courage, and generosity, and all the manly virtues. Being chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, he is often called to address the House, and never fails to command attention. He is the best speaker I have heard in either branch of the Assembly. Some of the qualities which make him more of the orator than the debater—a Pitt rather than a Fox—are an emotional nature, full of eloquent feeling, a copious and nervous diction, an ear for the music of words, an impassioned declamation, appealing more strongly to the heart than to the head, and a power of amplification wherein few men excel him. The cogency of his logic is in some measure eclipsed by the splendor of his rhetoric, and he seems

[72] This letter was originally published in the Columbus *Daily Times* of August 30, 1878, and was reprinted in *The American Israelite* of Sept. 6, 1878, since which time it has been reprinted hundreds of times.

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to love the flower as much as the fruit. Said Mr. Jefferson: 'Patrick Henry on his feet persuaded us all, but when he had taken his seat, I could recall none of his arguments.' I take Mr. Moses to be an accomplished belles-lettres scholar, and I was surprised to learn that he devotes his professional life mainly to the practice of commercial law. Such a master of the passions, it would seem, ought to give his attention almost exclusively to criminal advocacy. There he would be in his element and in his glory. * * * As I have said, he is proud of his race. He perfectly understands the insensate prejudice existing against it, and which, to his honor be it said, he manfully confronts, by so conforming his conduct as to challenge criticism upon his public or private life. His love for that people is intense and very beautiful—allowing nothing to divide his affection with, but his country—Georgia and those that love Georgia; for a truer, more patriotic heart than his never quickened its pulsations at the mention of liberty. * * * In social life his genial qualities shine in most attractive perfection. After making the best speech of the day at the Capitol, in the abandon of social hilarity at night, in his room, he can tell the best story of the session. * * * In short, he is the man of all circles, and emphatically the pride of his own."

Abraham Ottolengui, a prominent merchant. He was a director of the Union Bank from 1843 to 1850 and a Commissioner of the Poor-House in 1833–4. He was a benefactor of Beth Elohim. The interest of the "Ottolengui Fund" is still distributed annually to the poor.[78]

Philip Phillips, perhaps the greatest native-born American Jew, was born in Charleston in 1807. He was admitted to the Bar in 1829; was a member of the "Nullification" Convention in 1832, and represented Chesterfield in the Legislature in 1834–5. In 1835 he removed to Mobile, where he soon rose to high distinction. In 1844 he was elected to the Legislature and was chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations. In 1845 he published a digest of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Alabama. In 1846 he was commissioned a Judge of the Criminal Court that had been established in the city of Mobile, but declined

[78] For Obituary Notice see *The Occident*, Vol. 8, pp. 578–580.

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the honor. In 1849 he was elected chairman of the State convention called for the purpose of promoting internal improvements. In 1850 he was admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court. In 1853 he was elected to Congress and declined reelection. He now removed to Washington, but when the war broke out returned South, living for a while in New Orleans. In 1867 he returned to Washington, and in spite of the prejudice against the Southerner, became one of the leaders of the Bar. His practice was almost entirely before the Supreme Court, where he appeared in over four hundred cases. So recognized was his ability, that he was frequently called upon to argue cases in which he was not personally interested, merely as *amicus curiæ*. The tribute paid to his memory by the Bar of the Supreme Court on February 16, 1884, was indeed a remarkable tribute. His career was referred to as "a model for citizens, for statesmen, for lawyers, and for judges." "He was a jurist and statesman, whose labors and discussions were a large contribution to jurisprudence and at the same time of invaluable assistance to that tribunal in whose judgments they are imperishably preserved." "He was the personification of the ideal of a great lawyer"—"by common consent among the greatest." It is interesting to note that he wrote a sketch of his life for his children. It is to be regretted that this has not been published.[74]

Dr. Theodore Rodrigues was for several years Officer of Health and Physician to the Queen's Troops stationed at Fajardo, Porto Rico.[75]

Dr. B. A. Rodriguez was a well-known dentist and in-

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[74] For further data see Garrett: *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama for Thirty Years*, pp. 405–7. (Atlanta, 1872.) See also *Proceedings of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States on the Death of Philip Phillips and the Action of the Court Thereon.* (Washington, D. C., 1884.)

[75] *The Courier*, July 3, 1843.

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ventor. He was one of the first, if not the first, in America to make an artificial palate;[76] was a contributor to *The American Journal of Dental Science*,[77] and a member of the Board of Health in 1849.

SOLOMON SAMPSON SOLOMONS was engineer and superintendent of the Northeastern Railroad Company in 1858-9. He supervised the building of this road and was for many years its president.

ABRAHAM TOBIAS, a prominent merchant. He was a member of the Board of Health from 1833 to 1837; a Commissioner of Pilotage from 1838 to 1843; a director of the Union Bank from 1836 to 1856. He was a member of the States' Rights Party in 1840 and was one of the citizens appointed as honorary guard over the remains of Mr. Calhoun on the occasion of that distinguished statesman's funeral in April, 1850.[78]

Other names that may be noted are Isaac N. Cardozo, for twenty-four years a weigher in the Custom House (1831–1855);[79] Gershon Lazarus, steamboat inspector in the Custom House (1847–1858); Hyam Cohen, City Assessor of Charleston from 1838 to 1850; Thomas Sampson, Assistant Assessor in 1852; Solomon Moses, City Marshal from 1833 to 1846; H. H. De Leon, Assistant Treasurer of the City of Charleston from 1850 to 1852, and Levy J. Myers, clerk to the Treasurer from 1854 to 1857.

E. Abrahams was a member of the Board of Health from 1840 to 1842; Jacob Cohen was a member of the same body in 1852; S. N. Hart was a Commissioner of the Marine

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[76] *The Courier*, July 18, 1836.

[77] Ibid., Oct. 22, 1840.

[78] *Year Book* for 1883, p. 526. Other Jews who served on this occasion during the various "watches" were Joshua Lazarus, P. M. Cohen, and Jacob Cohen.

[79] For Obituary Notice see *The Evening News*, August 21, 1855.

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Hospital in 1850–1 and a Commissioner of the Work-House in 1852; E. Levy was a member of the Board of Health in 1838–9 and a Commissioner of Streets and Lamps from 1843 to 1848; Aaron Lopez was a member of the Board of Health in 1838–9; M. H. Nathans was a Commissioner of Markets in 1854, and E. Solomons a Commissioner of Roads in 1858–9.

Aaron Moïse was a clerk in the Bank of South Carolina from 1839 to 1851; Abraham Moïse, Jr., was assistant cashier at the Bank of Charleston from 1839 to 1852; L. J. Moses was a clerk in the Southwestern Railroad Bank from 1840 to 1848.

F. Goldsmith was a director of the Bank of Hamburg in 1837; Lewis Levy, a director of the Exchange Bank of Columbia from 1855 to 1859; J. C. Lyons, a director of the Indemnity Insurance Company of Columbia in 1854–5, and of the Exchange Bank of Columbia from 1854 to 1859; Isaac D. Mordecai, a director of the Bank of the State of South Carolina, at Columbia, from 1842 to 1852.

Lizar Joseph was Warden of Georgetown in 1826, and Coroner in the same year; Abraham Myers was Intendant of Georgetown in 1826–7; N. Emanuel was Warden of that city from 1851 to 1854; R. D. Levin was Warden of Columbia in 1852; Montgomery Moses was Intendant of Sumterville in 1852; S. S. Sampson was Intendant of Walterboro in 1854; A. H. Davega was Warden of Camden in 1854 and of Chester in 1858; Samuel Sampson was Warden of Georgetown in 1858–9.

The following are the Jewish lawyers of the period with the dates of their admission to the Bar in Charleston or Columbia: Chapman Levy (1806), Abraham Moïse (1822), Solomon Cohen (1823), Levi S. D. Lyon (1825), F. J. Moses (1825), M. M. Cohen (1829), Philip Phillips (1829), Montgomery Moses (1831), Edwin De Leon (1840), S. Benjamin (1841), Isaac Da Vega (1846), M. B. Moses (1855),

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M. M. Cohen (1855), J. Barrett Cohen (1857), Joseph W. Moses (1858), J. N. Nathans (1858).[80]

Among the physicians were: Dr. P. Melvin Cohen, Dr. Lawrence L. Cohen,[81] Dr. J. Bensadon,[81] Dr. Abraham De Leon, Dr. M. H. De Leon, and Dr. Columbus Davega.

Among the minor writers mention may be made of Cordelia Moïse, Caroline Harby, Rebecca Levy, Sarah Ann Dinkins, and Columbus Moïse. These are principally known through their short poems and hymns.

As has already been incidentally noted, the Jews took an active part in the turbulent politics of the period. Nathan Hart, Colonel Chapman Levy, F. J. Moses, Abraham Moïse, Jacob De La Motta, and M. C. Myers, of Georgetown, were prominent members of the Union and States' Rights Party. Other names frequently met with are J. N. Cardozo, M. C. Mordecai, Major Lazarus, Michael Lazarus, H. J. Harby, and Abraham Tobias. In *The Courier* of October 1, 1832, there is a splendid letter, signed by eighty-four Israelites, affirming that the Jews do not want to be represented as a sect in the State Legislature. It is a fine statement of the proper attitude of the Jew in politics. In the "Nullification" Convention of 1832 were Philip Cohen, Myer Jacobs (St. Helena's), Chapman Levy, and Philip Phillips (Chesterfield)—Cohen and Jacobs voting for, and Levy and Phillips against the Ordinance of Nullification.

During the Florida War, as in every other war, the Jews of South Carolina furnished their full quota to the troops of the State. S. Hyams was a member of the Hamburg Volunteers.[82] Solomon Heydenfeldt also served in this war.[83] In the Washington Volunteers from Charleston

[80] Compiled from O'Neall's *Bench and Bar*, Vol. 2.

[81] Graduated in 1838.

[82] *The Courier*, Jan. 26, 1836.

[83] Ibid.

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were J. Cohen, Jr., Myer M. Cohen, and Columbus Moïse.[84] In Columbia, a volunteer company of sixty men was organized under the command of Captain Isaac Cohen.[85] J. C. Peixotto was one of the draft from the 16th Regiment.[86] So was T. W. Mordecai.[87] Dr. P. Melvin Cohen was surgeon to the detachment of troops in Charleston Harbor.[88] Hyam Cohen was assistant paymaster.[89] After the expiration of his term of service Myer M. Cohen received an appointment as an officer of the left wing and served out the campaign in Florida. He published an account of that country and the military operations therein.[90]

In the Mexican War Dr. David C. De Leon served as assistant surgeon. In the Palmetto Regiment were Jacob Valentine, the youngest soldier of the regiment, who was severely wounded at Churubusco;[91] Orlando Levy, J. Friedeberg, D. Polock, and J. L. Polock.[92]

So much, then, for the Jews of South Carolina, socially and politically. In the matter of religious development, too, there was much of the greatest interest that took place during this period. This we shall discuss in the next chapter.

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[84] *The Courier*, Jan. 26, 1836.
[85] Ibid., Jan. 29, 1836.
[86] Ibid., Feb. 2, 1836.
[87] Ibid., Feb. 6, 1836.
[88] Ibid., Feb. 19, 1836.
[89] Ibid., May 10, 1836.
[90] Ibid., June 2, 1836.
[91] Ibid., Dec. 13, 1847.
[92] The writer of the article "Moïse" in *The Jewish Encyclopædia* makes Camillus Moïse die while serving in the Mexican War. He died in 1844! (See *The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S. C.*, p. 60.)

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CHAPTER XI—RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT
1824–1860

WE have discussed the Jews of South Carolina from 1824 to 1860 at length and we have seen what a remarkable number of men of more than average prominence the community included. We have seen, likewise, how many of its able men left South Carolina during this period and made their mark elsewhere.

Not less interesting is the story of the religious development of the community, for it was during this period that a second movement took place in the direction of reform—a movement that was not without effect in the evolution of American Judaism. We will go back a little, therefore, and take up the story of the Reformed Society of Israelites where we left it.

After the dissolution of the Society most of its members who remained in Charleston reaffiliated with Beth Elohim. They were fined various amounts at the discretion of the trustees, and were then restored to all their former rights and privileges. For a few years the history of the Synagogue was uneventful. But there was now a progressive party in Beth Elohim and the next chapter in the story is a sad tale of dissension and bitterness.

On October 9, 1836, the Rev. Gustavus Poznanski was

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elected to the pulpit of Beth Elohim. Born of respectable parentage in Storchnest, Poland, he had been educated in Hamburg, where he became imbued with the spirit of the Hamburg Temple, then the foremost exponent of the reform movement in Europe. He was occupying a small position in New York, where he had been living for some years, when he was called to Charleston. Among those who recommended him was Isaac Leeser, who afterwards regretted it. Poznanski was a scholar, a good speaker and writer, an able controversialist, and a gentleman. At first his ministrations met with signal success. He was acceptable to both parties and his advent was followed by a marked religious revival. Even one of his bitterest opponents testifies that when he came to Charleston "laxity in attending to religious observances gave place to a strict attention to time-honored observances."[1] But there was soon to be a "rift within the lute."

In the great fire of April 27, 1838, the Synagogue was burned to the ground and steps were soon after taken to rebuild it. The corner-stone of the new building was laid on January 2, 1840. Poznanski had meanwhile been elected for life in 1838.

On July 14, 1840, before the new building was completed, the trustees were called on to act upon a petition signed by thirty-eight members, which had been presented to them, praying "that an organ be erected in the Synagogue to assist in the vocal parts of the service."

This petition was deemed by the trustees to be an infringement of the first article of the Constitution. At a general meeting of the Congregation, held on July 26th, the trustees were overruled by a vote of forty-seven to forty, and the prayer of the petitioners granted. This led to a division in the Congregation, and nearly forty mem-

[1] *The Occident*, Vol. 2, p. 151.

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bers withdrew. We will not revive at length the events of that troublous period, the plotting and the counter-plotting that took place. The minute-books of Beth Elohim are now available and they contain the story in the fullest detail.[2] Suffice it to say, that in 1845 the case was carried to the courts by the seceders, the most brilliant legal talent of the day being arrayed on either side.[3] The dominant party gained the verdict, which was affirmed when the case reached the Court of Errors and Appeals in 1846. The opinion was delivered by Judge Butler and is a magnificent document. O'Neall, in his *Bench and Bar*, calls special attention to it as a fine specimen of Judge Butler's style of judicial reasoning. The following extract will well repay careful perusal even at this late day:

"It is almost impossible to reduce matters growing out of a difference of opinion to such a definite form as to subject them to judicial cognizance. Rights and franchises are such matters as have legal existence and may be protected by law. Speculative disputes must be left, in some measure, to the arrangement of opinion. To suppose that an uninterrupted harmony of sentiment can be preserved under the guarantee of written laws and constitutions, or by the appearance of judicial authority, would be to make a calculation that has been refuted by the history of all institutions like that before us. Neither is it practical to frame laws in such a way as to make them, by their arbitrary and controlling influence, preserve, in perpetuity, the primitive identity of social and religious institutions.

"The granite promontory in the deep may stand firm and unchanged amidst the waves and storms that beat upon it, but human institutions cannot withstand the agitations of free, active, and progressive opinion. Without laws are stationary, things are progressive. Any system of laws that should be made without the principle of expansibility, that would, in some measure, accommodate them to the progression of events, would

[2] These minute-books will be published by the author in the near future.

[3] The case was argued below before Judge Wardlaw in 1844, Messrs. King and Memminger appearing for the appellants, and Messrs. Petigru and Bailey contra. That the case was carried to the courts at all was mainly due to Isaac Leeser. (See *The Occident*, Vol. 10, p. 226.)

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have within it the seeds of mischief and violence. When the great Spartan law-giver gave his countrymen laws, with an injunction never to change them, he was a great violator of law himself. For all laws, however wise, cannot be subjected to Procrustean limitations. *Cesante ratione cessat lex* is a profound and philosophical principle of the law. These remarks are more particularly true in reference to matters of taste and form. Let the oldest member of any civil or religious corporation look back and see if he can, in any instance, trace the original identity of his institution throughout its entire history. Those who now, in the case before us, insist with most earnestness on a severe observance of ancient rites and forms would hardly recognize or understand the same, as they were practised by their remote ancestors, who founded the Synagogue. The Minhag Sephardim was a ritual of Spanish origin; and, although it may yet obtain in different countries, yet how differently is it observed. If two Jewish congregations, one from Poland and the other from Spain, were to be brought together, whilst professing to be governed by the same rituals, they would probably find themselves unable to understand each other in their observances of them.

"The Jews in every part of the world, by whatever forms they may be governed, could, no doubt, recognize the general spirit and prevailing principles of their religion to be essentially the same. But in mere form a resemblance could not be traced with anything like tolerable uniformity.

"As practised and observed in Charleston in 1784, and for many years afterwards, exercises in Spanish were connected with it. They have been long since discontinued; long before the commencement of this controversy. Religious rituals merely, not involving always essential principles of faith, will be modified to some extent by the influence of the political institutions of the countries in which they are practised. In a despotism, where toleration is a sin to the prevailing religion, religious exercises will be conducted in secret or in occult forms. Faith and doctrine may take refuge in these for safety. On the contrary, in a country where toleration is not only allowed, but where perfect freedom of conscience is guaranteed by constitutional provision, such devices will not be resorted to. Language itself is continually undergoing changes; clumsy expressions of rude language will give way to modern refinement. There are those in every church who would be shocked at the change of expression in respect to the tablets or books that contain the prayers and more solemn forms of religious rituals. At this time there are many who oppose any change of style in the editions of the Bible. It is not surprising that those who have been accustomed to one form of expression should have associations with it that they could not have with another. And it is so of all religious

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forms and ceremonies. The feelings of such persons should never be treated with indifference or rudeness. They deserve respect and are to be regarded as useful checks on reckless innovation. Matters of this kind must necessarily belong, and should be committed, to the jurisdiction of the body that has the right of conducting the religious concerns of ecclesiastical corporations. Charters are granted to such corporations upon the ground that they can carry out their ends with greater efficiency than if they were left to individual exertions and the operation of the general laws of the land. The parties before us who are opposed to reform contend that dangerous changes have been made in the form of their worship, particularly as it respects the introduction of instrumental music. It is not pretended but that the organ, the instrument complained of, was introduced by the constituted authorities; but the ground taken is, that this authority has been exercised to do that which is against the provisions of the charter, which guarantees that the Minhag Sephardim should be a ritual of the Congregation, and that it did not allow of instrumental music as a part of it. The objection is to the mere form in which the music is used and practised in this Congregation. I suppose it might be admitted that in its origin such a ritual was practised without the aid of instrumental accompaniment, but to suppose that the exact kind of music that was to be used in all former time had been fixed and agreed upon by the Jewish worshippers who obtained this charter would be to attribute to them an impracticable undertaking. That such music was not used is certain; but that it might not in the progress of human events be adopted, would be an attempt to anticipate the decision of posterity on matters that must be affected by the progress of art and the general tone of society, and which could not be controlled by arbitrary limitation. As this was a subject that could not be well reached, much less continually controlled, by the judgment of this Court, we think the Judge below very properly excluded all evidence in relation to it.

"Evidence was offered on a graver subject, touching the faith and religious professions of the majority that introduced and established the organ. It might be sufficient to say that the party which has been charged with heterodoxy in this respect profess to adhere to the ancient faith of the Jews. They do not occupy the position of those who openly disavow the faith of the founders of the Synagogue. If they were to do so, it would be time for the Court to say how far it would take cognizance of the rights of the minority under the terms of their charter. How can a Court ascertain the faith of others except by their professions? Can it be done by the opinions of others, and if so, by whose opinions? It is said that no two eyes can see exactly at the same distance, and, perhaps,

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no two minds have exactly the same conceptions of the same subjects, particularly of matters of faith and orthodoxy. The unexpressed sentiments of the human mind are hard to be found out, and it is a delicate office to assume a jurisdiction over its operations when they are to be reached by the opinions of others or conjectural inference. Expressions and acts may give tolerable information, upon which the judgment may act and determine.

"In this case suppose the Judge below had opened the inquiry as to the faith and doctrines of the dominant party, where would he have looked for information? Surely not to the minority or any others who might occupy an adversary position. Could he have trusted to the testimony that might have been procured and given from other sects and denominations of Jews in other countries? And, if so, should he have consulted those who live in Palestine, in Germany, in England, or in the United States? He might have assumed the power to do this, but it would have been a wilderness of power with scarcely a compass to guide him. It would have been to go into the labyrinth of curious and recondite learning, without a clue by which he could escape from its bewildering perplexities. He would have had another difficulty, that is, to determine whose testimony he would have taken, for both parties, no doubt, had ready and able advocates for their respective doctrines. It seems to me it would have been hard for a civil magistrate to give a definite, much less a satisfactory, judgment on such subjects. We, therefore, concur in the propriety of the course pursued by the Judge below in respect to these matters. If the Court can be called upon to settle by its decision such disputes, it would be bound to require parties to conform to its standard of faith—a judicial standard for theological orthodoxy."[4]

The seceders had meanwhile, in 1843, formed a new Congregation, Shearith Israel (The Remnant of Israel), under the leadership of the Rev. J. Rosenfeld. They had their own place of worship on Wentworth Street, though for some time previously, while the case was pending, they had occupied the old Synagogue on alternate Sabbaths. So bitter was the feeling between the parties, that all intercourse between them was practically at an end. The seceders even went so far as to acquire their own cemetery,

[4] Richardson: *South Carolina Law Reports*, Vol. 2, pp. 270-274. See also Elzas: Pamphlet Reprint, *The Organ in the Synagogue.*

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which adjoined that of Beth Elohim, but which was separated from the latter by a high wall. It was a lamentable condition of affairs. But further trouble had been brewing in Beth Elohim.

On the first day of Passover, 1843, Poznanski, who had approved the proposition to erect the organ, preached a sermon in which he declared the observance of the second days of the festivals to be unnecessary and recommended their abandonment. The Congregation was not prepared for such a radical step and a special meeting of the trustees was called on April 19, 1843, when resolutions were adopted that the proposition was "a violation of the Constitution and calculated to create discord and anarchy." Poznanski was further requested to inform the trustees "whether he intended in his future lectures to propose or advise innovations of the established form of service as observed by us, and all other congregations of Jews throughout the world." In a letter to the trustees Poznanski declared that he had been authorized by a former resolution of the trustees "to make such remarks and observations as I might deem proper," and that the majority of those who had voted in favor of the resolution of disapproval had previously well known his opinion on the subject in question. As lecturing was no part of his duty, he declined to lecture any more. This letter was voted unsatisfactory. In a subsequent letter he wrote that "with the sole view of restoring and preserving peace and harmony in our Congregation," he would advise no further innovations "until the general desire of the Congregation to hear the truth on any religious subject, and to have our holy religion divested of all its errors and abuses, shall be expressed to me through their representatives, your honorable board." The matter was referred to the Congregation, and the course of the trustees approved "without any reflection upon the Rev. Hasan." At this same

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meeting a resolution was offered: "That the established service of this Congregation embraces all the Mosaic and Rabbinical laws." It was rejected by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-seven. This caused a further secession, the seceders joining the "Remnants."

Thus was Judaism in Charleston in 1840 and for many years thereafter a house divided against itself. There were now two Congregations. Both were weak, though Shearith Israel, marked by a greater unity of purpose, showed greater strength. The dissensions of the Synagogue were carried into the family—son being arrayed against father and brother against brother. Though incessantly persecuted, Poznanski wisely ignored his public critics. Their criticism was mainly of a personal nature, certainly not such as would carry conviction to any intelligent mind.[5] Everything that malice could invent was charged against him. Even the character of his father was aspersed, only to be triumphantly vindicated.[6] In 1843, with a view of restoring peace, he resigned and for

[5] See, *e. g., The Occident,* Vol. 2, pp. 150-3, 210-12, 297-9; Vol. 9, pp. 203-21.

[6] The following certificate in German and English appears upon the minutes of the meeting of Sept. 26, 1841:

"We, the undersigned, President of the Hebrew Congregation of this city [Storchnest] do hereby certify that Mr. Joseph Poznanski, a resident of this city, married his wife Sarah (who died 3 June, 1836), as a virtuous Jewish virgin, that his marriage took place according to the Jewish laws and with the usual ceremonies, and that he had by her the following legitimate children, namely, Gustavus, Leah, Rebecca, Frederika, Heiman, Hinde, and Gershon.

"We further certify that the said Joseph Poznanski has been a member of our Congregation not only since, but long before he married the said Sarah, his wife, and that up to this day he has been esteemed by all as a highly respectable gentleman & a pious Israelite.

"STORCHNEST, 29th June, 1841.

"LEISER LERESBAUM, G. H. LEVIN, R. HOFFMAN.

"Pres. of Corporation; Shochet and Rabbi; Pres. of Representation."

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four months ceased to officiate as Minister. When, however, the privilege of conducting the Synagogue on alternate Sabbaths was accorded the members, he officiated gratuitously for the sole consideration. Needless to say, his motive was misunderstood.[1]

At a meeting held on January 3, 1847, Poznanski appeared before the trustees and formally tendered the propriety of his retiring from office, setting forth at the same time the reasons why such a course was imperative before. The matter was fully discussed and referred to a general meeting held on January 11, 1847. At this meeting it was resolved "that the suggested resignation of the Minister would be equally disastrous to the Congregation and the cause of Jewish Reform." Poznanski yielded to the wishes of his friends and continued to officiate for several months. Still feeling that he ought to resign, a meeting of the Congregation was called on November 14, 1847. A committee of five was appointed, of which Poznanski was chairman, for the purpose of taking steps "to procure a Hazan in every way competent to be at the head of this Congregation." Advertisements were inserted in *The Occident* and the London Jewish papers, in the *Archives Israélites*, and in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. Four applications were received, from the Rev. B. C. Carrillon, of Kingston, Jamaica, from Mr. Mayer Stern, of Liverpool, from Dr. W. Sopher, Minister at Colthen, Germany, and from Dr. Julius Landsberger, of Breslau, who was strongly endorsed by Dr. Geiger. [August 17, 1848.] The application of Dr. Landsberger was favored and considerable correspondence took place between himself and the committee, ending in his election. When he was expected, it was discovered from the German papers that he had accepted another position at Brieg, Germany. [October 28, 1849.] No reason

[1] *The Occident*, Vol. 2, pp. 297–9.

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was assigned for his change of purpose. Possibly the committee had failed to answer his many questions satisfactorily. In one of his letters he inquires about "the sanitary state of those climates, in order to give some comfortable affirmation to my old parents, who love me dearly and tenderly and who are in an intense fear of the yellow fever and other horrors."

The circular was published again on January 7, 1850. At a meeting held on February 5, 1850, the President stated "that a letter had been received from Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of Albany, N. Y., dated January 24, 1850, applying for the situation of Minister of K. Beth Elohim, expressive of his ability to meet the requisitions of the circular, dated the 13th November, 5610, and proffering to visit the Congregation, to put himself on trial, should they deem it advisable." This letter was accompanied by a report from Poznanski strongly endorsing the application, though the applicant was not personally known to any of the committee. Dr. Wise's letter contained various conditions, one of which was the extension of the probationary term to five years, and another, "the furnishing of a house in a manner as would comport with the dignity of his position." He was invited to come on a visit "in order to afford the Congregation the pleasure of forming his acquaintance and of hearing him preach the Word of God, ardently hoping that his visit might result in his election." Dr. Wise arrived in Charleston on February 22, 1850. Dr. Raphall, who was to deliver a series of lectures by subscription, had arrived on the 18th and met with a most enthusiastic reception. *The Courier* spoke of him as a "scholar, critic, orator, and artist." All the papers gave extended notices of his lectures and he was even praised editorially.[8] Beyond the

[8] See *The Courier*, Feb. 18, 23, 25, 1850. *The Mercury*, Feb. 22, March 9. *The Evening News*, Feb. 20, 25, 27; March 1, 4, 5, 8, 19.

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announcement of the arrival of "J. Wise," Dr. Wise's visit to Charleston is unnoticed in the local press. He preached in the Synagogue on Sabbath and made a good impression.[9] While in Charleston he was an auditor of the Raphall-Poznanski debate, a very distorted account of which he has given us in his *Reminiscences*.[10]

Dr. Wise returned to Albany. At a meeting held on March 12, 1850, he was elected Minister of Beth Elohim. At the meeting of April 24th it was reported that Dr. Wise would remain at Albany. Poznanski tendered his services to the Congregation, in a private capacity, until a Minister could be procured, refusing to accept any remuneration. Rev. Julius Eckman, of Richmond, was invited to Charleston and elected on May 29, 1850. At the meeting held on May 5, 1850, strong resolutions of condemnation were passed against Dr. Wise and transmitted to Albany. The Congregation soon forgave him, however, and when, some years later, Dr. Wise preached in Charleston again he received a most cordial welcome.

Poznanski now retired from the pulpit permanently, after thirteen consecutive years of valiant and faithful service. He became a member of the Congregation and continued to serve it with his counsel and encouragement until he removed to New York some years later. At a public meeting held on June 6, 1850, complimentary resolutions were passed on his retirement, referring in fitting terms to his past services.

Dr. Eckman's pulpit ministrations proved disastrous. His views were disappointing. He was constantly "arraigning individual opinions on doctrinal grounds" and frequently indulged in violent denunciation. What was left of the Congregation was once more divided. Petitions for

[9] *The Occident*, Vol. 8, pp. 217 *et seq.*, pp. 249–257.

[10] For further notices of this debate see *Sinai*, Vol. 1, p. 178, also *The Occident*, Vol. 8, p. 257.

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his resignation were presented and counter petitions. He resigned in 1851 and Mr. Moses Rubenstein, of New York, was appointed temporary Hasan.

In March, 1852, Dr. M. Mayer was called to the pulpit of Beth Elohim and elected permanently in 1857. He was a scholarly man, but, like his predecessor, frequently indulged in personal allusions, impugning the conduct of his members. This kept the Congregation in a constant state of ferment. All interest was gone and the financial condition of the Congregation was desperate. On August 21, 1858, Dr. Mayer left for New York on account of ill-health and in 1859 he resigned. For nearly two years the services were conducted by laymen, until Rev. Abraham Harris was elected on February 12, 1860. None of his successors had the tact of Poznanski and the Congregation was now in its poorest estate. Shearith Israel, however, was prosperous. Its members were united and it was fortunate in its Ministers, among whom were Rev. Ellis Lyons (1852–3), Rev. Solomon Jacobs (1853-8), and Rev. Henry S. Jacobs (1858-1861). The breaking out of the war and the removal from the city of many of its members, however, put an end to its prosperity and caused the Synagogue to close its doors. Neither Congregation was now able to stand alone and the way was thus paved for reconciliation and amalgamation. Of this we shall tell in a later chapter.[11]

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[11] There is an interesting reference in the literature that probably belongs to this period. Naphtali Zebi Judah Berlin (1817–1893), the chief of the rabbinical school at Volozhin, was consulted by a Charleston Rabbi as to whether minors or Sabbath breakers might be included in the making of a Minyan (religious quorum of ten men). His answer, rather unfavorable to both, is to be found in his volume of *Responsa Meshibh Dabar* (Warsaw, 1894), Part 1, No. 9, p. 15. It bears no date.

There is an interesting account of the organ controversy in *Life and Times of C. G. Memminger*, pp. 175–8. It is likewise worthy to note that the first American edition of Salomon's *Twelve Sermons*, etc., was published in Charleston in 1840.

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CHAPTER XII—THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

THE list of South Carolina Jews who remained true to their country and to their country's cause in the darkest hours and who proved their fidelity and patriotism by laying down their lives upon the field of battle could be greatly extended. Their names are graven upon many a monument throughout the land and their prowess in arms is a part of the military glory of the country. As Montaigne says, the virtue and valor of a man consist in the heart and in the will, and by this rule the Hebrew soldiers of South Carolina may be fairly judged. What they had they gave freely to the State, and on many a bloody field did they prove the high quality of their courage. They possessed what Napoleon called 'the two o'clock in the morning courage,' and they followed the flag with superb loyalty to victory and defeat. When the history of South Carolina's part in the great struggle is written and the books are finally posted, we are sure that the Hebrew soldiers of this State who wore the grey will have their full meed of praise."—*The Sunday News,* Charleston, S. C., Jan. 3, 1892.

The story of the Jews of South Carolina in the war between the States is a most glorious chapter in the annals of Jewish patriotism. To say that practically every man was at the post of duty is but to express the literal truth. Young boys and old men left their homes to do duty in the field, and many were the families whose every male member went to the war. A conspicuous example that deserves to be men-

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tioned is that of the late Mrs. Octavia Moses, of Sumter, who sent five sons. Another remarkable instance is that of Mrs. Solomon Cohen, of Savannah, a native Carolinian, who saw thirty-two of her descendants leave for the service—children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren—occupying positions ranging from private to Quartermaster-General of the Confederacy. It might be noted, too, that Judah P. Benjamin, the towering figure of the Confederacy, received part of his early education in South Carolina. The first Surgeon-General of the Confederacy, Dr. David C. De Leon, was a South Carolina Jew, and A. C. Myers, the first Quartermaster-General of the Confederacy, was the son of a South Carolina Jew.[1]

In the Secession Convention on April 8, 1861, a special resolution of thanks was passed to Mr. Ben. Mordecai, of Charleston, who made the first, as well as the largest, contribution to the cause of the Confederacy.[2] Mr. Mordecai was a wealthy merchant, who literally gave all he had to the Confederacy. It was through his heroic efforts that the "Free Market of Charleston," for the benefit of the families of absent volunteers, was established.[3] The extent of the beneficent operations of this charity can be judged

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[1] The Minute-Books of the Congregation Beth Elohim furnish a remarkable testimony to the patriotism of the Jews of Charleston. From June 1, 1862, there was no regular trustee meeting "owing to the existing war and the impossibility of obtaining the presence of a sufficient number of trustees to form a quorum." The first meeting of any kind held after this date was the general meeting of Jan. 21, 1866.

[2] "*Resolved*, That this Convention highly appreciates the generosity and public spirit of those citizens and friends of the State who have contributed money and labor for the benefit of the State; and take pleasure in noticing particularly the liberality and patriotism of Benjamin Mordecai, Esquire, in making the first and very generous donation."—*Journal of the Convention*, p. 282.

[3] *The Courier*, Feb. 26, 1862, and March 10, 1862. There is a magnificent tribute to him in *The Courier* of March 12, 1862.

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from the fact that as early as May, 1862, four hundred and twenty-five families were supported entirely on its bounty.[4] In December, 1862, it supported upwards of six hundred families at a monthly expense of $8,000.[5] To the funds of this Free Market Ben. Mordecai was by far the most generous contributor. He was likewise a most generous contributor to the "Wayside Home" and to the "Home for the Widows and Orphans of Soldiers." He invested all of his money in Confederate bonds and died, a poor man, in New York, never regretting that he had lost his money in the cause that was dear to him, and only lamenting that he was no longer able to respond to the numerous applications for assistance that were made to him.

But the example of Mr. Mordecai is by no means unique. The lists of contributors published in the contemporary papers during the period that tried men's souls furnish numerous examples of patriotic devotion.[6] The honor of having made the first contribution in response to the appeal of the Surgeon-General belongs to the "ladies of Colonel Jacobs's family."[7]

The complete record of the part played by the Jews of South Carolina in the war between the States will never be known. Hundreds of rolls of companies are no longer in existence, and the records that are in existence have been

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[4] *The Courier*, May 20, 1862.

[5] Ibid., Dec. 23, 1862.

[6] "If other citizens of all races and creeds were as fully and as earnestly awake to the discharge of their duties in this regard, and the relief of their kindred, as some of the Hebrews have been, and are, the difficult problems of relief and assistance which often perplex our legislators and rulers in State and city would soon be easily solved."—*The Courier*, Feb. 16, 1864.

[7] *The Charleston Mercury*, Jan. 3, 1861. For an interesting account of what the Jewish women did in Sumter see *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, pp. 54–5.

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so compiled that accurate investigation is impossible. The lists of 70,000 names in Columbia have been examined several times, but the difficulty of identifying names without unlimited time at one's disposal is overwhelming. Only such names, therefore, have been included in the following list as have been positively identified. With this introduction we will let these records speak for themselves. For the sake of easy reference the names are arranged alphabetically:

ABRAHAMS, THEODORE H., Company D, 27th Infantry.

ALEXANDER, ISAAC, Company A, 10th Regiment. Detached to Ordnance Department.

ASHER, ABRAHAM, 1st Cavalry.

ASHER, HARRIS, Washington Mounted Artillery, Hampton Legion (1861),[8] later Hart's Battery.

ASHER, HENRY, Washington Mounted Artillery, Hampton Legion (1861), later Hart's Battery.

BARNETT, B. J., Company B, 1st Regiment, Engineer Corps. Surrendered at Appomattox April 10, 1865.

BARRETT, ISAAC, Company G, 5th Regiment, S. C. Cavalry. Transferred, 1862, to Captain Charles's Battery.

BARUC, B. S., 4th sergeant Willington Rangers.

BARUCH, HERMAN, courier on the staff of General Beauregard, Company K, 7th Cavalry.

BARUCH, SIMON, assistant surgeon in charge of 7th S. C. Battalion (Colonel James). Promoted to surgeon 13th Mississippi (Barksdale's regiment). Captured at Boonsboro, 1862, and again at Gettysburg. Established hospitals at Thomasville, N. C., at end of war.

BAUM, M., Company C, 6th S. C. V. Severely wounded at Seven Pines.

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[8] For roll of this company see *The Courier*, July 12, 1861.

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BAUM, MARCUS, Company E, 2d S. C. V. Killed at the battle of the Wilderness. On the staff of General Kershaw.

BAUM, M. H., Company A, 15th Regiment, S. C. V.

BELITZER, JACOB, Washington Artillery, Hampton Legion, and Hart's Battery. Wounded at Brandy Station, 1863.

BELITZER, THEODORE, German Hussars. Taken prisoner at Wilmington, he died by the steamer burning at sea which was conveying the prisoners to Fortress Monroe.

BENJAMIN, S., Company L, 10th Regiment. Mustered out under age.

BERG, J., Butler's Brigade, 2d S. C. V.

BLANKENSEE, H., Company A, W. L. I. Volunteers. Killed at first Manassas.

BLANKENSTINE, JACOB, Company A, 15th Infantry. Killed at Chancellorsville.

BOWMAN, L., Company K, 1st Infantry.

BROWN, JOSEPH, Company F, 10th S. C. V. Enlisted 1861. Captured at Missionary Ridge, November, 1863. Confined in Rock Island prison and released just before the close of the war.

BROWN, LOUIS, 3d corporal, Walter's Light Battery, Washington Artillery. Entered Confederate service February 28, 1862.

BROWN, MENDEL, sergeant Company F, 10th S. C. V. Killed at Atlanta.

CASPBERRY, AARON, Company E, 4th Battalion of Reserves.

CLARKE, HENRY, Company L, 10th S. C. V. (1861-3).

COHEN, —— corporal Company C, 7th S. C. V. Seriously wounded at Gettysburg.

COHEN, A. MARION, hospital steward, Culpepper's Battery.

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COHEN, ANSLEY D., Company I, 3d S. C. M. Enlisted in 1864 at the age of sixteen.

COHEN, ARTHUR M., Company C, Culpepper's Battery, Palmetto Battalion of Light Artillery.

COHEN, ASHER D., Company D, 5th S. C. Cavalry.

COHEN, D., Company E, 7th S. C. Cavalry.

COHEN, DAVID, Company L, 8th S. C. V. Transferred to 21st Infantry.

COHEN, DAVID D., Company D, 5th S. C. Cavalry.

COHEN, D. M., Company C, 13th S. C. V. Wounded at Manassas.

COHEN, E. B., 4th corporal, Willington Rangers.

COHEN, E. LOUIS, Company G, 5th Regiment S. C. Cavalry. Transferred, 1862.

COHEN, EDWARD P., Company G, 5th Regiment S. C. Cavalry. Transferred to Palmetto Guards, 1862.

COHEN, GUSTAVUS A., Washington Artillery, Hampton Legion and Hart's Battery.

COHEN, HENRY, Washington Artillery, Hampton Legion, and Hart's Battery. Killed at Savage Station.

COHEN, H. F., Washington Mounted Artillery, Hampton Legion.

COHEN, ISAAC, Company B, 21st S. C. V. Wounded at Morris's Island.

COHEN, ISAAC BARRETT, Palmetto Guards. Killed at Fort Fisher, 1865.

COHEN, J. BARRETT, was practising law in New York when the war broke out. He closed up his office and returned South. He was captured while crossing the Potomac River and imprisoned at Washington. Being very shortsighted and therefore unexchangeable, he was paroled. He returned to Charleston and was put in charge of the records of Charleston County, which were sent to Columbia for safe-keeping and which he returned intact after the war.

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Cohen, Jacob B., Company A, 21st Regiment Infantry, S. C. V., 5th sergeant. Killed at Fort Fisher. Promoted from the ranks.

Cohen, Joseph, Company D., Manigault's Battalion of Artillery.

Cohen, Julius, Walter's Light Battery, Washington Artillery. Entered Confederate service February 28, 1862.

Cohen, L. L., Company A, 2d Regiment Cavalry. Promoted and transferred in 1864.

Cohen, Lawrence L., Company C, Culpepper's Battery, Palmetto Battalion of Light Artillery.

Cohen, M., Company D, 6th Regiment Infantry.

Cohen, Marx E., Washington Artillery, Hampton Legion, and Hart's Battery. Killed at Bentonville, 1865. Earlier in the war was in Company D, 5th Cavalry.

Cohen, McDuff, Company D, 5th Regiment Cavalry. Wounded at Drury's Bluff, 1864, also at Gravelly Run, 1864.

Cohen, Morris, Company B, 7th Battalion Infantry. Captured May 16, 1864.

Cohen, Philip I., Walter's Light Battery, Washington Artillery. Entered Confederate service February 28, 1862. Surrendered at Greensboro, N. C., April 26, 1865.

Cohen, Philip L., Rutledge Mounted Riflemen.

Cohen, Robert, Company A, 22d Regiment S. C. V. Killed at Secessionville.

Cohen, Samuel, Company G, Holcombe Legion, S. C. V. Wounded at Suponey Church. Discharged at Point Lookout.

Cohn, Alexander, Company E, 5th Infantry. Wounded at Seven Pines.

Davega, Columbus, surgeon 23d Regiment.

De Leon, David C. The first Surgeon-General of the Con-

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federacy. Afterwards Chief Medical Director of General Lee.[9] He resigned from the United States army in 1861, where he was surgeon, with the rank of major.

De Leon, Edwin, Special Commissioner to England and France from the Confederacy.[10]

De Leon, Perry M., an officer of the ram Albemarle and other ships, C. S. N.

Emanuel, Edwin, corporal Company A, 10th S. C. V. Promoted to sergeant. Died at Oxford, Miss., in 1862.

Emanuel, Sol., Company A, 10th S. C. V.

Emanuel, Washington, Company A, 10th Regiment. Died of wounds at Atlanta.

Esdra, Arthur, Company C, Culpepper's Battery.

Flaum, M., Marion Light Artillery, State service only.

Foot, Michael, Company E, 3d Regiment, S. C. V. Wounded at Savage Station.

Fox, William, 1st sergeant Irish Volunteers. Wounded at Gettysburg.

Friedman, B., Company F, James's Battalion.

Geisenheimer, William, Washington Artillery. Enlisted in Augusta, Ga. Wounded at the battle of Shiloh.

Goldsmith, A. A. Entered State service April 15, 1861, in Rifle Regiment, Confederate service with Brooks Guards, Kershaw's Regiment (2d). Promoted to 2d sergeant in 1862. Fought at first Manassas, Savage Station, Malvern Hill, first Williamsburg, Sharpsburg, and many other battles. Wounded at Sharpsburg.[11]

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[9] It is said that every male descendant of the first Jacob De Leon over fifteen years of age was in the service of the Confederacy, nine in the field and two in the bureaus. Three of them were killed and several wounded. The author has not attempted to verify this statement, which is doubtless correct.

[10] For notice of Edwin De Leon see *The Courier*, Feb. 26 and Feb. 28, 1862.

[11] Records Camp Sumter.

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GOLDSMITH, ISAAC P., Willington Rangers.[12]

GOLDSMITH, J. L., 2d corporal, Willington Rangers.

GOLDSMITH, MOSES, commissary Palmetto Riflemen, 1861.[13]

GOLDSMITH, M. M., 1st lieutenant Georgia Reserves. Volunteered in the Charleston Zouaves in 1860 and then in the Willington Rangers. He was killed accidentally near Macon, Ga., August, 1864. At the time of his death, he was engaged in organizing a company for the 27th Battalion, Georgia Volunteers.[14]

HARBY, J. D. Entered Confederate service February, 1863, private Heavy Artillery under the command of L. C. Harby. Subsequently made 2d officer C. S. gunboat Sachua, from which he resigned and joined 8th Texas Light Artillery, Twetaine's Battalion. Fought at Colcaisen Pass and in some few coast skirmishes.[15]

HARBY, L. M., Captain. When South Carolina seceded he resigned his commission in the United States Navy and entered the Confederate service with the rank of commodore in the navy and afterwards distinguished himself in the defence of Galveston, when he commanded the Neptune at the capture of the Harriet Lane, and later on when in command of a fleet of gunboats on the Sabine River.[16]

HARRIS, MORRIS. Entered State service in 1861, Confederate service in 1861. Corporal Company A, Marion Rifles, 16th Regiment, S. C. M., Company A, Marion Rifles, 24th Regiment, S. C. V. Sergeant. Promoted in 1863. Fought at Secessionville, on the coast of North Carolina to May, 1863, Jackson, Miss., Chicka-

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[12] For resolutions on his death by the Willington Rangers see *The Courier*, August 19, 1862. See also obituary notice, August 25, 1862.

[13] *The Courier*, June 6, 1861.

[14] *The Courier*, August 25, 1864.

[15] Records Camp Sumter.

[16] Wolf: *The American Jew*, etc., p. 116.

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mauga, Missionary Ridge, and during Colonel Johnson's and General Hood's campaign. Was taken prisoner near Atlanta, Ga., July 22, 1863, and afterwards paroled.[17]

HART, DANIEL S., Palmetto Guards, afterwards detailed to Columbia.

HARTZ, H., Company L., 10th S. C. V.

HILZEIM, ALEXANDER M. Died from wounds received at Kenesaw Mountain, Ga.

HIRSCH, I. W. Entered State service in December, 1860, Butler Guards, Greenville, S. C.; Confederate service in April, 1861, Company B, 2d S. C. V. Fought at Bull Run, first Manassas, Peninsula, Rapidan, Spottsylvania, Seven Pines, Falls Church, Berryville, Charlestown, Turkey Bend, Cedar Run, Petersburg, New Market, Bentonville. Wounded at Seven Pines. Surrendered at Greensboro, N. C. Detailed in 1862 as assistant provost marshal at Columbia on account of wound.[18]

HIRSCH, MELVIN J., assistant commissary sergeant Company E, 25th Regiment Infantry. Promoted to commissary sergeant, Eutaw Regiment.

HOFFMAN, JULIUS. Enlisted April 10, 1861, Company A, 1st S. C. V. Fought at Secessionville, Manassas, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Leesburg, Boonsboro, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Deep Bottom, Petersburg, Appomattox. Surrendered at Appomattox.[19]

HOFFMAN, MICHAEL, Bachman's Battery. Killed at Black River.

JACOBS, ABRAM L., Company C, Hampton Legion. Wounded at Seven Pines. Died of wounds at Bean's Station.

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[17] Records Camp Sumter. [18] Ibid. [19] Ibid.

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JACOBS, F. C., Palmetto Guards, 17th Regiment, S. C. M., Stevens's Iron-clad Battery, 2d junior lieutenant Yeadon Light Infantry 1862.

JACOBS, H. R., Palmetto Guards, Company I, 2d S. C. V. Transferred to cavalry.

JACOBS, ISAIAH, 1st lieutenant Company D, 2d Regiment. Promoted from ranks. Killed at Chickamauga.

JACOBS, LOUIS. Enlisted for the war in 1861, German Volunteers, Company H, Hampton Legion, afterwards Company B, Artillery, Hampton Legion. Fought at Cockpit Point, West Point, Gaines's Mill, Frazier's Farm, Malvern Hill, second Manassas, Boonesboro, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Suffolk, Gettysburg, Coosawhatchie, and Tullifinny.[20]

JACOBS, MITCHELL, Company I, 25th Infantry. Transferred to 21st S. C. V.

JACOBSON, H., Company B, German Artillery.

JOSEPH, A. H., Company K, 2d S. C. V.

KAMINSKI, H., commissary-sergeant 10th Regiment S. C. V. Promoted to brigade commissary-sergeant.

KLEIN, J., Company I, 11th S. C. V.

KOHN, THEODORE, Company G (Edisto Rifles), 25th Regiment, S. C. V. Was one of the first to enlist in this company, remaining in service until the close of the war. Served on James's Island and around Charleston, and fought at Secessionville, Pocotaligo, and on Morris's Island. Served for a while in Fort Sumter. In May, 1864, he left with his company for Virginia and took part in the fight at Walthall Junction. He was severely wounded at the battle of Drury's Bluff. Regaining the use of his arm, he rejoined his command in Virginia, and remained with it until the surrender.[21]

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[20] Records Camp Sumter. [21] *The News and Courier*, June 19, 1902.

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LAZARUS, B. D., Company A, 2d Regiment Cavalry. Wounded at York River in 1864.

LAZARUS, EDGAR M., Palmetto Guards Artillery. Detached to Quartermaster Department.

LAZARUS, MARKS H., Walter's Light Battery, Washington Artillery. Surrendered at Greensboro, N. C., April 26, 1865.

LAZARUS, SOLOMON, Walter's Light Battery, Washington Artillery. Entered Confederate service February 28, 1862. Surrendered at Greensboro, N. C., 1865.

LEVI, MOSES, Company I, 23d S. C. V. Captured and confined at Point Lookout.

LEVIN, GEO. W., Company A, 15th Regiment Infantry.

LEVIN, L. C., Company C, 2d Regiment Cavalry.

LEVIN, LU., Company H, 17th Regiment Infantry, S. C. V. Died at John's Island.

LEVIN, SAMUEL S., Company A, 15th Regiment Infantry. Died October 4, 1862, from wounds received at Sharpsburg.

LEVIN, S. W., Company A, 15th S. C. V. Wounded at Boonsboro.

LEVY, CLARENCE, Gist Guards Artillery.

LEVY, JULIAN C. Died of wounds received near Richmond.[22]

LEVY, J. M., corporal Company K, Orr's Rifles. Wounded at Wilderness. Promoted from ranks.

LEVY, LEWIS J., 2d corporal 1st Regiment (Gregg's). Promoted.

LEVY, S., Captain Miller's Company. Wounded in 1862.

LIEBESCHUTZ, M., Company I, 2d Regiment, S. C. V.

LOEB, JACOB H., assistant provost-marshal in Charleston.

LOPEZ, JOHN H., Palmetto Guards Artillery. Transferred in 1864 to Company F, 2d Engineer Regiment.

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[22] For obituary notice see *The Courier*, July 12, 1862.

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LOPEZ, MOSES E., private in Palmetto Guards, 1860. Assigned to the Iron-clad Battery on Morris's Island. Participated in the bombardment of Fort Sumter, April, 1861. Served subsequently on James's Island and John's Island, and on the coast between Charleston and Savannah, taking part in various engagements, including the battle at Secessionville. Detached for service in the engineer department, with which he was associated during the remainder of the war.[22]

LOWENBERG, DAVID, corporal Company A, 16th S. C. V.

LYONS, J. C., Company B, Battalion of State Cadets.

MARCO, J. J., Company K, 3d S. C. V.

MARCO, M., Company C, 6th S. C. V.

MOISE, CAMILLUS, Walter's Battery, Washington Artillery.

MOISE, EDWIN H., Palmetto Guards. Enlisted in 1862. Wounded near Averysboro, N. C., in 1865.

MOISE, HOWARD C., Company H, 25th Regiment. Detailed on account of deafness.

MOISE, ISAAC, Palmetto Guards, 17th Regiment, S. C. M., Stevens's Iron-clad Battery, Palmetto Guards, S. C. V. Enlisted in 1862. Transferred to Engineer Corps in 1864.

MORDECAI, A. L., Walter's Light Battery, Washington Artillery. Entered Confederate service February 28, 1862.

MORDECAI, G. L., Walter's Light Battery, Washington Artillery. Entered Confederate service February 28, 1862.

MORDECAI, ISAAC W., Palmetto Guards. Enlisted in 1863. Detached to Quartermaster Department in 1864.

MORDECAI, J. RANDOLPH, junior second lieutenant Company G, Palmetto Battalion of Light Artillery. Acting commissary Palmetto Artillery, 1862, and later lieutenant and adjutant.

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[22] *Confederate Military History*, Vol. 5, p. 710.

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MORDECAI, THOMAS W., ordnance officer Charleston Light Dragoons. Died May, 1861, of diphtheria contracted at Fort Moultrie.

MOSES, A. DELEON, Company C, Hampton Legion. Wounded at Chickahominy, 1862.

MOSES, ALTAMONT, telegraph branch Confederate service.

MOSES, DAVID L., Company C, Culpepper's Battery, Palmetto Battalion of Light Artillery.

MOSES, EDWIN L., Company D, 27th S. C. V. Died a prisoner at Camp Chase, Ohio, a few days before the surrender of the Confederacy.

MOSES, FRANK J., assistant surgeon. Served in Virginia through the war.

MOSES, H. C., Company D, 2d S. C. V. Wounded at first battle of Manassas and appointed lieutenant Company B, Lucas's Battalion, South Carolina Regulars.

MOSES, HORACE H., Company C, Culpepper's Battery, Palmetto Battalion of Light Artillery.

MOSES, ISAAC C., Company C, Hampton Legion. Wounded at Seven Pines and discharged.

MOSES, J. H., 4th corporal Cadet Company, S. C. A., Aiken's Regiment S. C. Cavalry.

MOSES, JOSHUA L., Palmetto Guards, Company I, 2d S. C. V. Killed at Blakely, Ala., 1865. Promoted to lieutenant of artillery.

MOSES, M. B., Company D, 2d S. C. V. Wounded at Fredericksburg in 1862.

MOSES, PERRY, Company C, Culpepper's Battery, Palmetto Battalion of Light Artillery. Senior 2d lieutenant. Wounded at Blakely, Ala.

MOSES, PERRY, JR., Company D, 2d S. C. V. Died at Richmond on September 12, 1862, from a wound received on July 1 at the battle of Malvern Hill.

MOSES, Z. P., Navy Department. Saw service round Richmond.

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NATHANS, J. N., Company D, 27th Infantry. Transferred to Company F in 1862.

OPPENHEIM, E. H., Company K, 2d S. C. V.

OPPENHEIM, HENRY H., Brooks Guards, 2d S. C. V. Wounded at Fredericksburg in 1862.

OPPENHEIM, H. W., Company K, 2d Regiment Infantry.

OPPENHEIM, JULIUS H., 1st sergeant Willington Rangers, Company G, Brooks Guards, 1862.

OPPENHEIM, SAMUEL, Company G, 5th Cavalry. Wounded in 1862.

OTTOLENGUI, ISRAEL, Company F, 1st Regiment Artillery.

PEIXOTTO, SOL. C., Company A, 15th Regiment Infantry.

PHILLIPS, ISIDORE, Bachman's Battery, Company H, German Volunteers. Wounded at Suffolk.

PHILLIPS, MITCHELL, Bachman's Battery, Company H, German Volunteers.

POLLOCK, BARNEY C., Company A, 15th Regiment Infantry. Wounded at Deep Bottom.

POLLOCK, CLARENCE, Company A, 1st Infantry. Killed at Spottsylvania on May 12, 1864.

POLLOCK, J. L., Company F, 3d Battalion (James's).

POLLOCK, THEODORE M., 1st corporal Company A, 15th Regiment Infantry. Wounded at Chickamauga. Promoted to 1st sergeant.

POZNANSKI, G., JR., Sumter Guards. Killed at Secessionville in 1862.[24]

ROTHSCHILD, BENJAMIN, musician Company B, McDuffie Rifles.

SAMSON, A. J., Company L, 1st S. C. V. Fought at Cold Harbor, Frazier's Farm, Malvern Hill, Cedar Mountain,

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[24] For obituary notice see *The Courier*, June 25, 1862. "A remarkable circumstance connected with Mr. Poznanski deserves mention. He had expressed to several friends his solemn presentment that he was to fall in battle, and yet went forward to repel the stormers and received his death-wound on the rampart."—*The Courier*, June 18, 1862.

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Manassas, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Falling Water, Petersburg, Deep Bottom. Taken prisoner at Falling Water and exchanged. Wounded. Surrendered with the Army of Northern Virginia.[25]

SAMPSON, EDWIN J., a member of a Texan regiment. Killed near Richmond, 27th July, 1862.[26]

SAMPSON, HENRY.

SAMPSON, JOSEPH, Company I, 21st Infantry. Detailed to Quartermaster Department.

SAMPSON, SAMUEL, Company I, 21st Infantry.

SCHILLER, LEWIS, Company C, 1st Cavalry, Hampton Legion.

SEIXAS, B. M., Company G, 20th Regiment S. C. V.

SHAPIRA, LOUIS D., entered Confederate service in June, 1862, Company C, Cavalry, Hampton Legion. Fought at Seven Pines, seven days' battles around Richmond, and Sharpsburg, Va.[27]

SOLOMONS, A. L., Governor's Guards, Columbia.[28]

SOLOMONS, J. T., commissary sergeant 20th S. C. V.

STRAUSS, B., Company A, German Artillery.

SUARES, J. E., Company I, 27th Regiment.

TOBIAS, J. L., Ordnance Department, Columbia.

TRIEST, M., enlisted in 1860; captain Company 2, 16th Regiment. Entered Confederate service, 1861, sergeant-major 24th S. C. V. Was promoted twice to A. A. A. General, once by General Stevens, who died before commission was returned, and again by General Capers just before the close of the war. Fought at Secessionville, Pocotaligo, Jackson, Miss., second Jackson, Miss., Atlanta, Missionary Ridge, Franklin, and Nashville. Wounded at Atlanta.[29]

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[25] Records Camp Sumter.

[26] For obituary notice see *The Courier*, August 25, 1862.

[27] Records Camp Sumter.

[28] *The Courier*, April 11, 1861.

[29] Records Camp Sumter.

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VALENTINE, HERTZ, Sumter Guards. Wounded at Secessionville.

VALENTINE, ISAAC D., corporal, Sumter Guards. Killed at Secessionville in 1862.[30]

VALENTINE, CAPTAIN JACOB. A veteran of the Mexican War. Appointed lieutenant at the beginning of the war. Took part in the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April, 1861. He was in charge of a battery at the battle of Manassas.[31] Was in command of Company G, 1st Regiment S. C. R., at Fort Moultrie in 1863 and commander of the post in November of that year. He was seriously wounded at Fort Moultrie in 1862.

VISANSKA, GEORGE A., 20th Regiment, S. C. V.

WEISS, JULES, Beauregard Light Infantry.

WERTHEIM, BERTHOLD, Company G, 16th Cavalry.

WERTHEIM, HYMAN, lieutenant Company E, 8th S. C. V. Killed at Gettysburg.

WERTHEIM, JULIUS, German Volunteers, 1861. Hampton Legion, Bachman's Battery.

WETHERHORN, LEVY, a member of the German Riflemen in 1861. Stationed at Morris's Island at the time when the *Star of the West* was thwarted in her attempt to supply the garrison at Fort Sumter. After ninety days' service with the riflemen, he volunteered in Company A, German Artillery, taking part in all its campaigns and engagements. He was finally taken prisoner by a Federal scouting party near Summerville, paroled, and soon afterwards the war came to an end.[32]

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[30] For obituary notice see *The Courier*, June 21, 1862. "Mr. Isaac Valentine, after receiving his death-wound, stated that he felt no apprehension of death; that he had done his duty, and that he had but one wish, that he might see his family before he died for his country."—*The Courier*, June 18, 1862.

[31] *The Courier*, August 22, 1861.

[32] *Confederate Military History*, Vol. 5, p. 908.

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WETHERHORN, MARTIN, Company A, German Artillery.

WETHERHORN, SOL., Company E, 25th S. C. V. Wounded at Petersburg.

WILSON, J. COHEN, Manning Guards, Hampton Legion.

WITKOFSKY, J., Company G, 27th Infantry.

WITTKOWSKY, ADOLPH, Company C, 6th Regiment S. C. V., Anderson's Brigade, Longstreet's Division. Enlisted 1861. Wounded at Williamsburg. Four months in prison at Washington, D. C. Permanently disabled. Promoted to sergeant.

WOLFE, JACOB, Company F, 23d Infantry.

WOLFF, W. M., 1st lieutenant Company G, 4th Regiment Infantry. Killed at Stony Creek. Was in command of company. Very brave.

ZACHARIAS, DAVID, Company C, 5th Cavalry. Killed at Mechanicsville.[33]

Markens in his book, *The Hebrews in America,* mentions the following Jewish soldiers belonging to South Carolina who are buried in the Confederate soldiers' plot at Richmond, Va.: E. B. Miller, H. Jacobs, Lieutenant W. M. Wolf (Hagood's Brigade), A. Lehman, Henry Cohen, I. Cohen (Hampton Legion).[34]

In addition to the above names of enlisted men there were many others, physically disqualified or above military age, who did duty in the Home Guard:

Captain Myer Jacobs, Charleston Guards;[35] S. Hart, Sr., orderly sergeant; M. Ehrlich, 3d sergeant. Privates: J. Cohen, S. Cohen, C. Hyman, L. Rich, M. Rich, J. Triest, J. Volaski, J. Wetherhahn, M. Wetherhahn, E. Zachariah, J. Zachariah.[36]

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[33] *Note.*—This list could, of course, be largely extended, had account been taken of the sons of South Carolina Jews who fought in the war.

[34] Markens: *The Hebrews in America,* pp. 340-1.

[35] *The Courier,* Jan. 11, 1861.

[36] Ibid., May 2, 1861.

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In the Regiment of Reserves, Company B, were: J. Blank, J. Furth, M. Hoffman, S. D. Jacobowsky, J. Rich, J. Seckendorff, A. Volaski.

Company C: N. Levin, 5th sergeant; M. L. Jacobson, 4th corporal. Privates: G. V. Ancker, S. P. Ancker, D. Benjamin, A. E. Cohen, L. Cohen, R. L. David, M. Goldsmith, J. Goudkopp, A. J. Harris, J. H. Hertz, A. Loryea, B. Mordecai, P. A. Moïse, P. Pinkussohn, George Prince, P. Wineman.[37]

Company D: A. J. Moses, 1st corporal. Privates: M. Cordova, Eugene Esdra, Isaac Harris, Isaac E. Hertz, Rev. H. S. Jacobs, Morris Meyer, Sam Samson, Dr. J. R. Solomons, Leopold Weiskopf.[38]

Company E: I. S. Cohen, Abram Harris, L. J. Myers, B. A. Rodrigues, John Sloman.[39]

Company G: Nathaniel Jacobi, 1st corporal. Privates: G. Schwabe, M. Seckendorff.[40]

Company H: J. Samson, 1st corporal.[41]

Other members of the Home Guard who are of record are: M. D. Cohen, M. Marks, J. Levy, J. Haas, and Edmund H. Abrahams.

In the large list of Jews here given, with three or four exceptions, every name has been positively identified, and with very few exceptions these records have been taken from original documents. In addition to these, there are hundreds of names of men who may or may not be Jews. These have been excluded from our list, as we believe that for historical purposes only such records should be given as are beyond question. Mr. Wolf in his book, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*,—perhaps the greatest monument, even if least appreciated, of his services to

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[37] *The Courier*, Dec. 11, 1861.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

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the cause of the Jew,—has given many more names, many of which we have not been able to identify, though many months have been given to the task, and it is with regret that we must leave them for future investigation. We must be satisfied, for the present, with the mere enumeration of the names of these men, the records of whom may be hereafter established.

James P. Altman, *Edwin H. Abrahams,[42] Barney Ball, D. Blankensee, A. Cashby, *Aaron Cohen, *C. S. Cohen, *Fishel Cohen, *Jacob H. Cohen, L. Daniels, Herman Dreyfus, G. Ellbaum, H. Emanuel, J. Emanuel, M. Fox, *I. L. Gunhaus, *S. Gunhaus, A. Hammerslough, H. Hammerslough, *I. Heyman, J. D. Hornet, Emanuel Jacobs, J. J. Jacobus, Julius Joel, Joseph Josephus, *David Kahn, *Isaac Kahn, *Theodore Kaphan, Jack Leopold, Leopold Levi, L. J. Levin, Lionel C. Levy, Jr., Lionel L. Levy, Isaac L. Lyons, Jacob Manning, Nathan Menken, Daniel Moses, M. P. Moses, T. J. Moses, Jr., Julius Nathan, *Meyer Richard, Abraham Robertson, Charles C. Robinson, *Jacob Rosendorff, A. Simon, H. Solomon, J. F. Solomon, Isaac Sommers, Ad. Summers, William Sulzbacher, *Myer Wachtel, Henry Warner, Samuel Weiss, J. C. Wilson, D. Wolf.[43]

Besides these names there are on the rolls hundreds of names that have the appearance of being the names of Jews. For reasons already given these have been excluded from the list. They include such names as the following: Isaac Abrahams, R. Canter, Marcus Harris, A. Jack Jacobs, David Jacobs, J. J. Jacobs, Jacob Marx, A. W. Messer,

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[42] Those marked * have been ascertained as having been in the war.

[43] Mr. Wolf, from whose lists the above names are taken, had other sources of information that are inaccessible to the author, and while many of his names may be erroneous, the majority of them are doubtless correct. This volume, the reader is again reminded, is concerned with the records alone.

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[illegible] Jones, [illegible] Jones, V. [illegible] Jones, V. [illegible] Jones. [illegible] Jones. While [illegible] Jones, [illegible] Jones, [illegible] Jones, [illegible] Jones, V. [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] is [illegible] in the records. It is, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to be shown and to be judged of [illegible] South Carolina boast of to more able and learned men and lawyers than were [illegible] few [illegible] in the [illegible] of her bench.

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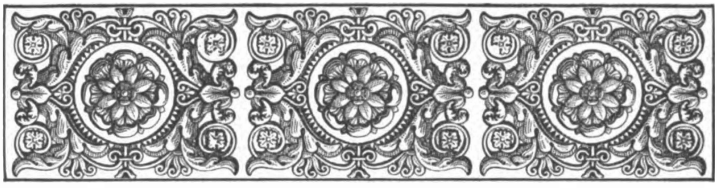

CHAPTER XIII—SMALLER COMMUNITIES

GEORGETOWN, CAMDEN, COLUMBIA, SUMTER, AND OTHER PLACES

THE history of the Jews of South Carolina is, naturally enough, mainly the history of the Jews of Charleston. There are, however, several other communities of historical importance and of which the records have much to tell. What these records reveal we shall now proceed to narrate.

GEORGETOWN.

Georgetown is the second oldest Jewish community in South Carolina. Jews have certainly lived here since 1762.[1] They probably lived here before this date. The records of Georgetown prior to the war are, unfortunately, destroyed. The earliest settlers, as far as our present information goes, were the families of Cohen[2] and Myers. We have no recorded data as to when the latter family settled there. A file of *The Georgetown Gazette* from May 15, 1798, to December 28, 1800,[3] contains the following Jewish references:

Levi Myers—apothecary's shop;[4] Solomon Cohen—Tax

[1] See obituary notice in *The Georgetown Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1800.

[2] Sons of Moses Cohen, the first Rabbi of Charleston.

[3] Collections of the Charleston Library Society.

[4] *The Georgetown Gazette*, May 15, 1798, also July 24.

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Collector;[5] Moses Myers—Clerk of Court of General Sessions and Common Pleas;[6] Nathan Hart;[7] Abraham Cohen—vendue master and auctioneer;[8] Levy Solomon;[9] L. Joseph;[10] Abraham Cohen—secretary Winyah Indigo Society;[11] Jacob Myers;[12] Abraham Myers.[13]

In 1799 we notice Abraham Cohen as one of the Commissioners of Streets and Markets;[14] Lizar Joseph—Clerk of the Market;[15] Solomon Cohen, 1st sergeant of 1st Troop, 6th Brigade;[16] Isaac C. Moses;[17] Mr. Sasportas—"agent for the French Republic at the time their cruisers were permitted to sell their prizes in this port."[18]

In 1800 Woolf Aronson;[19] Levy Salomon;[20] Moses Myers—Clerk of the Court of General Sessions;[21] Lizar Joseph—Clerk of the Market;[22] Abraham Cohen—Postmaster;[23] Jacob Myers—captain of Winyah Artillery Company;[24] Jacob Woolf;[25] "The Black-smith's Business, formerly conducted by Mr. Abraham Cohen, will in future be carried on by the Subscribers—Moses Myers, Jacob Myers."[26]

In 1801 *The Georgetown Gazette* notes Levi Solomon and Lizar Joseph in partnership in the vendue and commission business; W. Aronson;[27] Solomon Cohen, Tax Collector, sergeant of Winyah Light Dragoons;[28] Jacob Myers, Postmaster; Levy Myers, druggist; Lizar Joseph, Inspector of Customs for the Port of Georgetown; Moses Myers, Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas.

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[5] *The Georgetown Gazette*, May 22.

[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., June 5.
[9] Ibid., August 7.
[10] Ibid., Nov. 27.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., Dec. 4.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., Feb. 20, 1799.
[15] Ibid., April 10.
[16] Ibid., Nov. 13.
[17] Ibid., Nov. 13.
[18] Ibid., Dec. 18.
[19] Ibid., Mar. 26, 1800.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., April 5.
[22] Ibid., April 9.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., April 26.
[25] Ibid., July 5.
[26] Ibid., Dec. 24.
[27] His death notice occurs in the *Gazette* of Sept. 16.
[28] Ibid., May 2, 1801.

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In 1799 a Library Society was instituted "for the gradual establishment of a library in Georgetown." Solomon Cohen was treasurer of this society. Among its members were: Levi Myers, Moses Myers, Abraham Myers, Jacob Myers, Abraham Cohen, Jacob Cohen, and Solomon Cohen. Aaron Lopez was a member in 1828 and Solomon Cohen, Jr., in 1829.[29]

One of the oldest existing societies in South Carolina is the Winyah Indigo Society, of Georgetown. Among its members in the early days were the following: Abraham Cohen (1786), Solomon Cohen (1791), Nathan Hart (1791), Wolf Aronson (1795), Moses Myers (1799), Levi Myers (1800), Lizar Joseph (1801), S. Joseph (1814), Israel Solomon (1822), Sampson Solomon (1824), Aaron Lopez (1830), Joseph Sampson (1859), and Samuel Sampson (1859).

Among the Intendants of Georgetown have been Solomon Cohen (1818–9), Abram Myers (1826–8), Aaron Lopez (1836), Sol. Emanuel (1876–8), L. S. Ehrich (1886–9).[30]

In the early twenties the Solomons family settled in Georgetown—Abraham, Joseph, and Molsey J. Solomons; and in the forties the Sampson family—Jack, Joseph, and Sam Sampson—settled there.

The present Jewish community consists of exactly a hundred souls. Among Georgetown's merchants to-day are: S. Brilles, A. J. Dundas, L. S. Ehrich, S. J. Flaum, S. M. Gladstone, S. Gold, J. Isear, E. W., H., and J. Kaminski, C. J. Levy, P. Lewenthal, Abe Moses, L. Riff, M. Ringel, Herman and Joseph Schenk, and J. M. Visanska. The Winyah Inn is owned and conducted by Isaac Butler. The community has recently suffered greatly by the removal to

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[29] The original books and minutes of this Society are now in possession of the Winyah Indigo Society, of Georgetown.

[30] See *The Times*, August 12, 1896.

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New York of Marks Moses, who was an Alderman in 1892. The farewell banquet tendered to him by the people of Georgetown was a remarkable testimony to the esteem in which he was held. A congregation has recently been formed and is at present regularly ministered to by Dr. Barnett A. Elzas, of Charleston.

CAMDEN.

The city of Camden is the only city in South Carolina besides Georgetown where Jews settled in numbers prior to 1800. The earliest notice of a Jew in Camden District which we have found occurs in the Columbia records, in a document dated 1790, and refers to Mordicai Lyon. Camden still possesses some of its early records, but very few of the early newspapers are available. There are only a few references to Jews in the records prior to 1800: David Bush,[31] Samuel Levy,[32] Moses Sarzedas,[33] and Isaiah Bush.[34]

That there were Jews in Camden from an early date would seem evident from the will of Joseph Kershaw, made in 1788 and proved in 1792. "To God's Anticent people the Jews I give and devise the lot No. 315 for a Burying ground and place of worship whenever they may incline to to build upon the same."[35] The Jews do not seem to have increased in numbers, however, and it was not till 1880 that an attempt was made to form a congregation—"Gemilath Chasodim of Camden." Lot No. 315, however, was never claimed, owing to the undesirability of its location.

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[31] Camden Mesne Conveyance Records, Book A, p. 5 (1791).

[32] Ibid., pp. 98 and 176 (1793).

[33] Ibid., p. 275 (1794).

[34] Ibid., p. 152 (1794). It may be reasonably doubted whether David and Isaiah Bush were Jews. We have no information about them. The records show many of this name who were not Jews.

[35] Will Book C, p. 62.

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There were several prominent Jewish families in Camden in the first half of the nineteenth century. Chapman Levy is mentioned in the records in 1807. Dr. Abraham De Leon advertises in *The Camden Gazette* of April 3, 1816:

"Dr. De Leon (late of the Hospital Dept. of the U. S. Army) tenders his services in the line of his profession to his friends and the Public."[86]

Hayman Levy's name occurs in the records in 1819, Jacob S. De Pass in 1831, Judah Barrett in 1832, and Mordecai M. Levy in 1836. The families of Levy were not related, but they were all of considerable prominence. Hayman Levy was Intendant of Camden in 1843 and 1844. Both Chapman Levy and Hayman Levy fought duels with Camden men. Further notes concerning them will be found elsewhere in this volume.

The present Jewish community of Camden consists of about fifty souls. Among the leading merchants are: Mannes Baum, Gabriel H. Baum, Louis L. Bloch, Wm. Geisenheimer, M. H. Heyman, Gus Hirsch, Jacob Hirsch, L. Schenk, and David Wolfe. Harry Baum is one of the largest planters in the county. Legriel A. Wittkowski has been Master in Equity for Kershaw County for the past ten years and is held in general esteem by the community.

COLUMBIA.

We do not possess any definite data as to the time when Jews first settled in this city. They certainly lived here in numbers early in the nineteenth century. Mills informs us that in 1823 the "Female Auxiliary Jew Society" was formed in that city "with the express view to assist in colonising the Jews."[87] Writing in 1826, he remarks that

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[86] Courtesy of Thomas J. Kirkland, Esq., of Camden.

[87] Mills: *Statistics of South Carolina*, p. 434.

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"the Jews are forming themselves into a religious society."[38]

The author has been fortunate enough to find a unique copy of the Constitution of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Columbia, dated 1844, which contains a list of the early members of the community. This society was originally a burial society, established in 1822 for the purpose of maintaining a cemetery. It became the "Hebrew Benevolent Society" in 1826 and was incorporated in 1834. We reproduce here for its historical value the lists of members:

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Levy Polock,*
Phineas Solomon,*
Jacob Levin,*
Lewis Levy,*
Alexander Marks,*
A. Alexander,*
Elias Polock,
Emanuel Sampson,
Henry Lyons,
Jacob C. Lyons,
I. D. Mordecai,
Philip Myers,
Joseph H. Marks,
John Barnet,
Z. Harris,
Samuel Lopez,
Myer Nathan,
D. C. Peixotto,
L. Elias,
Moses Rosenthal,
Maier Gattman,
Marcus Goldburg.

MEMBERS WHO HAVE CHANGED THEIR RESIDENCE OR ARE DEAD.

Isaac Lyons,* Dead,
Samuel M. Levy,* D.,
Isaac S. Cohen,* Removed,
Abraham Lipman,* R.,
Judah Barrett,* R.,
J. C. Peixotto, R.,
Moses Hyams, M.D., R.,
Isaac D. Marks, R.,
John M. Hirsch, R.,
Lipman Levin, R.,
Jacob Ezekiel, R.,
Chapman Solomon, R.,
Levy J. Solomon, R.,
Benjamin Mordecai, R.,
Solomon J. Barrett, D.,
Moses Davega, D.,
Humphry Marks, D.,
Samuel Valentine, R.

[38] Mills: *Statistics of South Carolina*, p. 722.

* One of the founders.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

John Barnett,
H. S. Cohen,
S. A. Cohen,
A. N. Cohen,
M. Celler,
L. Elias,
H. Hess,
S. Keeling,
I. Levin,
L. Levy,
H. Lyons,
I. C. Lyons,
L. Lilienthal,
M. Lilienthal,
E. C. Polock,
D. C. Peixotto,
S. I. Rozenburg,
I. L. Polock,
I B. Polock,
L. Simmons,
H. Kauffman.

Columbia had thus quite early in the nineteenth century a large and flourishing Jewish community. Its Jewish citizens were more than ordinarily prominent, many of them occupying positions of civic distinction. Religiously, too, the Jewish community was an important one, being second only to Charleston. Leeser's *Occident* contains numerous references to its communal activity in the forties.[39] During the war many of the Charleston Jewish families refugeed there. The Jewish community to-day is small but prosperous. It numbers about one hundred souls. It has recently built a synagogue, which will soon be ready for occupation.

SUMTER.

Jews have resided here since about 1820. The earliest settler, as shown by the records, was Mark Solomons. He was followed soon after by Franklin J. Moses and his brother, Montgomery Moses. After the war the families of Moïse and Moses removed to that city, which families constitute to-day the greater portion of the Jewish population. Several Sumter Jews have attained great prominence. We have already written of Franklin J. Moses. Of the others we shall now tell.

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[39] See, *e.g.*, Vol. 7.

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Edwin Warren Moïse was the son of Abraham Moïse. He was born in Charleston on May 21, 1832, and died in Sumter on December 8, 1903. As a boy he attended the school taught by John S. Cripps, who was afterwards Consul to Mexico. At the age of fifteen he was obliged to leave school, owing to his father's lack of means. He worked for a while in a wholesale grocery in Charleston, and then went into the registry office, where he remained about two years, studying law. In 1856 he removed to Columbus, Ga., opening a law office in that place.

In July, 1861, he organized a company of one hundred and twenty men, fifty of whom he mounted at his own expense, costing him $10,000, all of his little fortune. The company was named after him, and afterwards became Company A of the 7th Confederate Cavalry, Colonel W. C. Claiborne commanding, of which company Mr. Moïse was made captain. In 1863 he was made major of the 7th Regiment, and near the close of the war was appointed commander of the regiment, though he never received his commission as colonel. He was in the Army of Northern Virginia, under General Robert E. Lee, and participated in the battles of Yellow Tavern, Brandy Station, Gettysburg, Five Forks, Averysboro, in the trenches at Petersburg, in the Battle of the Mine, and at Bentonville. With two hundred men he built the dams in Hetch's Run, in Virginia, near Petersburg, to protect Lee's left flank against Grant. He was also in the fight at the Davis House. At Gettysburg he received a slight wound. He was on the Hampton cattle raid, capturing 2,700 head of beeves from Grant in Virginia, and in the attack on Kilpatrick's camp, which was captured.

One of the most dangerous performances in which Major Moïse was engaged was the burning of the bridge at Smithfield, N. C., in 1865, in the retreat of Generals Hampton and Butler from Bentonville to Raleigh, at which latter place

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the last fight of those troops during the war occurred. Major Moïse was detailed with his regiment, the 10th Georgia, of General Butler's division and General Hampton's corps, to burn the bridge and cover the retreat of the troops. He fired it, and escaped amid a thick rain of bullets aimed at him and his command by the Federal troops, who were following him in hot pursuit. At the battle of Bentonville, on the third day, the extreme left of the Confederate line was attacked by a solid column of Federal infantry, which was met only by a thin line of dismounted Confederate cavalry. This line was instantly swept away, which would have resulted in the capture of Bentonville and the inevitable loss of General Joseph E. Johnston's army, but at the critical moment General Hampton rode up with his couriers, twenty-five to thirty in number, and immediately dispatched one to General Hardee, informing him of the situation. Hampton then dismounted with his staff and manned a battery of artillery, which was used with such effect upon the advancing Federal line as to check it till Hardee's troops came up and drove back the advancing force. In this intricate and dangerous manœuvre Major Moïse bore a conspicuous part.

After the war was over he settled in Sumter, where he commenced the practice of law in the Provost Court, in which he was very successful. When he emerged from the war he had only one wounded horse, which he sold to pay the first month's board of his family in 1865. Up to 1876 he practised law, and in that year he was elected Adjutant and Inspector-General upon the ticket headed by Hampton. He was reëlected in 1878 and served until 1880, when he declined any longer to be a candidate. He was Presidential Elector in 1880 and served many times as delegate to State Conventions. He was never a Secessionist, but was a Douglas Democrat. He was a delegate to the Reconstruction Convention which met in Columbia in 1865. Previous

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to the breaking out of the war he took the stump in Georgia in opposition to the secession movement. In 1888 he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress and was defeated by only three votes, Colonel William Elliott, of Beaufort, being his opponent. In 1892 he was the Democratic nominee for Congress from the 7th District, but was defeated by a Republican negro.

General Moïse, as he was familiarly called, was the type of what a good man and citizen should be. Brilliant as was his record in war, his record in peace was no less glorious. He will be ever remembered as the right arm of General Wade Hampton in Reconstruction days, who by his unselfish devotion to the cause, his many sacrifices, and his soul-stirring oratory, helped to redeem the State of South Carolina from the horrors of carpet-bag rule. True patriot that he was, he sought no political advancement for his services, and though he gave his fortune to the cause, he was content to live as a private citizen. His funeral was a remarkable demonstration of a people's love and affection and called forth the most eulogistic tributes from every newspaper in the State. We select only one—from one of the papers of his adopted city:

"It is given to few men of the prominence attained by General Moïse to be so generally beloved, to have so many sincere friends and so few enemies. And the enemies he had were made in the service of his State and country, and it was the principles that he represented and not his personality that made enemies, for he was one of those rare men who made friends easily by his spontaneous geniality and bound them to himself by hooks of steel by his sterling worth. To the poor and needy he was a friend in deed, an ever present help in time of trouble, and he has no more sincere mourners to-day than are to be found among the poor and improvident—whites and negroes alike—who, when all others refused them, never appealed in vain to him who now sleeps his last sleep. His was a charity that was so broad that it covered a multitude of sins and he extended it to the unworthy as generously and freely as to the worthy, for he recognized the world-old truth that it is the un-

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worthy who are most often in the direst need. Yet he extended a helping hand to many worthy ones who were sinking beneath the billows of adversity and assisted them to gain a foothold on the rock of self-support and prosperity. His good deeds live after him and many are here to rise up and bless him. Generous to a fault, his benefactions were made while he lived and he died a poor man, as far as this world's goods go, but rich beyond compare in good deeds bestowed and kindnesses done in the name of humanity.

"His fame as an advocate and orator will live after him and his success at the bar was commensurate with his abilities. For years he was the admitted leader of the Sumter bar as an orator, and his reputation extended beyond the borders of the State.

"When the true sons of South Carolina rose in their might to redeem the State from the hands of aliens, renegades, and negroes he was called to the front, and he did his part like a man and a patriot. The red-shirt Democrats of '76 still remember how he rode with Hampton from the mountains to the sea, and how his eloquence, his zeal, and courage inspired them to stand steadfast for white supremacy and an honest government. To do this he abandoned a most lucrative law practice, and being elected Adjutant and Inspector-General in 1876, he served for four years, and declined reëlection in 1880. Not satisfied with the pecuniary sacrifices he had already made, the deplorable condition of the schools of the State appealing to his sympathies, he gave all of his salary to the public schools the second year he held office.

"It was but natural that such a man should be missed in a community and that his death causes universal sorrow, and to-day there are many sad hearts in Sumter. But death came to him in the fulness of time, after a long, well-spent, and useful life; and the sorrow that is felt is tempered with gladness that he was spared so long to do good and to set a worthy example."—*The Watchman and Southron.*[*]

Major Marion Moïse, a son of General E. W. Moïse, is to-day one of Sumter's most prominent citizens. He was born on Sullivan's Island on June 14, 1855. He spent one year at the Virginia Military Institute and a few months at South Carolina College, leaving that institution when negroes were admitted in 1873. Like his father, Mr. Moïse

[*] Many newspaper tributes, together with other material, have been collected by the author in the small memorial volume: *Edwin Warren Moïse—In Memoriam* (Charleston, S. C., 1903).

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has taken an active part in public affairs. He served as Intendant of Sumter for four years and also for one term in the State Senate (1886-90). He has taken a prominent part, likewise, in educational affairs, having served as a member of the School Board of the Sumter Graded School for ten years, of which body he was for three years chairman. He has earned an enviable reputation in the State as a lawyer, and is to-day identified with the principal business enterprises of his adopted city.

ALTAMONT MOSES, son of Montgomery Moses, is a native of Sumter. He served for three terms in the City Council, was for many years a member of the Democratic County Executive Committee, and is now chairman of the City Executive Committee. He has frequently been a delegate to the State Conventions, his first service in that capacity being in 1868. He was a member of the National Democratic Convention in 1888 and also in 1904. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1886 and has been uninterruptedly a member of the General Assembly since that date. He is chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and a member of the "Sinking Fund Commission," "Hampton Monument Commission," and of the "Commission for Repairs to the State-House." He is Commissary-General on Governor Heyward's staff with the rank of colonel. He has been president of the Sumter Hebrew Benevolent Society, and also of the Sumter Society of Israelites; has served as president of the Board of Trade and of the Business Men's League, and as chairman of the Board of Commissioners of the city schools. Mr. Moses is considered to be one of the best informed men in the State on the finances of South Carolina, and one of the hard-working members of the House. He comes from a family of legislators. His grandfather, Myer Moses, was a member of the House from Charleston in 1810. His uncle, Chief-Justice Moses, was Senator from Sumter for twenty-five years, and another

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uncle, Henry M. Phillips, was a prominent member of Congress from Philadelphia.

Isaac C. Strauss is one of the more prominent of Sumter's younger Jews. He has been Referee in Bankruptcy since 1898; he is vice-president of "The Sumter Savings Bank," counsel and director of "The Sumter Telephone Company," and secretary and treasurer of "The Society of Israelites" of Sumter.

The following names include the principal Jews of Sumter to-day: H. D. Barnett, A. D'Ancona, M. Fromberg, Moses Green, Henry J. Harby, Horace Harby, Horace Harby, Jr., Jackson M. Harby, Joshua J. Harby, Ferdinand Levi, Mitchell Levi, J. H. Levy, Davis D. Moïse, Harmon D. Moïse, Marion Moïse, Altamont Moses, H. Claremont Moses, Eugene H. Moses, A. J. Moses, I. Harby Moses, Perry Moses, Perry Moses, Jr., Abe Ryttenberg, C. D. Schwartz, Isaac Schwartz, Isaac Strauss, Isaac C. Strauss.

The present Jewish population numbers about one hundred and twenty-five souls. The community is more than ordinarily prosperous, supports a Synagogue, of which Rev. J. Klein is minister, and a Benevolent Society.

OTHER COMMUNITIES.

We have taken note only of the older and historical communities of the State. Besides these, there are numerous small communities whose Jewish populations vary from twenty to one hundred souls: Abbeville, Barnwell, Beaufort, Branchville, Chester, Darlington, Florence, Greenville, Kingstree, Manning, Marion, Newberry, Orangeburg, Rock Hill, Spartanburg, St. Matthew's, St. Stephen's, and Union. There are many settlements of Jews, too, still smaller than these. To these places we cannot refer at length. It may be noted, however, that Beaufort had quite a large settlement of Jews in the early days, as is clearly shown by the tombstones in the Jewish cemetery at Savannah and

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from scattered notices of individuals in the Charleston newspapers of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Beaufort has no records, however, and careful inquiry among the older present inhabitants has failed to elicit any authentic data of historical value or interest. Darlington has a Jewish community of about sixty souls. It is visited periodically by Rev. J. Klein, of Sumter.

The country Jew is by no means a negligible quantity in estimating the importance of its Jewish citizens to the State. In the early days the majority of the Jews lived in Charleston. This is no longer the case, and many country Jews have been important factors in the moral and material development of their respective towns or cities. Of these several call for special mention.

Moses Levi, of Manning, was one of the oldest settlers of that town, whither he removed from Sumter in 1856. He engaged in business and amassed quite a fortune, which, however, he lost in the war, in which he had a very good record. After the war he resumed his business, and by dint of thrift and hard work regained his fortune to a large extent. He died in Manning, at the age of seventy-two, on January 26, 1899.[41]

Abraham Levi, son of Moses Levi, was born in Manning on July 31, 1863. He attended the primary schools of Manning and, later, private schools in New York City. He graduated in 1882 from Carolina Military Institute at Charlotte, N. C., studied law at the University of Virginia, and graduated at the Albany Law School in 1884. He was admitted to the Bar in 1885 and has practised law since that time in Manning. Mr. Levi is president of the Bank of Manning, which he organized in 1889, and is one of the leading financiers of Clarendon County. He was for a time editor of *The Manning Times*. No man has done more than

[41] *The News and Courier*, Jan. 27, 1899.

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he has for the industrial growth of the community in which he lives.

When Moses Levi, the father, died, he left a widow, six sons, and three daughters. The sons are all esteemed merchants in their respective communities, and the daughters splendid examples of exalted womanhood. After their father's death the children bought the fine property that was occupied as a school building and presented it to the town. It is now known as the "Moses Levi Memorial Institute." The mother, Hannah Levi, died recently,[42] and her children have again manifested their generosity by the donation of $1,000 for the purpose of founding a library, to be known as "The Hannah Levi Memorial Library." The town of Manning has appropriated $1,000 towards the building, and at the time of writing public subscriptions are being collected for the same purpose. Such is the work that is being done to-day by country Jews in South Carolina.

Louis Appelt is another distinguished Jew of Manning. He was born in the city of Troy, N. Y., on March 22, 1857. He was educated at the public schools of New York City and later at the High School at Greenport, L. I. He came to South Carolina while still a youth and engaged in mercantile pursuits. Mr. Appelt was Judge of the Probate Court for Clarendon County for twelve years (1886–1898), City Treasurer for four years, and was appointed Postmaster by President Cleveland, which position he continues to hold. He served four years in the State Senate (1898–1902), was on the staff of General Stoppelbein with the rank of major, was a member of several State Conventions, and also a member of the Democratic State Executive Committee. He has always taken the liveliest interest in matters relating to education. He is at the present time the editor and pro-

[42] *The News and Courier*, Jan. 20, 1905.

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president of *The Morning Times*, a paper conducted with great ability. He married Miss Elma Steinmeyer Clark in 1881.[a]

While writing of Marion mention should be made of BENJAMIN B. LORYEA, a gifted pharmacist, who was held in the highest esteem by the community, and who died at the early age of thirty-four on August 22, 1899. He was vice-president of the Pharmaceutical Association of South Carolina and for many years secretary of the Board of Pharmaceutical Examiners.

It might be noted here that the town of Marion had formerly quite a large settlement of Jews and an established congregation. Among the first residents were the Iseman, Cronheim, and Witcover families. This last family has been conspicuously identified with the development of the town since about 1860, and one of its members, Hyman Witcover, is to-day one of Marion's most prominent citizens.

In *The News and Courier* of June 15, 1905, there is a very interesting article on "The Jews of Darlington," which states that Jews have resided there since 1815. The earliest Jewish settler was a John Lazarus, a tanner by trade, who came from England.

THEODORE KOHN (1840–1902), one of Orangeburg's most prominent citizens, was a native of Furth, Bavaria. His father was a distinguished artist who took part in the struggle for political liberty in Bavaria, and, together with his wife and two sons, came to America in 1850. In the same year Theodore Kohn came to Orangeburg and went into business with his uncle, D. Louis. We have already noted his record in the war between the States. After the war he engaged in business in his adopted city and was likewise active in the public service. He was an Alderman of the

[a] *The News and Courier*, Jan. 30, 1899.

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city and was foremost in all public enterprises. He was instrumental in the organization of the Edisto Bank, being on its first Board of Directors. His most distinguished public service, however, was in connection with education. To him more than to anyone else is due the credit for the establishment of the excellent graded school system in Orangeburg. He is still referred to as the "father of the Orangeburg graded schools," and served on the Board of Trustees from the beginning till just prior to his death, when he resigned on account of ill-health. He was president of the Hebrew Benevolent Association from its organization in 1885. He was much esteemed by the community in which he lived, every place of business in the city being closed during his funeral services. Of his sons, August Kohn is one of the best known newspaper men in the State; Sol. Kohn continues his father's business in Orangeburg, and David Kohn is a textile engineer in Columbia.[44]

August Kohn, a son of Theodore Kohn, was born in Orangeburg on February 25, 1868. He received his early education at the school of Captain H. G. Sheridan in his native city, and studied for one year in New York. In 1885 he entered South Carolina College, taking the literary course and graduating with distinction in 1889. In 1888 he won the debater's medal in the Clarisophic Society. His first newspaper work was done on *The Carolinian*, the College magazine, of which he was first managing editor, becoming editor-in-chief in 1889. It was his original intention to become a lawyer, but circumstances, combined with his love for newspaper work, fortunately changed his plans. In 1889 Mr. N. G. Gonzales, the manager of the Columbia Bureau of *The News and Courier*, was stricken with typhoid fever. Recognizing Mr. Kohn's ability, he secured him to

[44] For an appreciative biography of Theodore Kohn see *The News and Courier*, June 19, 1902.

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take charge of the Bureau, which he did most acceptably. Instead of studying law, he accepted a position as one of the local reporters of *The News and Courier*. His career was one of steady promotion, and he became manager of the Bureau in February, 1892, in which office he has remained continuously since that time.

Mr. Kohn is to-day recognized as one of the ablest journalists of the State, and bids fair, if he continues as he has begun, to rival the great Cardozo himself. We can only make brief reference here to his work as a journalist, for Mr. Kohn has been remarkably productive in every variety of work that the newspaper man is called upon to perform. His reports of the legislative proceedings, that he has furnished for years to his paper, are models of completeness and accuracy. In April, 1894, the "Darlington Rebellion," the tragic result of the Dispensary Law, excited the entire State. Darlington was under martial law. Mr. Kohn's vigorous reports from the scene of action were such that the militia officer in command was instructed by Governor Tillman to "muzzle Kohn or put him outside of the lines," but, notwithstanding all efforts made to thwart him, he managed day by day to publish the fullest news. The story of how he got the news is as thrilling as any of the adventures of the representatives of the Associated Press. Single-handed, he reported the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1895, his daily reports often covering two whole newspaper pages, an achievement that few could have performed successfully, and for which Mr. Kohn received the public thanks of the Convention. Mr. Kohn has reported many of the important criminal trials in the State, and has likewise reported more political campaigns than any newspaper man in the State. His wide knowledge of the politics of the State and his possession of the confidence of the politicians have made his daily letters both interesting and of permanent value to the future historian. His articles on

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industrial subjects, notably his "Review of the Cotton Mill Industry," in 1903, attracted the widest attention and are accepted as authoritative. During the Spanish-American War Mr. Kohn accompanied the 1st Regiment to Chickamauga as war correspondent. His graphic descriptions of the doings of the soldiers in camp were eagerly read day by day and will be long remembered.

Mr. Kohn is not only a good newspaper man, but is an equally good business man and is connected with many important enterprises. He is a director of the National Loan and Exchange Bank, of Columbia, and of the Columbia Trust Company; he is treasurer of the South Carolina Press Association, a trustee of South Carolina College and of the South Carolina College Alumni Fund; a director of the Richland Cotton Mill, and of many other enterprises. He is a director of the Hebrew Orphan Home at Atlanta. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel on the staff of Governor McSweeney and occupies a similar position on the staff of Governor Heyward. He is generally acknowledged as a most potent factor in the commercial upbuilding of the prosperous city of Columbia.[45]

Of the country Jews of South Carolina we have selected only a few names that stand out more prominently. There are doubtless many others who have rendered and are rendering good service to the State. Such a man, for example, was the late Philip Cohen, of Union, the founder of the public school system of that city. Authentic data, however, are not at hand, and our present task is restricted to the things that are matters of record. Enough has been said to establish the value of the country Jew as a factor in the uplifting and the upbuilding of the State.

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[45] For numerous notices of Mr. Kohn's multifarious activities see the Centennial edition of *The News and Courier*, especially pp. 26 and 27.

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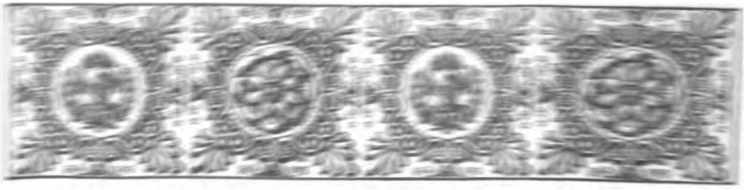

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THE main object of this volume as explained before, being the preservation of the early memories of the Jews of South Carolina, we have treated the early story in full detail. In writing of the modern period such detail is no longer necessary. We are too near the scene to make a critical estimate of the present and we can write but for the future historian. We will therefore deal with this period only in broad outline.

In a [illegible] matter the Jews of South Carolina, or rather the Jews of Charleston—for historically, prior to 1862, the Jews of South Carolina were the Jews of Charleston—presented a picture of a house divided against itself. The lamentable religious dissension that existed was not confined to the Synagogue, but manifested itself likewise in the general life, son being often estranged from father and father from son. It was a pitiable state of affairs that could not last. Among the older men were many who "remembered the glory of the former house," and the hope of an ultimate reunion had never quite faded from their breasts. In 1866 they saw this long-hoped-for consummation realized, and, amid great rejoicing, the two Congregations again met, a united body, in "the holy and beautiful house where their fathers had praised God."

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But the very thing that brought the community together again was now to scatter it. The fearful commercial depression that followed the war caused many of its formerly prosperous Jewish merchants to leave Charleston. Men like Ben. Mordecai, wealthy before the war, were reduced to poverty and had to go elsewhere to try to retrieve their fallen fortunes. Others, like M. C. Mordecai, likewise left to find larger scope for their activities. Still others left to seek fame and fortune in the professions. To trace them in detail in their migrations, identified as they have been with the history of so many communities in the land, would carry us too far afield and would require far more space than the limits of this volume would warrant. Suffice it to say, that in art, science, literature, law, and in the army and navy they have played a significant part, many of them attaining eminence.

Thus did the war cause a dispersion of many of the old settlers. For many years there was a slight diminution of the Jewish population. The Russian persecutions of 1880 and 1890 and subsequent years, however, caused a notable influx of Russian and Polish emigrants into South Carolina. These same emigrants form to-day a prosperous element in the community.[1]

It is a common mistake of writers that the Jews of South Carolina are less numerous and influential than formerly. As a matter of fact, they are far more numerous than ever before. Their aggregate wealth, too, is greater than it has ever been, only the Jews are more scattered. There is scarcely a settlement in the State where they are not found, and their enterprise and industry are everywhere mani-

[1] A Polish congregation was organized in Charleston as early as 1857. Though this element of the community now far outnumbers the older element, it has had no history, communal or otherwise, worth recording. It has never had a leader and bids fair to continue in its present condition.

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fested. In commerce, especially, they are playing a prominent part. In the professions, they are most distinguished as members of the Bar. In medicine, at the present time, the author is the only Jewish practising physician in the State; several, however, have left the State in recent years. In literature, Mrs. J. D. Harby (Lee C. Harby), of Conway, has won fame as a writer of short stories and poetry. Mrs. J. Visanska, of Charleston, is a prominent worker in the Federation of Women's Clubs, and Miss Isabel Cohen is an artist of promise. In politics, the Jews are not as prominent as formerly.

Charleston has lost several of its representative Jews and Jewesses in recent years: Asher D. Cohen,[2] L. L. Cohen, H. H. De Leon,[3] Sam. Hart, Sr., B. F. Moise,[4] Dr. J. R. Solomons,[5] S. S. Solomons,[6] M. Triest, and Dr. P. Wineman. Among the representative Jewesses who have died are Miss Sally Lopez, the founder of the second Jewish Sabbath-school in America,[7] and Miss Annie Simpson, one of the founders of the Ladies' Memorial Association and for many years a directress of the Confederate Home.[8]

The following notes of those who have held public office since 1879 are necessarily incomplete and imperfect, complete data not being available. It will be sufficient to indicate, however, that the Jews of South Carolina are now, as ever, doing their full duty as citizens of the Commonwealth:

A. Baruch was Sheriff of Darlington, 1876–8.

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[2] See *The News and Courier*, Oct. 11, 1904; also June 14, 1905.

[3] Ibid., Jan. 4, 1901; also *The Sunday News*, Jan. 6, 1901.

[4] *Year Book* for 1887, pp. 249–250.

[5] Ibid., pp. 289–290.

[6] *The News and Courier*, Feb. 16, 1904.

[7] *The American Israelite* for Jan., 1902.

[8] *The News and Courier*, Jan. 27, 1905.

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Ansley D. Cohen was Harbor Commissioner of Charleston, 1883–7.

H. H. De Leon was a Commissioner of the Orphan House, 1880–1900.

Ralph Elias, Assistant Postmaster, has occupied that position since 1890.

A. A. Goldsmith was a Commissioner of Markets, 1880–3, and Police Commissioner, 1883–7.

Morris Harris has been a Commissioner of the Almshouse since 1880.

S. Hart, Sr., was a Commissioner of Markets, 1880–2.

I. W. Hirsch has been a Commissioner of the Orphan House since 1901.

M. J. Hirsch represented Williamsburg in the Legislature in 1876. He was Circuit Solicitor, 1877–9.

M. Israel was a Commissioner of the City Hospital, 1887–9. He is at present a member of the State Board of Equalization.

Louis Jacobs was Judge of Probate for Williamsburg in 1876; Sheriff of Williamsburg, 1877–1880; Chief Deputy Collector of Customs of Charleston in 1891, and is at present Postmaster at Kingstree.

Maximilian Jacobs was Clerk of the Court of Williamsburg, 1876–8.

J. H. Loeb was Alderman of Charleston, 1879–1883; a member of the Board of Firemasters, 1880–1, and a trustee of the College of Charleston, 1880–1.

Captain B. Mantoue was a Commissioner of Marion Square, 1882–7.

B. F. Moïse was chairman of the Board of Health, 1880–2.

C. N. Moïse was Auditor of Sumter County, 1878–1881.

E. W. Moïse was Adjutant and Inspector General of the State, 1877–1880.

T. M. Mordecai has been a Commissioner of the City Orphan Asylum since 1901.

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J. L. Moses was a member of the Board of Equalization, 1880–1.

Montgomery Moses was a Circuit Judge, 1876–7.

J. N. Nathans was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1895.

I. M. Pearlstine was an Alderman of Charleston, 1895–9.

S. Phillips was a Commissioner of the Almshouse, 1895–1900.

Warley Platzek, now a prominent member of the New York Bar, was Assessor and Treasurer of Marion in 1874–5.

G. M. Pollitzer was a Commissioner of the City Hospital, 1895–1903.

J. R. Sampson was Coroner of Marlboro in 1892.

A. L. Solomon was Auditor of Richland County, 1876–7.

Dr. J. R. Solomons was a Commissioner of the Almshouse, 1879–1880, and a Commissioner of the City Hospital, 1880–1887.

J. L. Tobias was a Commissioner of the Orphan House, 1876–1880, and a member of the Board of Health, 1882–1893.

Dr. P. Wineman was a Commissioner of Markets, 1883–7.

In the late Spanish-American War the Jews of South Carolina furnished their full quota of soldiers. The following names are compiled from Floyd: *South Carolina in the Spanish-American War* (Columbia, 1901):

Henry Appelt, Company A, 2d Regiment.

Clarence M. Berman, Company K, 1st Regiment.

Ansley D. Harby, Company M, 1st Regiment.

August Kohn, special detailed war correspondent of *The News and Courier*, Charleston, S. C.

M. E. Lopez, Jr., seaman, naval batteries, Port Royal.

Herbert A. Moses, corporal, Company M, 1st Regiment.

Isaac H. Moses, Jr., 1st lieutenant, Company M, 1st Regiment.

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W. Graham Moses, sergeant, Company A, 1st Regiment.

A. Pearlstine, corporal, Company G, 2d Regiment.

Mordecai A. Strauss, corporal, Company M, 1st Regiment.

To the country Jew we have devoted considerable attention. We will only add that the Jews of Charleston to-day include many prominent citizens. Mr. Morris Israel, the President of Beth Elohim, is a financier of acknowledged ability; Mr. M. E. Lopez has been for many years prominently identified with phosphate and other interests; Mr. J. N. Nathans and Mr. T. M. Mordecai are distinguished members of the Charleston Bar.

The following list includes the leading Jewish merchants and citizens of Charleston to-day:

S. Behrmann, H. Blank, I. Blank, S. Blank, E. Brown, H. Brown, Z. Brown, A. D. Cohen, I. S. Cohen, L. Cohen, McDuff Cohen, W. B. Cohen, J. L. David—one of Charleston's prominent merchants and most public-spirited citizens, M. M. David, L. Elias, Ralph Elias, R. Elias, D. B. Falk, J. Flaum, M. Frank, M. Furchgott, J. Goldman, A. A. Goldsmith, M. Goldsmith, D. L. Hart, M. E. Hertz, A. A. Hirsch, G. A. Hirsch, I. W. Hirsch, H. Hirschmann, S. Hirschmann, M. Hornik—one of Charleston's most successful merchants, M. J. Hornik, A. Israel, L. Israel, M. Israel, M. M. Israel, N. Israel, S. Israel, N. P. Jacobi, I. Jacobs, J. Jacobs, L. Jacobs, W. M. Jacobs, M. H. Lazarus, L. Levine, O. Levy, E. J. Lewith, S. Link, J. Livingston, J. S. Loeb, L. Loeb, M. E. Lopez, B. Mantone, I. Marks, J. Marks, L. Marks, M. Marks, M. M. Marks, I. M. Mendelsohn, I. M. Monash, A. J. Myers, H. H. Nathan, M. H. Nathan, J. N. Nathans, Sr., J. N. Nathans, Jr., H. Oppenheim, H. Pearlstine, I. M. Pearlstine, I. Pinkussohn, J. S. Pinkussohn, G. M. Pollitzer, S. Rittenberg, A. Rubin, I. D. Rubin, E. M. Solomons, Dr. R. Solomons, T. Solomons, J. J. Strauss, A. Tobias, J. R. Tobias, T. Jef-

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ferson, Tobias, M. Triest, J. Visansin, J. A. Volaski, L. Wetterhorn, Sr., L. Wetterhorn, Jr., A. Williams, H. J. Williams, S. Williams.

Our task is ended. We have endeavored to present the story in as faithful a light as possible. Many errors have doubtless crept in, as they will into the most careful work, but every precaution has been taken to avoid them.* We can find no more fitting words with which to conclude than those of another historian of the ancient congregation that gave birth to our own Congregation Beth Elohim:

"I have tried to resuscitate the past and to bring it out in as faithful a light as documents and personal interpretation of them could warrant. It is a remarkable history. Old names have again come to light * * * Old passions have been exhibited which had long been extinguished. Old books have been opened, which had been closed for generations, and though the voices are sometimes strange and the sound distant, and though tendencies and aspirations seem to run in different directions, and individual efforts are checked by insurmountable obstacles, yet there is a constant evolution upwards and downwards. At times, noble ideas prevail and lift the Congregation on to a pinnacle of loftiness, of progress, of light and learning; at others, retrogression and narrow views prevail, and the consequences make themselves felt in a narrowing of interest, in the thinning of the ranks, in the decline of men of character and of men of courage. At times a perfervid enthusiasm prevailed, at others cool indifference; but above all the conflicting currents, the great lesson stands out boldly, that good work yields a rich harvest, that great thoughts will succeed, however long and painful the process may be ere they do succeed, that the attachment to the synagogue

* Every reference in this volume has been verified from the paged proof.

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grants to its followers and adherents some of its own eternity."[10]

May the record of the past continue to live and to inspire our children to emulate the virtues of their sires!

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[10] Gaster: *History of the Antient Synagogue.* A few verbal changes have been made in the text of the quotation.

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MISCELLANEOUS BIOGRAPHIES

R. SIMON BARUCH, formerly of Camden, S. C., now one of the leaders of the medical profession in America, was born on July 29, 1840, at Schwersenz, Prussia. He graduated at the Medical College of Virginia in 1862, and served as a surgeon in the Army of Northern Virginia under General Robert E. Lee for three years. He practised medicine in Camden, S. C., for fifteen years, was president of the South Carolina Medical Society in 1873, and chairman of the State Board of Health of South Carolina in 1880. Later he removed to New York, where he was physician to the Northeastern Dispensary in 1883–84, and gynæcologist to the same dispensary for three years following. He was physician and surgeon to the New York Juvenile Asylum for thirteen years, having the care of one thousand children, and was chief of the medical staff of the Montefiore Home for Chronic Invalids for eight years, during which time he organized its medical department, and since that time has been its consulting physician. He is now professor of hydrotherapy in the New York Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital.

Doctor Baruch diagnosticated the first recorded case of perforating appendicitis successfully operated upon,[1] and

[1] New York *Medical Journal*, 1889.

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Dr. J. A. Wyeth stated in a discussion in the New York Academy of Medicine that "the profession and humanity owe more to Dr. Baruch than to any other one man for the development of the surgery of appendicitis."

It would be impossible within the limits of a short biography to refer in detail to the many achievements of this great physician. One thing, however, might be mentioned, namely, that the successful introduction of free public cleansing baths in the largest cities of the United States is largely the result of his agitation of this subject before medical societies and boards of health.

Dr. Kellogg, in an appreciative biography which he printed in *Modern Medicine* for May, 1903, has well summed up Dr. Baruch's work in these words:

"The pioneer work which he has done for physiological therapeutics and rational medicine and in the philanthropic application of hydropathic principles entitles him to a splendid monument which the next generation will doubtless see, and has earned for him a large place in the hearts of all who are interested in the progress of rational medicine and in the development of physical methods in therapeutics. * * * Certainly there is not a man in the medical profession to-day whose services have been of greater worth than have those of Dr. Simon Baruch. He is a man of whom any country might be proud, and, although he was born in a foreign land, he had adopted America as his home, and America has adopted him as one of her chosen sons and a man whom the medical profession delights to honor for the noble and practical way in which he has devoted his distinguished abilities to the betterment of his fellow-men."[2]

C. Henry Cohen, one of the leading members of the Augusta Bar, was born in Charleston on April 7, 1854. While quite a child his parents removed to Augusta, Ga.

[2] See *Modern Medicine* for May, 1903.

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He was educated at the Richmond County Academy, then conducted by General Frank Capers, and also at Georgetown College, D. C., from which he graduated with distinction in 1877. On his return from college he studied law in the office of Messrs. Barnes & Cumming, and was admitted to practice in 1877. He was for fourteen years Solicitor of the City and County Court of Richmond County, where he made an enviable reputation, and left the office with one of the largest practices in the State. Mr. Cohen is now City Attorney of the City of Augusta, and is one of the most influential political leaders in the Tenth Congressional District of Georgia. He is a prominent member of several secret organizations, has been Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias, of Georgia, and has also held the highest offices in the Order of B'nai B'rith. He is highly esteemed by all classes in the city of his adoption. Mr. Cohen's father was Mr. John Jay Cohen, of Charleston, and his mother Miss Cornelia Ann Jacobs, daughter of Colonel Myer Jacobs, for many years Surveyor of Customs in Charleston.

Judah Barrett Cohen was a prominent member of the Charleston Bar. He was born on August 5, 1835, received his education in Charleston, and was graduated at the College of Charleston, where he won the gold medal for oratory in his class. After graduation he continued his classical studies and also made himself master of several modern languages. He was a scholar both in his tastes and acquirements, and his reading and culture were wide and varied. Soon after his graduation he was selected to deliver the anniversary address before the South Carolina Historical Society. His oration exhibited marked ability and was worthy of the occasion.[8] He was admitted to the Bar in 1857 and soon after became a resident of New York, where

[8] This address is printed in *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, Vol. 2, pp. 104–117.

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he was entering upon the successful practice of his profession when the war broke out. After an adventurous experience he came home to share the fortunes of his native State. After the war he resumed the practice of his profession in Charleston with eminent and acknowledged ability. At the same time he took part in editing the original Charleston *News*, and later he was associated with the editorship of the old *Courier*. This was at a critical period in the history of the State, and in all his work at that time he displayed an admirable comprehension of the duties and necessities of the political situation, and did manful battle for truth and for justice for his people. On the occasion of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore he was chosen by the Jews of Charleston to represent them in an appropriate oration, which was an eloquent and impressive effort.[4]

As a lawyer Mr. Cohen was both subtle and philosophical. In private life he was singularly genial, and no one was more generous in his appreciation of the successful efforts of other men. He died on July 16, 1885.[5]

Dr. David Camden De Leon was the son of Dr. Mordecai H. De Leon, of Columbia. His career was a very active and eventful one. Born and reared in South Carolina, shortly after obtaining his medical diploma at Philadelphia he entered the United States army as assistant surgeon, and went through the Seminole War, after which he was stationed for several years at outposts on the Western frontier. At the breaking out of the Mexican War he went with General Taylor to the Rio Grande, was present at most of

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[4] *Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore at the Hasel Street Synagogue, Charleston, S. C.* Charleston, S. C., 1884.

[5] The above sketch is taken from an appreciative editorial obituary in *The News and Courier* of July 17, 1885. For resolutions on his death by the United States District Court see the issue of July 18, 1885.

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the battles which led the victors to the gates of Mexico, and entered that city when it surrendered, riding at General Scott's left hand. For these services, as well as for gallantry in action (when commanding officers were killed or wounded and he took their place), Dr. De Leon twice received the thanks of Congress, but was again assigned to frontier duty in Mexico on the ground of his great energy and hardihood. When secession took place he ranked very high on the list in his department and was in sight of its highest place by seniority, yet he was one of the first of the Southern officers of the army to tender his resignation. When he did so he was sent for by his old commander and friend, General Scott, who refused to accept it, at the same time offering to send him to the Northwestern frontier, with the pledge that he should be kept there while the strife continued. In the alternative of his refusal General Scott threatened to put him under arrest, giving him a few hours for his decision. He returned home, packed his trunk, and immediately started for the South and reported to Mr. Davis, the Provisional President of the Confederacy, who assigned him the difficult but important task of arranging the Medical Department, at the head of which he acted for several months, until the resignation of Dr. Moore (who ranked him in the old army), under Mr. Davis's rule, gave that gentleman the highest post. Transferred to another department and to various places during the war, he shared the struggles and sufferings of his brethren until it closed in disaster and defeat. After the war, with several other officers, he passed from Texas into Mexico, vowing that he would never return to the conquered South until she was free. After a few years' trial of Mexico he left it in disgust and returned to New Mexico, where he had been stationed for many years and owned property. Here he planted and practised his profession until his death, which occurred at Santa Fe, N. M., on September 3, 1872. Dr. De Leon was

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unmarried. Both as a surgeon and as a man of science he stood high. He was a man, too, of considerable literary culture and a terse and vigorous writer.[6]

Edwin De Leon, brother of David C. De Leon, was born in Columbia, S. C., in 1828. He was well known on both sides of the Atlantic as an author, lecturer, and diplomatist. He started his career as a lawyer, but soon abandoned law to take charge of the *National Democrat*, a paper published at Washington, D. C. In 1854 he was appointed by President Pierce Consul General and Diplomatic Agent at Cairo, Egypt, which post he filled for eight years, under Pierce and Buchanan. At the commencement of the war between the States he resigned and was appointed by Jefferson Davis a special agent of the Confederacy to negotiate with France and England. He made frequent ocean trips during this period and ran the blockade seven times. He contributed his whole personal fortune to the Confederate cause. After the war he remained abroad, writing for various English periodicals. In 1881 he established the Bell telephone in Egypt. He published several books, the best known being *The Khedive's Egypt* and *Thirty Years of My Life on Three Continents*. He also wrote two Eastern romances and numerous magazine articles. He was a friend of Chinese Gordon, De Lesseps, King Otho of Greece, from whom he refused a decoration, Louis Napoleon, and Lord Palmerston. He came to New York a few weeks before his death for the purpose of going on a lecture tour, when he was stricken with the disease that soon proved fatal. He died on December 1, 1891. His wife was a Miss Nolan, of Dublin, who survived him only a few days.[7]

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[6] The above sketch is taken from a biography printed in the Savannah *Republican* of Sept. 22, 1872, which was reprinted in *The Courier* of Sept. 24, 1872.

[7] *The New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1891. See also issue of Dec. 8.

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Ex-Judge A. J. Dittenhoefer was born in Charleston on March 17, 1836. His parents came from Germany, arriving in Baltimore in 1834. They removed from that city to Charleston and then to New York. The father, Isaac Dittenhoefer, became a prominent merchant in New York, was one of the founders of the Order of B'nai B'rith and of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, one of the original founders and the first President of Temple Emanu El, of which Judge Dittenhoefer is at present a trustee. The Judge attended the public schools in the city of New York and finished his education at Columbia College, from which he graduated in 1856 with high honors. On reaching his majority he was admitted to the Bar, and shortly thereafter was selected as the Republican candidate for Justice of the City Court, and was appointed by the Governor of New York to fill a vacancy in that Court. While on the Bench he gave his entire salary to the widow of his predecessor, who had been left in destitute circumstances. At the expiration of his term he declined a renomination and resumed his practice. He was one of the Presidential Electors for Lincoln and Johnson in 1864, and was on intimate terms with Abraham Lincoln, who, before the end of the Confederate war, offered him a judgeship of one of the Federal Courts in South Carolina, which he declined. He was a delegate to the National Republican Convention that nominated Hayes and Wheeler, and for many years was president of the Republican Committee of New York. Judge Dittenhoefer is one of the counsel for the Lincoln National Bank in New York and other corporations. He married Miss Sophie Englehart, of Cleveland, who died in May, 1901. He has built up a large practice in all branches of the law, being senior member of the firm of Dittenhoefer, Gerber & James, one of his partners being his son, Irving M. Dittenhoefer. He is acknowledged as an authority in litigations relating to the law of the stage, and has been connected as counsel with

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some of the most important lawsuits. In fact, there have been few important litigations within the last twenty years in which he has not been counsel on one side or the other.

JUDGE DAVID LEVENTRITT was born in Winnsboro, S. C., in 1845. He was educated at the public schools of New York and at the College of the City of New York, from which he graduated—the salutatorian of his class—in 1864. He attended the law school of the University of the City of New York and was admitted to the Bar in 1871. Among the notable cases in which Mr. Leventritt has been engaged was the one for the City of New York in reference to the condemnation of lands for park purposes between Harlem and Washington Bridge, in which the property owners claimed damages of $1,500,000, but through his efforts they were awarded less than half that amount. He was president of the Commission appointed to investigate the new Third Avenue bridge over the Harlem River, and is counsel for the Theatrical Syndicate. He has been chairman of the Tammany Hall Committee, and for many years has been vice-president of the Aguilar Free Library. He is associated with many charitable institutions of the City of New York, and since 1899 has been a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.[8]

[8] *The New Era* for October, 1902.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

"An Act for the Making Aliens Free of this Part of this Province, and for Granting Liberty of Conscience to all Protestants.

"Whereas Prosecution for Religion hath forced some Aliens, and trade and the fertility of this Colony has encouraged others to resort to this Colony, all which have given good testimony of their humble duty and loyalty to his Majesty and the Crown of England, and of their fidelity to the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of this Province, and of their obedience to their Laws, and their good affections to the inhabitants thereof, and by their industry, diligence and trade have very much enriched and advanced this Colony and Settlement thereof:

"I. Be it Enacted * * * That all Aliens, male and female, of what nation soever, which now are inhabitants of South Carolina, their wives and children, shall have, use and enjoy all the rights, privileges, powers and immunities whatsoever, which any person may, can, might, could or of right ought to have, use and enjoy; and they shall be from henceforth adjudged, reputed and taken to be in every condition, respect and degree, as free to all intents, purposes and constructions, as if they had been and were born of English parents within this Province. * * *

"VI. And Whereas several of the present inhabitants of this country, did transport themselves into this Province,

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in hopes of enjoying the liberty of their consciences according to their own perswasion, which the Royal King Charles the Second, of blessed memory, in his gracious charter was pleased to impower the Lords Proprietors of this Province to grant to the inhabitants of this Province for to encourage the settlement of the same, BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the authority aforesaid, That all Christians which now are, or hereafter may be in this Province (Papists only excepted) shall enjoy the full, free and undisturbed liberty of their consciences, so as to be in the exercise of their worship according to the professed rules of their religion, without any lett, molestation or hindrance by any power either ecclesiastical or civil whatsoever. ALWAYS PROVIDED, That they do not disturb the publick peace of this Province, nor disturb any other in the time of their worship.

"Read three times and ratified in open Assembly, March 10, 1696–7."

APPENDIX B

DIRECTORY 1695–1800.

1695–1750.

Avila, Abraham (1697).
Carvallo, —— (1734).
Depaz, Isaac (1738).
Franks, David (1743).
Gutteres, Aaron (1734).
Hart, —— (1744).
Isaacs, Solomon (1748).
Isack, Abraham (1710).
Levy, Samuel ((1741).
Mattos, Moses De (1739).
Mendis, Jacob (1697).
Nathan, Mordicai (1715).
Solomons, Moses (1741).
Tobias, Joseph (1737).
Valentine, Simon (1697).

1750–1783.

Aaron, Solomon.
Abraham, Philip.
Abrahams, Emanuel.
" , Isaac Brisco.
" , Joseph.
" , Judah.
Abrahams, Levy.
Alexander, Abraham.
Cardozo, Abraham N.
" , David N.
" , Samuel N.
Cohen, Abraham.

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1750–1783 (Continued).

Cohen, Gershon.
" , Is.
" , Jacob.
" , Jacob I.
" , Moses.
" , Moses.
" , Philip.
" , Philip Jacob.
" , Solomon.
Cortissoz, Imannel.
Da Costa, Abraham.
" , Isaac.
" , Isaac, Jr.
" , Joseph.
" , Samuel.
David, Joseph.
De La Motta, Emanuel.
De Leon, Jacob (?).
De Lieben, Israel (?).
De Lyon, Abraham.
" , Isaac.
De Palacios, Joseph.
" , Joseph, Jr.
De Young, Bernard.
Dorres, Benjamin (Tores?).
Eliazer, Moses.
Franks, Myer.
Harris, Henry.
" , Mordecai.
" , Moses.
Hart, Joshua.
" , Moses.
" , Philip.
" , Simon.
Isaacs, Henry.
" , Solomon.
Jacobs, Frederick.
" , Israel.
" , Jacob.
" , Philip.
Jones, Samuel.
Joseph, Israel.
Lazarus, Marks.
" , Michael.
Levi, Solomon.
Levy, Ezekiel.
" , Hart.
" , Israel.
" , Joseph.
" , Michael.
" , Moses Sim.
" , Nathan.
" , Samuel.
Lindo, Moses.
Lyon, Mordicai.
Marques, Joseph.
Minis, Philip.
Mordecai, Samuel.
Moses, Abraham.
" , Barnard.
" , Barnard, Jr.
" , D.
" , Henry.
" , Jacob.
" , Meyer.
" , Philip.
Myers, Joseph.
" , Mordecai.
" , Moses.
Noah, Mordecai M. (?).
Olivera, David De.
" , Jacob De.
Phillips, Jonas.
Pimenta, Moses.
Pinto, Isaac.
Polak, Samuel (Pollock ?).
Pollock, Solomon.
Ramos, Jacob.
Salomons, Myer.
Salvador, Francis.

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1750–1783 (Continued).

Sarzedas, David.
Sasportas, Abraham.
Seixas, A. M.
Sheftall, Levi.
" , Mordecai.
Simons, Montague.
" , Moses.
" , Sampson.
" , Saul.
Solomon, Joseph.
" , Myers.
" , Zadok.
Solomons, Hyam.
" , Joseph.
" , Levi.
" , Levy.
Spitzer, Bernard M.
Tobias, Jacob.
" , Jacob, Jr.
" , Joseph.
" , Joseph, Jr.
" , Meshod.
Wolf, ——.

1783–1800.

[Names occurring in previous lists omitted.]

Aaron, Solomon, Jr.
Aarons, Jacob.
Abendanone, Joseph.
Abrahams, Abraham.
" , Isaac.
" , Jacob.
Abrams, Moïse.
Alexander, Abraham, Jr.
Azuby, Rev. Ab.
Barrett, Solomon.
Benedix, Isaac.
Benzakin, Joseph.
Bush, David.
Canter, David.
" , Emanuel.
" , Joshua.
Cantor, Jacob.
" , Jacob, Jr.
Cohen, Jacob A.
" , Levi.
" , Mordicai.
" , Solomon I.
Da Costa, Aaron.
De La Motta, Isaac.
De Leon, Jacob.
De Lieben, Israel.
De Pass, Ralph.
Derkheim, Myer.
Elizer, Eleazer.
Gomez, Elias.
Harby, Isaac.
" , Solomon.
Harris, Andrew.
" , Hyam.
Hart, Abraham Levy.
" , Alexander M.
" , Bernard.
" , Daniel.
" , Ephraim.
" , Hart Moses.
" , Hymon.
" , Naphtali.
" , Nathan.
" , Simon M.
Hyams, Samuel.
" , Solomon.
Isaacks, Moses.
Isaacs, Abraham.
Jacobs, Abraham.
" , Samuel.

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1783–1800 (Continued).

Jonas, Joshua.
Joseph, Solomon M.
Labatt, David.
Lazarus, Aaron.
Levi, Abraham.
Levy, Hyam.
" , Hyam E.
" , Lyon.
" , Mordecai.
" , Moses.
" , Moses C.
" , Reuben.
" , Solomon, Jr.
Lopez, Aaron (from Newport).
" , David.
Marks, Humphrey.
Milhado, Benjamin (from Jamaica).
Moïse, Abraham (from Cape François).
" , Cherry.
" , Hyam.
Molina, Moses.
Moses, Hart.
" , Isaac.
Moses, Joseph, Jr.
" , Lyon.
Moses, Philip (from St. Eustatius).
Myers, Abraham.
" , Israel.
" , Levi.
" , Samuel.
Nathan, Abraham.
" , Solomon.
Nathans, David.
Noah, Manuel.
Phillips, Benjamin.
" , David (from Jamaica).
Pimentel, Aaron.
Polock, Solomon (from Newport).
Salvador, Joseph.
Sarzedas, Moses.
Solomons, Francis.
Suares, David (from Cuaraçoa).
Tobias, Isaac.
Tongues, Mark.
Wolfe, Henry.
Woolf, Solomon.

APPENDIX C

THE SALVADOR GRANT OF ARMS.

"To All and Singular to whom these Presents shall come John Austis Esqr. Garter Principal King of Arms, and Stephen Martin Leake Esqr. Clarenceux King of Arms, send Greeting. Whereas Francis Salvador of London Merchant, hath represented unto the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Effingham, Deputy (with the Royal approbation) to the most Noble Edward Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England that he is the

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Son of Joseph Salvador, late of Amsterdam, Merchant deceased, after whose death coming over into England, and setling here, he was Enfranchised, and made a ffree Denison, by Letters Patent dated at Westminster, the Twenty fourth Day of April, in the Fifth Year of his late Majesty: And that his said Father during his Life, did constantly bear and use for his Arms, Vert a Lyon Rampant, between three Flowers de Lys Or, and for his Crest a Demi Lyon Gules, langued and Armed Azure holding between his Paws a like flower de Lys, which said Arms he hath likewise continued to bear, as his Father did, But as he cannot produce such Authentick proofs of his Right thereto as the Laws of Arms require, hath therefore prayed his Lordship Warrant for our Granting, and Exemplifying, to him and his Descendants, and likewise to all the Descendants of his said Father Joseph Salvador deceased, the said Arms, or with such Variation as may be necessary; And that the same so Exemplified may be entred upon Record among the Gentry of this Realm, in the College of Arms. And FORASMUCH as his Lordship being satisfied of the truth of the Premises, did by Warrant under his hand and Seal bearing date the Nineteenth Day of March One Thousand and Seven Hundred and Forty four, Order and direct us, to Grant such Arms and Crest accordingly NOW KNOW YE that We the said Garter and Clarenceux Kings of Arms, in Pursuance of the said Warrant, and by Virtue and Authority of the Letters Patent of our several Officers, to each of us respectively granted, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, do by these Presents, Grant, Exemplify and Confirm, unto the said Francis Salvador, the aforesaid Arms and Crest that is to say. Vert a Lyon Rampant, between three Flowers de Lys Or, and for his Crest a Demi Lyon Gules langued and Armed Azure, holding between his Paws a like Flower de Lys as in the Margin hereof are more Lively Depicted, To be borne by him the said Francis Salvador and his Descendants, and likewise by the Descendants

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of his Father Joseph Salvador, lawfully begotten, with their due Differences, according to the practice and Law of Arms, without the Let or Interruption of any person or persons Whatsoever, IN WITNESS whereof, we the said Garter and Clarenceux, have hereunto set our Hands, and Affixed the Seals of our Offices, the First day of June in the Eighteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. And in the Year of our Lord God One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Five.

" JOHN AUSTIS Garter " S MARTIN LEAKE Clarenceux
" Principal King of Arms " King of Arms"

APPENDIX D

THE HEBREW BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

Organized, June 25, 1784.
Reorganized, October 20, 1824.
Incorporated, December 18, 1830.
Reorganized, October 7, 1866.

The Hebrew Benevolent Society, of Charleston, S. C., is the oldest institution of its kind in America. Till quite recently, when the author recovered and identified the original seal of the Society, its early history was absolutely

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unknown. The late Nathaniel Levin, in his sketch of the Congregation Beth Elohim, was unaware of the date when the Society was established. Nor were his predecessors better informed. In *The Courier* of December 5, 1825, there is a notice of the "Anniversary Celebration of the Hebra Gemilut Hassadim or Hebrew Benevolent Society." In *The Courier* of December 21, 1827, the third anniversary meeting is noticed. In *The Courier* of December 18, 1840, the meeting is described as the eleventh anniversary. In *The Courier* of December 22, 1843, the forty-seventh anniversary is noted, and in *The Courier* of November 29, 1847, the meeting of November 24, 1847, is referred to as the fifty-sixth anniversary! The discovery of the seal in the possession of the family of one who was for many years the secretary of the Society puts the matter beyond doubt. How it came to pass that the origin of the Society was so obscure, with the seal in existence, is somewhat difficult to surmise.

In 1899 a committee was appointed for the purpose, among other things, of obtaining such data as would give the history of the Society from its organization. This Committee reported "that it was unable through lack of material—part of the earlier records of the Society being lost and others destroyed by fire—to present the sketch of its life, which would have been of genuine interest to its members to-day, and an incentive to them to continue its honorable record of over a century."

The following paragraph from the Preamble of the Report of the Committee on Revision (1870) tells the story of the origin of the Society:

"The object of this Society is Benevolence. In that one emphatic, grateful word, are comprehended all the tender offices of *Charity*. For though the original motive of the establishment of this Institution, on June 25th, 1795, was the relief of the invalid emigrant who landed on our

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shores, and who might fall a victim to a climate less hospitable than ourselves, yet that primary view was enlarged at the revival of this Society, on the 20th October, 1824, and a more expansive idea of gentle kindness was determined upon when the Society obtained an Act of Incorporation by the Legislature, on the 18th of December, 1830; and now upon the reorganization of the Society, October 7th, 1866, our energies gathering strength with time, our fond aspiration for diffusing good, increasing as season follows season, in the noiseless flight of time, we have gradually enlarged our wishes for serving our fellow beings, as year has succeeded to year, until at this day our bosoms swell so high with the ennobling desire, that we acknowledge no limit to our benevolence, save in the means of executing our charitable intents. Thus, while in our restricted ability to do good, we recognize our utter dependence on the Divine Author of our being, we testify, by our boundless ardor to serve His creatures, our gratitude to that Merciful Father who sends down His dew alike on all flowers, and sheds His sunbeams on every people: And, to effect these ends, as far as in our power, we adopt the following—" * *

There is one very important mistake, however, in the story, and that is in the date of the foundation of the Society. It should be 1784 and not 1795. This is clearly shown by the seal. This seal is a beautiful specimen of the engraver's art, very quaint and unlike the seals we see today, having been made by hand. It is cut in silver and the edges are considerably worn. The picture on its face is very suggestive of the original object of the Society—the Angel of Death, with a scythe in one hand and an hourglass in the other. The inscription reads as follows:

"BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.
Founded 8th Tammuz
Charity delivereth from death.
[5] 544 [1784]

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APPENDIX E

THE HEBREW ORPHAN SOCIETY.

This Society was founded in 1801. Its object is explained in the following preamble to its constitution:

"Whereas, at a meeting of Israelites held in Charleston on the 15th day of July, 1801, it was resolved that a Hebrew Society should be formed, for the purpose of relieving widows, educating, clothing and maintaining orphans and children of indigent parents; making it a particular care to inculcate strict principles of piety, morality and industry; and designing at the same time to cultivate any indications of genius they may evince for any of the arts or sciences, that they may thereby become qualified for the enjoyment of those blessings and advantages to which they are entitled —kind Heaven having cast their lot in the United States of America, where freedom and equal rights, religious, civil and political, are liberally extended to them, in common with every other class of citizens; and where, no longer oppressed by the contracted policy and intolerant spirit which, before the happy dawn of liberty and philanthropy had circumscribed those natural rights granted by Almighty God to the great family of mankind, they can and may freely assume an equal station in this favored land with the cheering conviction that their virtues and acquirements may lead them to every honor and advantage their fellow citizens can attain."

In pursuance of such design an act of incorporation was asked for and passed by the General Assembly of this State in 1802 in the following words: "An Act to incorporate the Abi Yetomin Ubne Ebyonim, or Society for the Relief of Orphans and Children of Indigent Parents." On June 4, 1833, René Godard conveyed to the corporation "All that lot, piece or parcel of land situate, lying and being at the corner of Broad street and State House square, in Charleston, forming, as is believed, a parallelogram, of forty-five feet fronting on Broad street, by one hundred and seven feet deep, fronting on the State House square aforesaid." Upon this square the Court-House now stands. It would appear that this property was devised by John Laurens to

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his son, Henry Laurens. In the deed from Henry Laurens and Eliza, his wife, to Edward Trescot, an intermediate owner, of date February 28, 1804, the following words are part of the description: "And now occupied by the directors of the Bank of the United States of America." It was well adapted for such use; it was built in the olden days when safety and solidity were deemed important. Its interior with its wainscoting and colonial mantlepieces declare its age. It is unknown what inner safeguards the bank provided for the security of its treasury, the massive doors and ancient locks, with keys of proportionate size, proclaim what was its outer defence. It was in all probability a residence before the bank occupied it. It ceased to be used by the bank before 1838. This is clearly seen from the fact that, after the burning of the Hasell Street Synagogue in the fire of that year, which destroyed many valuable public and private buildings, the Hebrew Orphan Society tendered to the Congregation its building as a temporary place of worship. This offer was accepted, and until the Synagogue was rebuilt the hall was used for that purpose.

From the date of its purchase to January 8, 1860, its bounty was administered by specific annual appropriations for the children under its care; they were not housed within its walls, but were domiciled with worthy persons, known to the committee charged with the disbursement to whom the donation was paid. In this way, in addition to the pecuniary assistance given, the misfortune of orphanage was softened and the little ones were permitted to live in a healthful family atmosphere. At the date above mentioned it was determined to try the experiment of an orphan house by a residence within its walls. With appropriate ceremony it was so dedicated.

A hymn was written for the occasion, the closing stanza being:

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"Assist us, Great Spirit of Truth, to enlighten
The beings, whose lot our bounty shall brighten;
In godly endeavor their lives to engage,
'Till from childhood they pass to maturity's stage,
Prepared in all stations temptation to brave,
And their names on the breastplate of virtue engrave."

After the war the original and more parental execution of its trust was resumed and is still continued.[1]

APPENDIX F

THE CONGREGATION BETH ELOHIM. 1800–1824.

The broad sketch of the Congregation Beth Elohim which we have given in Chapter VIII should be supplemented by further details gathered from the recently discovered archives, that throw an interesting side-light upon the early history of Judaism in America. The discovery of the records of Beth Elohim was an important one in many ways. These records not only tell us what Jews lived in South Carolina during the period they cover, but they enable us to identify names that could often otherwise not be identified. In studying the records, the reader is often bewildered. He meets on every hand such names as Abrahams, Barnett, Hart, Henry, Isaacs, Jacobs, Myers, Phillips, Wise—which names are not specifically Jewish, and in many instances cannot be traced to Jewish origin. Those who leave wills are comparatively few and other sources of information are often wanting. Without the assistance of the Synagogue records identification would be absolutely impossible. The early directories are very imperfect nor are they available. There are a few in Charleston and a few scattered in

[1] The above account is taken from *The Interlude*, Charleston, S. C., 1901, p. 6.

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private libraries through the State. Everybody does not advertise in the newspapers, nor has he a tombstone in the cemetery. The Health Office returns are very incomplete and only begin in 1821. The Synagogue archives, therefore, fill in an important gap.

The reader who studies attentively the directory on pages 132–140, which has been compiled, after infinite labor, from every available source, will at once be struck by the fact that practically every Jew who lived in South Carolina is to be found on the Synagogne books. This is accounted for by the fact that under the autocratic régime of the early Synagogue every Jew was compelled to subscribe to its maintenance.[1] Many names are met with in the records of the Congregation and nowhere else. These, at least, the records will save from oblivion.

Let us now look at a few facts gathered from the archives, some of which now tell their tale after slumbering undisturbed for well nigh a century.

In 1800 there were one hundred and seven names of members and contributors on the books. The income of the Congregation was £802.12.1. Rev. Abraham Azuby was Minister, and his salary £100. Israel Davis was Shochet (killer of cattle for the use of Jews), who received £60. Hart Levy was sexton, at a salary of £45. He was also "Shomar to the children,"—whatever that may be,—for which he received £12. Lyon Levy was secretary, at a salary of £20. Hyam Jacob was Shomar (inspector of meat) of the market, for which he received £20.

Among the items of Congregational expense were: Pensions, £23; expenses of Kabano (tabernacle), £30.10.5; wax and making candles, £57.9.10; charity to the poor coming and going, £10; sick persons and doctor's bills, £33.17.10; allowances and donations to sundry poor, £82.7.7.

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[1] See pp. 152–3.

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A large portion of the income of the Congregation was derived from voluntary offerings. The members contributed generously. Daniel Hart's contributions for the year 1800 amounted to £50.5.6. The members were assessed according to their means. Then there were legacies to the Congregation. There were few, indeed, who did not remember the Synagogue in their wills.

A study of the treasurer's books bears out the picture of the Synagogue as a severely autocratic institution. The Vestry was absolute and promptly disciplined the rebellious. The number of fines is indeed remarkable, but they seem to have been paid without protest. There is not a single instance on record of withdrawal from the Congregation in consequence of imposed penalties. The fines seem to have been proportioned to the means of the individual fined, and varied in amount from a few shillings to many pounds. Abraham Isaacks was fined £20 in 1802 and Solomon Harby a similar amount in 1803. In 1805, out of one hundred and fifty-six accounts on the books, which include the contributions of women and strangers, there are sixty-seven fines. These fines were inflicted for various offences: "For not attending general meeting," "fine in private adjunta," "for not accepting adjunta," "for not serving in adjunta," "for not serving in the selection," "for resigning seat as a member of the private adjunta," "for not attending meeting," "for not accepting Hatan Bereshit," "for non-acceptance Taxator of Seats." It is remarkable that people were willing to submit to such a régime, but they did. They had been brought up under the same discipline in England and it was quite natural to them.

A study of the items of expense irresistibly puts us back to the time when Judaism was a religion that was *lived* rather than talked about. It had not yet been evaporated in the crucible of rationalism. Here are items in 1805: "Fund in the Charity Box, 14/-;" "Collected on the day of Mr.

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Harby's funeral, £1.6.0." In 1808 we have: "Mikva[2] and Dwelling painted, £5.16.8," and in 1809, "Entire Completion of Mikva, £34.3.2." In 1810 "For erecting an oven,[3] £4.8.8." In 1818 we read among the items of expense, "For Liqour, $10,"[4] and "For Tikum, $6.50." "Cash to Goy [non-Jew], $11.75." Such items mean nothing to the present generation, but are vividly real to those of a generation ago. We find, too, contributions of wine and oil for the use of the Synagogue. In the old Jewish ritual, a blessing is asked every Sabbath upon "those who give the lamps for lighting and wine for Kiddush and Habdalah,[5] bread to the wayfarers and charity to the poor." The author of that prayer literally pictured the Jews of Charleston at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Scientific charity was not yet in vogue, but the cry of distress was never heard unanswered. The travelling beggar found no difficulty in touring the country. In 1818 we read: "A Marks for Departure, $15;" "Little Englishman, $5;" "Little Dutchwoman, $5;" "Departure for Polander——"

The Congregation was often without a regular Minister. Ministers were not as abundant in those days as they are to-day, and the Congregation could not always find the man it wanted, and if the truth be told, it did not always know exactly what it did want. Abraham Azuby was Minister till 1805, having served the Congregation for twenty years.

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[2] Ritual bath—an appurtenance now found only in the most orthodox congregations.

[3] For baking the Passover bread. This congregational oven was kept up for many years after 1810.

[4] Pious orthodox Jews still observe the custom of sitting up twice a year and participating in an all-night devotional service. It was customary to serve refreshments at these meetings. The service was called "Tikkun." It was later abandoned in Charleston. The incongruity of such "aids to devotion" had doubtless much to do with its abandonment.

[5] The services greeting and speeding Sabbath and festivals.

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He was much esteemed and his widow received his salary, together with the free rent of the house he occupied, until another Minister could be procured—then a pension of $300 a year for life. She gratefully refers to the generosity of the Congregation in her will.[6]

After the death of Abraham Azuby the Vestry, with a view of obtaining a desirable Minister, addressed a letter to the Board of Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese community in London. It reads in part as follows:

"In a free and independent country like America, where civil and religious freedom go hand in hand, where no distinctions exist between the clergy of different denominations, where we are incorporated and known in law; freely tolerated; where, in short, we enjoy all the blessings of freedom in common with our fellow-citizens, you may readily conceive we pride ourselves under the happy situation which makes us feel that we are men, susceptible of that dignity which belongs to human nature, by participating in all the rights and blessings of this happy country; to which nothing could add more than having a Hazan of merit and classical education, who would reflect honour on himself and stamp an additional degree of dignity and respectability upon our congregation."[7]

The authorities at Bevis Marks were empowered to select a suitable person for the vacant position. They elected and in 1807 sent out Mr. Benjamin Cohen D'Azevedo, a son of the Portuguese Haham, of London, who, after arriving in Charleston, did not please the Congregation. He was remunerated for his trouble and expense and returned to Europe. This lack of courtesy to the nominee of the parent Synagogue in London gave great offence. "The conduct of the Charleston community stung to the quick the Portuguese pride of the rulers of Bevis Marks, who resented it in no measured words, and took the returned Minister into their service as teacher."[8] The Congregation had no regu-

[6] Probate Court Records, Will Book D, pp. 586–7.

[7] *The Occident*, Vol. 1, p. 390.

[8] Picciotto: *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 271–2.

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lar Minister till 1811. Jacob Suares officiated as Hazan from 1806 till that time and was assisted by Moses C. Levy and Emanuel De La Motta. From 1811 to 1814 Rev. E. N. Carvalho was Hazan, when he resigned, and for four years the Congregation had to rely on volunteer lay readers. In 1818 Rev. Hartwig Cohen was elected and officiated till 1823, when he was succeeded by Rev. S. C. Peixotto.

APPENDIX G

MINISTERS OF BETH ELOHIM. 1750–1905.

Moses Cohen, 1750–1762.
Isaac Da Costa, 1750–1764.*
Abraham Alexander, 1764–1784.*
Abraham Azuby, 1785–1805.
Jacob Suares, 1807–1811.
E. N. Carvalho, 1811–1814.
Hartwig Cohen, 1818–1823.
S. C. Peixotto, 1823–1835.
Gustavus Poznanski, 1836–1850.
Julius Eckman, 1850–1851.
Maurice Mayer, 1852–1859.
Abraham Harris, 1860–186–.
M. H. Myers, 1866–1868.
J. H. M. Chumaceiro, 1868–1874.
Falk Vidaver, 1875 (four months).
David Levy, 1875–1893.
—— Lewis, 1893–
Barnett A. Elzas, 1894–1905.

* The dates of Isaac Da Costa and Abraham Alexander are somewhat uncertain. The list of Ministers and Presidents in the *Year Book* for 1883, pp. 315–316, is absurdly incorrect. There is hardly an item in this list that is accurate.

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APPENDIX H

OLD JEWISH CEMETERIES IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The inscriptions on the tombstones in the three old Jewish cemeteries in Charleston, antedating in their origin the nineteenth century, have been collected and published by the author. This volume contains complete historical introductions, giving the full histories of these burial grounds. Georgetown has the next oldest Jewish cemetery in South Carolina, which likewise antedates the nineteenth century in origin. Several of its inscriptions are historically interesting. The cemeteries in Columbia are more modern. One of these, now abandoned, contains many interesting tombstones. The cemeteries in Camden and Sumter are of recent date. In the early days the Jews of the rest of the State were buried in Columbia, Charleston, or Savannah. The inscriptions on the tombstones outside of Charleston, that are of historical interest, will be published by the author in the near future.

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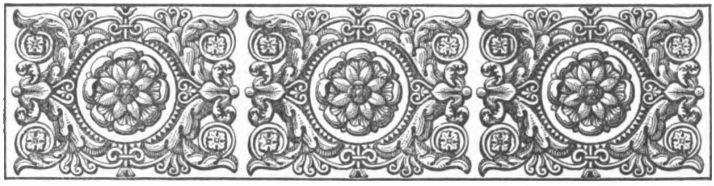

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* Completeness is not claimed for this attempt at a bibliography. Exact references to volumes and pages can be found by means of the index. Of articles in periodicals only a few are given.

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[See also under Masonic Works in Section II.]

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