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# THE JEWS OF CHARLESTON

## *A History of an American Jewish Community*

BY CHARLES REZNIKOFF

*With the Collaboration of*

URIAH Z. ENGELMAN

PHILADELPHIA

*The Jewish Publication Society of America*

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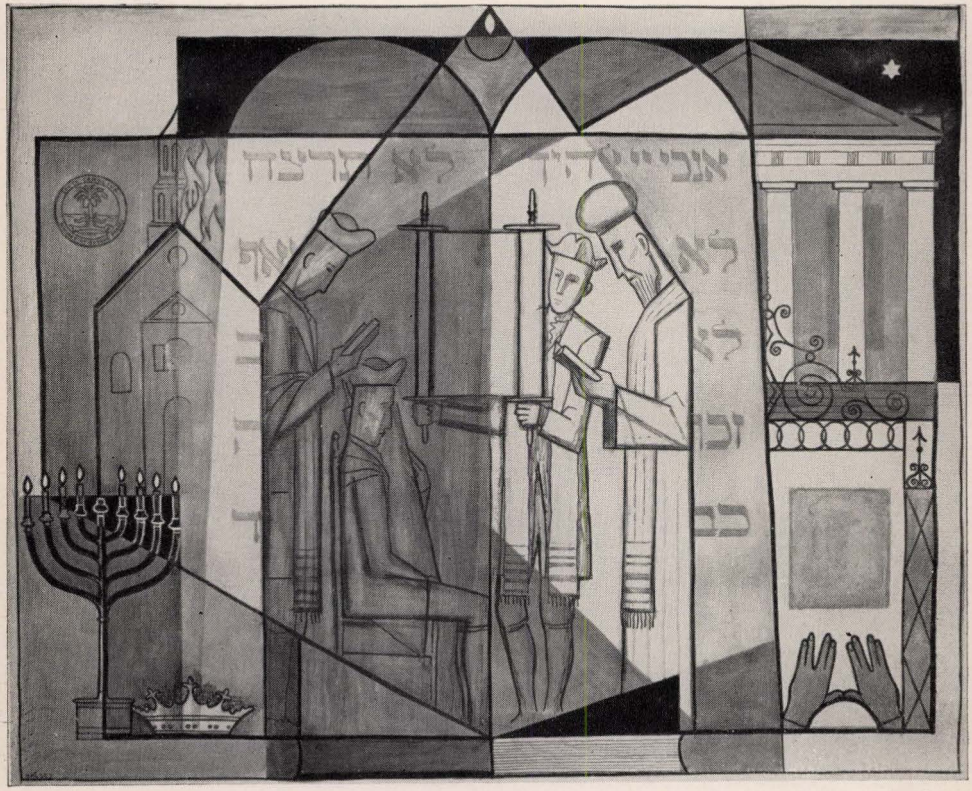
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# THE JEWS OF CHARLESTON



*The artist is William Halsey. The figures (right to left) represent founders: Isaac Da Costa, Hazan; Michael Lazarus, Secretary; Joseph Tobias, President; and Moses Cohen, Rabbi.*

Sketch for a mural in the new Bicentennial Tabernacle depicting the founding in 1750 of Congregation K. K. Beth Elohim

# FOREWORD

Communal autobiographies, like those of individuals, often suffer from acute failure of memory and—nerve. Entire stretches of their respective lives and a great many intimate details are either forgotten or, consciously or subconsciously, suppressed. Communal experiences, moreover, are often blurred in the members' collective memory by serious interruptions in the continuity of their family affiliations and the absence of genuine interest in the historic factors shaping their common destinies.

For these reasons, when asked to serve as chairman of an advisory committee of scholars entrusted with the task of furnishing counsel and guidance to Mr. Reznikoff and Dr. Engelman, I approached this task with considerable hesitation. As the work progressed, however, my misgivings were greatly allayed by the growing realization of the extraordinary nature of the Charleston community. Located in the historically minded South, the Charleston Jewish population has long evinced a keener interest in its historic heritage than most other Jewish communities in the United States. It has also been unusually fortunate in combining, during the two centuries of its organized communal life, a strong element of historic continuity through old families, in part dating back to early eighteenth century settlers, with the dynamic flow of ever new arrivals and the fructifying contacts with numerous sons and daughters residing in other communities. It is more than sheer coincidence that, on its foundation in 1750, the oldest Charleston Jewish congregation, Beth Elohim, was headed by Joseph Tobias, and that in our own day, on its

two-hundredth anniversary, it is led by an equally vigorous and interested descendant, Thomas J. Tobias. At the same time, the present volume points out in detail, the majority of the contemporary members consists of relative newcomers.

Charleston has also been fortunate in having had its record presented twice: once by an "insider," Rabbi Barnett A. Elzas, who for many years had served with distinction as its minister, and now again by our two authors, both residing in New York. Its history thus combines a local leader's intimate familiarity with every aspect of its daily life with the fresh and unprejudiced approach of two outside observers.

A history of any American Jewish community can be written from two angles. It can be treated as part and parcel of the millennial development of the Jewish communities in many lands, or it can be described as the process of Jewish group adjustment and contribution to American life as a whole. Mr. Reznikoff, his constant collaborator, Dr. Engelman, and the ever helpful local committee headed by Mr. Tobias and Dr. Allan Tarshish, have evinced deep interest in both approaches. The present volume may, therefore, be considered a contribution to both American and Jewish communal history. It may also serve as a happy augury for the future fruitful democratic coöperation of the various ethnic and religious groups, which together make up this great nation.

Salo W. Baron

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# PREFACE

This history was undertaken, as part of a bicentennial celebration in the autumn of 1950 of the continuous existence of Charleston's Jewish community, in the belief that there should be a history of the community from the beginning to the present—a history showing of necessity, if fully told, how the community was and is integrated in the larger community of the city. There are gaps in the record. Much, for example, that would probably be of interest today might have been thought at the time not worth the recording as ordinary and commonplace; records have been lost by accident, as in one of the great fires that swept the city; lost, too, by negligence; and, ironically, by the very care taken to preserve them, as when they were sent to Columbia for safe-keeping and lost in the burning of that city by the Federal troops during the War Between the States. However, enough is in the newspapers, in the records of the city and of its synagogues and societies, in the writings of historians and in the recollections of visitors and residents, to tell more or less the story of one of the oldest Jewish communities in the country.

It is a common belief that the Jewish community of Charleston was at first *Sephardic*—that is, consisting of Jews that came originally from Portugal and Spain. The ritual of the first congregation was, to be sure, *Sephardic* for almost a century, and so were members and leaders of the community; but others of the early community were *Ashkenazim*—Jews from Germany and Poland: seven of the eight men who laid the cornerstones of Beth Elohim's new synagogue in

1792 were German Jews;[1] of the four Jews in the first Supreme Council of Scottish Rite Masonry (1801), one was born in Poland and another in Bohemia; and the richest Jew of South Carolina about 1825 was Polish, the philanthropist Mordecai Cohen. (His grandson was killed at Bentonville, fighting for the Confederacy.)

The history of this Jewish community may well illustrate, to use the words of an early historian of Charleston, "the correct principles of our government."[2] If anti-Semitism is the result of Jewish conspicuousness—by mere number, as in Poland before World War II, or by achievement as in Germany—in Charleston the Jews were numerous, many were distinguished, and yet all were free to serve their city and state and were honored for it by those who had only citizenship in common with them. It has been said, moreover, that in a friendly, but non-Jewish, environment Jews are assimilated—intermarry and are no longer Jews. In Charleston, there are descendants of the earliest Jewish families, and they are still Jews.

History, as such, is of little value to most of us except as a guide in the present. Whether we who are Jews in this country belong to congregations that are called Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform, or to no congregation at all but still consider ourselves Jews and find strength in the knowledge of what our ancestors survived as well as daily sustenance in the essentials of their faith, it is of no little importance to us to see how Jews at other times lived and adjusted themselves to their environment: particularly so when that environment was, like ours, American. It is the purpose of this history to show how the Jews of Charleston became Americans of their region, and remained Jews.

I am indebted and grateful to many who gave freely and patiently of their knowledge; to the editorial board of the Bicentennial Committee of the Jewish community of Charleston: Dr. Salo W. Baron, Dr. Carl Bridenbaugh, Dr. Hyman B. Grinstein, Dr. Oscar Handlin, Dr. Horace M. Kallen, Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Dr. Leo Srole, and Dr. Allan Tarshish; to several historians who have made a special study of the history of South Carolina and Charleston: Dr. J. Harold Easterby, director of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, Mr. Samuel G. Stoney, and Mrs. Julian Hennig (Helen Kohn); and to members of the Jewish community of Charleston, to name only a few of many who have been helpful: Mrs. Ashley Halsey (Eleanor Loeb), Mrs. Jacob S. Raisin (Jane Lazarus), Mrs. Harry M. Rubin, Mrs. Thomas J. Tobias (Rowena Wilson), Mr. Edward Kronsberg, Mr. Louis M. Shimel, Mr. Nathan Shulman, Mr. Thomas J. Tobias, and Mr. Maier Triest. It was Mr. Thomas J. Tobias who first thought of a history of the Jewish community of his city as part of the bicentennial celebration, and to his zeal and friendship I am greatly indebted for suggestions and comments made in conferences and correspondence during two years. To these names I should add those of Mr. Morris Fine, director of the Library of Jewish Information of the American Jewish Committee, Dr. Solomon Grayzel, editor of the Jewish Publication Society of America, Mr. Nathan Schachner, and Mr. Charles Sherman. I should add, too, that I alone am responsible for any errors.

No one can write about the history of the Jewish community of Charleston without great obligation to Dr. Barnett A. Elzas, for many years rabbi of the congregation Beth Elohim in that city (1894–1910). The results of his long research in the records and old newspapers are in his articles, pamphlets,

and book, *The Jews of South Carolina from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1905). I am also greatly indebted to the collection of wills and other documents transcribed from the records in Charleston by Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History in the Hebrew Union College, for the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The preparation of this book was made possible by funds generously made available by the American Jewish Committee, by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and by the Jewish community of Charleston.

C.R.

# I. HOW THE JEWS SETTLED IN CHARLES TOWN

(as it was once called)

AND BECAME EQUAL CITIZENS

AFTER THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

# 1. Early Charles Town

## a. *Early Jewish Rights in South Carolina*

The eight English noblemen, to whom Charles the Second gave the Carolinas in 1663, were not required by the terms of their charter to restrict settlers to those who would conform to the "liturgy, form and ceremonies" of the Church of England. And, although the Church of England was recognized in the *Fundamental Constitutions* as the established faith of the colony and the only one to be supported by taxation, it was also urged by the *Constitutions* that it would be unreasonable to keep out settlers who might be of a different religious opinion and that even "Jews, Heathens," and others should have a chance to acquaint themselves with "the purity of the Christian religion" and "by good usage and persuasion . . . be won over to embrace . . . the truth."[3]

This may have been due in part to the friendship for Dissenters—although he had none for Catholics—of Presbyterian Lord Ashley, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was one of the eight noblemen and, by 1669, in charge of their interests in the colony; and here, it is likely, may be read the tolerance of John Locke, Lord Ashley's close friend and adviser. That tolerance was also good policy for attracting settlers was not against it. However, the *Fundamental Constitutions* never became settled law of the province, although the proprietors tried time and again to have the colonial assembly adopt them.[4] In the final version the Jews were not mentioned.

The first settlement (1670) of the English in what is now the state of South Carolina was moved in 1680 to where Charles Town was to rise: on a peninsula between two rivers, the Ashley and the Cooper (Lord Ashley's family name). It was a more healthful place and, behind the islands of a land-locked harbor, safer from attack. In 1695, four Indians from Florida (then Spanish territory), who had been captured by the Yamasee Indians, were brought to town: the captives "could speak *Spanish,*" wrote the governor of the colony afterwards, "and I had a *Jew* for an interpreter, so upon examination I found they profess'd the Christian Religion as the Papists do;" and the governor, accordingly, sent the captives back to St. Augustine.[5] This is the first Jew we hear of in the Carolinas: formerly, perhaps, a Marrano (one of the Jews compelled to profess Christianity in Portugal, Spain, and their possessions, but who were secretly Jews until they could escape the Inquisition).

The Huguenots, securing their own rights as aliens, secured—incidentally—the rights of other aliens.[6] In 1697, the colonial Assembly declared that religious persecution had forced aliens to settle in South Carolina and acknowledged that these had proved themselves law-abiding and industrious; accordingly, the Assembly enacted that "all aliens . . . of what nation soever, which now are inhabitants of South Carolina" should have all the rights of any person born of English parents. Full freedom of worship was granted, however, only to Christians—"Papists excepted"; but all other rights were granted every alien who applied by petition if such alien would swear allegiance to the king. Sixty or so aliens had petitioned for the rights granted—Huguenots mostly; at the very end of the list are the names of four who were probably Jews, the first and last certainly: "Simon

Now that the Reader may plainly discern, that the Almighty and Omnicient 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 *Yammasees*, 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:

SIR,

'I Have receiv'd your Letter with the four *Indians*, 'three Men and one Woman, being the same that 'were taken from a Town of my Jurisdiction; and I 'do promise, if ever it lies in my power to manifest 'a reciprocal Kindness, I shall gratefully do the same; 'and shall always keep and observe a good Corres-'pondence and Friendship with you, as our Soveraigns 'at home, being in strict Alliance and Amity expect 'from us, &c.

Page from *A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina*, by Governor John Archdale, (London, 1707), containing the first known reference to a Jew in Charleston, in the year 1695.

Vallentine merchant"; another name, indecipherable, "merchant; Jacob Mendis merchant; and Avila merchant."[7] (It was not until 1740, forty-three years later, that the British Parliament authorized the naturalization of Jews everywhere in the colonies.)

The Jews of South Carolina at first might even vote, it seems: the first community in the modern world, it has been said, where a Jew could do so.[8] But then, so did "Strangers, Sailors, Servants, Negroes, & almost every French man in Craven and Berkly County," according to the grievances of one hundred and fifty inhabitants of Colleton County, Englishmen with "fundamental rights & unquestionable Privileges," in their address of 1703 to the lords proprietors.[9] The petitioners were Dissenters, then in a political struggle against the party of the Church of England with whom the Huguenots sided and, it seems, the Jews. (The Jews of Rhode Island may have had an earlier and a better right to vote. It has been supposed that they were permitted to vote and hold office by a statute of 1665, qualifying "all men of competente estates"; but if this was the law, it does not appear so by the code of 1719, approved by the General Assembly in 1728, where a statute as of 1662 restricts the right to Christians, Roman Catholics excepted.)[10] The Carolina election law of 1721 allowed only "every free white man . . . professing the Christian religion" to vote, if he could meet property and other qualifications, and each candidate elected to the assembly had to be sworn "on the holy evangelists,"[11] which no Jew could do.

Simon Valentine's name, as was stated above, is on the list of petitioners in 1697 for rights of British subjects. In the document that granted him "all the rights Priviledges Powers and Immunityes Given . . . any Alien then Inhabitant

of South Carolina" under the law enacted that year, he is designated as "an alien of the Jewish Nation borne out of the Crown of England."[12] His full name is supposed to have been Samuel Valentine Vander Wilde.[13] As "Simon Valentijn" his name appears in the records of Charles Town as surety on an administration bond in 1696 and on other documents. In 1703, he was even appointed one of the commissioners in charge of the town guard and patrol.[14] Nothing more seems to be known of "Jacob Mendis merchant." Abraham Avilah, whose name follows that of Mendis as "Avila merchant," last on the list of petitioners, made Valentine his attorney in 1698. (Avilah is likewise described in the document by which he was naturalized in 1697 as an alien of the Jewish nation.) Finally, Simon Valentine is referred to in 1715 by Mordecai Nathan in the mortgage of his farm "formerly purchased by Mordicai Nathan and Symond Valentine, Deceased, being Joyn purchers (that is, joint purchasers, with title to the survivor), whom the said Mordecai has survived." This, it is said, is the earliest record of a Jew holding land in South Carolina.[15]

The will of Abraham Isack of New York was recorded in 1710: the oldest Jewish will on record in South Carolina.[16] The name of Joseph Tobias (d. 1761, aged seventy-six) is on the list of those who paid quit-rent in 1739; in a volume of mortgages; as one who had been granted a "Jew certificate" of naturalization in 1741; and the name is several times in the Charles Town records of mesne conveyances. In 1762, David Olivera appeared before a justice of the peace and swore on the Pentateuch that he saw Joseph Tobias make his sister, Reina De Lyon, the gift of a slave by deed.[17]

Although the Jews of South Carolina did not have the right to vote or hold office (as a result of the election law of

1721), this may have been winked at on occasion, as in the case of one so generally esteemed as was Francis Salvador.[18] These were not common rights, in any case, among those who were not Jews. The Jews in Charles Town were allowed to live openly as Jews and in fact to have a house of worship,[19] in spite of the fact that, by law, unrestricted freedom of worship was the right of Protestants only; Jews might be naturalized; trade;[20] own property, including land and slaves, and leave their property by will; appear as witnesses by taking an oath on the Pentateuch; and they had merely to look at other times, or other lands at that time, to think themselves fortunate.

Even in New York, for example, where the Jews had settled in 1654 and had a "solid, neat, stone Temple" on Mill Street in 1730, they were not quite at ease, perhaps: a Christian gentleman, attending a Hebrew burial out of curiosity in 1742, reported that a "rabble" disturbed the funeral, and there is mention of a "Riot" in 1749 "against a poor Jew and his wife, who lately came hither from Holland."[21] In Rhode Island where the Jews had settled perhaps as early as 1658 (although the first record of them, if authentic, is dated 1677), the petitions of Aaron Lopez, the distinguished merchant, and of Isaac Elizer for naturalization under the British act of 1740 were dismissed by the Superior Court of the colony: on the ground, among others no better, that the act did not apply because it was designed to increase the population of the colonies and Rhode Island had become overpopulated;[22] this in a colony founded as all know by Roger Williams who sought, and preached, religious freedom. Obviously, democracy, as Jews know it today in the United States, with all we take for granted as the rights of citizens, such as the right to vote and hold office, did not spring up

overnight—not even when the colonies became states. And even this democracy we know is growing, so we trust, with new rights recognized as they have been right along. It should be no cause for surprise, therefore, that the rights of Jews were limited in those early days—much freer though Jews were in America than anywhere in Europe.

b. *Early Trade*

Charles Town's chief export at first was deerskins. By 1700, the trade with the Indians for deerskins reached almost a thousand miles into the wilderness. By that time, too, the colony was growing the first of its great staple crops, rice, at first in inland swamps and then in tidal swamps along the rivers,[23] and in 1720 the port began to rank with the northern ports of the other English colonies. More than 90,000 tierces, or barrels, of rice were exported from South Carolina as early as 1740. In 1770, the export of rice had grown to 120,000 barrels.

Indigo was to become, after rice, the most important crop of the colony. Although grown in the colony earlier,[24] indigo was first successfully cultivated commercially from West Indian seed (1741–44) by Elizabeth Lucas, a girl living on her father's plantation. (She was afterwards the wife of Charles Pinckney, chief justice of the province in 1752–53, and the mother of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney, leaders in the American Revolution.) Indigo was first exported to Great Britain in 1747. Great Britain was then using more than half a million pounds of French and Spanish indigo annually in the textile industry and paying for the dye about 150,000 pounds sterling. In 1748, an act of Parliament granted a bounty of sixpence a pound for indigo from the British colonies and, six years afterwards, the ship-

ments of indigo from Charles Town amounted to about 200,000 pounds a year; just before the Revolution it was to amount to more than five times that.[25]

Thirty-five years before the Revolution, Charles Town's growing trade with Great Britain was greater than that of Boston or New York or Philadelphia; and not even Newport with its "triangular trade," selling rum in Africa for slaves, slaves in Barbados for sugar and molasses, and sugar and molasses in Newport for rum, could equal the trade of Charles Town with the West Indies. By 1775, when the American Revolution began, Charles Town was one of the three leading seaports of the colonies: greater than Boston, and greater than New York or Philadelphia for the export of domestic products.

At first the British merchants with factors in Charles Town had almost all of its trade across the North and South Atlantic. After 1720, the colonists had their own merchants, too. But the Charlestonians, unlike New Englanders, never had many ships. Those who made money in trade bought plantations to grow rice and, afterwards, indigo; for land in the colony was profitable, land was *real* property, and the ownership of broad lands aristocratic.

The population of Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Newport had grown greatly since 1720: New York and Newport as much as sixty per cent or so. Boston in 1742 had more than sixteen thousand inhabitants, Philadelphia about thirteen thousand, New York about eleven thousand, and Newport somewhat more than six thousand. The population of Charles Town, almost seven thousand in 1742, had almost doubled. However, only about a third of Charles Town's population in 1742, it has been estimated, were white. (In 1690, about a third of the inhabitants were Negroes; in

twenty years, they were as many as the whites.) The population of Charles Town in 1770 was about five thousand white inhabitants and almost six thousand Negroes—chiefly domestic servants and mechanics.

Charles Town was founded on Negro slavery: completely so as its prosperity became based upon the sale of a staple crop raised by slaves. The Englishmen from Barbados (that crowded little island to which the English fled from civil war in England)[26] had brought with them Negro slaves—first in 1670—and a slave code. Negroes soon took the place of the Indian slaves, who were neither docile nor faithful, and of the indentured white servants common in other colonies. The English, who had found Negro slavery profitable and thought it as necessary as tools on the hot sugar plantations of Barbados, where there were neither swamps nor malaria, found it no less necessary where the Negroes with their "extraordinary tolerance" for malaria,[27] although not immune,[28] could clear a swampy wilderness and work in the malarial rice fields.

This was the colony to which the first Jews came to settle, for the most part, in Charles Town, the chief town and port, and to share—and add to—its trade and prosperity: a few as great merchants but most of them only as small shopkeepers.

c. *Where did the first Jews come from? What did they do for a living?*

The Jews who first went to Charles Town came, almost all of them, from England and English possessions in the western hemisphere: from New York to the north, from Georgia to the south, and, like the English from Barbados, from the British West Indies. For the most part they came to the

growing port as merchants; but like other merchants in Charles Town some hoped, no doubt, to buy land and become planters: as we have seen, Simon Valentine and Mordecai Nathan, for example, did buy a farm. If a few were men of consequence with transactions involving large sums, others, as stated above, were no more than petty tradesmen, ready to sell a loaf of bread or of sugar, a ribbon for a lady or a cut of rough cloth for a slave.

Simon Valentine came from New York, very likely. A Jew, listed as Valentyn Vander Wilde, "joode," in 1682 paid "voor syn Borger Recht" in New York, that is, for his rights as burgher;[29] and about 1684 he was sued in chancery in New York under the name of Simon Valentine, as one who claimed to be entitled to the lands of Asser Levy as heir, and also as the holder of a judgment on a bond for non-payment of which the plaintiff, also a Jew, was in jail.[30] The name of Mordecai Nathan—very likely the Mordecai Nathan mentioned above—is on a list, dated 1711, of those who contributed to the cost of finishing the steeple of Trinity Church in New York.[31] David Riz, whose name is on a number of documents dated 1708 and 1709, "no less than ten times,"[32] came, it seems, from Jamaica.

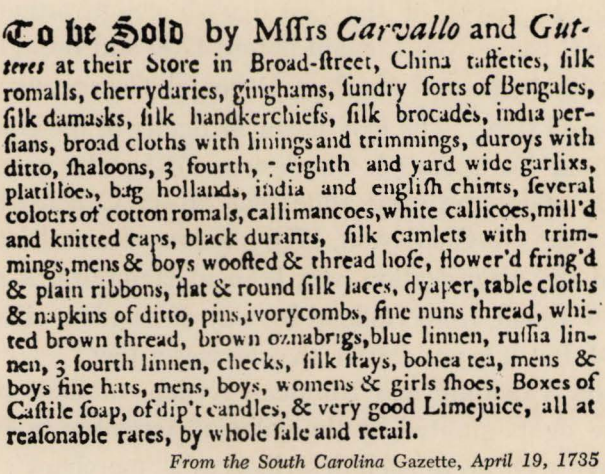
About 1741, Jews, as well as many Christians, who had been among the earliest settlers in Georgia, left Savannah because the trustees of the colony would not let them have the use of Negro slaves. (Many returned to Georgia when slavery was permitted in 1749.) Among the Jews who went to South Carolina were Mordecai Sheftall—he had returned to Georgia by 1761—and Levi Sheftall, the sons of Benjamin Sheftall, David de Olivera and his father, Jacob de Olivera, also known simply as Jacob Olivera, whose will was probated in Charles Town in 1752. (The will ends: "I also Rec-

ommend to my said son 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 IN THY HANDS I WILL DEPOSIT MY SPIRIT THOU HAST RESCUED ME O LORD GOD OF TRUTH.")[33]

Moses Cohen (d. Charles Town, 1762), who was to become *haham* (the title of the local rabbi among Spanish-Portuguese Jews) of the first Jewish congregation, Beth Elohim,[34] came from London before 1750 and brought with him at least one son (Abraham Cohen, d. Georgetown, S. C., 1800, aged sixty). The first *hazan*, or reader of the congregation, Isaac Da Costa (d. Charleston, 1783), also came from London about the same time that Moses Cohen did. But Philip Hart (d. Charleston, 1796), among the earliest members of the congregation, was born in Hamburg. A doctor, Andrew Judah, from Holland by way of London, advertised in 1764, but it is not certain that he was a Jew.

Simon Valentine and Abraham Avilah, in their petition for the rights granted by the colonial Assembly in 1697, as we have seen, were each described as a "merchant"; and so were the two whose names appear between theirs on the petition and who were also, very likely, Jews. Valentine probably dealt with the merchants of the British West Indies: in 1701 he was designated as a "shopkeeper" in a power of attorney to collect a debt he was said to owe a resident of Jamaica. And a pamphlet, complaining of the governor of the province and accusing the governor, among much else, of "a private trade with the French" while England was at war with France, said that "Mr. Valentine, the Jew" was involved, although the author admitted that he was without evidence that would "legally convict them."[35]

Joseph Tobias was also a "shopkeeper" in Charles Town: there is a record of a bond, dated 1737, in which he is so described. His name is among those who dealt with the Gomez family of New York in 1758. There is, likewise, the record of a bond, dated 1741, of Samuel Levy and Moses Solomons—or, as his name appears later in the gazette, Solomon—merchants of Charles Town. The sum involved ("one thousand three hundred and two pounds thirteen shillings



**To be Sold** by Meſſrs *Carvallo* and *Gutteres* at their Store in Broad-ſtreet, China taffeties, ſilk romalls, cherrydaries, ginghams, ſundry ſorts of Bengales, ſilk damasks, ſilk handkerchiefs, ſilk brocades, india perſians, broad cloths with linings and trimmings, duroys with ditto, ſhaloons, 3 fourth, ⅞ eighth and yard wide garlixs, platilloes, bag hollands, india and engliſh chints, ſeveral colours of cotton romals, callimancoes, white callicoes, mill'd and knitted caps, black durants, ſilk camlets with trimmings, 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, whited brown thread, brown oznabrigs, blue linnen, ruſſia linnen, 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 whole ſale and retail.

*From the South Carolina* Gazette, *April 19, 1735*

An early Jewish advertisement

and four pence" "good and lawfull money of Great Britain"), to be paid Daniel LaRoche and Thomas LaRoche, planters, was not small, and these Jewish merchants must have been men of consequence.[36] No doubt, too, they had good connections.[37]

The advertisements of merchants with names that might be those of Jews do not appear in the gazettes before 1734. In 1738, Isaac De Pass of Union Street advertised that he had "Good White Sugar, very good Barbados Rum & very fine Citron Water"; in 1744, his shop was on Broad Street

and he was ready to buy rice, paying for it "two Parts in ready Cash and the Balance in Cordials . . . or any other goods" that he had to sell. Moses de Mattos of Union Street in 1739 was selling several kinds of bread and loaf sugar. So was "Mr. Tobias on the Bay." And a few years later (1748), Solomon Isaacs and Company, "at the House on the Bay, in which Capt. Calcock lives," had "Negro Cloth and and other woolen goods, linnens, callicoes, ironware and sundry other goods" for sale.

To earn his living, Moses Cohen, the *haham* or rabbi of Beth Elohim, was a "shopkeeper," according to a conveyance from him dated 1759. The same conveyance terms Isaac Da Costa, the grantee—the first *hazan* or reader of the congregation—"merchant." He had been born in London, in 1722, of a family that was, it seems, wealthy, and had studied there under Isaac Nieto (*haham*, 1733–41). Da Costa came to America when he was twenty-nine. In 1751 he, too, was a "shopkeeper," according to his advertisement in the gazette. In 1757, he was advertising "European and Indian goods" for sale at his place of business on Broad Street, where he had been since 1752. He was in partnership with Thomas Farr in 1758 and, three years later, the firm, Da Costa and Farr, had become important as ship agents. But next year the partnership was dissolved, and in 1765 Da Costa and his former partner made an assignment for the benefit of creditors.[38]

Isaac Da Costa was the agent of a Spanish ship in 1772; on King Street in 1773; and in 1778 in partnership with his son. He now advertised the sale of: "Havana Rum in pipes, 20 gallon casks, demijohns and bottles; white and brown sugar, in cases of 400 lb. each; red and white Spanish wines, in pipes and small casks; aniseed water in bottles; virgin

honey in jugs; bleached wax in large cakes; white wax candles; best blue raisins in jars; sweet almonds; Spanish olives in jars; olive oil in jugs."[39] His son, Joseph, it seems, was even less successful in business and involved Samuel, another son, as surety.[40]

But all Jews were not in trade. Abraham Alexander, for example, was at first a scrivener for his living.[41] Moses Pimenta, one of the first members of Beth Elohim, was held learned in the sacred laws by the Jewish community and taught their children. His unpaid note was among the assets left by Solomon Isaacs (d. Charles Town, 1757.)[42]

### d. *The Jewish Congregation*

If to be a man means to be a fellow man, as a rabbi who survived a Nazi concentration-camp has said,[43] it is certainly true that to be a Jew means to be a fellow Jew; for Judaism, as it developed under the instruction of the early rabbis, although a relation of the individual to God, is not merely a personal religion "in isolation," but a personal relation of the individual to God "in the fellowship of the religious community."[44] A minimum of ten Jews, male and adult, a *minyan* (literally, "the number"), is required in Orthodox Judaism for a congregation.

But no priest is necessary as an intermediary between the congregation and God; a layman may conduct the services and read from the Law—and generally does; a rabbi (literally "my master," and so "my teacher") is no more than a man learned in the sacred laws and, it is supposed, able to teach, advise, and judge. The synagogue—certainly in the early days of Judaism—was not "primarily a house of worship, but a place where the common prayers were said together and

individuals offered their private petitions, and where the Scripture was read, interpreted, and expounded—a place of religious instruction and edification."[45]

A "memorial" of the churches or meeting-places and the congregations of South Carolina in 1723 does not mention any congregation of Jews.[46] There was probably a *minyan* in Charles Town, meeting regularly for prayer, after the arrival of Jews from Georgia (about 1741), if not earlier. But it was not until the autumn of 1749, the beginning of the Jewish year that was to end in 1750 of the Christian era, that a congregation, Beth Elohim, the full name of which was at first *Beth Elohim Unveh Shallom,* meaning "House of God and Mansion of Peace," was organized "at the conclusion of the Jewish New Year 5510."[47] It was probably the fifth congregation of Jews in what is now the United States, perhaps the sixth: the Jews of New York had not only a congregation but a synagogue about 1695; Newport probably had a congregation by 1677; the Sephardic Jews who landed at Savannah in 1733 rented a house where "divine service was regularly performed for years," and the German Jews of the city were reported meeting in 1738 for services "in an old miserable cabin" with a young man as their paid reader;[48] Philadelphia had a congregation in 1747—some say earlier.

From 1750 to 1757, *Kahal Kadosh* (literally "holy congregation") Beth Elohim met for worship in a small wooden house—that had been most likely used for a dwelling—on Union Street (now State Street and so since the days of the Secession): the third or fourth synagogue in North America. A synagogue in Philadelphia may have been older, but the Jews of Newport had no synagogue until 1763. From 1757 to 1764, the Charles Town congregation met in a house

"back in the yard," afterwards 318 King Street, near Hasell Street; and, from 1764 until 1780, on Beresford Street near King Street.

At first, as has been said, Moses Cohen was the *haham,* or rabbi, of Beth Elohim and Isaac Da Costa the *hazan* or reader; Joseph Tobias was the first *parnass,* or president, and Michael Lazarus, also a merchant, the secretary. The congregation was Orthodox, of course—it was almost seventy-five years before any exponent of change was to be heard in the city—and the ritual was Sephardic, as in the synagogue of the Sephardic Jews in Bevis Marks, London. Almost sixty years after the death of the *haham,* Beth Elohim in its constitution of 1820 provided that "on every Kippur night perpetually, the first *escaba* (prayer for the dead) shall be made for the Reverend Moses Cohen because he was appointed and confirmed the Reverend Doctor of this Congregation from its establishment."

## 2. Charles Town before the Revolution

### a. *The Community at Large*

Long before the American Revolution, Charles Town was a city as distinguished from a mere group of houses, and the center of a society as civilized in their occupations and pleasures, in their concern for the safety and well-being of the inhabitants, as might then be found in any city of Europe. As early as 1740, Charles Town had an aristocracy of merchants and planters: in winter, the planters and their families came to town for pleasure. There was gaming at cards and horse-racing, dancing-assemblies and dinners, clubs that met in the taverns as in London, concerts and plays, and the good talk of cultured men and women based

upon reading, common sense, and wit. Nicholas Trott (d. 1740), chief justice of the province, was a Hebrew scholar. In 1700 the provincial Assembly had provided for a public library. The Charles Town Library Society, founded about the middle of the century, was described by Josiah Quincy just before the Revolution as having a "handsome, square, spacious room, containing a large collection of very valuable books, prints, globes, etc." When he went to the concert of the St. Cecelia Society (afterwards, and to this day, a most select dancing-club), he heard "one Abercrombie, a Frenchman just arrived, (who) played the first violin, and a solo incomparably better than any one I ever heard. He cannot speak a word of English, and has a salary of five hundred guineas a year from the St. Cecelia Society." There were "upwards of two hundred and fifty ladies present, and it was called no great number."[49] Artists were painting portraits and also painting landscapes as chimney-pieces. There were teachers of mathematics, Latin, Greek, and French, of fencing, music and dancing, drawing and needlework. There were also in 1720 fifteen or so doctors, who had studied in Europe, and twice as many in 1740.

Since many of the first settlers were Englishmen from Barbados, Charles Town is said to have been rather like a town in the West Indies than in one of the northern colonies.[50] A planter's house in town was often a mansion—not necessarily of brick, for wood was thought cooler—furnished in the latest English mode. (The town houses in colonial days seem to have been without the verandas, one above another, along the length of the house—characteristic of Charleston today. They may have been introduced by the French refugees from San Domingo in 1793,[51] but, known as "piazzas," they were common, for example, in New York

before the Revolution: here they were placed in front of the house and, it may be, behind it.)[52] Many a house in Charles Town, as early as the middle of the century, was said to have cost a thousand pounds sterling and more. The well-to-do Charlestonian, by that time, would very likely have a chaise, and some had a carriage from England and an English coachman. Those who would—and could—bought lace and fine linens and silks from Europe, chintz, silks and tea from India; and in the city there were goldsmiths and makers of perukes. Elizabeth Lucas, writing about 1740, found "Carolina greatly preferable to the West Indies" and Charles Town "a neat pretty place. The inhabitants polite and live in a very gentile [*sic*] manner. The streets and houses regularly built—the ladies and gentlemen gay in their dress, upon the whole as many agreeable people . . . for the size of the place as almost any where."[53]

George Mercer, to be sure, who had served with Washington against the French and then gone to Carolina with a Virginia regiment, wrote him in 1757: "The Town . . . far inferior to Philadelphia, N York, Boston, or even New Port itself," with "many very bad low clapboard Houses upon their Principal streets which are in general narrow & confined. The Inhabitants, who . . . were esteemed the polite & genteelest People on the Continent . . . never will come up to the Character given Them."[54] But this may have been merely a soldier's "grousing." Later (1773), Josiah Quincy was to write his wife in a much quoted passage: "in grandeur, splendour of buildings, decorations, equipages, numbers, commerce, shipping, and indeed in almost everything, it (Charles Town) far surpasses all I ever saw, or expected to see in America." However, he was a sickly man and had

just landed from a wretched voyage—his first at sea; no doubt, he was very glad to be ashore.

It was not enough to be rich or powerful in Charles Town. The rich planter or merchant was supposed to have good taste and good manners. The schools of New England taught children to become industrious and God-fearing men and women. The aristocrats of Charles Town educated their children to make them fit for their station. So young men went to England to study law: not necessarily to practise it afterwards but to become leaders in the community. The London Inns of Court, it was said, had more students from South Carolina than from any other colony.

The population of Charles Town in 1770, as has been stated, was about five thousand white inhabitants and almost six thousand Negroes—chiefly domestic servants and mechanics. There were white men, of course, who worked as artisans, but not as many, in proportion, as those in the northern towns, for many slaves in the province had been taught a handicraft. The well-run plantation was almost self-sufficient. And some masters in the city, according to the complaints of the grand juries, hired out their slaves to compete with white men. In addition to the great merchants, there were lesser ones who might sell the odds and ends of a cargo, at auction or "publick vendue" generally, for that was a common way of selling in the West Indies and the colonies; and there were those who were merely petty shopkeepers and had no standing.

Charles Town, as to this day,[55] was anxious for white immigrants to offset the many Negroes. The Huguenots were the earliest to come in number; they were soon followed by Scotsmen from Ulster, by Germans and Swiss. De Brahm,

who built part of the fortifications (1755), wrote of Charles Town about 1770, after mentioning its churches and meeting-houses and "an assembly . . . for Jews": "Altho' differing in religious principels [*sic*], and in the knowledge of salvation . . . (the city is) far from . . . inclining to that disorder which is so common among men of contrary religious sentiments in many parts of the world, where that pernicious spirit of controversy has laid foundation to hatred, persecution, and cruel inquisition, in lieu of ascertaining thereby how to live a godly life." And he predicted that the city would "always grow and prosper," since the inhabitants were "from the beginning renound [*sic*] for concord, compleasance, courteousness, and tenderness towards each other, and more so towards foreigners, with out regard or respect of nation or religion."[56] Now and then a beam of light falls for a moment on what was, perhaps, intended to have been a merry company of which a Jew was one: as when, for example, on a Sunday in the spring of the year 1744, "Mr. Hart the Jew" was drowned, having gone out on "one of Government's Gallies" that "sailed over the Bar to convoy a Sloop, met with a sudden hard gale of wind, overset, and sunk." (This is the first notice of the death of a Jew in South Carolina.)[57]

The relations of Great Britain and South Carolina, a favored colony, remained close and friendly for almost a century—closer than with any northern colony. The hardships of travel by land through the wilderness between Charles Town and Philadelphia were great, and one could go to Great Britain from Charles Town almost as easily as sail north to Philadelphia, New York or Boston around Cape Hatteras. The merchants sold the planters British goods and also African slaves—a trade not unimportant to the British as

Thomas Jefferson pointed out in the draft of the Declaration of Independence. The province was prosperous; its planters of indigo were greatly helped by the British bounty, and its rice, if shipped in British bottoms, could be sold directly in Europe anywhere south of Cape Finisterre. Nor had the colony been settled originally by malcontents: the settlers brought over no traditions of British injustice.

But the planters of South Carolina, rich, capable, well-educated, and proud, were not content finally to see themselves treated as mere provincials under British officials: even the merchants who had become rich under the British trade regulations found dishonest British officials expensive and a vexation. In addition, there was the general grievance at British taxation. The leaders of the Revolution in South Carolina—with an exception like Christopher Gadsden—had no great love for democracy, but they hated tyranny.[58]

### b. *Moses Lindo: Promoter*[59]

Among the Jewish merchants in Charles Town before the Revolution, there were those who, like "Imanuel" Cortissoz, sold "Fine fresh Butter, in Keggs" at a store "in Market-square, facing Broad-street," to quote an advertisement in 1762. Others, like Isaac Pinto, the wholesale wine merchant, whose advertisements appeared from 1760 to 1762, were probably more important. Such, for example, was Philip Hart, partner in a business at Georgetown and part owner of a vessel. Isaac De Pass, likewise (he spells his name in his advertisements "Depaz," "De Paz," "De Pas," and finally "De Pass") was the sole owner of the brigantine, *The Carolina,* in 1744; and, about the same time, Solomon Isaacs was the sole owner of the sloop, *The Heron,* in 1747, and Joseph Tobias the owner of the schooner, *The Judith,* in 1750. More

conspicuous than any of these was Moses Lindo, who left his name in the annals of Charles Town's indigo trade.

In 1756, more than ten years after indigo was first successfully cultivated commercially in South Carolina by Elizabeth Lucas and eight years after the British parliament voted its bounty, there came to Charles Town from London aboard *The Charming Nancy* a Jewish merchant of indigo, no longer young but typical of those Jews who by ability, energy, and courage make themselves, under favorable circumstances, men of mark in their city, although less conspicuous in the synagogue—if they belong to it at all. Moses Lindo was born in England about 1712. He was very likely a member of the distinguished Jewish family to which the Moses Lindo, Jr., belonged who, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was one of the *deputados* of the Portuguese Jewish community for watching whatever might affect the Jews of England—libels, acts of Parliament, and the like; and this distinguished Moses Lindo, Jr., might have been his son or a nephew. However, that family by the end of the nineteenth century had forgotten all about him.[60] He was also, perhaps, the Moses Lindo whose name appears as "of Mary Axe, merchant" in the list of bankrupts, December 1752, and January 1753, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.[61] Of himself Moses Lindo was to say in one of his advertisements in *The South Carolina Gazette:* "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 . . . to be called . . . to give my sentiments of Carolina Indico to the hon. House of Commons . . ."

In 1757 he was to have his own vessel and, unlike other Jewish merchants, named it after himself—*The Lindo Packett.* Six years after Lindo's arrival, in 1762, the light that he

had not hidden under a bushel brought him the appointment of "Surveyor and Inspector-General of Indico" in South Carolina upon his application to the governor of the province; so that, according to the governor, Lindo's certificates of "First Sort" might have "the more weight and authority in Great Britain."[62] For this business of inspection, Lindo opened an office on "Mr. Beresford's wharf" to be there every day in the week, except Saturdays, Sundays, or the holidays "observed in other offices," from eight in the morning until one in the afternoon.

Of course, a mere application to the governor of the province for the post of "Surveyor and Inspector-General of Indico" would not have been enough: Lindo's application was solidly supported by a testimonial signed by "gentlemen of rank and fortune." These included the lieutenant-governor, five members of his "Majesty's Council," the speaker and nineteen members of "the late Commons House of Assembly." Most of these, including the lieutenant-governor, were planters of indigo themselves. More than forty merchants, some of whom were likewise planters of indigo, signed the testimonial. According to the testimonial, "Mr. Moses Lindo, of Charles Town, merchant, is the only person known to us, capable of rendering this province further service in that article (indigo), if he is willing to ascertain the same and to grant his Certificate for the First Sort."

Mr. Lindo was willing. But if, on the one hand, there was no obligation upon any merchant or planter to submit indigo to his inspection, on the other hand, there was none upon him "to take that trouble for nothing." He would inspect any parcel and give his certificate of "the first sort," if merited, for "the small consideration of one per cent. on the value of the Indico so certified," making no distinction of persons but

serving "with equal readiness . . . a planter who brought only fifty pounds to market as one who brought thousands." Where allowances were to be made for bad mixtures, dampness, or "designed wetness of Indico to disguise the quality," he expected another one per cent from the buyer, too. But he himself would buy nothing until the planter or dealer had tried the market eight or ten days.

In a few days he was to change his rates, for a rate based on value was, no doubt, uncertain and debatable: the new rates were twenty shillings currency for every hundred pounds certified as "First Sort," and, later, he was ready to purchase indigo after waiting only three or four days after it had been certified. He was compelled, also, to threaten the exposure of any fraudulent mixtures, after he had given his certificate; and then he would not act at all "after February next . . . 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." There were, too, the insinuations of "evil-minded persons . . . sensible of . . . (his) superior knowledge in all dyes and drugs to any in Europe or America." But when the hogsheads of indigo that he had certified arrived in England, "the world will be satisfied," he added, "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."

A few months before his arrival in Charles Town, not unaware of the value of a little advance publicity, Mr. Lindo, then at Wormwood Street, London, had sent a letter, containing "proper Directions for making Lime Water to subside Indico," to the local gazette as "a singular Service to the consumer." He had examined the major part of the Carolina

indigo shipped to London that year, he wrote, and had had "the pleasure to find a considerable Quantity equal to the BEST French; and tho' there is some inferior to the Sight by 3s. 6d. per Pound, yet on using it" with lime water, he was "convinced," "the Inferiority is not more than 1s. 6d. a pound."

Upon his arrival, Moses Lindo gave "public Notice, that he is arrived from London, with an Intent to purchase Indico . . . and to remit the same to his Constituents in London, classed, sorted and packed in a Manner proper for the foreign market." Shortly afterwards, he announced that he had engaged a vessel of "130 Tons with 8 guns," properly manned, to sail with 20,000 pounds of indigo and "all his COFFEE purchased from the French prizes."

But, it seems, there had been rumors and insinuations about Lindo, and in March of the year following his arrival he advertised that he had spent 120,000 pounds currency in the produce of the country, besides 30,000 pounds for prize-goods and other articles, "all of which are paid for, as appears by my Receipt-Book," except a small amount not yet due or to which he had his "objections for not paying"; and should "any One . . . take the liberty of contradicting the above Advertisement, or give out any other malicious Insinuation," Mr. Lindo would "esteem it one of the greatest Favours" to let him "know the same by a Line" and the name of his informer would be concealed. "And if such information comes from a person of midling Circumstances, on due Proof thereof," Lindo promised "to reward him with the Sum of Five Hundred Pounds Currency." In the same advertisement, he thanked "those Gentlemen who assisted me in taking my Bills for 12,000 Pounds Sterling" and "the Planters of Winyah and those of the Southward" for giving

him "the Preferences of their Indico." And he assured them that, if it please God he live until the next season, he would 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 . . . in that Article, wherefore I hope they will not be discouraged." He was also ready, so he stated in his advertisement, to purchase "a plantation of 500 acres, with 60 or 70 Negroes" for "ready money."

Moses Lindo was not only a buyer and shipper of indigo; he was ready to find any "roots and weeds" that would dye "reds." If a pound, "dried in the shade," were sent to him, he would make a trial of it; and, "if the Discoverers be persons in middling Circumstances" and so not above a reward in money, if "what they produce" to him "be proven a dye," he would reward them with "Fifty Pounds Currency" and his "best endeavours to obtain them further Gratuities from the Dyers Company in London." In the letter to the publisher of the gazette, in which he made this offer, he announced that he had already "made trial" of a crimson dye lately discovered in the province and had found that it answered "all the purposes of Cochineal." He had sent samples of it to London to be approved by well-known dyers and, if so approved, the discoverer might be entitled to "Part of the Reward offered . . . to such as can fix a Scarlet or Turkey-Red on Cotton."

Some time after Mr. Lindo's arrival, his contract with the London house he represented expired—or was terminated; their agent failed to pay for the indigo consigned to them, as well as Mr. Lindo's allowance. Accordingly, he announced that during his stay in the province he would, for a commission, sort indigo as he had been doing, "to prevent impositions by the purchasers in England"; but he did not expect to

had marched up the Regulars to the Lake, and had ſent for the promiſed Reinforcements from the ſeveral Governments, the *French* being found far ſuperior to what they had been repreſented.——That an Attack upon Fort-*Cumberland* in *Virginia* was ſoon expected; a Spy having been taken very near it, who confeſſed his having been a Deſerter from Capt. *Polſon*'s Company 3 Days before the Battle of *Monongahela*; his having left an Army on their March, at the *Little-Meadows*; and the Errand he had been ſent upon.——That Governor *Shirley* was gone Home in the *Mermaid* Man of War.——That ſeveral Letters had been received from the *Oſwego*-Officers at *Montreal*, adviſing they were well uſed, *&c.*——That the Aſſembly of *Maryland* had granted 2000 *l.* their Currency, to be laid out in Proviſions, to be immediately ſent to *New-York* for the Army at Lake *George*.——And that the *French* talk'd of coming againſt *Albany*, &c. &c.

☞ 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 this 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.*

*From the South Carolina* Gazette, *November 11, 1756*

Moses Lindo gives notice of his arrival in South Carolina

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.

## 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.*

*From the South Carolina* Gazette, *September 26, 1762*

Appointment of Moses Lindo as Surveyor and Inspector General of Indigo

be paid unless the indigo he had sorted "adds credit to the province and profit to those who chuse to ship that article." He had now been in South Carolina five years but it was still only a "stay" and he still had the same buoyancy and exuberance of spirit and a little of the loud benevolence of a "barker" at a fair.

The last advertisement brought him indigo to sort: eighteen thousand weight, he announces, as good as French indigo, and if any purchaser should question this, let him signify it in the newspaper Lindo names, under the attestation of certain eminent brokers of dyes, as well as "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." If some purchasers of indigo foolishly imagined that by this advertisement he now wanted orders for more indigo to sort, he would do it "only 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 denied, also, insinuations that he owed three thousand guineas and more in the province above that due him at home. And as for those in Charles Town who pretended to be judges of indigo, he wished, kindly enough, that "they may not, by which they have shipped on board the fleet, experience the presumption." As for his own seal, it was "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."

In 1763, Lindo's account of a new dye from the berries of a weed in South Carolina—a dye which he himself had discovered by observing what the mocking-birds voided on the Chinese rails in his garden—was thought worthy of a

place in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society.[63] A visitor to Charles Town met him in the house of one of the merchants who had signed the testimonial to Lindo's knowledge of indigo and the three, it seems, spent a pleasant afternoon together (1765). In 1766 Lindo made, he believed, "a valuable discovery" of a wash and a drink for "that grievous and common disease among the Negroes, called the Yaws," and he sent the recipes to the local gazette in Charles Town "for the good of mankind, without the least view," as he pointed out, to his "private advantage."

As inspector-general of indigo Lindo complained in another letter to the gazette (1767) that Carolina indigo did not fetch as good a price as French indigo because the importers of foreign indigo wished to discourage its cultivation in the British colonies, although, as he did not hesitate to aver "publickly" in the performance of his duty "to rescue that valuable branch of our staples from the malign influence of designing men," Carolina indigo of the first sort, if properly prepared by the dyer, would yield a superior dye to the very best French. And he suggested that Parliament, instead of continuing the bounty on colonial indigo, levy a duty on imported indigo, saving the bounty and yet encouraging colonial cultivation.

In 1770 Lindo extended his beneficence in a new direction. A letter to his New York agents, Sampson and Solomon Simson, instructed them to send the trustees of Rhode Island College (afterwards Brown University) five pounds York currency, worth twenty pounds South Carolina currency, which he had promised the representative of the college. "The Reason yt Induces me to be a Benefactor to this College is . . . (their) having no objection of Admitting ye Youth

of our Nation without Interference in Principals of Religion. If so my donation shall exceed beyond the bounds of . . . (their) Imagination."

The trustees were not unimpressed and by resolution at their meeting and in a letter to Lindo welcomed "Jewish Scholars," but heard no more from him. In Lindo's letter to his agents he also mentioned that he had gone to "Merchant Taylor's School in London . . . for three Years" with his brothers and that many of their fellow students had become distinguished– "two Lord Mayors & seven aldermen, and many toping merchants . . . Which I assure you was no small service to me when I was a Broker on the Royal Exchange . . ." However, there is no record in the register of the school that he or any brother ever went there.[64]

Great Britain still imported much French and Spanish indigo–a better grade than most of the indigo, if not any, grown in South Carolina, and the French indigo sold, at times, for as much as two shillings more than that of Carolina.[65] Lindo, now that he had decided to spend the rest of his days in the province, where merit in any class had its reward, and with the interest of the country "as disinterestedly as much at heart" as any native, urged that there was no fraud in packing Carolina indigo the Spanish way, for "judges never buy from outward appearance . . . (but) will examine its inward Quality." In the same way, he argued, mercers sold their fine silks as French although woven in Spitalfields.

In 1772, he advertised that he would be well pleased if three or four persons, well experienced in the indigo business, would undertake to sort it for profit, for he himself could serve only his regular patrons–whom he did not fail to list. And that very year, he advertised that he would no

longer act as "inspector-general," for he would not seal certain classes of indigo and bring disgrace on the seal "with a crown over G. R." However, he would continue to serve his friends, if they wished him to.

A testimonial of character he had occasion to give about this time (1773) to Jonas Phillips of New York, who came with him from London in his service, says in a phrase not unworthy of Lindo that Phillips is "trustworthy to Gold untold." So he sent the Queen, as he said he had vowed to do, by packet-boat and the hands of the Right Hon. Lord Charles-Greville Montagu, a stone in shape like half a hen's egg, found in the province and which Lindo had purchased "for a Trifle" but called "a water sapphire or topaz." This he declared "too valuable a jewel to be possessed by any other than the Queen of England."

By then he had been seventeen years in the province. He was still "Inspector-General of Indico," in spite of his resignation, but he had not become wealthy; and, he told his friends, should any accident befall him "thro' the infirmities of age or otherwise," he would be "a very wretched . . . being." However, he had hopes that the General Assembly would allow him a salary besides his fees, and he still declared that Carolina indigo—for example, the thirteen thousand pounds he had just bought—was the "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."

Next spring (1774) he was dead. His furniture, plate, watch, chain, and seals, were sold "at public outcry" in a back store "on the Bay." The estate was appraised at about twelve hundred pounds. But he left no will. And the gazette in which he had advertised himself so often did not—to the

indignation of a sympathetic chronicler of Lindo's career many years later—even mention his death.[66]

That Lindo was an early example of an American zeal for advertising and that he showed no little skill at it, should hardly be held against him. In addition, his services in grading and attempting to standardize South Carolina indigo were certainly of value and so recognized by the chief men of the colony.

## 3. Charles Town during the Revolution

### a. *Francis Salvador, Patriot*[67]

It took courage to leave the safety of well-known streets and become a colonist—even for a merchant, and it is not surprising to find early among the Jewish merchants of Charles Town a soldier for the province. Joseph Levy was a lieutenant in Captain Gaillard's company of the South Carolina Regiment of Foot (Levy's commission is dated 1757); he was also a lieutenant in Colonel Middleton's Regiment in the Cherokee War (1760–61), and in 1761 he was recruiting volunteers in North Carolina. Other Jewish merchants and their clerks were soon fighting in the Revolution; however, the first Jew distinguished in the American cause had come to South Carolina to become a planter.

About the beginning of December, 1773, more than a hundred passengers landed at Charles Town from a number of vessels. Among them was a young Jew, Francis Salvador. "His manners, were those of a polished gentleman; and as such, he was intimately known and esteemed, by the first revolutionary characters in South Carolina. He also possessed their confidence in a great degree . . ."[68]

The name of Francis Salvador's family was rightly Jessurun (or "Isurune," as on the tombstone of Joseph Salvador

in Charleston) Rodriques, and so on the list of members of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in Bevis Marks, London, until about 1760. Salvador was probably the Marrano name. Francis Salvador's great-grandfather had been a rich merchant of Amsterdam and his grandfather, also Francis Salvador, had settled in England where he was enfranchised and made a free denizen by letters patent (1719). In 1745 the earlier Francis Salvador, like his father a rich merchant, had the coat-of-arms he and his father had used duly confirmed and recorded among those of the gentry of the realm: "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."

Francis Salvador, the son of the merchant of Amsterdam, was a distinguished member of the congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews in London and, among his other benefactions, active in sending Jews to Georgia against the wishes of the trustees of that colony. He had two sons, Jacob and Joseph. Jacob died when his son, Francis, was about two years old. The child was brought up as was suitable to one in his position and when he was of age came into his inheritance—a fortune of sixty thousand pounds sterling. He lived a while in France, as young men of quality did in those days, and on his return to England married his cousin, the daughter of his uncle, Joseph. Upon his marriage he received thirteen thousand pounds from his father-in-law.

But Francis Salvador lost most of his money in investments and his uncle and father-in-law, Joseph, had also lost heavily in the failure of the Dutch East India Company and the earthquake in Lisbon. To recoup their losses, Francis Salvador decided to go to South Carolina. Here, in the west of

the province, Joseph Salvador had bought a tract of land in 1755—afterwards known as "Jews' Lands"—in the district known as "Ninety-Six" (from the name of the post, afterwards the village of Cambridge, ninety-six miles from Fort Prince George). Francis Salvador bought almost a thousand acres of his uncle's tract outright (1774), held a mortgage on about five thousand acres more, and became a planter on Coronaca Creek. There is an advertisement of his in one of the gazettes for an overseer to look after thirty or so slaves and grow indigo.

In 1774, little more than a year after Francis Salvador's arrival at Charles Town, he was one of the ten representatives of Ninety-Six District in the first Provincial Congress of South Carolina: probably the first Jew in the modern world, it has been said, to be elected to office by Christians.[69]

"Selected" for office would be more accurate. Representation in the first Provincial Congress was arranged, of revolutionary necessity, without the authority of law; the writs of election were not sent to officials but to "influential gentlemen" in the parishes and districts and only those "favorable to the cause" chosen.[70] It is not clear what oath of office the representatives took when they assembled in Charles Town in 1775: it may well have been "upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God,"[71] as had been required of those elected to the provincial Assembly. The oath of the President of South Carolina was to require him to "maintain and defend the Laws of God the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of America."[72] The second constitution of South Carolina (1778) declared that an elector should be—with other qualifications—a "free white man, and no other person, who acknowledges the being of a God, and believes in a future state of rewards and punishments," but "no person" was "eligible

to sit in the house of representatives" or "to a seat in the . . . senate unless he be of the Protestant religion." And the same constitution declared that the "Christian Protestant religion shall be deemed . . . the established religion of this State," although "all persons and religious societies who acknowledge that there is one God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, and that God is publicly to be worshipped, shall be freely tolerated."

His fellow representatives must have known that Salvador was "of the Jewish nation." John Drayton knew it.[73] Salvador may have taken no oath, and his fellow representatives ignored it; or he may have taken the oath—not to make a scruple about words when a great issue was in the balance. So, among the records of the time, is the following:

> Report of the Commissioners (among the twelve "I. Dacosta, Jun.") belonging to the Company of Militia commanded by Capt James Bentham met at the house of Mr Wm Holiday Nov 27 1778 agreeable to an Act of Assembly passed the last Session entitled 'An Act for enlarging the time of taking the Oath of Allegiance' . . . The said (commissioners) having duly met and being sworn upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God . . . whereas Messers Sasportas and Des Palaisosios being transient Persons did take oath . . . were allowed to take oath again . . . And whereas Saml Dacosta (and two others) . . . being not arrived at the Age of Sixteen on the 11th of May last, but being now passed their Sixteenth Year . . . to take the Oath as by Law established there Your Commissioners are of Opinion that they may be admitted to so do . . .[74]

Apparently, the younger Isaac Da Costa did not hesitate, in a time of revolution, to take his oath upon "the Holy Evangelists."

In the first Provincial Congress, and in the second, of which Salvador was also a member, he was on important committees: for example, the committee for effectually carrying into execution the Continental Association and for receiving and determining upon applications relative to law processes in Ninety-Six District; on a committee of three, with Colonel Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Colonel Daniel Horry, to report the names of proper persons to be appointed magistrates in the different districts of the colony; and on another committee of three to report places of election for such districts as were not yet fixed or divided into parishes and proper persons to receive the votes of electors. Under the first constitution of the new state, adopted in 1776—the second constitution in the colonies—the second Provincial Congress became the first General Assembly of the state, and Salvador was a member.

Soon after the adjournment of the General Assembly in April 1776, British warships, escorting a fleet of transports, anchored off Charles Town and, as part of the British plan of campaign, the Indians and Tories were to attack the colonists in the interior of the state. The fleet was beaten off on June 28th; but on July 1st the Indians attacked in Ninety-Six District, murdering planters and their families and laying waste plantations. Andrew Williamson, then a major, was in command of the militia of the district, and Salvador rode at once to his plantation. It was not until the 25th of the month that they gathered enough men—about a thousand militia and regulars—to begin a counter-offensive, burning the villages of the Indians and their corn.

In the evening of the 31st, Major Williamson set out to surround a camp of white men and Indians; there were about three hundred mounted men in his detachment. They had

to cross the Keowee River and went towards the only ford; the road ran through an Indian village, but Williamson had heard that it had been abandoned. The detachment reached the village about one in the morning, and were ambushed; the Indians were in the nearest houses and in hiding behind a long fence on some high ground overlooking the road. Williamson's horse was shot under him and Salvador, riding beside him, was wounded in three places. He fell into some bushes and before he could be found in the darkness and confusion was scalped.

One of his fellow officers had seen the Indian who scalped him and might have stopped the Cherokee, but thought he was Salvador's servant going to help his master. Salvador lived long enough to hear from Major Williamson that the Indians had been beaten off, to say he was glad of it, and to shake the major's hand in farewell. He was dead of his wounds in an hour—at the age of twenty-nine. "The whole army regretted his loss, as he was universally loved and esteemed by them." Two others of the wounded in the detachment died that morning and the three were buried there.[75]

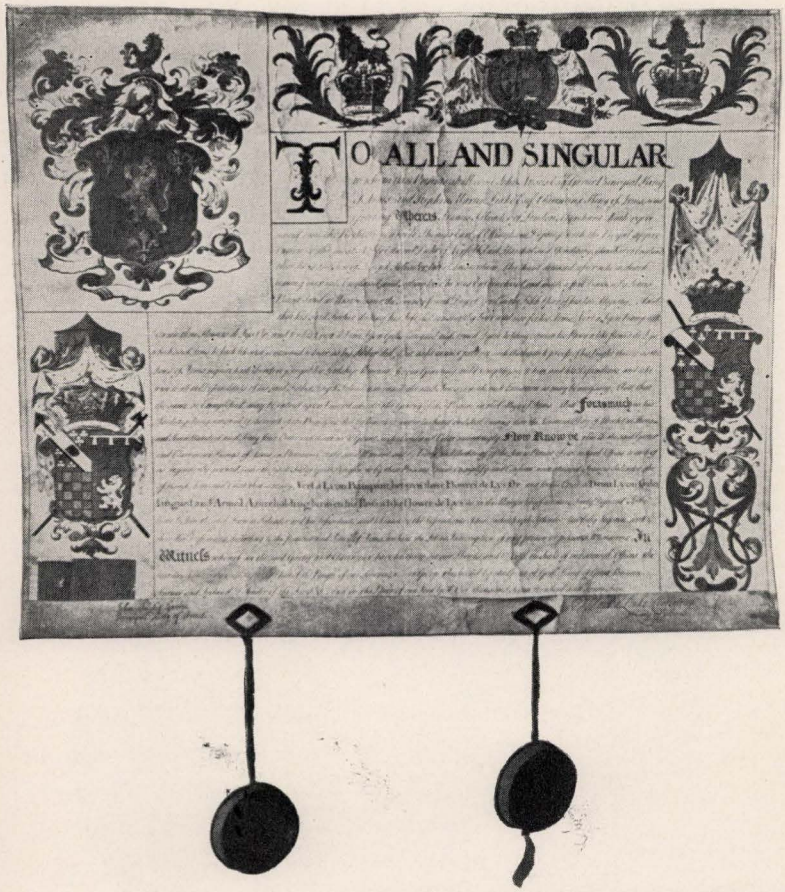
If Moses Lindo might have stepped out of a hearty comedy by Ben Jonson, Francis Salvador is like a character in a tragedy by Shakespeare: gallant and energetic, moved by generous, noble impulses, but killed early in a scuffle before the great action in which he plays a part is well under way. He had come to the colony to mend his fortunes, thinking, perhaps, chiefly of his lands, of raising indigo, and he found the old foundations sinking. He might have gone on to a happier land or gone back to England or might even have stayed—safe in a corner. Instead, he volunteered his mind and ventured his body, joining not merely in the talk of lib-

erty but in its action: serving in town, not without distinction, among the gentlemen of the Congress of South Carolina as the province struggled to become a state, and riding in the districts at the head of plain folk to defend the country. To judge him, then, by intention, by strict devotion to noble ends, is to rank him among the heroes of the American Revolution. As a Jew, these facts remain: he was the first to hold an important elective office in the New World and the first to die in the cause of American liberty.

b. *Siege and Surrender*

After Charles Town's fort of palmetto logs—later Fort Moultrie in honor of the commander—had beaten off the British fleet in June 1776, South Carolina was in fact at peace until 1779. The trade of Charles Town, until it was besieged in 1780, had never been as good: one of the few ports open for the Americans, the harbor was crowded with ships running the British blockade.

The citizens of Charles Town under the hardships of war, little as the state had as yet suffered, were, it seems, no longer all "concord, compleasance, courteousness, and tenderness towards each other, and more so towards foreigners, without regard or respect of nation or religion," as De Brahm had noted only a few years before. They now had the street-corner "patriot." "Posted in a much frequented corner" by his business, as he wrote to one of the local newspapers in 1778, he saw "a number of chairs and loaded horses" coming into town after the fall of Savannah. Going closer and making inquiries, he found that these belonged to "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 . . . for an asylum, with their ill-




*Original in possession of the College of Charleston*

The Salvador Grant of Arms from the Heralds' College, London



Abraham Alexander (1743–1816)
*Miniature by Lawrence Sully*



Daniel Hart (d. 1810)
*Miniature by Unknown Artist*



Judith De Lyon Cohen (d. 1816)
*Miniature attributed to Rembrandt Peale*



Isaac De Lyon
*Miniature attributed to Rembrandt Peale*

got wealth—dastardly turning their backs upon the Country when in danger, which gave them bread and protection."

Luckily, there was "A real American and True hearted Israelite," as he signed himself, to answer him: the "chairs," if our "patriot" had gone a little closer, would have been seen to hold only women and children, and there was not "a single Georgia Israelite" then in Charles Town, although there had been many a little while before; but as soon as they heard of the landing of the enemy they had gone "post haste to Georgia, leaving all their concerns unsettled, and are now with their brother citizens in the field."[76]

Abraham Mendez Seixas (b. New York, 1751; d. Charleston, 1799) may serve as an example. He was a brother of Gershom Mendez Seixas, the patriotic rabbi of New York, and the husband of Richea or "Ritcey," daughter of Joshua Hart of Charles Town, "a young lady of the most amiable qualifications"—so read the notice of her marriage. Abraham served as a lieutenant in the Continental Line in Georgia. He also served, as a mere private it seems, in Captain Lushington's company of Charles Town militia.[77] There is a painting of Seixas in a handsome uniform—a blue coat with the fringed epaulets of an officer and a white waistcoat and white breeches. But he hardly looks "every inch the soldier": he has a fat round face, narrow stooped shoulders, a protruding belly. The dark round eyes gaze at the beholder with a dark, appraising look. His left hand rests weakly in the handle of the short sword and his right is on his walking-stick. The picture, if accurate, was doubtlessly made when his soldiering days were long over and the bright uniform was only a costume for a patriotic dinner or holiday.

A resolution of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina in 1775 had provided that volunteers might organize into

companies of foot and choose their own officers. After November of that year, however, a volunteer could enroll only in the regiment of the district in which he lived; and under the Militia Act of 1778 no additional companies of volunteers were to be formed. By this act, it was the duty of every man to appear for drill once a fortnight, and he was subject to military service for a month or two at a time. But he might be excused because of age or infirmity and exempt if a clergyman or teacher; he also had the right to furnish a substitute.

Between 1776 and 1778, Richard Lushington had been promoted to be a captain in the Charles Town regiment of militia. Most of the Jews of Charles Town who fought in the Revolution were in his company, for they had to enroll in the district in which they lived and Captain Lushington's district included King Street where the Jews, for the most part, had their stores. The Militia Act of 1778 had provided that a company—instead of the volunteer companies of fifty—should have sixty men; in Captain Lushington's company it is unlikely that more than twenty-six or twenty-eight were Jews. When a local gazette in November 1778, for example, listed twelve men of the company, only two were Jews; when, in March of 1779, it listed five more names, only one was Jewish. However, it seems that there were enough Jews in Lushington's company for it to be known as the "Jew Company."[78]

Lushington's "Jew Company," as noted in the certificate of service of one of his Jewish soldiers, fought at Beaufort in February 1779, and Joseph Solomon was among those killed.[79] The Charles Town militia was also part of the forces of General Benjamin Lincoln in the attempt to recapture Savannah. David Nunez Cardozo (d. Charleston, 1835, al-

most eighty-two years of age), like Abraham Mendez Seixas born in New York and who may have been the son of Aaron Cardozo, a merchant of London who came to New York in 1752, marched with the Grenadier Corps from Charles Town as first non-commissioned officer of Captain Peter Boquet's company. As a volunteer, he led the "Forlorn Hope" in the assault on the British lines. This distinction is carved on his tombstone in the Coming Street cemetery.[80] However, he was no hero in the eyes of his fellow townsman, Isaac Cohen, who in providing for his daughter Sarah stipulated as a condition to his bequest: "if she intermarrys with any Jews or Person of her own Profession I accepting David Cordoza; but if she marrys David Cordoza otherwise called David Nunes Cordoza, my Will and Desire is that one Shilling Sterling be paid her & no more."[81] It may also be noted that in a census of pensioners for Revolutionary or military services, published in Washington in 1841, the widow of David Nunez Cardozo is Sarah Cardozo.[82] Cardozo was a subaltern in the militia until made a prisoner at the capture of Charles Town.

Jacob Tobias (d. 1775 at the age of twenty-six),[83] the son of Joseph Tobias who had been the first president or *parnass* of Beth Elohim, was a member of Captain Drayton's company of militia in 1775. When the British fleet was defeated in 1776, it is recorded that a "De Lion," the commissary, proposed to Colonel Moultrie that "some refreshment should be served to the men, who had been on duty ever since daylight." A rum cask, sawed in two, was accordingly brought out upon a platform and rum and water served to the men.[84] Although "De Lion" has not been identified as a Jew, he might well have been one, for there were Jews in Charles Town called De Lyon or De Leon.

Lushington's company was at the siege of Charles Town in 1780. The siege lasted two months. Bottled up on the peninsula, General Lincoln's position was hopeless from the beginning: he was not, it seems, a Washington to give up New York and Philadelphia but save his army. The Americans in Charles Town, however, did not surrender until their provisions were gone and their ammunition almost spent. (Mordecai Sheftall's wife was in the city during the siege, and in a letter to her husband, dated July 20, 1780, tells of an epidemic of smallpox and the continuous firing of the cannon on the British warships.)

The city surrendered in May. The following were listed in an orderly-book[85] as members of the militia in March, and afterwards: Philip Hart, Frederick Jacobs, "Phillip Minas" (Philip Minis), Solomon Polock, David "Sarsadas" (Sarzedas), Sampson Simon (Simons), Myers Solomon, and "Zodiack Solomon" (Zadok Solomo). Philip Hart, among the organizers of Beth Elohim in 1750, had furnished supplies to the commissary of South Carolina. Philip Minis came to Charles Town from Georgia in 1779. He is said to have been the first white male child to be born in Georgia. As a merchant of Savannah, he advanced money to pay the troops of Virginia and North Carolina in his state and, for his services, his name was listed by the British (1780) among the patriots disqualified from ever holding office. David Sarzedas, also of Georgia, a grandson of Judah Hays of New York, had been a lieutenant in the light dragoons. With other Jews of Savannah, he had come to Charles Town in 1779.

The census of pensioners for Revolutionary or military services, published in Washington in 1841, lists, in addition to Sarah Cardozo, the widow of David Nunez Cardozo, David Sarzedas, Judith Abrahams, the widow of Emanuel

Abrahams, Rebecca Cohen, the widow of Gershon Cohen, Moses Harris, and Rachel Lazarus, the widow of Markes Lazarus. Markes Lazarus may have been the son of Michael Lazarus who was the secretary of Beth Elohim at its organization. The younger Lazarus had been a soldier of the Revolution in 1776 and in 1779, as well as in 1780, and held the rank of sergeant-major. A descendant of Jacob Phillips has a voucher in payment for his services in the militia.[86] But, with records inaccurately kept or lost, a complete list of those who fought for the Revolution in South Carolina is not to be had.[87]

After negotiations for the surrender had begun, General Lincoln was petitioned by civilians and militia to surrender: one petition of three hundred civilians included fifteen names of Jews;[88] another of 346 members of the militia, officers and men, included the names of fourteen Jews;[89] and another also of militia had 111 names, but none of Jews. The petitions the Jews signed were alike: the petitioners had been informed that the difficulties in the negotiations for surrender related wholly to the civilians; the British commander had offered them their estates but would consider them prisoners of war, admitting them, however, to parole; and the petitioners, seeing no advantage in further resistance, requested the general to accept these terms.

The policy of the British in Charles Town was to treat the conquered generously—as the British thought: it was easy and profitable to resume allegiance to the king. But those who, as the British made clear, were foolish and ungrateful enough not to resume allegiance, found it difficult, if not impossible, to earn their living in the city, even if they were not banished. For example, the shopkeepers were encouraged to buy from the British merchants that came with the army,

but, after they were in debt, were forbidden by a proclamation to sell what they had bought until they made their willingness to become subjects of the king plain. Mechanics, who followed their trades in the city untroubled for some months after the surrender, found that they had no right to payment unless they accepted British sovereignty. Those, too, whose property had been taken by the British, as prisoners on parole had no hope of regaining it, but as loyal subjects of the king might claim and even have it again. At the same time, in the summer of 1780, many found it not unreasonable to believe that Congress had abandoned the Southern states and that South Carolina would always be British.[90]

Accordingly, in August or September 1780, a number of citizens of Charles Town petitioned the commandant that they might show their "allegiance and attachment to his Majesty's person and Government." The petition was referred to a committee of "gentlemen of known loyalty and integrity" who reported well of one hundred and sixty-six of the petitioners. Among them were seven Jews: Abraham Alexander, Philip Cohen, Moses Eliazer, Marcus Lazarus, Philip Moses, Joseph Myers, and Saul Simons.

Joseph Myers may well have been the same Joseph Myers who signed by his mark the petition of the fifteen Jewish civilians to General Lincoln; Philip Cohen may have been the Philip Jacob Cohen who signed the petition to General Lincoln of the fourteen Jewish militiamen. Philip Moses had also signed this petition. Moses Eleizar (Eliazer), according to Beth Elohim's constitution of 1820, was "a learned man in the laws of God, and until his death . . . taught the youth of this congregation and manifested unremitted zeal to promote religion in this country." Marcus (Markes or Marks)

Lazarus had likewise signed the petition of the civilians to General Lincoln, but had also served in the American forces. (At his death in 1835, the obituary notice in *The Southern Patriot* said that he had "earned the distinction of a single-minded and zealous patriot.") Abraham Alexander (d. Charleston, 1816, at the age of seventy-three) was the reader of Beth Elohim, after Isaac Da Costa's resignation in 1764, until his own resignation in 1784. He was to serve in the Revolutionary forces as a lieutenant in Burn's troop, Wade Hampton's regiment of light dragoons, Sumter's brigade, and also as lieutenant of dragoons in Captain William McKenzie's troop, Lt. Colonel William Hill's regiment.[91] There is a miniature of him, painted by Lawrence Sully, a brother of the famous Thomas Sully: it shows him with a broad face, and a long, thin, hooked nose, ruddy cheeks and eyebrows high and arched, wearing a fashionable white waistcoat, white neckcloth, and blue coat. The constitution of Beth Elohim (1820) provided that the seventh *escaba,* or prayer for the dead, on the Day of Atonement should be for Abraham Alexander "who volunteered his services to perform Devine [*sic*] Services."

The "addressers," as they were called because of their "address" to the British, said what many felt: that they wanted only to be at peace. In time, not a few who had despised them as "addressers" had to do the like.[92]

The following Jews, according to the "royal" gazettes then published in Charles Town, were in business during the British occupation: Emanuel Abrahams, Joseph Abrahams, Abraham Cohen, Gershon Cohen, Abraham Da Costa, Jacob Jacobs, Isaac De Lyon, and the firm of De Lyon and Moses. Emanuel Abrahams, Abraham Cohen, and Gershon Cohen had served in the American forces. The American patriotism

of Gershon Cohen was never questioned, it seems, for after the British left the city he was a character witness before a committee of patriots inquiring into the conduct of residents during the occupation. And so were a "Mr. Jacobs," perhaps Jacob Jacobs, and a "Mr. Abrahams," perhaps Emanuel or Joseph.[93]

Abraham Da Costa had come to Charles Town in 1778 to sell in a store at the upper end of King Street whatever had been saved from the fire that destroyed his business in Georgetown.[94] During the occupation he was proprietor of the "Irish Coffee House" on Broad Street. Isaac De Lyon, a saddler, who had arrived in 1779, was a Royalist and his property was amerced after the Revolution. There is a miniature of him showing a prosperous-looking man with a ruddy face and powdered wig, in a blue coat and white waistcoat.[94a] Levi Sheftall, who had come to Charles Town from Georgia in 1779, was another Royalist, although at the beginning of the Revolution he had been a patriot and commissary in Savannah "to provide necessaries for the several companies of men . . . upon duty at or about" the city.[95]

Myer (or Meyer) Moses (d. 1787) was also a merchant in Charles Town during the British occupation: according to General Thomas Sumter, he was "friendly and attached to the American cause during the Revolution." He made use of his stay in the city after its fall to relieve the distress of the American wounded and of the prisoners sent to the city, spending "on these occasions," according to General Sumter, "a considerable sum," and "his treatment to the American wounded and prisoners was such as to entitle him to the good wishes and gratitude of all those who had the success of the Revolution at heart."[96]

A number of Jews who were in the city during the occupa-

tion, newcomers mostly, if they did nothing for the cause of the Revolution did nothing to help the British. After the British finally left Charles Town in 1782, a committee of patriots questioned them with respect to liability under an American confiscation act and some of the testimony is still to be read:

*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 is an honest man.

*Samuel Levy:* Came 18 months agone . . . by birth a German, came from England to N. York & from thence here . . . 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 Cohen.

*Hyam Solomons:* Has arrived about 4 months in this town . . . clerk to Messers McGilvary and Struthers and came to Chas Town to sell a cargo of skins and remit the money. Was born in England but came out young . . . 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 . . . has minded only his shop. Mr. Cohen says he came from Germany with a Hessian General, and left him, wishing to stay in this country. Jacobs has known petitioner from a child, he is an honest man.

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

*Wolf & others. Moses Simons, Henry Harris:* Mr. Gershon Cohen knows these petitioners to be honest men. Simons keeps shop. Arrived in May last month. Harris a taylor, an honest inoffensive man. Mr. Jacobs says these petitioners are honest men.

Jews did not only testify for Jews before the committee: "Moses with the long nose"—whoever he was—testified for a David Cameron. So did Mr. Abrahams. Gershon Cohen testified for a William Cox.[97]

A number of Jews left—or were banished from—Charles Town during the British occupation. When Isaac Da Costa, Sr., refused to take the British oath of allegiance, and had his property confiscated and was banished, he found fellow Jews from Charles Town in Philadelphia.[98] Among them was Abraham Mendez Seixas, whose prayerbook recorded that he was "banish'd from Chas Town as disaffected to British Govt and arrived in Philada 29th May, 1782."

### c. *The Jewish Community; Independence and Equal Rights*

In 1783—the year the treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed and the independence of the United States confirmed—Charles Town was incorporated as a city by the legislature of the state, and from then on was the city of Charleston.

The war left the usual wake of private violence[99] and public suspicion. For example, on a night in February 1786, at

a little after ten, as Philip Moses and his wife were going home, "two tall lusty men, dressed in short light colored clothes, stopped him in Broad Street, at the corner of Gadsden's Alley, in a manner that evinced the intention to rob him." He resisted; one of the two "drew a pistol and fired at him, the explosion of which burned his face; the other fellow also fired, and both balls lodged in the adjacent house, fortunately without any mischief." This, it seems, ended the "attempt to rob and murder."

Two years later, the Jews of Charleston—certainly no less than the rest of the city—were interested in the trial and execution of Captain William Rogers of New London, Connecticut, for piracy. He was "found guilty of the murder of Mr. Abraham Nathan, of the Jewish nation," joint owner with Rogers of the sloop *Betsey*. Nathan had been a passenger on board. Roger's defence was that he was "subject to fits of lunacy . . . as also to his being addicted to strong liquor, which always bereaved him of his reason."

In 1786, "two persons dressed in the Moorish habit," came to the city. They had previously, it seems, been "taken into custody in Virginia, on suspicion of their being Algerines." Due to this experience, perhaps, or resenting as impertinent the curiosity of "a young gentleman of the law" when the "singularity of their dress induced" him to question them, or in their ignorance of the true meaning of the words they used and in all innocence, he was answered—as he afterwards explained—"with so much impertinence and vulgarity" that he "proceeded to give one of the fellows a little manual correction, by way of reforming his manners. A mob immediately assembled, and the men were taken up; being carried to the home of a lady on the Bay, who understood their language, they appeared to be two men of the Jewish nation,

who had landed in Virginia from Algiers, and had traveled overland from that State to this."[100]

According to the "observations" of a "learned member" of the Jewish community, quoted by John L.E.W. Shecut, in his *Medical and Philosophical Essays,*[101] 1819, there were not many Jews in the city during the Revolution and these, for the most part, from Great Britain and Germany. In the marriage notices of Jews that began to appear in the local newspapers in the last quarter of the 18th century, they refer to themselves as "of the Jewish nation" or "of the Portuguese Jewish nation," and to their places of origin as "Jamaica," "Kingston, Jamaica," "the island of St. Eustatius," "the island of St. Thomas," "St. Croix," "St. Domingo," "Hamburgh," "Boordeaux," or "Bayonne." When Rachel de la Motta was married to Abraham de Pass in 1784, "at her mother's house near the negroes' burying ground in this City"—"two persons," as the notice read, "to whom wit, beauty and good nature, never shined more conspicuous"—[102] she was a native of St. Croix, so the notice ran, and he from Jamaica.

The marriage of Abraham Mendez Seixas to the daughter of Joshua Hart, in 1777, was an example of intermarriage between German and Portuguese Jews, "by no means uncommon in South Carolina in the early days," it has been said, but "in later days . . . less frequent."[103] Abraham Alexander, the reader of Beth Elohim until his resignation in 1784, married in 1785, as his second wife, a widow, Mrs. Irby, born Ann Sara Huguenin—a Huguenot. Such a marriage to one not born a Jewess was certainly infrequent for many years to come. However, the marriage was not outside the faith, for his wife became a Jewess.[104] (Abraham Alexander had made her acquaintance during the siege of Charles Town when a British shell exploded near her and she fainted.

They had no children. After his death, she lived with the family of Abraham Alexander, Jr., her stepson, who came to this country from London after the Revolution.[105] According to the family tradition, she was strictly observant of Jewish laws and customs and the most pious of all. Her will appointed her stepson executor and she left his family all her property. Although by her will she expressed her faith in "the Almighty God of Israel my Creator" and the wish that she might be buried "in the Congregational Burial Ground of Kahal Kadish Beth Elohim . . . with as little expense as decency will permit,"[106] such burial, it is said, was denied her because of some ceremonial omission in her conversion.)

The Jews of Charleston, as of Charles Town, were chiefly in trade. In the early marriage-notices, the bridegroom might be a "factor and grocer"; a "vendue-master," that is, an auctioneer; most frequently, if there was any reference to his occupation, a "merchant." But, as stated above, of the Jews who came to Charles Town during the British occupation—generally, it seems, of humble station—Mordecai Lyon, the "Polander," was "a taylor," and so was Henry Harris.

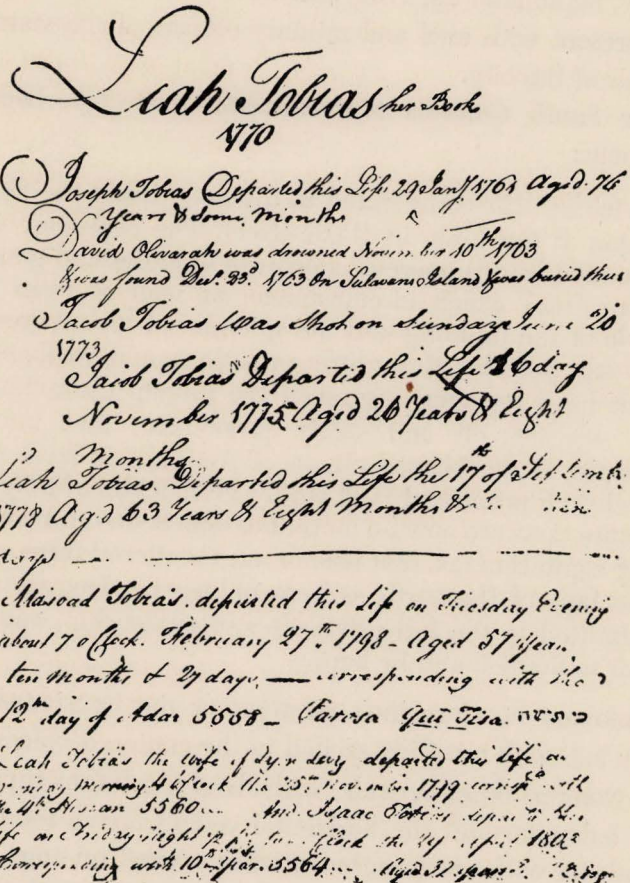
One of the first acts of a new Jewish community has generally been to acquire a cemetery. However, it was not until 1764 that the congregation of Beth Elohim bought its cemetery on Coming Street from Isaac Da Costa "for seventy pounds lawful money of the province"; the land had originally been bought by Da Costa as a burial-ground for his own family.[107] This is the oldest Jewish cemetery in South Carolina. The congregation's deed reads that the cemetery was "for the use of the Jews residing in Charles Town or elsewhere within the Province of South Carolina who . . . conform to the Jewish rites and ceremonies in general and

. . . the rules . . . of the Jews congregation in Charles Town named Beth Elohim." The deed named as trustees, besides those of Charles Town, members of the Jewish congregations in "King's Town" and "Bridge Town," Jamaica, in New York, in "New Port," Rhode Island, and in Savannah, Georgia.

Isaac Da Costa wrote Shearith Israel of New York for help in building a synagogue in Charles Town (1775), but that congregation had no money to spare. In 1780, Beth Elohim rented from the estate of Jacob Tobias (d. 1775), the son of the Joseph Tobias (d. 1761) who was the first president of the congregation, a brick building on Hasell Street. The building was rebuilt as a synagogue and finally bought from the estate in 1794. It was afterwards known as the "Old Synagogue." The lot that was the site of the "New Synagogue" was bought in 1791.[108]

In 1791—a year after the adoption of the constitution of South Carolina that first provided for the "free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship"—when the congregation numbered fifty-three families and more than four hundred persons, it was incorporated by an act of the legislature as "Beth Elohim or House of God." The "Old Synagogue" was now too small and it was decided to build a new one with a cupola—the building to cost $20,000.[109]

The cornerstones of the "New Synagogue" were laid in 1792, in accordance with Masonic regulations.[110] The congregation met in the "Old Synagogue" and, after services, went in a procession to the site of the new building. A white marble stone with the name of the person laying it, the date, and an inscription in Hebrew and English, was placed at each corner of the building and the porch.[111] The synagogue was completed in 1794. A companion of Lafayette on his visit to Charleston in 1825 was to describe the synagogue as



Leah Tobias her Book
1770

Joseph Tobias Departed this Life 29 Jan.y 1762 Aged 76 Years 8 Some Months

David Olivera Esqr was drowned Novem.r the 10th 1763

Rivers found Dec.r 23d. 1763 on Sulevans Island Jews buried there

Jacob Tobias was Shot on Sunday June 26 1773

Jacob Tobias Departed this Life the 16 day November 1775 Aged 26 Years 8 Eight Months

Leah Tobias Departed this Life the 17th of Sept.r 1778 Aged 63 Years 8 Eight Months

Moses Tobias departed this Life on Tuesday Evening about 7 o'Clock. February 27th. 1798 - Aged 57 years ten Months & 27 days — corresponding with the 12th day of Adar 5558 — Parsha Ki Tisa כי תשא

Leah Tobias the Wife of Dr. Moses departed this Life on Wednesday Morning 4 o'Clock the 25th November 1799 corresp.g with the 4th Kislean 5560 — And Isaac Tobias departed this Life on Friday Night 12 o'Clock the 19th April 1802 Corresponding with 10th Iyar 5562 — Aged 32 years

First page of entries in Tobias Family Bible begun in 1770 by Leah Tobias, wife of Joseph Tobias, first president of Beth Elohim, in 1750

"spacious and elegant."[112] The style of architecture was Georgian, and the outside of the building looked like a church of the period. The synagogue was consecrated on a Friday, September 19, 1794, and Governor William Moultrie was present with civil and military officers of the state and officials of the city.

*The South Carolina State-Gazette,* next day, had this comment:

> Yesterday was consecrated to divine worship the Synagogue of the Jews, in Hazle-street. The ceremony was attended by a numerous concourse of ladies and gentlemen; from which circumstance, as well as from the style of the building and the splendor of its ornaments, we can perceive those little prejudices and weaknesses that have for ages, disgraced the human character, to be wearing off and safely pronounce, that injured people, in the blessed climes of America, to have realized their promissed [*sic*] land. The shackles of religious distinctions are now no more; the oppressive and cramping capitation tax, that has for ages scattered them upon the face of the earth, is here unknown; they are here admitted to the full priviledges of citizenship, and bid fair to flourish and be happy.

Solomon N. Carvalho's painting of the interior shows a lofty hall with a ceiling arched in the center; a balcony (for the women) on either side, with slender columns supporting the balconies and the horizontal ceiling above them; large windows with many lights, frames arched on top; a large handsome ark of carved wood (holding the sacred scrolls of the Law) on a square, roomy platform against the rear wall; and in the area in the center, between the rows of benches—not too close to each other—the reading-desk, covered by a blue cloth with a red center, facing the ark and, like it, on

a roomy platform with a railing, reached by a few steps. This platform is round. An aisle, wide enough for processions, leads from one platform to the other.

The elaborate ark, shown in Carvalho's painting, was not there at first. In 1799, at the suggestion of David Lopez (d. 1811, aged sixty-one), money was raised for an ark. The ceremony at the construction was like that of laying the cornerstones of the building: a stone was laid at the base for each of the eight columns.[113] A *kaaren kayamet,* or permanent fund, was also established by offerings, the interest only to be used.[114] Israel Delieben (or De Lieben) and his wife, Hannah, gave the congregation a brass candelabrum in 1802. And the constitution of 1820 provided that Lyon Moses, for making a donation of a set of brass chandeliers in behalf of himself and his family, was to have "a Public Misberach during life, and after death an escoba," that is, during life a benediction and after death a prayer for the dead. (These chandeliers, no doubt, are those to be seen in Carvalho's painting.) To show the interest of a non-Jew of Charleston in Hebrew learning—as in the case of Nicholas Trott many years before—or at least in Beth Elohim: General Christopher Gadsden in 1802 gave the congregation the *Mishnah* and the works of Maimonides in Hebrew.

Of the eight who laid the cornerstones of the synagogue in 1792, it has been stated,[115] seven were German Jews; and so were two of the committee of three to raise the money for the synagogue and supervise the building of it—Gershon Cohen and Philip Hart. The ritual was still Sephardic, as it had been from the beginning and as it was to continue, although many members now, and these not the least important, were Ashkenazim. The constitution of 1820, for example, provided by its very first "rule" that the ritual should

be "according to the *Minhag Sephardim,* as heretofore practised in this city."

In addition to minor differences between the rituals of Ashkenazim and Sephardim, there is a difference in the pronunciation of the Hebrew and in the way it is chanted; moreover, *Yizkor* ("May [God] remember"), a prayer for the dead of one's family, a prayer important to Ashkenazim, is not in the Sephardic ritual. Isaac Leeser (b. Westphalia, Germany, 1806; d. Philadelphia, 1868) has this to say of the first Jewish settlers generally: "The early Israelitish settlers in America . . . were conforming to the Portuguese ritual, the . . . *Minhag Sephardim* . . . and the German Jews, or those acquainted with the *Minhag Ashkenaz,* who happened to be among them, likewise conformed to the same standard, for the very good reason, that, as there is no doctrinal difference between the two classes, and but a slight variation in their ceremonial observances, owing more to local causes than a religious difference, and the variation existing in the prayer-book, the liturgy, not being of that momentous order as to induce the few Jews then here to establish different congregations: they could readily harmonize in their public worship, though actually 'some came from Poland, and some from Spain' . . . The majority, or the most influential and learned, belonged to the Portuguese ritual . . . the prayer-books of both the main divisions of Israelites, and all minor subdivisions of the Orthodox school, contain all the same material prayers, and are distinguished only in the poetical pieces of more modern days, though ancient when compared with protestant Christianity, and the variation in the phraseology of the other prayers which all have in common . . ."[116] It has been suggested, with respect to New York, that the Ashkenazim were at first too poor to have their own syna-

gogue.[117] This was hardly the case in Charleston when the new synagogue was built. It may well have been that for the Ashkenazim who had come to Charleston differences in ritual, in pronunciation and chanting, were outweighed by respect for the Sephardim—if not friendship; and in this connection it may be of interest that the Hamburg Temple, dedicated in 1818, used the Sephardic pronunciation and cantillation for aesthetic reasons.

It has been stated above that it was not until 1790 that South Carolina had religious freedom by law as well as in fact. The first two "constitutions" of South Carolina had been adopted by the General Assembly and were of no more effect, according to the supreme court of the state, than any statutes. But the constitution of 1790 was adopted by a convention, in which the people of the state spoke directly through their delegates, and it provided that "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this State to all mankind: Provided, That the liberty of conscience thereby declared shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State."[118] Furthermore, the constitution of 1790 provided that "Every free white man, at the age of twenty-one years, being a citizen of this state . . . shall have a right to vote,"[119] and that there was no religious requirement for office. (It was not until 1858 that Jews in England, for example, were admitted to Parliament.)

Christopher Knight, a delegate to the constitutional convention,[120] grateful for Jewish support in his election, sent Beth Elohim fifty guineas to "serve the poor, or be of any use in any respect to the Congregation." Jacob Cohen, then

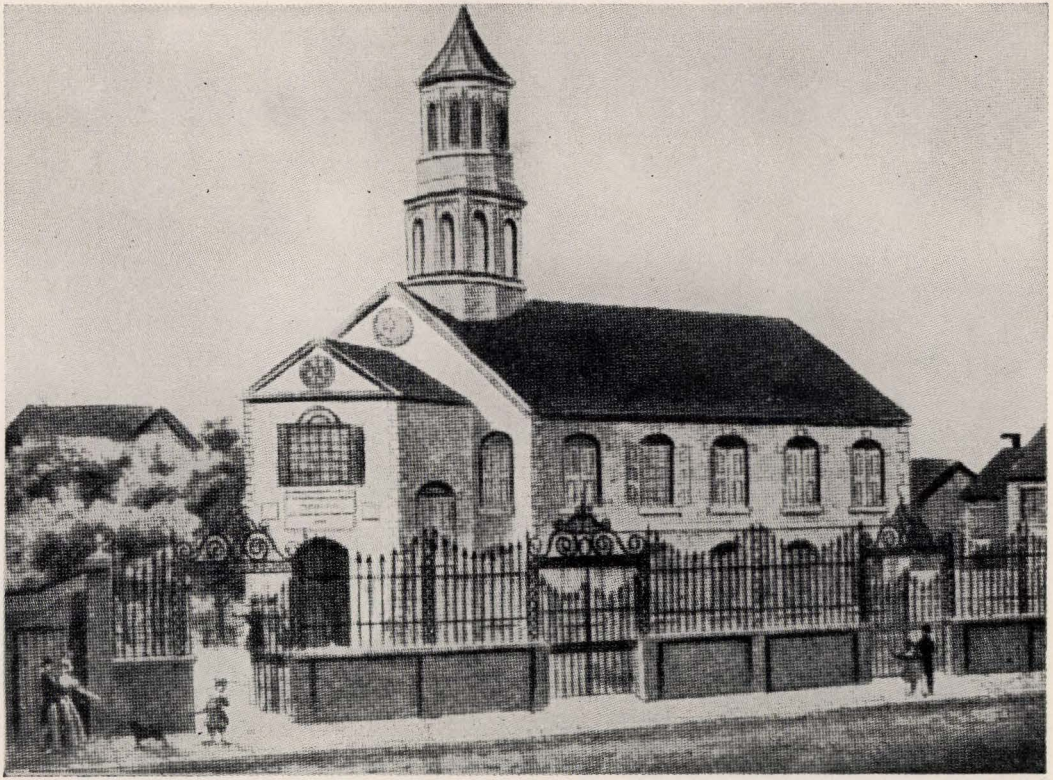
president, returned the gift: although the congregation, he wrote, entertained "a deep sensibility" of the donor's good intentions, yet they could not accept the gift under any circumstances "as it may be suggested at some future period that the members of our community were to be bought."

Jacob Cohen (1741–1808), who had been a prisoner of the British on the prison-ship *Torbay*, was the son of Moses Cohen, *haham* of Beth Elohim at its organization in 1750. A portrait shows him wearing a neat white neckcloth tied in a small bow; his hair is white; he has a high bald forehead, a large long nose that is a little too broad to be English, and his mouth has become twisted a little to one side: he looks like a just, intelligent man, a man accustomed to give orders rather than take them, not to be trifled with, and no man's fool.

The Charleston congregation in 1790 joined the Jewish congregations of Philadelphia, New York, and Richmond in a letter congratulating Washington on becoming president of the United States. Washington replied: "The liberality of sentiment towards each other, which marks every political and religious denomination of men in this country, stands unparalleled in the history of nations," and ended with "May the same temporal and eternal blessings which you implore for me, rest upon your congregation."

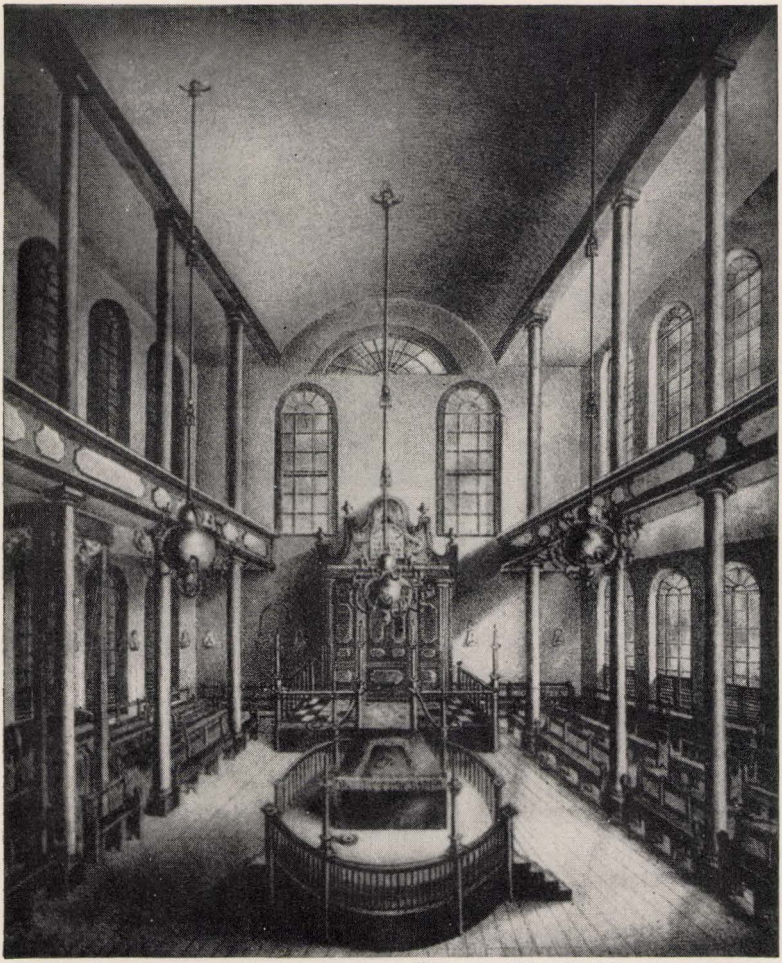
A few months before, Jacob Cohen, as president of Beth Elohim, had written another letter to President Washington, to be sent by Beth Elohim or all four congregations:

> Various, extensive and invaluable are the benefits which your fellow citizens [the letter reads in part] 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 in-



*Drawn by Solomon N. Carvalho*

Beth Elohim Synagogue of 1794, Destroyed in the Great Fire of 1838



*From a painting by Solomon N. Carvalho*

Interior of Beth Elohim Synagogue of 1794

alienable 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.

Very likely, this was only the draft of a letter that was never sent; but it expressed what the congregation of Jews in Charleston felt.[121]

# II. OF NEW DOCTRINES IN THE CITY AND THE SYNAGOGUE, AND HOW THE JEWS AS CITIZENS SHARED IN THE PROSPERITY AND TRIBULATIONS OF CHARLESTON

## 1. Charleston at the Beginning of the 19th Century: The Commercial Capital

In 1790, Charleston extended north to what is now Calhoun Street, then Boundary. A visitor from the North liked the straight streets but found them narrow: the sidewalks, sometimes of brick, were only about four feet wide. The rest was unpaved, but the streets were not as noisy as in New York: carriages and wagons rolled quietly in the sand. At times—no doubt when it rained—the streets were not easy to cross; at other times, they were dusty. Most buildings were of brick, although many were of wood; none was higher than three stories and most of them not that.[1]

Unlike the square colonial houses, houses in Charleston were beginning to be built long and narrow, with verandas along the length of the house at each story to catch the breeze. The side of such a house would very likely be toward the street, the street-door only a door to a veranda, and the house itself would face a garden with a high brick wall along the street to keep the garden private. The shops for the best trade were at the eastern ends of Broad, Tradd, and Elliott Streets. Here, in the same store, a planter might buy cloth for his slaves' clothing, shoes, harness, and groceries, while his wife, at another counter, priced satin, lace, or china. King Street was then a street for hucksters and for taverns and yards where the long wagons from the country, drawn by two or three teams of mules or horses, were parked.[2] Many of the hucksters, no doubt, were Jews; in a few years, the

dry-goods business on King Street was said to be in the hands of Jews and Yankees.[3]

By the end of the Revolution, planters along the low lands of the coast were cutting down the forests of cypress and learning how to use the tides by dikes and sluices to irrigate the land for rice. The place of indigo (the British bounty lost, now that the colonies had severed connections with the mother country) was taken by a crop that was less of a drain on the land and was to prove far more profitable for the state and the South generally—cotton. The cotton-gin of a Yankee, as every schoolboy knows, made raising cotton profitable after 1793 or 1794; before that, a slave could clean only a pound a day of its seed. Raising cotton meant, for the South, Negro slavery; for slavery furnished the hands to do the work that called only for a single white man as overseer, and it was already deeply rooted in the profitable rice-swamps and the fields of indigo.

Charleston's great prosperity was to last for about fifteen years after the French Revolution (during the wars with Napoleon). Until the non-intercourse acts of the United States, the city was the shipping and storage center of European merchandise for the West Indies and of coffee and West Indian sugar for Europe.[4] In a single day in 1798, 117 ships in foreign trade were in the harbor; 1264 ships entered it in 1801—not counting those sailing between points in the state. The value of the exports from Charleston that year was over fourteen million dollars: included was the value of almost 65,000 barrels of rice and more than eight million pounds of cotton.[5] After the War of 1812, the total exports of the United States in 1818, for example, were valued at almost eighty-two million dollars; of this, the exports of South Carolina were valued at almost eleven

million, and only the State of New York's were greater, with exports valued at about nineteen and a half million. With a white population somewhat more than a ninth of New York City's, Charleston was exporting about half as much.[6]

Almost all the Jews of Charleston who had fled from the British, or were banished, returned soon after the country was at peace. And Jews were coming to Charleston from New York, Philadelphia, and Newport, from the islands of the West Indies, and from Europe—from countries as far away as Poland.[7] In 1790 the Jewish community numbered about four hundred—five per cent or so of the white population.

In 1800 Charleston had the largest Jewish community in the United States—about five hundred. The Jewish population of the state was then about a thousand; of the United States at most 2,500. The Jewish population of New York City for seventy years or so had only been about four hundred. Most of the Jews had left Newport, and the synagogue there, Jeshuath Israel, was soon to close its doors for lack of worshippers. Mickvé Israel in Savannah was only a small congregation. Although Philadelphia had about five hundred Jews in the last year or two of the Revolution, many had come from other cities to escape the British and, after the war was over, had gone back to their homes. Beth Shalome in Richmond, Virginia, had about thirty members and their families. The congregation in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, may have had a dozen at most.

Ten or so years later, Hannah Adams in her *History of the Jews,* citing the letter—dated January 1811—of Philip Cohen, "a respectable Jewish merchant in Charleston," gives the number of Jews in that city as six or seven hundred, and in South Carolina as about a thousand. (She cites Rabbi Ger-

shom Seixas of New York for the information that Shearith Israel, the oldest congregation in the country, had then fifty families: with the unmarried men, the synagogue had about seventy or eighty subscribing members. Philadelphia had thirty Jewish families. She estimates Richmond's Jews at about the same number and Savannah's at "a few Jewish families.")[8]

One of Lafayette's companions on his visit in 1825 kept a journal: he wrote of the Jews only in South Carolina, he explained, "because they are found in no other state in sufficient numbers to make them remarkable." There were about twelve hundred in the state, according to him, five hundred in Charleston, and hardly five thousand in the rest of the United States.[9]

According to Isaac Harby in the *North American Review,* July 1826,[10] there were at that time

> in the old world under innumerable exactions and disqualifications . . . *six millions* of Israelites . . . (and) in these happy United States, not more than *six thousand.* Such [he adds by way of explanation] are the influences of habit and time.
>
> In the New England States there cannot be more than three or four hundred in all; in Pennsylvania, about that number; in New York, about nine hundred and fifty; in Virginia, about four hundred; in North Carolina, about four hundred; in South Carolina, about one thousand and two hundred; in Georgia, about four hundred; in Florida, thirty or forty; in Louisiana, about one hundred; and making a large allowance for the scattered and unknown, I think six thousand the *maximum.*
>
> Emigration is not so great now as it was formerly, [he goes on,] except to New York. South Carolina had formerly the largest number of emigrant Israelites. Charleston alone had a congregation of six hundred. I think

> that Charleston has been stationary, in this respect, for the last twenty years, and that the city of New York certainly equals it, and soon will double it . . . As to the descent of the Jews of the United States, they are principally German and English; though South Carolina has a portion of French and Portuguese.

Among Harby's "emigrant Israelites" would be included, for example, Lyon Levy (d. 1835), a native of England, naturalized in 1788; Joshua Canter, who had studied art in Copenhagen and came to Charleston from Denmark in 1792; Moses C. Levy, who was born near Cracow, Poland;[10a] and Abraham Moïse (d. 1809), the father of a family distinguished in Charleston, a native of Alsace, who fled from the Negro insurrection on St. Domingo in 1791 with his wife and four sons and reached Charleston in 1794. Harby's father had been a lapidary of no less a person than the emperor of Morocco, according to family tradition. In disfavor, he fled to England, and there married an Italian. Before he was twenty-one, he left England for Jamaica and then settled in Charleston. Harby himself had been born in Charleston; both his contemporaries, Jacob N. Cardozo, the economist, and Dr. Jacob De La Motta, in Savannah.

In Philip Cohen's letter to Hannah Adams, the Jewish merchant of Charleston said that the Jewish community of the city was recognized for "their spirit of enterprise and their good judgment." He was thinking, no doubt, of the Jews as men of business, of those among the merchants walking about in the Exchange and looking out upon the harbor or down upon Broad Street: perhaps of Abraham Sasportas, a native of Bordeaux, the agent of the French privateersmen who brought prizes to Charleston;[11] perhaps of the consul of the Kingdom of Holland, Daniel Hart, with

dark eyes and thick dark eyebrows, the nephew of Israel Joseph (who had left five hundred pounds sterling to the elders of the principal Jewish congregation in Mannheim, Germany, and had asked his nephew to "say the *Kaddish* for me, as is customary to be said in synagogue for the memory of deceased persons, and I have no doubt he will strictly comply with");[12] perhaps of a vendue-master (auctioneer) like Abraham Mendez[13] Seixas, or Jacob Jacobs who at his death left plate and china, horses, carriages, and slaves, money and bonds, notes and accounts receivable, lands in Georgia and houses in Charleston, to say nothing of a gold stock-buckle, stone knee-buckles, and silver buckles for his shoes, and who had among his executors the president of the Bank of Carolina.[14]

When Mordecai Sheftall of Georgia, who had been "Deputy Commissary-General of Issues for the Southern Department" of the Continental Army, purchased the shallop, *Pearl,* in Philadelphia in November 1782, loaded it with barrels of flour and other supplies, and, with the permission of both Americans and English, set sail for Savannah, Abraham Seixas, his wife and three children with two Negro servants, together with household furniture and bedding, went along to return to Charleston.[15] In 1794, Seixas had a long rhymed advertisement in a Charleston gazette, beginning "Abraham Seixas, all so gracious": he was ready to sell Negroes for any kind of service, lands, bonds, notes—indeed, whatever was consigned to him. At his death in 1799, at the age of forty-nine, he had been president of Beth Elohim and, since 1797, warden of the workhouse and one of the magistrates of the city.

Many Jews were content to try to make a modest living in Charleston, particularly after much buffeting about else-

where; Abraham Moïse, for example, the father of Abraham Moïse, the lawyer, with merchandise for sale at a house in Queen Street, "three doors from King-street"—muslins, "hum-hum threads," tapes, linens, and tea—[16] or the parents of Judah P. Benjamin, secretary of state for the Confederacy, selling fruit in a small shop, now on King Street, then on St. Philip Street, now on Beaufain, and finally on Princess.

## 2. Charleston: The Political Capital

### a. *Nullification and Secession; Tariffs and Slavery*

From 1820 on, there was a steady falling off in Charleston's trade.[17] On the other hand, between 1819 and 1833, New York City's exports almost doubled in value—from thirteen million dollars to twenty-five million; New Orleans' exports were doubled—from nine million dollars to eighteen million; Mobile, in 1840, was exporting more than Charleston.

Beginning about 1795, "thermal navigation" (dipping a thermometer in the water to tell when a ship left the Gulf Stream and thus to determine longitude) made Atlantic shipping from England and northern Europe to the United States less dependent on the trade winds that had carried it to the West Indies, and it began to use the shorter routes—to Boston and New York. In 1825, the Erie Canal was completed and brought the produce of the West to New York City. Eight or nine years before, an excellent line of packets sailing between New York and Liverpool had been established and soon afterwards another line to Havre,[18] and packets sailing between New York and all the Southern ports made it a center for the produce of the South as well as for the manufactures of Europe; cotton was shipped north to

be exported and most of the imports of the South, likewise, came through the Northern ports.[19]

Fifty-seven years after the Declaration of Independence, South Carolina saw itself no more independent of the North economically than as a province it had been of Great Britain. The tariff of 1832 trebled the duties on coarse woolen goods and on cotton goods, manufactured in New England and used in the South for Negro clothing, and raised as sharply duties on other commodities essential to an agricultural economy (but lowered the duties on tea, coffee, and silk). The planters of the state had been paying a profit to the manufacturers of the North, since the state had no factories of its own, and, because of the loss in foreign trade, a profit to the Northern merchants: now restrictions on foreign goods under the tariff would build up the industries of the manufacturing states at the expense of the planters of the South. It would also, so it was believed in the South, result in restrictions on the sale abroad of the staples that the South had to offer, since the capacity to buy, it was argued, depended on the capacity to sell, and this would necessarily result in lower prices for such products at home in the United States. The nullification movement in South Carolina began in a clamor against the tariff.[20]

"Nullification" was a new doctrine but not "brand new": it had been asserted at the turn of the century in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (1798–99) as the right of a state to annul an act of Congress; it had been advocated in Massachusetts about twenty years before 1832—as had the doctrine of secession. However, after the state convention of 1832 in which the "Nullifyers," led by Calhoun, defeated the "Unionists," and President Andrew Jackson threatened to use Federal troops to enforce the tariff, Henry Clay, as

zealous for compromise as others were for their own views, managed to secure the passage of a bill providing for the gradual reduction of the higher duties.

But the arguments for nullification shook the faith of many in South Carolina in the impartial benevolence of the Federal government. In addition to the exploitation that citizens of the state felt themselves subject to for the sake of the manufactures of the North and the conviction of some that only political independence would mean economic independence,[21] there was the realization that their ancient institution of slavery on which their own prosperity was based[22]—as the planters were convinced—might be swept away by the votes of the ever-growing numbers of their fellow citizens in the North. To save themselves from this was the problem to which many of the best minds of the state devoted themselves for four decades: it drew them from other fields into law and politics;[23] it determined, for example, how they planned the railway to the west that Charleston needed badly and probably delayed it so that it was never built in time;[24] and the answer—not of all[25]—secession (for almost all except Calhoun had abandoned nullification[26]) brought to their state the disasters and the injustices and the long miseries of war.

At the opening of the War Between the States, the population of Charleston was far behind that of New York and even Boston, with which it once ranked. In 1790, according to the census of that year, Charleston had had 16,359 inhabitants, of whom 8,089 were white and 8,270 colored. It was then the fourth largest city of the United States: New York and Philadelphia, true enough, were about twice as large, but Boston outranked it only by about two thousand inhabitants. In 1860, Charleston had 40,519 inhabitants; of

these, about 23,000 were white.[27] New York had 813,669 inhabitants and Boston 177,840.

The failure of South Carolina and of Charleston to grow as rapidly as other states and cities was due both to migration from the state and lack of immigration.

Migration westward began about 1800. In 1860, of 470,257 inhabitants of the United States who were born in South Carolina, only 276,868 were inhabitants of the state; most of the rest were in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Not a few were in the Northwest where there was no aristocracy of planters to remind a white workingman or small farmer by their very presence that he was poor and of humble birth. Many a planter had gone to the Southwest with his Negroes: there, in 1849 for example, he could get 1,800 pounds of cotton from the unexhausted soil for every 1,200 he could raise in South Carolina.[28]

After the act prohibiting the general importation of slaves from other states and territories was repealed in 1818, the importation was so great by 1821 that white workingmen in South Carolina were beginning to suffer as a class. Slaves were also, in certain cases, permitted to work out, paying their owners part of what they earned.[29] The swamps of the "low country" in which rice grew were unhealthy. To spend a night on a plantation during the summer ("the sickly season") in the Low Country—not on the coast itself or in the pine lands—meant, for a white man, to risk coming down with malaria. Other cities in the United States, as well as Charleston, had epidemics of yellow fever; but it was the malaria of the Low Country that gave the region an evil name and also made men think of emigration. The poor emigrated. (The rich went North or abroad for their health and spent their money there.)[30]

Just as the stigma of manual labor in a land of many slaves and the competition of slaves goaded white workingmen to leave the state, it discouraged the immigration of aliens who had nothing to offer but the work of their hands.[31] Other elements, however, were at least as potent in the case of Charleston, as elsewhere in the South: the fear of sickness and the desire for a climate somewhat like that of the countries they had left, for most of the aliens who poured into the cities and states of the North before the War Between the States were from Ireland and Germany; lack of opportunity to work in factories; and the fact that immigrants were usually landed at a Northern port and generally without means to travel on.[32]

Why, then, had Charleston no factories—at least none to speak of?[33] For that matter, why had Charleston hardly any shipping of its own when it was one of the great ports of the country?

The planters and their families, early in May if they could, left the plantations and spent the summer in Charleston for fear of "the country fever"—malaria; in the winter, as they had been doing long before the American Revolution, they came to the city for pleasure. The planters belonged to the city as much as to the country and ruled both. (With the exception of the period of "Reconstruction," they were to rule the state until 1890.) In this aristocracy of planters—particularly in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century—to be in trade was looked down upon in the best circles and left for Northerners and foreigners. (Of the twenty-one leading commercial houses of Charleston from 1795 to 1816, only one was managed or owned by a native of South Carolina. However, by 1861 "the names of the old families of the State and City were on the signs in our streets.")[34] As soon as a

merchant acquired a fortune in Charleston—and elsewhere in the South, for that matter—instead of investing it in shipping or a factory as in New England, for example, he generally bought land and Negroes and became a planter.[35] This had been true in South Carolina before the American Revolution[36] and was still true.

But, in spite of the lack of interest in trade in the best circles (William Gregg, a successful manufacturer, who argued for local factories about 1845 came from the North), manufacturing might have been established in Charleston if there were no other factors. Political leaders, perhaps afraid that successful cotton mills, for example, would create support for a tariff, were against it. It was not easy to get help. A white woman in Charleston would eke out a miserable living as a seamstress rather than work in a factory, because the work was thought degrading.[37] There had been the same difficulty in the North, but the Northern mills were soon employing alien immigrants. Negro slaves could be used, but they were easier to watch in gangs in the field.[38] Besides, manufacturing with slaves would require a great additional investment; the alien immigrants in the North called for no purchase price, kept themselves, were paid only for what they did, and were eager to work.

As residents of Charleston, the Jews also had Negro slaves. There is no record of an Abolitionist, like the Grimké sisters of Charleston, among them—Jew or Jewess. As merchants or auctioneers—Abraham Mendez Seixas, for example—Jews sold Negro slaves as they sold other chattels. When it was lawful to free one's own slaves, some Jews did so, as non-Jews did, too: a Negro "family servant" would more likely be freed than a field hand, and the slave of a Jew as the resident of a city was generally the former. When it became

unlawful to free any slaves, some Jews tried to give what equivalent they could. Philip Hart, for example, gave "my negro Woman Flora her freedom" in 1796;[39] Jacob Cohen, "Shop Keeper," in 1800, did "give and bequeath unto my Negro *Slave* named Tom his freedom for ever immediately after my death;"[40] Rachel D'Azevedo by her will probated in 1843 bequeathed her daughter "for her own use and benefit during the term of her Natural life, my four female Servants named Maria, Rose, Dinah, and Flora and their issue or increase, with the express and particular Conditions, that immediately after the death of the said Mrs Sarah A Motta, the Servants aforesaid with their issue or increase shall work for their own use and benefit and shall not be held responsible to any person whatsoever for their time or services, being the same to all intents and purposes as if they were entirely free";[41] Jacob De La Motta, the physician, devising "my coloured woman named Ann Maria and her son named Augustus Simmons together with the future issue and increase of said female" to De La Motta's sister for life and afterwards to his own children, provided that his slaves "be treated with lenity allowed to work out and to pay moderate wages and on no account to be sold on account of their being family servants being born and bred in the same."[42]

Slaves went to church but were usually seated in the gallery.[43] The Jews of Charleston, however, did not try to convert their Negroes to Judaism. According to the Mosaic Law, an Israelite who buys an adult heathen slave, if a male, must have him circumcised; if a female, converted by baptism. If the slave refuses, the owner, according to the Talmud, might keep the slave a year. Should the slave still refuse, the Israelite must sell the slave to a heathen. The slave, if circumcised, was not under obligation to observe the whole

Law as a proselyte would be; he had the obligations of a Jewish woman or minor son. But the slave might stipulate against circumcision with the master who sold him to the Israelite, and the Israelite might then keep him uncircumcised, provided the slave agreed to obey the seven commandments for the descendants of Noah; the slave's obligation to observe the Law would then be that of a resident alien in Israel. The like rule applied to a stipulation against conversion by a female slave.[44] Later authorities, in countries where conversion to Judaism was unlawful, held that a Jew in buying a slave might agree not to convert him to Judaism, and that such an agreement would be implied "now and here."[45]

But the simple legal device of an implied agreement would continue to be used even when the legal reason for it no longer applied, if such an agreement was both profitable and traditional. When under governments that did not prohibit conversion to Judaism a Jewish master became free to convert his slaves, they were generally not converted. The owner of a female slave that had become a Jewess, for example, could not sell her to a Gentile nor could she work for her Jewish master on the Sabbath. Where, as in the case of Negroes in the United States, they were not—even if free—the social equal of the whites, there was this additional reason for not converting them. Beth Elohim had a provision in its constitution by which a convert to Judaism, if a person of color, was not admitted to membership.[46] However, Maurice Mayer, rabbi of the congregation in 1857, had an account, in a newspaper published in Germany for Jews, of a Negro, converted abroad, who sat among the members of Beth Elohim as a fellow Jew.[47]

b. *Jews as Residents and Citizens*[48]

The Jews of Charleston never lived in a Jewish quarter as in other cities, even in the United States, nor in a ghetto of the spirit. Philip Cohen, in his letter to Hannah Adams in 1811, said: ". . . the prejudice is here despised which confines the important object of education to the tenets of religion . . . There is now in the city an academy, where the French, Italian, Latin, and Greek languages are taught, together with other branches of learning." If Carvalho (*hazan* or reader of Beth Elohim), also referred to in Philip Cohen's letter, taught Hebrew, he likewise taught Spanish. Jews shared in the cultural life of the city as well as in its commercial activities; they had their synagogue and Jewish philanthropies, of course, but they were also members of the societies, and helpful in the philanthropies, of the general population; and, as good citizens, they shared the deep interest in political questions.

As before the Revolution, Charleston was not only a commercial center: it was a cultural capital. If it had a chamber of commerce as early as 1773 or 1774, it also had the first municipal college—the College of Charleston; opened in 1790, the college was under municipal regulation from 1837 on, and in 1839 the city began to appropriate a thousand dollars a year for it.[49] In 1826 Charleston had four free schools, established by the legislature.[50] (The free school system, however, was not particularly successful until after the War Between the States.)[51] The *Southern Review* was published at Charleston for four or five years about 1830. The editors for a time were Hugh Swinton Legaré, a lawyer learned in the civil law, and Stephen Elliot, Sr., the naturalist. *The Southern Quarterly Review* was moved from New

Orleans to Charleston in 1844, and published there until 1857.[52] William Gilmore Simms was one of the editors. (Unlike most Southern writers of those days, he lived by his writing and, it has been said and also denied, was thought of the less for it among the planters.)

In the cultural life of the city, a number of Jews were not without distinction. George Armstrong Wauchope in *The Writers of South Carolina* (1910) mentions Isaac Harby among the novelists and Penina Moïse among the poets. Samuel Hart, Sr. (1805–96), was a publisher as well as a bookseller. In 1845 he published an anthology of verse and prose by the writers of Charleston: *The Charleston Book*, edited by William Gilmore Simms. Some, of course, worked at the mere chores of writing.[53]

Isaac Harby was born in Charleston in 1788, the eldest son of Solomon Harby. If this was the Solomon Harby who in 1803 was fined twenty pounds by the elders of Beth Elohim, he must have been a man of some property, since fines, as well as assessments, were levied according to the means of members. Isaac received a good education in the academy of Doctor Best and, still very young, became an assistant teacher in the College of Charleston and the writer of articles for the Charleston newspapers. In 1805 he began the study of law. However, at the death of his father who left a large family in need, Isaac opened a school on Edisto Island, near Charleston. He was still only twenty. The school was successful enough to encourage him to open an "academy" in Charleston the following year. According to his advertisement, he taught "the usual branches of an English Education, viz., *Elocution, Arithmetick, Penmanship, Grammar, Geography*—also the *Latin and Greek Classicks, Composition & the first Books of Euclid's Elements.*" His pupils

were also taught "the principles of virtue & patriotism." Isaac would join his pupils in their games at recess.

After a few years, he gave up teaching for the more exciting work of journalism. He had been the editor of a literary weekly, *The Quiver,* but that did not last long. In 1814, with a friend, he bought *The Investigator* and, changing its name to *The Southern Patriot and Commercial Advertiser,* supported the administration of Madison. Harby left *The Southern Patriot* in 1822 to become an assistant of John Geddes, Jr., owner and editor of *The City Gazette and Daily Advertiser.* The next year he left the *Gazette* and tried—unsuccessfully—to start an afternoon newspaper to support Calhoun for the presidency and, as second choice, Andrew Jackson. (This was, of course, long before the Jackson of 1832—ready to send Federal troops into Charleston to enforce the tariff against the "nullifyers.") In the meantime, Harby was a contributor to the Charleston *Mercury* and was becoming known for his dramatic criticism and his own plays. He had written a tragedy in five acts, *Alexander Severus,* when he was seventeen. In 1819, when he was thirty-one, his play, *Alberti*—originally intended to vindicate the character of Lorenzo de Medici in criticism of the characterization in one of Alfieri's tragedies—was successfully played in Charleston. President Monroe, on a tour of the country, was at the second performance (the author's benefit).

But Harby could not make a living at writing, it seems, for he was teaching again in 1822. At one time, he worked as a teacher for the Hebrew Orphan Society of which he was a member and, finally, vice-president. In 1825 he was elected one of the teachers of the Free Schools. He resigned to go to New York in 1828. His wife (Rachel Mordecai of Sa-

vannah) had died the year before. He had nine children and was finding it difficult to make a living in Charleston. According to his friend, Abraham Moïse, his "means of living grew every day more slender and precarious."

In New York, Harby, already forty, established a school and began to write articles for the newspapers, chiefly *The Evening Post.* In 1828, six months after his arrival, he died "in abject poverty."[54] *The Evening Post* in its issue of December 15, reporting his death, called him "distinguished as an eminent scholar and a writer of no ordinary taste and intelligence."[55] There was a benefit performance for his orphaned children at one of the theatres in the city, and his sister, Caroline Harby, continued the school (22 Howard Street). A selection from his writings appeared in Charleston in 1829, "arranged and published by Henry L. Pinckney and Abraham Moïse for the benefit of his family."

What fellow writers in Charleston thought of Harby may be found in Samuel Gilman's article, three years earlier, in the *North American Review* (July 1826): he "is honorably known in the fields of literature, having published a successful tragedy, entitled *Alberti,* of which the style is more than commonly chaste, and the structure betokens no small dramatic ability. He for some time edited, in an able and indefatigable manner, one of the four daily newspapers in Charleston." The enthusiasm here is moderate but, after more than a century, not unjustly so.

Penina Moïse, born in Charleston in 1797, was two years older than her brother, Abraham, the lawyer—Harby's friend. Her father died when she was twelve, leaving a family of twelve children. She had to make lace and do embroidery for their living but still managed to study and write. In 1835, a small book of her poems, *Fancy's Sketch Book,* was

published. She wrote verse for the Charleston *Courier,* week after week: long poems, sometimes as often as three times a week, on many subjects; Jewish themes, too, for example, "The Rejection of the Jew Bill in the House of Lords" (1833), "The Jews of Damascus" (1840), "To Sir Moses Montefiore." She was a contributor to *The Charleston Book,* in 1845, along with the best names among the writers of Charleston; she wrote for newspapers in other cities, the Boston *Daily Times,* for example, the New Orleans *Commercial Times,* the Washington *Union;* for Jewish periodicals, like Isaac Leeser's *The Occident;* and for journals of large circulation, like *Godey's Lady's Book.* The hymns she wrote for Beth Elohim when the Reform service was introduced were reprinted a number of times; this was considered her best work, and more of her hymns are now in the hymnal of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations than those of any other Jewish writer.

After the War Between the States, Penina Moïse, who had become blind, with her sister, Rachel, a widow, opened a little school, on Coming Street, for girls. Rachel's daughter, Jacqueline Levy, helped them. She also wrote down Penina's verse as she dictated it; or Jacqueline copied it from the large slate that Penina kept under her pillow to scrawl on at night. She has been described as seated in a rocking-chair with a high back, in a corner of the little sitting-room, wearing a calico dress, a black woolen shawl—even in summer—over her head, her eyes shielded by blue glasses or an eye-shade: poor, blind, and very plain. But she herself always seemed content and cheerful, and the atmosphere of the school-room was often gay. She would make up alphabets in rhyme for beginners, and geographical rhymes and historical conundrums for the older children. The oldest of these would read

to her—generally from a French novel. And on Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) a pupil would go to her house at ten in the morning to read the service, and all day, five minutes before each hour, a girl would leave the synagogue to take the place of the reader.

Penina Moïse had never married. She was supposed to have chosen to remain a faithful Jewess rather than marry a Christian. In any event, she was bitterly against intermarriage.

She died in 1880 at the age of eighty-three. Her last words were reported as: "Lay no flowers on my grave. They are for those who live in the sun, and I have always lived in the shadow."[56] In 1911, the Charleston section of the Council of Jewish Women[57] piously published a selection of Penina Moïse's verse and some of her prose. The verse shows facility but is not of great significance beside that of an Emily Dickinson, for example.

In a small Jewish cemetery in Savannah is the tombstone of Jacob Nunez Cardozo (b. 1786; d. 1873).[58] Jacob Newton Cardozo, as he called himself, was born in Savannah, the son of David Nunez Cardozo who had led the "Forlorn Hope" in the attempt to retake Savannah from the British. His parents moved to Charleston when he was a child and he was apprenticed to a trade at the age of twelve. Later, he was a lumber clerk. Self-taught, he became, in 1816, editor of *The Southern Patriot*, and owned it outright in 1823. He had long been a student of the problems of commerce and finance, and he made his newspaper an advocate of free trade. No doubt, he was the editor referred to in Samuel Gilman's article in the *North American Review* when, speaking of Harby as the editor of one of four daily newspapers in Charleston, the writer mentioned "another being conducted also by a

gentleman of the same religious denomination, distinguished for the solidity and extent of his views in political economy, and occasionally by the felicity of his literary criticisms."

If Cardozo opposed, as did all in Charleston, the protective tariff, he also opposed those who advocated nullification. He has been called by a modern scholar "the only man in pre-Civil War America whose mind operated on that high level of abstraction that characterized the work of Ricardo and his school."[59] He believed in commerce as a greater "leveller of distinctions than the wildest spirit of democracy that ever vexed the quiet and order of society;" he believed in free trade and the free alienability of land as basic conditions for the growth of commerce (rent merely a return on capital); he also believed in slavery and asserted that it had brought, not only great wealth to the South, but to the slaves a greater share of its enjoyment than in many regions where the relation between employer and employee was based on wages; he advocated manufacturing in the South to free it from dependence on Manchester's cotton mills; he was against universal suffrage without property qualifications for the franchise, and against legislation to relieve the poor,[60] advocating, instead, libraries for apprentices and institutes for mechanics to help them help themselves; he was against "meddling by authority," relying on self-interest to act as a check.

Cardozo's editorials were widely quoted. When Joel Poinsett became a member of Van Buren's cabinet, *The Southern Patriot* was the "independent" newspaper chosen to advocate the government's "sub-treasury scheme" before it was brought before Congress.[61]

In 1811, when Cardozo was twenty-five, his *Oration on the Literary Character,* delivered before the Methulogic So-

ciety, was printed.[62] Cardozo published his *Notes on Political Economy* in 1826. Forty years later, he published his *Reminiscences of Charleston.* The "cotton statements," that are a feature of commercial papers, were first compiled by him (1845–1862). At the age of eighty-four, he won the prize for his essay in a contest run by the Charleston board of trade (1870).

Like Cardozo, Jacob De La Motta was born in Savannah. He was three years younger. He studied medicine in Philadelphia and began the practice of medicine in Charleston—at first as attending physician at the dispensary. In 1824 he was elected secretary of the Medical Society and held that office many years. He was also a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Medicine in Paris (elected in 1836). He was the owner of one of the oldest drugstores in the country—"Apothecaries' Hall." The shop was opened, according to tradition, in 1780. The good apothecary, in those days, was also a physician, just as physicians prepared their own medicines. De La Motta acquired the shop in 1816. In 1838 he had for his sign above the door a golden mortar—to be called by the Negroes "de big yalluh bucket." The interior of the shop and its equipment—most of the woodwork and the brass counter-scales for selling pounds and ounces from De La Motta's day—are now in the Charleston Museum.[63]

De La Motta was not only a pharmacist and physician: he was interested in politics, natural history, and philosophy. He was a contributor to the Charleston *Courier* and in it some of his lectures were printed: "On the Natural History and Product of the Silk Worm," for example, and "On the Philosophy of Botany." His *Oration, on the Causes of the Mortality Among Strangers, During the Late Summer and*

*Fall (1820)* was printed as a pamphlet. From 1832 to 1840, he was secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society. Although a resident of Charleston, he helped organize a Jewish congregation in Savannah and build a synagogue. He acted as reader for several years both in Savannah and in Charleston at Beth Elohim.

De La Motta's *Discourse* at the consecration of the synagogue in Savannah was printed as a pamphlet, and a copy sent to Thomas Jefferson. In his reply from Monticello (September 1, 1820) that great man said:

> It excites in him the gratifying reflection that his own country has been the first to prove to the world two truths, the most salutary to human society, that man can govern himself, and that religious freedom is the most effectual anodyne against religious dissention: the maxim of civil government being reversed in that of religion, where its true form is 'divided we stand, united we fall.'

James Madison, in thanking De La Motta for the pamphlet, wrote (August 1820):

> Among the features peculiar to the political system of the United States, is the perfect equality of rights which it secures to every religious sect; and it is particularly pleasing to observe in the good citizenship of such as have been most distrusted and oppressed elsewhere, a happy illustration of the safety and success of this experiment of a just and benignant policy. Equal laws protecting equal rights are found, as they ought to be presumed, the best guarantee of loyalty and love of country, as well as best calculated to cherish that mutual respect and good-will among citizens of every religious denomination, which are necessary to social harmony, and most favorable to the advancement of truth.[64]

De La Motta died in Charleston in 1845. His mother-in-law may not have thought as highly of him and his activities as the rest of the community did. By a codicil to her will, in adding the interest of a thousand dollars to the portion of his widow, Charlotte, Rachel Lazarus also added this explanation: "in consequence of the inadequate support left by Dr. De LaMotta for his family."[65]

Joshua Canter, portrait and miniature painter, taught drawing until about 1822. Theodore Sydney Moïse (b. Charleston, 1806; d. Natchitoches, La., 1883) was a painter of portraits. Apparently, he found it no easy matter to make a living in Charleston. In an advertisement in the *Courier*,[66] he calls himself a "Portrait Painter," but undertakes to clean and repair old pictures and to execute "Ornamental Penmanship" for ladies' albums. He settled in New Orleans in 1843.[67] Solomon Nunes Carvalho (b. Charleston, 1815; d. New York, 1894), the son of David Nunes Carvalho who was a merchant of Charleston for many years, painted the interior of the synagogue of Beth Elohim as it was before its destruction by fire in 1838. By then a resident of Philadelphia, he offered the painting to the congregation "for such Compensation as the Board may deem proper to allow." They judged the painting to be "neat & accurate" and gave him fifty dollars for it.[68] It hangs in the entrance-hall of Beth Elohim's synagogue to this day. For his painting, "Moses receiving the tablets of the Law on Sinai," Carvalho was awarded a silver medal by the South Carolina Institute.[69]

Charleston had other Jewish physicians besides Jacob De La Motta.[70] There were Jewish dentists, too.[71] Benjamin Adolph Rodriques (1815–1871) was one of the first, if not the first, to make an artificial palate (cleft palate obturator). He was elected a member of the American Society of Dental



Solomon N. Carvalho
(b. 1815)
By Augustin Edouart



Isaac Harby
(1788–1828)
By an Unknown Artist



Dr. Jacob De La Motta
(1789–1845)
By Augustin Edouart

*Silhouettes on this page are presented by the courtesy of Hannah R. London*

Surgeons at its organization in 1840, was a contributor to its publication, *American Journal of Dental Science,* and was vice-president of the American Dental Convention at its organization in 1860.

Among the lawyers[72] were: Moses Myers, Jacob De La Motta (d. 1856), Abraham Moïse, and Myer M. Cohen. Moses Myers was admitted to practice in 1793. He became clerk of the Court of General Sessions and Common Pleas (1798). Jacob De La Motta, Dr. Jacob De La Motta's cousin, was born in Charleston but was a resident of Savannah and practised law in both cities. Abraham Moïse became a justice of the peace (1827–40) and a magistrate (1842–59). Myer M. Cohen had an "English and Classical" seminary in Charleston from 1824 to 1828. He was a justice of the peace from 1835 until 1837, when he settled in New Orleans. He wrote an account of his experiences in the war against the Seminole Indians as an officer of "the Left Wing;" written in a playful style, it is no longer as humorous as it may have been (*Notices of Florida and the Campaigns,* Charleston, 1836).

The city had Jewish linguists[73] as well as Jewish accountants.[74] In addition to Harby and Myer M. Cohen, mentioned above, a number of Jews were teachers.[75] Solomon Sampson Solomons, a distinguished engineer, supervised the building of the Northeastern Railroad; he was superintendent of the line from 1858 to 1859, and president for many years until it became part of the Atlantic Coast Line. His reputation for fairness was such that he was one of the first to be able to arbitrate disputes between employers and their workers.

Jewish ability in business was recognized by membership among the directors of banks and insurance companies.[76] Abraham Tobias, for example, was a director of the Union

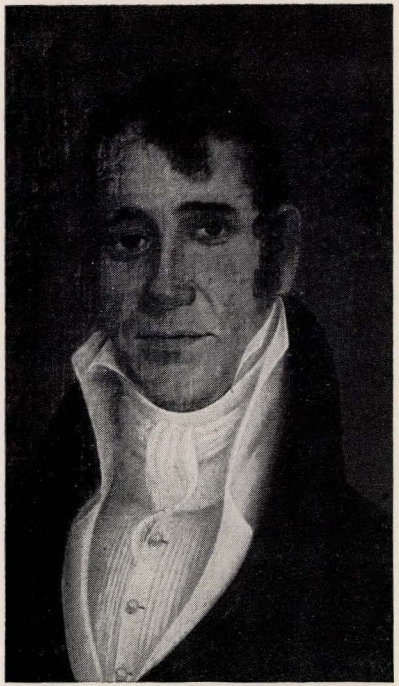
Bank of South Carolina (1835–56). He lived in a large house, two storeys high with four pillars in front, that he bought in 1843 for $10,000;[77] it belongs to the Episcopal Church now and is the headquarters of the diocese of South Carolina; a neat cross is on the face of the pediment in the very center. Mordecai Cohen (1763–1848), mentioned in the foreword to this book, who was born in Zamosc, Poland, and began life in the New World as a peddler, was the owner of much real estate and at one time, before most of his fortune was lost in one of Charleston's great fires, second only to James Adger (1777–1856) in the state for wealth. When Lafayette visited Charleston in 1825, the gold plate at the banquet in his honor was borrowed from Mordecai Cohen. He lived on the south side of Broad Street in a three-storey house with two wide verandas on one side, overlooking a lawn.[78]

Michael Lazarus brought steam navigation to the Savannah River. In 1826, ten steamboats connected Charleston with Savannah and Augusta in Georgia, and with Cheraw, Georgetown, and Columbia in the state.[79] Joshua Lazarus, in 1848, introduced the use of illuminating gas. Charleston was one of the first cities in the United States to be so lighted. Moses Cohen Mordecai (1804–1888), generally known as M. C. Mordecai, an importer of fruit, sugar, tobacco, and coffee, established a line of steamers between Charleston and Havana. He was a grandson of Moses Cohen, a member of the Grenadier Company of Charles Town during the Revolution. A photograph taken when Mordecai was forty or fifty shows a dignified man wearing a wide black stock: his features are marked by a short straight nose, thin lips, large firm mouth, rather large ears—a handsome, intelligent face. His wife, who had been Isabel Lyons of Columbia, S. C., as painted by Theodore Moïse, has black hair, parted

in the middle, and a nose somewhat fleshy and slightly aquiline; she has a pleasant, good-natured smile. They lived on Meeting Street, just south of Broad Street, in a large house with straight, unpretentious lines; the large verandas at the side along each story overlooked a lawn and garden and faced the Battery a few blocks away.[80]

A few Jewish merchants, or their sons, like other Charlestonians who had money, became planters. Nathan Nathans (b. 1783), for example, a merchant and president of Beth Elohim, was a Cooper River planter. There is a picture of him painted in 1814 by N. F. Wales: he is wearing a coat with a high standing collar that was stylish then and a white neck-cloth, and he has the side-burns that were stylish, too. The smile is forced—superior and a little sour. Marx E. Cohen (b. Charleston, 1808; d. Sumter, S. C., 1881), the son of Mordecai Cohen, was also a planter. David D. Cohen, another son of Mordecai Cohen, was a planter on the Ashley River.[81]

A number of Jews found a modest income working for the nation, state, or city as, for example, clerk or inspector in the customhouse, city assessor, steamboat inspector, or lumber measurer, crier of the court, keeper of the jail, master of the workhouse, city blacksmith, or plain turnkey, deputy sheriff, or constable.[82] Abraham Alexander, for example, who had been lay reader of Congregation Beth Elohim until 1784, as stated above, was a clerk in the Charleston customhouse in 1802 and auditor in 1809; Nathaniel Levin (1816–99), who wrote the history of Beth Elohim for the Charleston *Year Book* for 1883, the centennial number, was import inspector (1850–51), record clerk (1852–56), and collector's clerk (1857–58). He was famous for his readings; and that he was



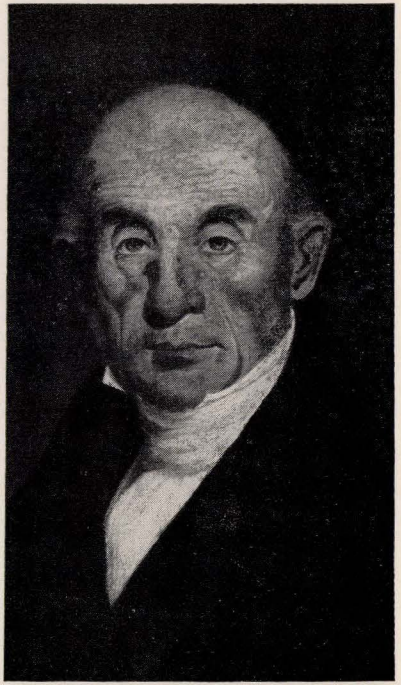
*Portrait by F. W. Wales*

Nathan Nathans (1782–1854)



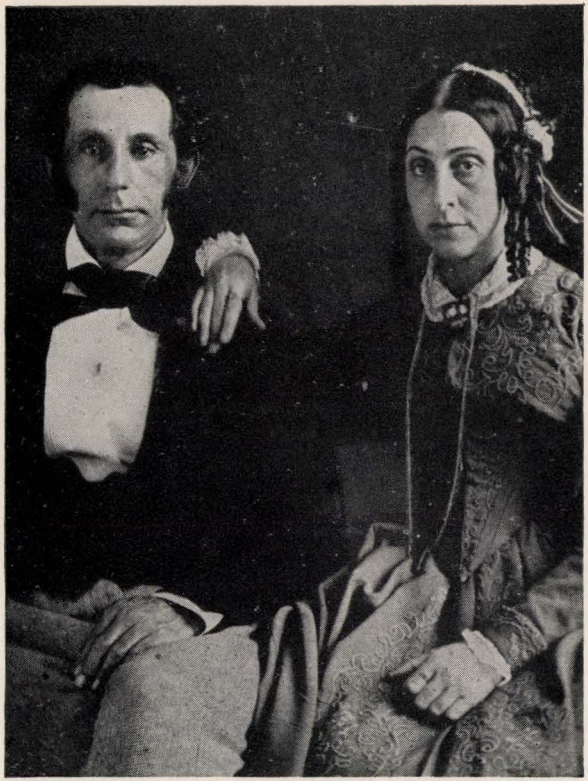
*Portrait attributed to John Cantor*

Mrs. Mordecai Cohen (1778–1844)

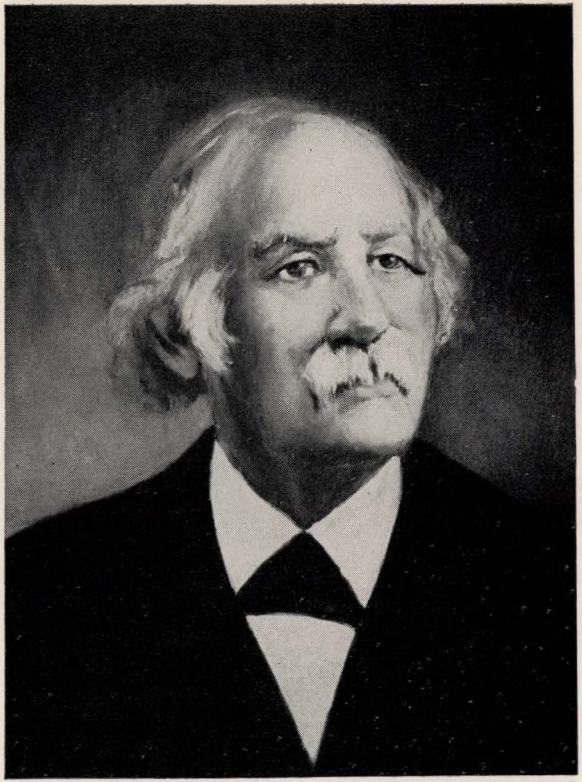


*Portrait attributed to Theodore S. Moïse*

Mordecai Cohen (1763–1848)



Daguerreotype of M. C. Mordecai (1804–1888) and his wife, Isabel Lyons Mordecai



*Painted by Isabel Cohen Doud*

David Lopez (1809–1884)

invited to play *Othello* by Edwin Booth, playing Iago (1859), was not forgotten by the community.

The rich of Charleston, as of Charles Town, had little of that virtue common to farmers and merchants of the North —thrift. They spent freely and gave freely. Benevolence was esteemed and so was sociability. The benevolent societies met at dinners and became fraternal; the fraternal societies practised benevolence. Immigrants of each nation early formed organizations among themselves to help the sick and needy—without, however, restricting membership or aid to their own nationality. The St. Andrew's Society, for example, founded in 1729 chiefly by natives of Scotland, was not restricted to these but open to any white man "well dispos'd to do Generous and Charitable Actions," and its "Principal Design" was "to assist All People in Distress, of whatever Nation or Profession they may be." Some members were at first of humble station.[83] The South Carolina Society, founded in 1737, although the original members were for the most part French Huguenots, was likewise not restricted to these nor to "the Rich and Opulent."[84] The society had a school for poor children. The St. Andrew's Society also had a schoolmaster for the twenty or so children on its bounty.

In 1741, the Ubiquarians, organized in England to model themselves on the ancient Romans for "Virtue and Morality," had their first convention in Charles Town; Charles Pinckney, afterwards chief justice of the province, was "praetor." King Solomon's Lodge, Number 45 on the registry of Masonic lodges of England and Number 1 on the provincial registry, had been chartered by the Grand Lodge of England in 1735. The first meeting had taken place in 1736 in

Charles Town, at Shepheard's tavern on Broad Street. John Hammerton, the first master of King Solomon's Lodge, who was also secretary and receiver-general for the province, said at that meeting: "We are taught to regard the whole human species as one family—the high and the low, the rich and the poor." Four lodges of Freemasons were established in Charles Town by 1766.[85]

In the early days of the St. Andrew's Society, David Franks, the son of Jacob Franks of New York, was a member between 1740 and 1748. Moses Solomon was also a member. In 1742 he was an *aedile* of the local Ubiquarians.[86] Isaac Da Costa, Sr., was elected one of the stewards of the Palmetto Society in 1779. Half a century later, Michael Lazarus was vice-president (1827). The South Carolina Society has elected a number of Jews throughout its long life, during which it became no less vigorous a social organization as it was originally benevolent.[87] Dr. P. Melvin Cohen was secretary and treasurer of the Friendship Literary Society in 1825. M. C. Mordecai was vice-president of the Charleston Antient Artillery Society from 1830 to 1847 and later president.

Masonry, with its emphasis on the brotherhood of mankind, strongly appealed to the Jews who had been so long excluded from the general brotherhood. Isaac Harby, for example, in an address in Charleston (1826), spoke of "the beautiful institutions of Masonry, that universal link of brotherhood." The elder Isaac Da Costa—since 1753, at least, a member of King Solomon's Lodge, No. 1, and treasurer in 1759—upon his return to the city in 1783 organized the Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection. At his death that year, he was deputy inspector-general of Masonry for South Caro-

lina. Joseph M. Myers was appointed his successor, and in 1788 established a "Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem" in Charleston.[88] King Solomon's Lodge, No. 1, was revived in 1841 by a warrant in which Benjamin Rodriques was named the junior warden.[89] In 1923, Arthur V. Williams, one of the two Jews then in the lodge, represented it at the laying of the cornerstone of the Washington Masonic Memorial in Washington.

The minutes for 1796 of Lodge La Candeur, No. 12—kept in French—note twelve Jews as visitors.[90] David Labat was treasurer of another French lodge, La Reunion Française, No. 45. Israel Delieben (generally spelled "De Lieben" in Masonic writings) became a member of Orange Lodge, No. 14, in 1797. Isaac Canter was secretary of the Grand Lodge, Israel Delieben, hospitaller, and David Labat, tyler.

Friendship Lodge, No. 9, had many Jews as members and was known as "the Hebrew lodge," but it was not a Jewish lodge. The charter and early records were lost in the fire of 1838—it has also been said in 1800—but the lodge was in existence in 1766.[90a] When Lafayette came to Charleston on his visit to America (1824–25), he gave Abraham De Leon, master of the lodge, "the Grandmaster's jewel;" and De Leon's son, H. H. De Leon, when past master of the lodge, gave it the jewel presented to his father.

The Supreme Council of Scottish Rite Masonry was founded in Charleston in 1801; four of the nine founders were Jews: Emanuel De La Motta, treasurer-general; Abraham Alexander, secretary-general; Israel Delieben and Moses C. Levy, inspectors-general. De La Motta, a commission merchant and auctioneer, was born in 1761, most likely on the Danish island of St. Croix in the West Indies. He was

designated in the warrant of July 5, 1801, a "Sovn. Gd. Insp. Gl. 33rd;" as the first treasurer-general of the Council, he was in office at least until 1813. He died in 1821. Abraham Alexander, who was born in London in 1743, has been mentioned several times above: as a scrivener and then in the Charleston customhouse, first as a clerk and finally as auditor; as the husband of a proselyte to Judaism; as an officer in the American Revolutionary forces; and as the reader of Beth Elohim. His name is on the warrant of July 5, 1801, as "Sov. Gd. Insp. Gen. 33d." That he was a scrivener may have been one of the reason for his designation as secretary-general. Although he himself came from London, his family, according to their tradition, was Spanish once and the name Anglicized in England. Moses Clava Levy was born near Cracow, Poland, as mentioned above.[91] His uncle, it is said, was a physician to the king. Like Delieben, Moses C. Levy was a merchant. Born about 1750, he died at Charleston when almost ninety. He is reported to have said to some Christians who tried to convert him: "My friends, there are more roads to Heaven than one. If you are right, in a very short time I shall know it. But at this supper-time of life that I have reached, it is scarcely worth while to depart from the spirit of that Law which has given me peace throughout life." Israel Delieben's name is not on the warrant of July 5, 1801, but on the De Grasse patent of February 21, 1802, as "Grand Insp. Gen. 33d and Grand Treasurer of the Empire." He was born in Prague, Bohemia, about 1740. He settled in Charleston about 1770, and died there in 1807. According to family tradition, he had been sent to America from England as a surveyor and lived in Philadelphia before going to Charles Town.

Dr. Jacob De La Motta, Emanuel De La Motta's son, was also a member of the Supreme Council: lieutenant grand commander, he became acting grand commander on the grand commander's death in 1844. Nathaniel Levin, at his death in 1899, was acting inspector-general of the Supreme Council for South Carolina.

The Charleston Orphan House is one of the oldest in the United States; it was founded in 1790 and the cornerstone laid in 1792. In the large yellow building—the paint peeling from the walls, one of the two green griffins that guarded the gate gone, and the children playing in a barren yard—the walls in the twilight of the entrance hall are covered with marble tablets to the benefactors: among them one:

> 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 forty-five years contributed by annual donations to the comfort of its inmates.

These donations included a barrel of rice, a quarter of beef, and five gallons of brandy annually—except that, for a time, the commissioners asked him to omit the brandy.[92] When the Orphan House was first planned, the congregation of Beth Elohim contributed almost sixty pounds.[93] Philip Hart, who died in 1796, left two hundred pounds to the synagogue, fifty pounds to the poor in the poorhouse, and fifty pounds to the orphans in the Orphan House; his name is also on one of the memorial tablets as a benefactor.

For a number of years, Michael Lazarus was a trustee of the Shirras Dispensary (1835–1859); and David Lopez, the younger, who built the present synagogue of Beth Elohim, was a trustee of the Apprentices' Library (1847). As an in-

stance of interreligious fellowship, in 1842, just before Christmas, a collection was made among the members of Beth Elohim in aid of the Protestant Methodist church on Pitt Street. The letter in acknowledgment read in part: "we feel especially thankful for the kind sympathy manifested in our behalf, & shall ever retain a lively recollection of the friendly interest shown by our fellow citizens for our wellfare, to none of whom do we more cheerfully acknowledge our indebtedness than to the descendants of the ancient worthies from whom we received the light of revelation & the oracles of God."[94]

Part of the ritual of the Southern gentleman was the ceremony of duelling;[95] it was considered only proper that a gentleman should be as responsible for his words as for his deeds and be ready to defend either with his life.[96]

Mordecai Manuel Noah (b. Philadelphia, 1786; d. New York City, 1851), afterwards chargé d'affaires of the United States at Tunis, North Africa, journalist and playwright, came to Charleston when he was twenty-six as a student of law and began writing for the Charleston *Times* under the pen-name "Muly Malak," supposedly a visitor from the East. As the result of something or other that he said or wrote, he had to fight a duel with another Jew named Cantor, although as a Northerner Noah did not think much of the practice. Jacob F. Schirmer, the Charleston merchant, has in his diary[97] the following entry for February 10, 1834: "*Duel* on the race course between Moise & Cohen the latter was mortally wounded and died on 12th." In 1870, Ludlow Cohen, formerly a resident of Charleston, lost his life in a duel in Savannah. Many years before, Aaron Mendes, who had also lived in Charleston, also lost his life in a duel in

Savannah (1818).[98] As late as 1874, O. R. Levy and Benj. Hernandez fought a duel at the corner of Broad and Meeting Streets in Charleston.

As Isaac Harby indicated by his phrase, "these happy United States," in the *North American Review* for July, 1826, he was not disposed to undervalue his citizenship. In an address in Charleston the year before, he had said: "Where is he that does not feel a glow of honest exultation, when he hears himself called an American? Who that does not offer praise and thanksgiving to Providence, for the contrast of what man *is* in these United States, and what he *is* under almost every other government? . . . we are willing to repose in the belief, that America truly is the land of promise spoken of in our ancient Scriptures; that this is the region to which the children of Israel, if they are wise, will hasten to come. Not to some stony desert, or marshy land, or inhospitable clime, do we invite them . . . But, be the promised land what it may; whether new Jerusalem mean old Judea, renovated and blessed by the munificence of heaven; or, whether with Chrysostom, we take it to signify the city of God, happiness hereafter; yet we are contented, while we remain on earth in this temporal state, to live in America; to share the blessings of liberty; to partake of, and to add to her political happiness, her power, and her glory; to educate our children liberally; to make them useful, and enlightened, and honest citizens; to look upon our countrymen as brethren of the same happy family, worshipping the same God of the universe, though, perhaps, differing in forms and opinions . . ."[99]

This was not rhetoric merely: it is impossible to read this without feeling that Harby felt it. Nor did he speak for himself only. Explaining the immigration of Jews to America in



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the *North American Review,* he said simply and honestly: "The immediate ancestors of the most respectable Jews in these United States came, some for purposes of commerce, others for the more noble love of liberty, and the majority for both." The Jews of Charleston's Beth Elohim, writing about twenty years before to the elders of the Spanish and Portuguese community in London for a suitable *hazan* or reader, had said proudly, almost boastfully:

> 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 . . .

How, then, did the Jews of Charleston show this love of country? Perhaps merely in a button on a hat or in cheering a toast, in the names some gave their children—Madison,[100] for example, or Thomas Jefferson;[101] in the resolution never to act politically as a religious sect but simply as Americans, supporting a candidate for his character and talents only; in a zealous interest in the political questions that were so important to the country; in service—generally without reward except the respect and gratitude of their fellow citizens —in the offices that are the wheels or mere cogs of government; and by enlistment in the regiments that stood on guard[102] or marched to war.[103]

In the convention of 1832, Philip Phillips was against

nullification. Of the four Jews present as delegates, Chapman Levy voted with Phillips, and Philip Cohen and Myer Jacobs voted for nullification.

A communication signed by "Eighty-Four Israelites" to the *Southern Patriot* of Charleston (also in the Charleston *Courier*) for October 1, 1832 reads:

> *Whereas,* it is understood by the subscribers, belonging *to both parties,* that an impression has been produced upon the minds of a portion of our fellow-citizens, that the Israelites of Charleston are desirous of being represented as a *religious sect* in our State Legislature; and moreover, that a list or petition was put into the hands of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Free Trade and State Rights Party, for a representation in the State Legislature. A measure only to be known to be at once disclaimed and disavowed, as calculated to impair the confidence of the community in their independence, their personal pride and their sense of propriety.—And, whereas our political relations are identified in a common bond with our fellow-citizens, a sanction to such a course would indicate a desire on their part to impair the freedom of choice from among their fellow-citizens generally—Therefore, we the subscribers, agree to the following:
>
> *Resolved,* We unite specially for the purpose of disclaiming, that the Israelites of Charleston have expressed a desire or intention to nominate any individual whatever.
>
> *Resolved,* That we wholly disclaim any wish or intention to be represented as a peculiar community, and that we discountenance the idea of selecting any individual for office, either of profit or honor, upon the ground that such individual belongs to a particular sect, with the view of securing or of influencing the suffrages of such sect.

*Resolved,* That the perfect independence of the Israelites of Charleston, is beyond the control of any individual, it matters not to what sect or party he may be attached.

*Resolved,* That if any lists, from any motives whatever, have been drawn up, and handed about to secure the signatures of individuals, so as directly or indirectly to insist on, or to influence the nomination of any person from either party, such lists are neither sanctioned nor tolerated by us, and must have proceeded from persons not authorized by the will or wish of the undersigned.

*Resolved,* That while we are sensible there are gentlemen among us, who would do no discredit to any station, public or private, we will not support any man for office who is not selected by the public for himself, his character and his talents.[103a]

When Joseph Lyons visited Philadelphia in 1833 with another young Jew, his uncle, "Previous to leaving the vessel . . . we had mounted the Palmetto button on our hats," and it attracted "considerable attention"—particularly among children. Later, in Georgia, Joseph Lyons was to find fault with the Georgians for lack of zeal for "state rights": "I go the whole hog and am a full blooded State Rights Carolina Nullifier."[104]

At the fifty-sixth anniversary of the Hebrew Benevolent Society in the hall of the Hebrew Orphan Society, there were ten toasts: 1. "Our anniversary"; 2. "The founders of the Hebrew Benevolent Society"; 3. "The President of the United States"; 4. "Religious liberty"; 5. "The memory of Arari—the martyr of Damascus"; 6. "Our Palmetto Banner and our Palmetto Regiment! The former still floats in the breeze unsullied by defeat, and the invincible daring of the latter has shown to the world that Carolina chivalry has not degenerated!"; 7. "Sir Moses Montefiore"; 8. "The Governor of South

Carolina! His official mantle covers a heart devoted to the honor of his native state!"; 9. "The memory of Grace Aguilar"; 10. "Woman!" "At the announcement of the 6th toast, the cheering was most deafening."[105]

Jacob N. Cardozo and M. C. Mordecai were both conservative. Cardozo, for example, supporting Legaré's "Unionist Democrats," although admitting the injury to the South of the tariff, argued that it was a lesser evil than secession: "We should prefer making large sacrifices even to the odious spirit of monopoly, sooner than break up and scatter, never to be reunited, the elements of the glorious scheme of Republican federative government."[106] Cardozo did not think South Carolina's economic plight due to the tariff only; he thought the primary cause the fertile lands of the West that were draining capital and labor from the state, and another cause the spending of the rich in the North.[107] M. C. Mordecai, with B. C. Pressley, "Unionist," as editor, and Ker Boyce helped found *The Southern Standard* in 1851 to argue that the issue was not, as generally stated in South Carolina, secession or submission but, admitting the right of a state to secede, a question of timing and that South Carolina should not act alone.[108]

Jews of Charleston held office in the city and state from the first decades of the century: Lyon Levy (d. 1835, aged seventy-one) was state treasurer[109] and others members of the legislature;[110] at one time or another, a member of the Jewish community was assistant city treasurer or an alderman; a member of the board of health or a commissioner of the Marine Hospital; a commissioner of public schools; a commissioner of the poorhouse, or of the Orphan House; a commissioner of markets, of streets and lamps, or of roads; a commissioner of pilotage; a magistrate, justice of the peace,

a commissioner of the workhouse, or warden of the police.[111] When William Henry Harrison became president of the United States in 1841, he appointed Dr. Jacob De La Motta, who had been diligent in politics as a Whig, receiver general of his district.

Jews from Charleston fought in all the wars of the Republic.

Abraham A. Massias (b. Charleston, 1772; d. Charleston, 1848), of a family that is supposed to have come from Barbados, was an ensign (1802) and a lieutenant (1804) in the New York militia and captain of the First Regiment of Light Infantry of New York (1807); he resigned in 1809 and became a captain in the United States army. During the War of 1812, he commanded a body of eighty riflemen near St. Mary's, Georgia, in 1815. He had been ordered to retreat if the enemy landed in force, "but," as he wrote his commanding officer, "I hope to have it in my power to give the enemy a brush before I leave the ground." When fifteen hundred British troops landed on Cumberland Island, he had his "brush" and retreated in good order with the loss of the battery at Point Petre, one killed, four wounded, and nine men missing.[112] He was afterwards a major and paymaster in the United States army.[113]

Myer Moses (d. New York City, 1833), of Charleston, the father of Franklin J. Moses,[114] was a captain in the First Battalion of South Carolina Volunteers in 1809; he was a captain during the War of 1812 and, in 1813, one of the "Committee of Twenty-One for Adding to the Defences of the City." He was afterwards a major. Philip Cohen was a lieutenant in the company of South Carolina Volunteers that Myer Moses commanded, and Solomon I. Cohen an ensign. Hyam Cohen (d. 1850), a second lieutenant in 1812, was first lieutenant

of the First Rifle Regiment in 1814. He was afterwards assistant paymaster of his regiment.[115] J. C. Levy was secretary of the Charleston Riflemen from 1811 to 1813. Jacob De La Motta served as a surgeon in the regular army during the War of 1812, and Abraham De Leon was a surgeon's mate.

During the war against the Seminole Indians (1836), J. Cohen, Jr., Myer M. Cohen, as "an officer of the Left Wing," as well as Columbus Moïse, were among the Washington Volunteers from Charleston. Solomon Heydenfeldt also served in the war, and J. C. Peixotto and T. W. Mordecai were drafted from the Sixteenth Regiment. Dr. P. Melvin Cohen was a surgeon to the detachment of troops in Charleston Harbor. Dr. Isaac Lyons was surgeon-general under General Tom Lee in the Texan War for Independence (1836). Orlando Levy served in the Mexican War; and Jacob Valentine, youngest soldier in the Palmetto Regiment, was badly wounded at Churubusco.

A number of distinguished Jews of the United States in the nineteenth century were born in Charleston, or lived there as boys or young men, and left it early—as did many other Charlestonians—for opportunities elsewhere. This was also true, of course, of many whose work was always humble and who never became distinguished. Some went to other cities in South Carolina—Sumter, Columbia, Camden, Georgetown, Marion, Beaufort, and Cheraw; others to Savannah or Augusta in Georgia, Wilmington in North Carolina; others farther north to Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York, and some west to Woodville, Mississippi, or Mobile, New Orleans, or San Francisco. As a young Jew of Charleston wrote in his diary in 1834: " . . . in *N Orleans,* talent is the passport to distinction, Oh Lord I wish I was there . . ."[116]

Aaron Lazarus (b. Charleston, 1777; d. Petersburg, Va., 1841) was one of the first settlers of Wilmington, North Carolina. And Lewis N. Dembitz, of "Jewish Beginnings in Kentucky," wrote: "About 1836 there came to Louisville two or three families of Polish descent, from Charleston, S. C., and a few families from Southern Germany, all of lowly origin, and not ashamed to intermarry with each other."[117]

Most conspicuous of the Jews born in Charleston, or who had lived there when young, and who became distinguished beyond the state, was Judah P. Benjamin (1811–84), United States senator from Louisiana and secretary of state for the Confederacy from 1862 to the end. He was born on the island of St. Croix in the West Indies. His parents, as already indicated, had a small store in Charleston where they sold fruit. His father, Philip Benjamin, was a member of Beth Elohim and, in 1827, on the "corresponding committee" of the Reformed Society of Israelites.[118] This would seem to show that he had ability and was not unrecognized. The records of the Society also show that he was "expelled," but the reason is not given. His wife (or widow), Judah P. Benjamin's mother, kept her store open on the Sabbath to the displeasure of the Jews of Charleston, for the Sabbath was still strictly observed by almost all.[119] Judah was sent to the school of the Hebrew Orphan Society (which was also for the children of the poor), and it was there, no doubt, that he attracted the attention of Moses Lopez who sent him to an academy and, perhaps, to Yale. It was in New Orleans, however, not in Charleston, that he was to begin his career as one of the distinguished lawyers of the United States and, after the War Between the States, of England.

Henry M. Hyams (1809–75) was born in Charleston and left for New Orleans in 1828. He studied law in Louisiana

and became a banker and politician. He served in the state senate of Louisiana four years and was also lieutenant governor (1859–64). Edwin Warren Moïse (1811–68), a nephew of Penina Moïse, was also born in Charleston. He studied medicine at the Charleston Medical College. He went to Woodville, Mississippi, when a young man, to practise his profession but studied law, instead, and, like Benjamin and Hyams, went on to New Orleans. He was elected a member of the legislature and for several years was speaker of the house. In 1861 he was appointed to a judgeship of the Confederate States' court and was afterwards attorney-general of Louisiana. He died in New Orleans. Columbus Moïse (b. Charleston, 1809; d. Virginia, 1871), another nephew of Penina Moïse, also went to New Orleans and, for many years, was president of the leading bank. Abraham Cohen Labatt (b. Charleston, 1802; d. Galveston, Texas, 1899) became a merchant in New Orleans in 1831; in 1837 he was supercargo of the *Columbia,* the first merchant vessel to sail between the United States and the Republic of Texas. He went to California in 1849 and was one of the founders of the first synagogue in San Francisco and an alderman of the city in 1851.[120]

Louis C. Levin (1808–60) was also born in Charleston. He left the city to become a school-teacher in Woodville, Mississippi, but had to leave the state after fighting a duel. He became a lawyer, practised in a number of states, and finally settled in Pennsylvania (1838). Here he edited *The Temperance Advocate* and, afterwards, for the Native American or "Know Nothing" Party, of which he was an organizer, *The Sun.* He was a Congressman from 1845 to 1851 and an advocate of nativism until his death.[121] On the other hand, when M. C. Mordecai of Charleston, in 1855, was running

for the office of state senator, it was charged that he had the support of the "Know Nothing" Party. He denied it and in a public letter said:

> It will, I hope, surprise most of you, my fellow citizens, to know that one of my race and creed is gravely charged or chargeable, at this day in the history of the world, with religious intolerance or national proscription . . . I should have no safety for my own rights of conscience if I were to conspire to destroy them in others . . . Let the naturalized citizen accustom himself to rival the native-born in his Americanism, and he will feel insulted when demagogues address him as one of foreign population.[122]

Philip Phillips (b. Charleston, 1807) made his home in Mobile in 1835, was elected to the legislature of Alabama in 1844, and went to Congress in 1853. He settled in Washington but returned to the South when the War Between the States broke out. He was a resident of New Orleans when it was captured by the Federal troops. General Benjamin F. Butler, whose administration of the captured city was denounced throughout the South, had Mrs. Phillips (Eugenia Levy of Charleston) imprisoned for three months on Ship Island because, it was charged, she had laughed when the funeral of a Federal officer passed the balcony on which she was standing. In the bitterness and anguish of those days, the imprisonment made her somewhat of a heroine among Southerners. In 1867, Phillips went back to Washington and devoted himself to practice before the Supreme Court; he appeared as attorney in more than four hundred cases before his death in 1884. Solomon Heydenfeldt, who was born in Charleston in 1816, like Phillips, left South Carolina for Alabama (1837). Three years later he was a county judge

in Tallapoosa. He went to California in 1850 and became a justice of the supreme court of the state. In Alabama he had opposed the importation of slaves on economic grounds (1849) but remained a "States' Rights" man and in California refused to take the oath of loyalty (1862).[123] He died in San Francisco in 1890.

David Nunes Carvalho (b. London, 1784; d. Baltimore, 1860), a younger brother of Emanuel Nunes Carvalho, cantor of Beth Elohim, and the father of Solomon Nunes Carvalho, the artist, after many years in Charleston as a merchant became a manufacturer of paper in Baltimore in 1828, and in 1836 moved to Philadelphia where he was one of the judges of the Court of Arbitration (1850).[123a] Raphael J. Moses (d. 1893) was born in Charleston in 1812, the son of Israel Moses, who had also been born there. Raphael J. Moses was a merchant at first but studied law and went to Apalachicola, Florida, about 1837, to practise. He then settled in Columbus, Georgia, as a lawyer. When the War Between the States broke out, he enlisted with his three sons in the Confederate army.[124] After the war, Major Moses was a member of the legislature of Georgia.

Now and then the Jews of Charleston were reminded that they were Jews—unpleasantly. Sometimes the slight was only fancied, as when a reader of the *Times* in 1800 saw an "ungenerous aspersion" in the statement that "a federal or state officer affected to join in worship with the Jews . . . afterwards distributing tickets" (for electioneering purposes);[125] or, perhaps, when young Joseph Lyons, for example, a graduate of South Carolina College in 1832, thought he had been unjustly deprived of any distinction at that institution: "I have passed through," he wrote in his diary, "without being

distinguished with even the paltry honor of an appointment on the Exhibition, which was a piece of injustice, which would not have annoyed me but from the evidence of prejudice which it indicated against me."[126]

In selling on Sunday to make up for the loss of business on their Sabbath, Jews were accused of "the profanation of the Lord's Day,"[127] and convicted under a city ordinance. Thus, under an ordinance of 1801 making it an offence for anyone to expose for sale, or sell, goods on Sunday, one S. A. Benjamin was found guilty in 1846 of selling a pair of gloves and fined. His defence was that the law could not compel him to observe the Christian Sabbath, since he was a conscientious Israelite who observed the seventh day of the week. It was held on appeal that the ordinance was constitutional as a police measure, the court saying:

> It is, however, fancied that in some way this law is in derogation of the Hebrew's religion, inasmuch as by his faith and this statute he is compelled to keep two Sabbaths. There is the mistake. *He has his own, free and undiminished!* Sunday is to us our day of rest. We say to him simply, *respect us,* by ceasing on this day from the pursuit of that trade and business in which you, by the security and protection given to you by our laws, make great gain.[128]

A correspondent of *The Occident,* commenting on this opinion, wrote:

> If, like Judge Wardlaw (who wrote the concurring opinion), he had confined his opinion to the naked legal question in the case, though we might have regretted the decision, we could take no excepton to the *grounds* on which it was based . . . after pointing out that the strict observance of Sunday was unknown to the early

> Christians or that the reference to 'the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath' of the New Testament . . . (was) used to justify Sabbath-breaking . . . But I object to the whole tone of the decision, and the *spirit* in which it was written. The Judge, throughout, treats the Jews as though they were not his equals—his fellow citizens.—He seems to regard them as inferiors to whom Christian charity has granted the boon of toleration. He says, in so many words, 'We say to him (the Jew), simply, *respect us* by ceasing on this day from the pursuit of that trade and business, in which you, by the security given to you by our laws, make great gains.' I protest against these terms, 'you,' 'us,' 'our laws.' Such language is unworthy of an American judge, and in direct opposition to the spirit of our institutions. The Jew receives religious toleration in this country, not as a *boon*, but as a *right*. He stands upon the same platform as his Christian fellow-citizens, and breathes with him the pure air of American freedom, untainted by bigotry, tyranny, or intolerance.[129]

On two occasions, the terms of the governor's proclamation of a day of thanksgiving excluded Jews. Governor Henry Middleton's proclamation (1812) called only upon Christian denominations to have services. In his apology, addressed to Beth Elohim, hoping that the congregation would acquit him of any intentional slight, he added: "(or would) think him capable of excluding any portion of his fellow-citizens from a participation in the religious observance of the day . . ." Accordingly, thanksgiving services were held in the synagogue and Myer Moses delivered an "excellent discourse."

In the other case, peppery[130] Governor James H. Hammond said—with characteristic emphasis—that he had no apology for the wording of his proclamation (1844). Of

Hammond himself, it may be of interest that his father was a "Yankee" from Massachusetts who had come South to teach. The son, when admitted to the Bar, was "steeped to the lips in poverty," according to his diary. He married an heiress and retired from the practice of law to become a planter.[131] His proclamation invited "our citizens of all denominations to assemble at their respective places of worship, to offer up their devotions to God their creator, and his son Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the world." To a letter of protest, signed by more than a hundred Israelites of Charleston, referring to the constitution of South Carolina and the provision that "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever hereafter be allowed within this state to all mankind" (Art. 8, Sect. 1), the governor, after saying of himself that he was not "an acknowledged Christian," added: "The simple truth is, that at the time of writing my Proclamation it did not occur to me, that there might be Israelites, Deists, Atheists, or any other class of persons in the State who denied the divinity of Jesus Christ . . . (But) had I been on my guard, I do not think I should have changed the language of my Proclamation . . . (for) I lived in a Christian land . . . (and was) the temporary chief magistrate of a Christian people," and he saw a similarity in the Jewish insistence that he had erred to the accounts of the persecution of Jesus. A public meeting at Masonic Hall, Michael Lazarus, chairman, and S. Valentine, secretary, protested at the proclamation and the governor's answer.[132]

Nobody supported Hammond in this controversy. The following year, when William Aiken was governor, Thanksgiving Day was celebrated in Charleston upon a proclamation by the City Council.[133]

Sometimes, the word "Jew" was used as "a term of reproach," as by a Mr. Tuggle to whom Raphael J. Moses wrote his well-known reply.[134] But this was in Georgia and Major Moses was then only a Charlestonian by birth.

It is pleasanter to note that Christopher G. Memminger, a distinguished lawyer of Charleston, when retained in 1843 in the controversy among the members of Beth Elohim, refused any fee for his services, since they all served the same God. Abraham Tobias, Joshua Lazarus, P. M. Cohen, and Jacob Cohen were among the citizens acting in watches as honorary guards at the funeral of Calhoun in 1850.[135] And Maurice Mayer from Germany, rabbi of Beth Elohim, when invited to preach with the ministers of other creeds in the city orphan asylum, found it—so he was to write in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums,* published in Leipzig (1857)[136]—"ein Act der schoensten Toleranz unter den Christen der hiesigen Stadt" (an act of the most beautiful tolerance on the part of the Christians of this city).

c. *Synagogues and Jewish Societies: Reform Judaism*

After the death of Abraham Azuby, who had been the *hazan* or reader of Beth Elohim for twenty years (1785–1805), it was not easy for the congregation to find another *hazan* to suit them. The vestry wrote the elders of the Sephardic community in London for "a Hazan of merit and classical education." The vestry of the synagogue in Bevis Marks sent out Benjamin Cohen D'Azevedo, son of the Portuguese *haham* (chief rabbi) of London. The congregation in Charleston liked him so little, he was paid for his trouble and expense and sent back—to the great displeasure of the Londoners. Jacob Suares acted as *hazan* for Beth Elohim

from 1806 to 1811, helped by Moses C. Levy and Emanuel De La Motta.

From 1811 to 1814 Emanuel Nunes Carvalho (b. London, 1771; d. Philadelphia, 1817) was the *hazan*. He was the son of a worker in coral, amber, and jet, who, while working for his father, studied Oriental and modern languages. An advocate of democracy, he was in trouble with the authorities before leaving England in 1799 to become the *hazan* of Nidhe Israel on the island of Barbados in the West Indies.[137] In 1812, Mordecai M. Noah wrote from Charleston to his uncle, Naphtali Phillips, in New York, of Carvalho:

> It appears he had taught the children to sing the concluding psalm of the Sabbath Morning Service in a very handsome manner which in a measure did away the discordance which attends every Synagogue. For a whim or caper he discontinued the ceremony & forbid the children to sing. The private adjunta conceiving it to be his duty to continue a system which was generally approved of respectfully requested him to allow the children to continue which he refused to do and on application for some other branch of his duty he treated the adjunta with disrespect & they suspended him for five days which suspension terminated on Saturday at ten o'clock when he performed the prayers—Saturday evening being a meeting of the adjunta in general body he collected a rabble composed of all the vagrant Jews & had a petition signed by them to give him redress, this petition was handed the Parnass (president) who could not act upon it being in express violation to the constitution Mr. Carvalho in person aided and abetted the confusion and riot which took place in a short time the whole meeting parnass & all were battling with clubs & bruising boxing etc. during which his reverence & brother & friend Lipman came off with a few thumps this outrageous and disgraceful [*sic*] produced by the

> interference & co-operation of Mr. Carvalho terminated without any serious injury. The result has completely destroyed the small remnant of respectability & character yet left for Mr. C. his duty was not to take the law in his own hands but to submit with respect to the conduct & resolve of the private adjunta who are composed of the most respected & indeed the most enlightened part of the Congregation.[138]

Apparently the matter did not end with the rumpus in the synagogue, for Albert M. Friedenberg's "Calendar of American Jewish Cases"[139] lists the following:

> 1819—South Carolina. State v. Carvalho, Mss. Decisions, 1819. 2 Chisholm and Hyde's *Index-Digest South Carolina Reports, 1793–1882,* 411. Disturbing a congregation of Hebrews was an indictable offence at common law, although the offender was a member of the same.

Sick and quarrelsome, Carvalho resigned his post at Beth Elohim in 1814 to become the *hazan* of Mickvé Israel in Philadelphia. The Jews of Charleston, however, remembered him with respect and affection. Rule 20 of Beth Elohim's constitution of 1820 provides: "On every Kippur night perpetually, the eighth escoba (prayer for the dead) . . . shall be made for the Reverend Emanuel Nunes Carvalho . . . who had been an acknowledged *Hazan* of this Congregation for several years."[139a]

The Sephardic synagogue in London to which the vestry of Beth Elohim had sent for a *hazan* at the death of Abraham Azuby, and which was still the model of the Charleston synagogue after seventy years, was strictly Orthodox. And because the position of English Jewry at the beginning of the nineteenth century of the Christian Era was still uncertain socially and politically—no Jew, for example, could

hold office or be a freeman of London and so have a shop for retail trade—the synagogue, for the general welfare of its members, ruled them strictly. The members, for their social as well as religious life (the two inextricably bound together), submitted, for the most part, meekly. (Benjamin Disraeli's father was an exception.)

Whoever openly desecrated the Sabbath lost his rights as a member. So did one who married outside the faith. It was an offence, likewise, to offend the president of congregation or to stir up public opinion against an action of the elders. There were fines for refusing to accept office, for refusing to read the Law aloud when called upon to do so during services, for not going to synagogue when due to be called upon to read the Law, for not attending a meeting of the congregation or of a committee, for not coming to the meeting early enough to answer to one's name or for leaving, without permission, before the meeting was over.

The penalty for attending, or even failing to report, an unauthorized *minyan* (assembly for prayer) within London or the suburbs might be excommunication. There was a case in 1822 where a Jew who belonged to the congregation had a *minyan* in his house on the first night of Pentecost and again in the morning. The worshippers lost their seats in the synagogue and were given places in back of the reading-desk; their names were taken from the list of voting members; they were forbidden any honors during the services, and for two years were held ineligible for any pious duties; and they were fined—the chief offender forty pounds and the others twenty each.[140]

The constitution of Beth Elohim for 1820[141] was no less strict.

Every Jew, resident in Charleston and over twenty-one,

was supposed to belong to the congregation. Rule 12 of the constitution said bluntly: "All Israelites now in Charleston, who are not Yachidim, and such as may arrive hereafter, after one years' residence shall be bound to subscribe to the subscription list, and provide themselves and wives (if any) with seats as aforesaid.[142] This law embraces all persons indiscriminately above twenty-one years of age."

All *Yachidim* were members of the congregation, but not all members were *Yachidim:* to be admitted to the *Yachidim* —or any "office of honor"—residence of two years was required, and then application in writing to the "Public Adjunta" (Rule 12). The *Yachidim,* from their number, elected twenty-five members under the constitution of 1820 to act as the "General Adjunta":[143] these, together with the *parnassim* and the "Private Adjunta," had "the sole management of all the functions formerly exercised by the people at large" (Rule 2). The General Adjunta elected from among themselves, or the *Yachidim* at large, seven members to be the Private Adjunta, out of which number were chosen by ballot a *Parnass presidenta,* a *Parnass residenta,* and a *Gaboy* (treasurer). The General Adjunta was elected for three years, the *Gaboy* for one year, and the *Parnass presidenta* to preside for six months of the year, and the *Parnass residenta* for the remaining six. At an election to be held every three years, the General Adjunta and the Private Adjunta, acting together, were to elect from among themselves not more than eighteen, and from the *Yachidim* at large seven, to form the new General Adjunta—this body to be at all times full and complete. Here, then, was a constant sifting of the members: *Yachidim* selected from the general membership, the General Adjunta from *Yachidim,* the Private Adjunta usually from the General Adjunta, and the three chief officers from

the Private Adjunta. However, as the rank rose, the duration of the term diminished: *Yachidim* were such for life, a member of the General Adjunta or the Private Adjunta was elected for three years, but the *Gaboy* for one year, and each of the presidents was to preside only six months.

A corollary to the requirement that all Jews in Charleston belong to the congregation was the rule prohibiting Jews from erecting another synagogue or gathering in an unauthorized *minyan* (prayer-meeting) within five miles of the city. An attempt to form another congregation or even an unauthorized *minyan*—the rule characterizes this is as "an atrocious offence"—was punishable by the forfeiture of all rights and privileges in the congregation forever, liability to a fine not to exceed two hundred dollars, and the loss of the right to burial in the cemetery of the congregation, until the member himself, or his executor, administrator, a relative or friend, paid his fine; and all his family, that is, those under his direction and control, were under the ban, too, "either in joy or sorrow" (Rule 8).

Furthermore, "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 . . . " (Rule 25); and again: "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 (cemetery of the congregation—literally, "House of Life"), 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" (Rule 24).

A member who came within the penalty of the rules of the congregation was deprived of all honors and rights as a member, in and out of the synagogue, until he paid his fine or was otherwise reconciled to the congregation (Rule 7). And a Jew who came to Charleston and did not become a member of the congregation within the time fixed by the constitution was liable to all the restrictions and penalties that members were subject to, and could not become a member until the penalties were removed.

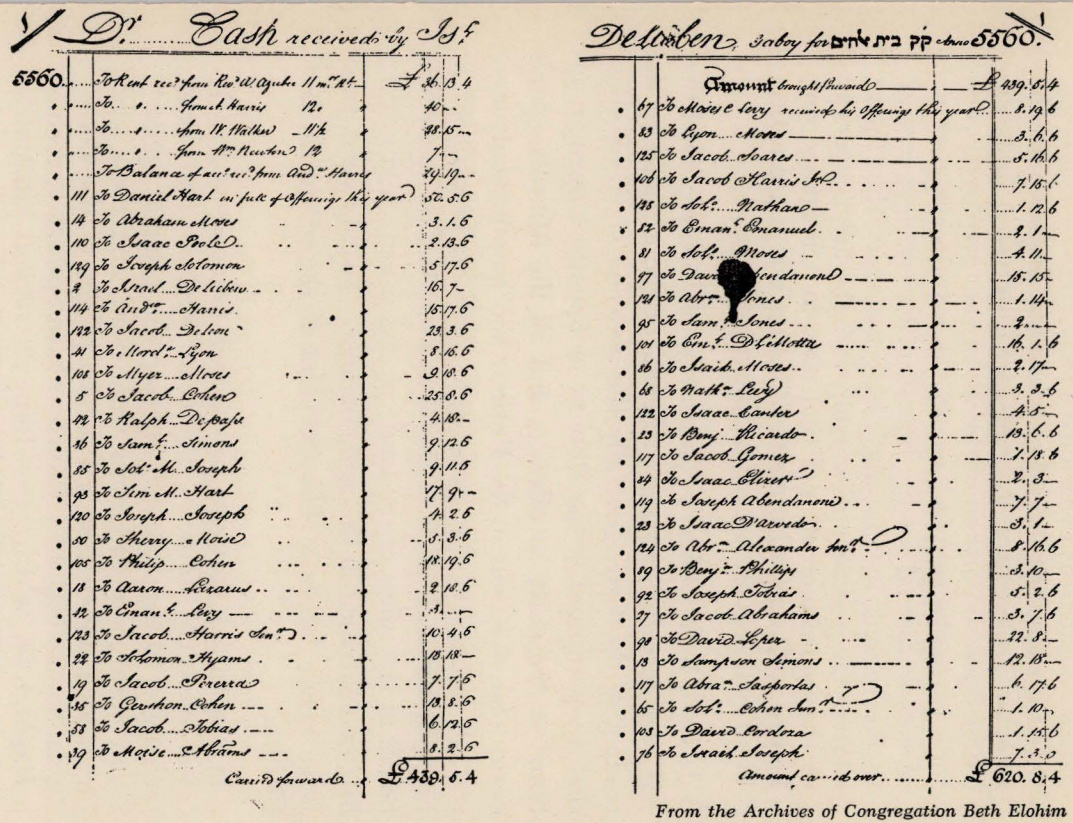
The usual fines were for not attending a meeting, for refusing to accept office or—a much graver offence, of course—accepting office and then refusing to serve. The list of those fined included some of the most distinguished names in the community.[144] As an instance of a fine for misconduct, there is the record of a case where a member of the society for burying the dead was struck by Solomon Moses who insisted upon helping with the burial though not a member (1801). Moses was fined a dollar in a court of law "in consideration of . . . having made amends by order of the Heb. Congregation." These "amends" were the payment of a fine of three pounds "for the said very unwarentable Conduct at Mr. Abr. Torres house" and begging "Pardon in the Sinagogue."[145] When some of the members finally joined in a complaint, it was not against the strictness of their government by the elders of the congregation: the complaint was on more important grounds—against the service itself and, afterwards, the creed. There is no record of a withdrawal from Beth Elohim because of a fine, although some were heavy.

What was the service like, on the Sabbath for example, in the eyes of a Protestant—a Unitarian—in 1820 or so? In an article[146] in *The North American Review* (published in Boston) for July 1826, by one who found "the external

modes of worship among the Jews . . . uncouth and unreasonable"—at least in appearance—the writer describes a Jewish service. He was anonymous after the fashion of those days but, according to the index to *The North American Review,* he was a New Englander by birth, Samuel Gilman (1791–1858), author of the ode, *Fair Harvard,* and minister of the Unitarian church in Charleston at this time and until his death. The services he describes were very likely those of Beth Elohim.

> Upon entering one of these edifices (Jewish synagogues) on a Saturday [he writes] you behold the assembly seated or standing with their hats on, and generally wearing an air of much greater indifference, than is witnessed even among Christians, during the season of public devotion. The priest, with a few attendants, is stationed on a high enclosed platform in the center of the floor. As an instance of the little interest, which is excited by the immediate business of the place, we recollect, that once, while we were fixing our attention on the intonations of the chanting priest, a highly respectable elder of the congregation arose and crossed the area, and taking his seat next to us, began the discussion of a curious point of Hebrew phraseology; after which, he entered upon a much more general conversation, leaving on our minds at last the impression of his being a polite and hospitable entertainer, rather than of what we know he really was, a devout fellow worshipper.

Another New Englander, who had visited Charles Town fifty years before and attended church at a Sunday morning service, in March 1773, was likewise critical of the congregation: Josiah Quincy noted that "It was very common in prayer as well as sermon-time to see gentlemen conversing together."[147]



Dr. Cash received by Js.ᶜ

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| " | 93 | To Sim M. Hart | | | 17 | 9 | |
| " | 120 | To Joseph Joseph | | | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| " | 80 | To Henry Moise | | | 5 | 3 | 6 |
| " | 105 | To Philip Cohen | | | 18 | 19 | 6 |
| " | 18 | To Aaron Lazarus | | | 2 | 18 | 6 |
| " | 12 | To Enan.ˡ Levy | | | 3 | | |
| " | 123 | To Jacob Harris Jn.ʳ | | | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| " | 24 | To Solomon Hyams | | | 18 | 18 | |
| " | 19 | To Jacob Pereira | | | 1 | 7 | 6 |
| " | 35 | To Gershon Cohen | | | 13 | 8 | 6 |
| " | 58 | To Jacob Tobias | | | 6 | 12 | 6 |
| " | 39 | To Moise Abrams | | | 8 | 2 | 6 |
| | | Carried forward | £ | 439 | 6 | 4 | |

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| | | Amount brought forward | £ | 439 | 6 | 4 | |
| " | 67 | To Moses C Levy receivd his Offerings this year | | | 8 | 19 | 6 |
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| " | 125 | To Jacob Soares | | | 5 | 16 | 6 |
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| " | 97 | To David Mendanond | | | 15 | 15 | |
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| " | 95 | To Sam.ˡ Jones | | | 2 | | |
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| " | 86 | To Isaiah Moses | | | 2 | 17 | |
| " | 68 | To Math.ʳ Levy | | | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| " | 122 | To Isaac Carter | | | 4 | 5 | |
| " | 23 | To Benj.ᵃ Ricardo | | | 13 | 6 | 6 |
| " | 117 | To Jacob Gomez | | | 1 | 18 | 6 |
| " | 84 | To Isaac Elizer | | | 2 | 3 | |
| " | 119 | To Joseph Abendanone | | | 7 | 7 | |
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| " | 124 | To Abr.ᵐ Alexander Jn.ʳ | | | 8 | 16 | 6 |
| " | 89 | To Benj.ᵃ Phillips | | | 3 | 10 | |
| " | 92 | To Joseph Tobias | | | 5 | 2 | 6 |
| " | 27 | To Jacob Abrahams | | | 3 | 7 | 6 |
| " | 98 | To David Lopez | | | 22 | 8 | |
| " | 13 | To Sampson Simons | | | 12 | 13 | |
| " | 117 | To Abra.ᵐ Sadporlas | | | 6 | 17 | 6 |
| " | 65 | To Sol.ᵒ Cohen Jn.ʳ | | | 1 | 10 | |
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| " | 76 | To Israh Joseph | | | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| | | Amount carried over | £ | 620 | 8 | 4 | |

*From the Archives of Congregation Beth Elohim*

Page from the Treasurer's Cash Book for the year 1800

> The whole of the liturgy [continued the Reverend Samuel Gilman] is conducted in the Hebrew language, with the exception indeed of occasional portions, which, in some synagogues, it seems, are uttered in Spanish. These Spanish portions of the liturgy are employed only for a particular purpose, namely, to express the amount of *monies offered* for the benefit of the synagogue and its institutions, by the subscribing members; thus interrupting the prayers and worship with the fiscal concerns of the establishment, and that, too, in a language unknown to almost all present. Whether this is a practice in all synagogues, we are unable to say.

Rule 19 of Beth Elohim's constitution of 1820 provided that "all Mishberachs (prayers in behalf of those called to the reading of the Law, generally the occasion of an offering) shall be permitted in the Hebrew or Spanish language, optional to the party so offering, and all the Mizvots (pious duties) be given out in the Hebrew and no other language; and all notices in the Synagogue shall be proclaimed in English; and such parts of the Hannoten Tashua (prayer in behalf of the rulers of the land) as was usually said in English, be continued in the same manner." Twenty years later, Isaac Leeser wrote in *The Occident* of the service in Beth Elohim:

> It is admitted, that long before then (summer of 1840), the offerings formerly made in Spanish had been changed to the Hebrew, because the original Spanish and Portuguese emigrants were dead, and those who remained understood not the languages of the Peninsula. So also had the commentaries in Spanish to certain *Haphtoroth*, which were formerly recited alternately verse and verse with the Hebrew, been left out . . . there was no use in placing the Spanish upon the same level with the Hebrew, it being in itself nothing more than

the English or any other non-Israelitish tongue; sanctity it never had; it was employed (originally in the Sephardic service) because it was the vernacular of the majority; and hence, when this was no longer the case, it was replaced by the Hebrew, or the parts said therein were left out altogether . . .[148]

The ritual [the Reverend Mr. Gilman continued] consists of readings and responses in a kind of chant, or recitative, enunciated frequently with great indistinctness and volubility, now sinking into a low murmur, and now rising into a kind of nervous and violent vociferation . . . Owing to the rapidity of uttering the liturgy, it is generally finished in about three hours, though we are informed . . . that if it were conducted with due solemnity, and in a slow, distinct, impressive tone, its length would certainly occupy the attention of the congregation from nine until two o'clock, if not later. During its repetition, the members of the congregation, except a few of the most devout, are seen coming in and going out of the synagogue at all times, and but a very slight check seems to be imposed upon the usual inclinations of the children. There is nothing in the shape of a discourse, or religious instruction of any kind, except, we believe, on a very few annual or occasional festivals. At these solemnities, some enlightened member of the body is called upon to deliver an appropriate English discourse.

We ought to remark, that that part of the liturgy, which consists in reading the portion of the laws, called the *Parasah* (the particular portion of the Pentateuch read each Sabbath), is generally well read, devoutly, and emphatically . . .

That a "reform" movement among Jews was also beginning abroad may have bolstered some Charleston Jews somewhat and it served them as an argument; but the movement

in Charleston was native to the place. So it has been said, and with justification, that the Reform movement everywhere in the United States, and the more recent Conservative and Reconstructionist movements, had their beginning in the examination of the beliefs and traditions of the synagogue in the light of American democratic thought and practice. Others have claimed a foreign origin for the Reform movement in the United States. That was the case later, in New York, Baltimore, and other cities, where the movement, although fed by the environment, was inaugurated by rabbis brought from abroad. But in Charleston the Reform movement was inaugurated by a group of American Jewish intellectuals, cultured and worldly-wise, who were under the influence of the spirit of the age (of which the American Declaration of Independence was another example). In addition, the city itself had a long tradition, preceding the Revolution, of religious liberalism and pluralism.[148a]

The conditions of Jews in Charleston had changed greatly, as we have seen, from what they were before the American Revolution and what they still were in many, if not all, the foreign cities from which Jews of Charleston or their fathers had come: in Charleston they could vote and hold office; many made their living in professions and at occupations that had been closed to Jews; indeed, some were employees of the state itself or its agencies; in a word, they were Americans. One result of equality was the desire to become in their worship more like their friendly non-Jewish neighbors—particularly the Protestants who were in the great majority. The problem for a number, as Jews, was to change their Judaism to suit their changed circumstances, feeling that otherwise it would not survive; and, if to change, what changes to make. For others, there was no such problem at

all: any change was a corruption of the religion of their fathers and they thought it ironical that their religion, which had survived centuries of persecution, should in the end be changed in a country where they were free to worship as they pleased.

In 1824, forty-seven members of Beth Elohim presented a petition to the vestry asking for changes in the Orthodox ritual. Nathaniel Levin, one of the trustees of Charleston's Orthodox Shearith Israel, [148b] had this bitter comment afterwards, in his article on the Jews of Charleston in *The Occident:* "a spirit of innovation raised its 'miscreated front' among our people."[149] The petition has been characterized by a later historian, who was himself a Reform Jew, as "sensible, moderate, and dignified."[150] "As members of the great family of Israel," the petitioners said of themselves, "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." They complain of the lack of "decency and decorum" during the services; that much of it is "hastily and improperly hurried over;" and that "if, like all other ministers, our reader would make a chapter or verse 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."

In addition to this request for a sermon once a week by the *hazan* or reader, "like all other ministers," that the principles of the religion might be "expounded . . . from the pulpit" in language that "the poor and uninformed" understood, the petitioners asked for less of the service—there was an "absolute necessity of *abridging* the service generally"—

and for less Hebrew in the service: "It is not every one who has the means," the petition read, "and many have not the time to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew language." Accordingly, "the most solemn portions" of the service should be "retained, and everything superfluous excluded, and . . . 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 the service . . ."

The petitioners cited, by way of example, "the reformation which has been recently adopted by our brethren in Holland, Germany and Prussia."[151] Israel Jacobson had sermons, hymns, and prayers in German in the service of his temple at Seesen as early as 1810. The Hamburg Temple, dedicated in 1818, likewise had changes in the service: the use of an organ, of German prayers, the omission of parts of the liturgy that showed that Jews thought of themselves as aliens and in exile; but some prayers for the restoration of Zion and the coming of the Messiah, as a deliverer, were kept.[152] One of the signers of the Charleston petition and a leader among them and most likely the author of the first draft of the petition, if not of the petition itself, was Isaac Harby, whose career as journalist and playwright has been described above.[153] To judge by his statement in *The North American Review* for July 1826, he may not have known the history of the Reform movement in Germany and the recourse of the Orthodox, instead of the "enlightened Israelites," to government suppression;[154] but, to judge by the extract from the *Frankfurt Journal* in the petition itself, he knew of some of the doctrines of the German movement.[155]

The Charleston petition of 1824, presented to the presi-

dent of Beth Elohim, was accompanied by a request that it be laid before "the Adjunta . . . as early as practicable."

The very first rule of the constitution of 1820 provided that the ritual should be "according to the *Minhag Sephardim,* as heretofore practised in this city." The fourteenth rule provided that "should any law of this Constitution prove detrimental to the interest of this Congregation, or require an alteration, or if any new law be found necessary," the *Parnassim* and (Private) Adjunta should have power to call the General (or Public) Adjunta which, together with the Private Adjunta, should consider "such alteration, amendment, or new law." The petition of two-thirds of "all the subscribing Yachidim," exclusive of the members of the "Public or Private Adjunta," could also initiate the consideration of "such alteration, amendment, or new law." Although the petition for changes in the ritual was signed by forty-seven members of the congregation, it does not appear that this was two-thirds of the *Yachidim,* exclusive of those in the "Public or Private Adjunta." In any event, the petition was rejected as unconstitutional without public discussion or, under the rules of the constitution, the right of appeal. Nathaniel Levin, defending the Private Adjunta "for not discussing the merits of this petition, nor for allowing an appeal from the decision," pointed out that they had sworn to guard the constitution of the congregation "which prescribed a certain fixed mode of service, established at the destruction of the second temple."[156]

But some of the petitioners did not intend to let their objections lie unhonored. Without satisfaction in the congregation itself, about twelve of them in November 1824, committed the "atrocious offence" of organizing "The Reformed

Society of Israelites." In two months the society had thirty-eight members, and in 1826 about fifty: with their families they numbered about two hundred. Beth Elohim, at that time, had only about seventy subscribing members and, in all, about three hundred belonged to it—if that many. "The Jews born in Carolina," Harby wrote that year for *The North American Review* (July 1826, p. 74), "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."

The Society's "way of thinking" had gone far beyond the change in the service—to shorten it and have parts of it recited in both English and Hebrew, and have "an English discourse" weekly. No doubt, in the scrutiny of the service to shorten it, they found that they, too, like advocates of Reform Judaism in Germany, did not believe in all of the Orthodox creed as formulated by Maimonides many centuries before: neither in the coming of the Messiah, in a return to Palestine, nor in the resurrection of the body. Like the early Protestants, they went directly to the Bible, "their own teachers," as the statement of the Society published in Morris Goldsmith's *Directory of 1831* was to say.

"The present enlightened state of the world," to quote the same statement, persuaded them to "subscribe to nothing of rabbinical interpretation, or rabbinical doctrines," nor to worship God "as slaves of bigotry and priestcraft." As for "the laws of Moses," they felt free to follow them "only as far as they can be adapted to the institutions of the Society in which they (the members of "The Reformed Society of Israelites") live and enjoy the blessings of liberty." Here are echoes of the deists at the turn of the century: "bigotry," "priestcraft."[157] And indeed one of them, the anti-clerical

Dr. Thomas Cooper (1759–1840), who had sympathized in England with the French Revolutionists and in America with the Anti-Federalists, professor of chemistry and of political economy, and president from 1821 to 1833 of South Carolina College at Columbia, was even then lecturing to each senior class on "The Authenticity of the Pentateuch."[158]

Joseph Lyons, a graduate of South Carolina College (December 1832) and reading law in Savannah, afterwards, does not mention Dr. Cooper in his diary but some of the entries may show Dr. Cooper's influence and show at least, at that time, one young Jew's "way of thinking." Joseph has this quotation from the Latin twice: *Credat Judaeus non ego* (Let a Jew believe it, not I). However, although he is glad enough to escape the services on the Day of Atonement (September 23, 1833), and does not hesitate to write on that day—which no Orthodox Jew would do—he fasts; and he feels strongly, for a filial reason if no other, that the Sabbath should be observed. But he was young—nineteen when the entries begin and twenty when they end, and at twenty-four dead of consumption in Paris; too much weight ought not to be put upon his entries—except to show which way the wind was blowing.

> This is the day preceding the day of Atonement [he wrote] and every body but myself & Mr. D. Lyon (in whose office he was reading law and for whom, as a man of culture, he had little regard) have gone to prayers at Dr. Sheftalls. I have not gone, & why because there I should have to remain seated, listening to Hebrew chaunted by a voice very well adapted to the pronunciation of that guttural harsh barbarous tongue. This conduct is not very politic for Jews especially of the first American or the original European generation do not look very kindly on those who are careless of

their (word undeciphered). However whenever there is a necessity for them to support two (?) men though he be a Jew but in name they always rally around him. So after all there is no great harm. I once was serious in the notion of becoming a Reader. I was told that the Charleston congregation would support any young man during the course of his studies in England. This and no religious feeling prompted my wish. The place even now I think would have suited me very well as there would have been a house furnished me and a salary of 1000 dollars. Thus I could with (word undeciphered) have spent a life of ease & ease literary is all that I am ambitious of just now. But still my support would have been precarious if I had depended only on this for certainly a synagogue as it exists under the present organization will not be found in the U S 50 years hence. However my acquirements before that period would have preserved me from want . . . If I had not began Law I should almost be inclined to this course even now . . .

This is about 4 o'clock in Kipur or Fast Day which I undergo better than I ever did before . . .

Mother writes me of the misery that Raphael has brought on his mother by persisting in keeping his store open on Saturdays. Now this I would not have done, & have some idea of remonstrating with him on the subject I am superstitious thus far as to believe that money made thus with the fruits of disobedience will will never really profit a man. Moreover I believe that he who is unfilial in his conduct is destined to a sore retaliation . . . Yes I will write to him be the result what it may it is my duty as a friend to him and as a nephew . . .

I have lately resumed some thought of offering myself to the Charleston Congregation, to be educated at their expense for 4 years in Germany, in that time to qualify myself and its period (sic) return and serve as Hazan at a Salary of 1000 per annum. This would be a very desirable thing for the following reasons I should

firstly visit Europe secondly acquire an excellent education thirdly be permanently placed in a respectable office, where I could enjoy all that I aspire to Literary Ease. Besides what would be very gratifying, to have the reputation of being selected for such an office by the most respectable congregation in America. All that prevents me from making immediate application is that my principles are such that I should be guilty of actual hypocrisy if I accepted of such an office. How can I pray who am almost an atheist, how comply with formalities which I despise how . . . (word undeciphered) & defend doctrines which I abhor . . .

Miss Anne told me to night that a gentleman who thought highly of me said I was the most irreligious young man to which I rejoined in the following sensible manner—Yes I have no more Bible religion than that log of wood and when I begin to grow religious I shall think I have begun to grow foolish . . . (However) the truth is not fit to be spoken at all times . . . (In his first conversation with a young man having) disavowed all belief in a Hell or the Immortality of the Soul, (he concludes that) this is all superfluous, and useless but to excite unpopularity, which is a speedy poison to one of the profession I have adopted.[159]

The Reformed Society of Israelites had their own prayer-book—a collection of passages from the old ritual and a few original prayers;[160] they worshipped with heads uncovered and had instrumental music. ". . . the most peculiar part of their ritual," said the unfriendly Nathaniel Levin, "is the *ten* articles of faith adopted by the society . . . for it was *optional* with any member . . . either to believe, or reject them."[161]

The Society met in Seyle's Masonic Hall on Meeting Street. David Nunes Carvalho, mentioned above as a merchant of Charleston and afterwards a resident of Baltimore

and Philadelphia, a younger brother of Emanuel Nunes Carvalho who had been the *hazan* of Beth Elohim ten or so years before, was the reader—without payment. At the first anniversary meeting (1825), Aaron Phillips was elected president, Michael Lazarus vice-president, Morris Goldsmith secretary, Isaac Mordecai treasurer (also in 1826 and in 1827), and Abraham Moïse, orator. Isaac Harby, Abraham Moïse, Isaac N. Cardozo, David Nunes Carvalho, and E. P. Cohen were on the "corresponding committee."[162] Some of these had means, but some had only influence. If Michael Lazarus had the means, as stated above, to bring steam navigation to the Savannah River and was a man of standing in Charleston, as witness his office as trustee of the Shirras Dispensary for many years, Harby, for example, was soon to die penniless in New York; Isaac N. Cardozo (b. Charleston, 1792; d. Charleston, 1855) was to spend the last twenty-four years of his life as a weigher in the customhouse.

The following year (1826) the Society, incorporated by an act of the legislature, appealed for subscriptions to build a place of worship. The circular, in which they issued the appeal, set out their ends: "that a considerable portion of the prayers be said in the English language"; "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 follow the portions of the *Pentateuch* which are to be said in the original Hebrew, with an English Discourse." The place of worship they wished to build was called a "temple"; and the application for funds was general, since "the virtue of Benevolence may belong to *all* of every sect."

Part of the program of the Society was the education of

THE

# SABBATH SERVICE

AND

## MISCELLANEOUS PRAYERS,

ADOPTED BY THE

## REFORMED SOCIETY OF ISRAELITES,

FOUNDED IN

CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA,

NOVEMBER 21, 1825.

Charleston:
PRINTED BY J. S. BURGES, 44 QUEEN-ST.
1830.

Title-page of the prayer book of The Reformed Society of Israelites, 1830
(Note the error in the date of founding. See pp. 127 f.)

ministers to perform services according to the Society's principles, but nothing came of this.

In 1833 the affairs of the Society were wound up, and whatever sums were donated for the "temple" were returned with interest.[163] It is unlikely that the termination of the Society was formal and ceremonious; if there was an oration on that occasion, we have no record of it. We can only infer the reasons for the Society's termination and, as pointed out below, conclude that the zeal with which the movement began was, for the time being, gone. Most of the members of the Society returned to Beth Elohim.[164] They were fined more or less, according to the judgment of the officers, and had their rights restored. Michael Lazarus, for example, was a trustee of Beth Elohim from 1835 on.

Isaac Harby who had been a leader, if not the leader, in the movement left Charleston for New York in 1828. It was he who had delivered the *Discourse on the Jewish Synagogue* before the Society on its first anniversary that, when printed as a pamphlet, had been warmly reviewed in *The North American Review:* "We remember," said the reviewer, "very few pamphlets of greater interest . . . " And the author of the pamphlet had also received letters about it from no less than Thomas Jefferson and Edward Livingston, although Jefferson's letter was hardly more than a gracious acknowledgment of its receipt. Harby had questioned. Out of ignorance, his opponents said. But he saw no virtue merely in the old unless it was renewed in meaning. Bedeviled by poverty and ambition to become a dramatist, he might have taken his religion as he found it. Instead, he questioned, wrote about it, and spoke. He had in him somewhat of the passion of martyrs; that he was not one of them is to the credit of the times and his community.

But Harby was only one of several influential men in the Society. It was about five years after he left Charleston that the Society was abandoned. The function of the Society's "committee of correspondence" had been to communicate with other congregations or "respectable individuals, or sections of Jews throughout the United States, Europe, or elsewhere, as to any assistance or co-operation, which they may be disposed to offer this Society in its future operations." There is no record of any such correspondence. And, except for the Society, there was no movement towards "Reform" Judaism anywhere in the United States before 1840.

It has been said that the Society was ahead of its time.[165] But the time was ripe for it; particularly if, as was said of the Reform movement in Germany, the "movement of religious emancipation in Judaism went hand in hand with the civil and political emancipation of the Jews in that country."[165a] It has also been said that the leaders lacked experience. They had enough experience to make an excellent beginning. It is true that the Society did not have among its following the German immigrants who were to come a quarter of a century later and, believing in the doctrines of Reform Judaism or ready to believe in it, were the nuclei of the early Reform congregations in New York, Cincinnati, and Baltimore; but the Society did have at one time a fairly large membership. It is also true that the leaders knew little Hebrew and less of rabbinics—as opponents in Charleston did not fail to point out. Although they were interested in Judaism, of course, their interest was not the vehement zeal of the prophets or the great rabbis. It was an interest but not a calling. There was no one among them whose profession it was to devote himself to advocating a "reform" Judaism as Merzbacher was to do in New York, afterwards, or Einhorn in Baltimore, or

Isaac Mayer Wise in Albany and Cincinnati: whose daily business it was to teach, preach, and lead as the rabbi of a Reform congregation. These men brought to Reform Judaism not only their learning and training, but their zeal, their daily labors; although the members of the Society in Charleston were at least interested in a "reformed" Judaism, they had other and more urgent occupations.[166]

But did The Reformed Society of Israelites fail? In a few years, Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim was to leave Orthodoxy for Reform Judaism and, it may be certain, former members of the Society were not without their influence.[167]

Between 1807 and 1861, Charleston had thirteen great fires due, according to Jacob N. Cardozo, to an inadequate water supply: "instead of waterworks, like those of every other city with a large population, Charleston expended large sums in digging wells and tidal drains . . . "[168] In the great fire of 1838, worse than any before it, the synagogue of Beth Elohim was burned to the ground. "The venerable Moses C. Levy hastened to the spot for the purpose of saving the sacred rolls," Nathaniel Levin was to write a few years later in *The Occident*, and, too late, "saw the edifice wrapped in flames."[169]

Levin was to write in the Charleston *Year Book* for 1883:

> The congregation thus suddenly deprived of their place of worship, knew not where to obtain a temporary one, when the Hebrew Orphan Society generously offered them the use of their hall in Broad Street. This kind proposal was accepted, the hall fitted up, and by the ensuing Sabbath the arrangements for their temporary place of worship was completed, on which day Divine service was held and continued each succeeding Sabbath and festival until the month of September, 1838,

> when a brick Tabernacle was built on the lot in Hasel Street at a cost of $3,000 and was used as a Synagogue until the present place of worship was rebuilt.

In his earlier article in *The Occident,* he had described the temporary place of worship as "a neat brick tabernacle, 25 by 80 feet and 12 feet high."[169a]

The minute-books of the congregation appear to have been lost in the fire. Those in existence begin in September 1838, although there are account books from the beginning of the century.

Requests for contributions to a building fund were sent to other congregations. Little was received. The minutes of the congregation for 1838 read:

> Letters were read from the Congregations of London, Amsterdam, Barbedos [*sic*], Curaçoa sympathizing in the loss of the Congregation in the destruction of our Synagogue, but all excusing themselves under different pretexts from giving any aid, which is *Ordered* to be recorded, to show to posterity that this Congregation was left to their own resources only, altho' they on similar Occasion have never withheld their Aid, whenever applied to.[170]

Greek temples were in fashion for a church or bank and, indeed, any public building. The plans of Cyrus L. Warner, an architect in New York, for a synagogue to look like a Greek temple, were accepted;[171] and so was the estimate of David Lopez of Charleston as builder.[172] It was not until many years later that synagogues in the United States followed their own fashion. But there is no required style. The work of David Lopez was so well done the trustees passed a resolution in appreciation.

The synagogue—still standing and still used by the con-

gregation—is of brown stone, now covered with stucco, in a small green square, the building eighty feet in length, fifty-six feet in width, forty-six feet from the ground to the apex of the pediment, with six Doric columns—four feet in diameter—in front and a portico fifteen feet wide. Although churches and other public buildings in Charleston face the street, the portico and door of the synagogue are at a right angle to it, in the Charleston fashion for dwellings.[173] This is the way the synagogue originally on the site was built that the ark with its scrolls of the Law might, in accordance with ancient tradition, be at the east side of the building and that the worshippers, facing the ark, would face the East and Jerusalem (see *Daniel,* 6: 11). Directly over the door is a marble tablet with the *Shema* in Hebrew and the translation: "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is the sole Eternal Being." The ark is of mahogany with Corinthian columns and this inscription in large gilt letters: "Know Before Whom Thou Standest." Above the ark is the Decalogue in gilt letters on black marble. Originally, the reading-desk *(bimah)* stood in the center of the synagogue and not as now in front of the ark.[174]

Gustavus Poznanski (b. Storchnest, Poland, about 1805; d. New York, 1879) was the *hazan* (cantor) of the congregation. He was appointed in 1836, and in 1838 elected *hazan* for life. He had come to Charleston from an insignificant post in New York, highly recommended by Isaac Leeser, then *hazan* of Mickvé Israel of Philadelphia. Poznanski had been educated in Hamburg and, no doubt, was influenced by the Reform service in the Hamburg Temple. The immediate result of Poznanski's appointment, however, was a revival in religious interest at Beth Elohim and the strict observance of the old ritual.[175] But, before the new synagogue was fin-

ished, thirty-eight members petitioned the trustees "that an organ be erected in the Synagogue to assist in the vocal parts of the service." They had the support of the *hazan.*

Although an organ has been used in certain Orthodox synagogues in Europe and its use found support among some Orthodox rabbis, to the Orthodox generally the use of an organ is contrary to the injunctions for the proper observance of the Sabbath as "a labor interdicted on that day."[176] In any event, its use during the advent of Reform Judaism in the nineteenth century was generally the beginning of further changes. However, the petition for the use of an organ in Beth Elohim was rejected by the trustees on the narrower ground that it was contrary to the very first rule of the constitution of the congregation providing that the ritual should be according to the *minhag Sephardim.* At a meeting of the congregation, the decision of the trustees was overruled by forty-six members against forty, and the petition granted.

The cornerstone of the synagogue had been laid in 1840,[177] and the building committee had been instructed to see to it, if possible, that no work be done on the building, or even at the fences and railings, on the Sabbath.[178] At the dedication service, March 19, 1841, Poznanski "spoke chiefly in vindication, on grounds of both reason and scripture, of the restoration of instrumental music, in his congregation, as an auxiliary to divine worship, and of the beautiful and salutary as well as scriptural propriety of 'praising Him with stringed instruments and with organs.' "[179] In an account of the dedication service, the Charleston *Courier,* after referring to the Damascus Affair (in which the charge of ritual murder had brought torture and death to some of the leading Jews of Damascus and conviction of others), said:

> It is a pleasant reflection that the important occurrences of the last year, in the East, concerning the Israelites, at first so awfully threatening to them, have resulted in a manner to render their christian *(sic)* countrymen, in all parts of the civilized world, more and more interested in their sojourn, movements, and preservation as a nation, in this land of equal rights.

Then the *Courier* went on as follows:

> The dark clouds of sectarian prejudice and religious intolerance seem every where to be fast fading away, before the widely spreading lights of right, reason and philosophy. Thus, in the instance of this consecration, we find the event the more remarkable for the novelty of the introduction of instrumental music in a Jewish Synagogue, contributing much by its sweet and majestic harmony to hallow the ceremonies of the occasion. Deeming the connection of music with sacred service, not only strictly admissible, but in this age indispensable, we expect its divine influence to be attended with the most salutary results.[180]

In his "Discourse," Poznanski also defended with "equal success," according to the *Courier's* account, "the reformed practice of conducting certain portions of the service in the vernacular language of the people, instead of a tongue unintelligible to most of them";[181] and then,

> In dwelling on the plenitude of civil and religious privileges, enjoyed by the House of Israel in this land of liberty and equal rights, he kindled with a noble and generous enthusiasm, and declared, in behalf of himself and all grateful Israel, that 'this synagogue is our *temple,* this city our *Jerusalem,* this happy land our *Palestine,* and as our fathers defended with their lives *that* temple, *that* city and *that* land, so will their sons defend *this* temple, *this* city, and *this* land . . . '[182]

At first the two factions of Beth Elohim, those in favor of the organ and those against it, used the synagogue on alternate Saturdays. But in 1841 the minority, almost forty members still opposed to the use of the organ, instead of enforcing whatever rights were theirs at law as they might have tried to do, surrendered their rights in the synagogue, cemetery, and perpetual fund and formed a new congregation, Shearith Israel ("The Remnant of Israel").[183]

The constitution of Beth Elohim was now changed not only expressly to authorize the use of the organ but to require the sanction of three-fourths of the *Yachidim* to suspend the use of it.[184]

In 1843, Poznanski, preaching before his congregation on the first day of Passover, declared the customary observance of the second day of the festival—of equal rank with the first among the Orthodox—unnecessary.[185] At a special meeting of the trustees, this declaration was by a resolution declared "a violation of the Constitution and calculated to create discord and anarchy"; and the *hazan* was formally 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 his answer, Poznanski wrote that a former resolution of the trustees had authorized him "to make such remarks and observations as I might deem proper," and that most of those who had voted in favor of the resolution disapproving of his sermon had known of his opinion all along; but, since lecturing was no part of his duties, he would not lecture at all. (In his own eyes, and to some extent in those of the congregation, too—in the minutes Poznanski is referred to as "the Rev. Hason"—the duties of such a minister of the congregation were still essentially

those of a reader or cantor *(hazan)* and not those of a rabbi (legal authority), preacher *(maggid)* or Hebrew teacher, although he might be required to perform the duties of any, or all, of these.)

The trustees did not consider "the Rev. Hason's" answer satisfactory. Accordingly, Poznanski wrote another letter "with the sole view of restoring 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 course of the trustees was approved at a meeting of the congregation "without any reflection upon the Rev. Hason." But at this meeting a resolution that "the established service of this Congregation embraces all the Mosaic and Rabbinical laws" was rejected by the narrow majority of twenty-seven against twenty-four. That the resolution was rejected is not surprising, for in 1841 the congregation, in rejecting the plan of Louis Salomon and Isaac Leeser for a religious union of the congregations of the country, had adopted a resolution that "from its very nature (the "system" proposed) must be hostile to the march of improvement, or the progress of enlightened and rational reform."[186]

It was clear, however, that if the members who had resigned in the controversy over the organ were still in the congregation, those who were opposed to any further change would easily outvote their opponents; and the members of Shearith Israel were accordingly urged by the present minority to rejoin—or join—Beth Elohim. Quite a number placed applications for membership and voting privileges, as required by the constitution of 1840, before the board of trus-

tees—of whom the majority were opposed to further changes in the ritual and, certainly, in the creed. But the president of the congregation, one of their opponents, refused to call any meeting of the board, although required to do so under the constitution if requested by three of them.

He might have been compelled by a suitable action at law. The majority of the board held an unauthorized meeting instead and admitted the applicants from Shearith Israel. As in the previous controversy over the organ, the trustees may have been unwilling, in accordance with Orthodox tradition, to bring communal differences into a court of law before strangers: a tradition not always adhered to by the Orthodox themselves in their differences with Reform rabbis in Europe nor later in Charleston. For, when Abraham Ottolengui, the president, changed the lock of the synagogue to keep out his opponents, Abraham Tobias and fellow trustees lodged a charge against him before a magistrate. But by that time the issues were in court, for an action had been promptly brought to have the admission of the applicants from Shearith Israel declared improper. Jacob F. Schirmer, the Charleston merchant, has the following note in his diary for July 10, 1843: "*Jews* at present there is considerable dispute amongst them."

Although extraneous issues were discussed, as to whether, for example, the introduction of the organ had been proper under a charter that required the service to be according to the *minhag Sephardim*,[187] the issue in question was finally decided—in about three years—against the majority of the board and the minority in the congregation.[188]

Many of these now resigned from Beth Elohim and joined Shearith Israel. The members of this congregation, including those who had been hoping to regain the synagogue of Beth

Elohim, built in 1847 their own synagogue—two or three blocks away—on Wentworth Street. At the foundation of the synagogue, after the religious service, "a collection was taken up in aid of the suffering Irish (famine in Ireland); doubtlessly, in response to their natural feeling of humanity and the kindness of Kerr Boys (*sic* for Ker Boyce), Esq., we think an Irishman, who has loaned the congregation a considerable sum towards the building of their place of worship."[189] Fifty-six families of the congregation contributed $2,500 for the purchase of the land. The synagogue on Wentworth Street was much smaller than that of Beth Elohim and without its massive Doric columns; the entrance was also at a right angle to the street and for the same reason—the ark was at the east end of the building. The first president and reader of the congregation for about two years had been Jacob De La Motta (d. 1845). He was succeeded as reader by Jacob Rosenfeld, who also served without compensation: a recent immigrant, he knew little or nothing of the language of the country at first but was soon—to the general admiration of his congregation—able to deliver sermons in English. In 1851, the congregation was prosperous enough to advertise in *The Occident* for a "Portuguese Hebrew Reader & Scholar" at an annual salary of $800.

Poznanski resigned as *hazan* of Beth Elohim in 1843; afterwards, he too served without compensation. In 1847, he offered to resign again but, at the meeting of the congregation, it was resolved that "the suggested resignation of the minister would be equally disastrous to the Congregation and the cause of Jewish Reform." In spite of this resolution, Poznanski thought it would be in the best interests of the congregation to have another minister. Accordingly, a committee was appointed, of which he was chairman, "to pro-

cure a Hazan in every way competent to be at the head of this Congregation." (Poznanski was married to Esther Barrett, the daughter of Isaac Barrett who died in 1834 and was at one time president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. The *hazan* remained a member of the congregation for many years. He finally settled in New York. Stepping from a Broadway stage, he was struck on the head by a horse and brought home to die.)[190]

Advertisements for a *hazan* were placed in *The Occident* and abroad. A *hazan,* living in Breslau and recommended by one of the leaders of Reform Judaism in Germany, Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), was finally elected after many letters between applicant and committee. They then discovered that their applicant had accepted a post in Germany. In one of his letters, he had asked 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." This estimable love of his parents, perhaps, if not fear of yellow fever, had induced him to stay in Germany.

In 1850, in answer to a renewed search for a *hazan,* an application was received from Isaac Mayer Wise (1819–1900), who was to become the leader of Reform Judaism in the United States. He was then but four years in this country and the minister of a congregation in Albany, New York, where he had caused as much searching of hearts and doctrine as Poznanski had in Charleston. Poznanski did not know him but endorsed the application and he was accordingly asked to come to Charleston "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."

Wise reached Charleston in time to hear the debate between Poznanski and Morris Jacob Raphall (1798–1868), newly appointed minister of the Ashkenazi congregation, B'nai Jeshurun, in New York. At the debate, Wise describes Poznanski as "in full dress, stiff, cold, and self-satisfied." When Raphall turned to Wise and asked, "Do you believe in the coming of the Messiah? Do you believe in the resurrection of the dead?" Wise had, according to his *Reminiscences*, the satisfaction of replying with "a loud and decisive No!" Raphall received much notice and praise in Charleston, but Wise's visit was merely noticed as the arrival of "J. Wise." However, the congregation liked him well enough to elect him their minister—only to learn that he had decided to remain in Albany. At the time, the trustees of Beth Elohim were sufficiently vexed to pass the following resolution: " . . . we acknowledge the receipt of the Rev. Gentleman's letter . . . & do hereby inform him that subsequent reflection upon the nature of its tenor has entirely dissipated the feelings of mortification & disappointment which for the moment were engendered."[191]

In Wise's *Reminiscences*, as translated by David Philipson, he has this account of the visit (an account called "very much distorted" by Elzas):

> A committee met me at the steamer. Among others, Dr. Roderigos (Dr. B. A. Rodriques, the noted dentist) and Mr. Poznanski, the *chazan* . . . The stiff formality of the reception was objectionable to me, for Mr. Poznanski welcomed me in a studied address; but I was rather vexed when Mr. P. said to me while riding in the carriage: "we have invited you hither to defend our principles, and since these are possibly unknown to you, I place myself at your service to impart them to you." "Thanks, that is not necessary," I answered quietly. "I

have come to set forth my principles." "In truth, you are the man for Charleston," exclaimed Dr. Roderigos, extending his hand to me . . . Mr. Poznanski continued to patronize me in the most amiable and condescending manner (Wise was then about thirty-one and Poznanski forty-five). He even explained to me, who found it difficult to sit quiet for one minute, that it was good form to sit with folded hands in society. He also told me, who had nothing to conceal, and hence always spoke as I thought, that one must speak slowly and deliberately . . . I listened to him without laughing and without showing any impatience, until he ventured to suggest that I read him my sermon for fear lest there be some Germanisms in it. "If there are, you would substitute Polisms for them," said I. "I speak German better than you do, and write a better English than you will ever speak." Poznanski . . . put a good face on the matter, so that we always treated one another cordially, although he was rich and proud . . . The magnificent temple was filled Saturday morning . . . Poznanski had the splendid idea of introducing me in a well-memorized speech. When I heard him speak . . . I was myself again, and looked at the public (thinking) . . . "I am your teacher and master; I speak and you listen."

Wise was really "much taken with Charleston." He was "domiciled in splendid rooms," a Negro had been placed at his "disposal," and, for the first time in his life, he was "the guest of American aristocrats." He "liked the congregation, with its reforms and its firm principles, . . . (the) city and its inhabitants, so refined and cultured . . . the not inconsiderable library. The call was most welcome . . . " But his friends in Albany urged him to stay and an added reason was that "they told my wife that the yellow-fever raged in Charleston very frequently and that the city was very unhealthy."[192]

Julius Eckman of Richmond was elected minister of Beth

Elohim in 1850. The congregation at this time had only about forty members. Eckman did not consider himself merely the *hazan* but "the ordained minister" of the congregation and as such denounced members who were not as orthodox as he proved to be.[193] His resignation was accepted the following year—no doubt with relief. Maurice Mayer became minister in 1852 and in 1857 was elected minister for life. But he, too, began to attack the members of the congregation for their beliefs or lack of them. In 1858, he left for New York on account of ill-health, and the following year resigned.[194] In 1858, the congregation had to sell the lot, west of the synagogue, that had helped make the goodly prospect before the entrance. The "Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations of United States to Board of Delegates (1860–1)" lists Beth Elohim with 105 members—forty men and sixty-five women.[195]

Shearith Israel was prosperous. Another Orthodox congregation, Berith Shalom (originally spelled "Berith Shalome"), was organized in 1855 by recent immigrants from Germany and Poland, using their own ritual—the *minhag Poland.* It had about forty or fifty members.[196] This, no doubt, is the congregation referred to in the "Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations" and dismissed as "a Polish congregation . . . numbering a few foreigners."

There is—or was—a stone in the old cemetery of Beth Elohim, on Coming Street, to Raphael D'Costa Amesquita "who devoted all his life to the instruction of youths in the Jewish religion and died the day of Atonement, 5582" (1821 C. E.). He was typical, no doubt, of the teachers who taught the children of the Jews of Charleston generation after generation. Whenever Beth Elohim had a paid *hazan* or

reader, he also taught to earn the additional fees or was expected to teach as part of his duties. As we have seen, Emanuel Nunes Carvalho, who was the *hazan* of Beth Elohim for three years or so (1811–14), had a school in which he taught Spanish as well as Hebrew. And we shall see that Gustavus Poznanski also taught the boys Hebrew. The children of Jews, too poor to pay for any instruction, might attend the Hebrew Orphan Society's school.[197]

In 1838, at a meeting of the trustees of Beth Elohim, "A letter was read from Miss S. Lopez, proposing to establish a School in conjunction with other Ladies, to be called 'The School of Israel' for promoting a Knowledge of our sacred Religion among the children of our Congregation."[198] The *hazan* of Beth Elohim, then Gustavus Poznanski, "highly approved" of the school, "& would give it his personal Aid," recommending as its name "Religious Exercise for Jewish Youths," and suggested that the school be "kept on Sunday's. . . . " The trustees appropriated twenty-five dollars "to procure the necessary books," and expressed regret that "the School hitherto kept by the rev. Mr. Poznanski for instructing the Boys in hebrew, (was) at present discontinued"; but they were "assured by the rev. Hasan that he would resume the same as soon as a Suitable room can be obtained."[199] The old synagogue destroyed by fire and the new not ready, although Poznanski at first had been against the use of the Tabernacle "while it is occupied as a House of Worship," it was finally decided to use it for the Hebrew school, "as also to the Young Ladies for their School": "the part allotted to be divided by a curtain, so as not to interfere with the other part."[200]

The Sunday School of Beth Elohim, conducted by "The Society for the Religious Instruction of Jewish Youth," so

established, was the second of its kind in the United States and modelled on that established by Rebecca Gratz in Philadelphia (1838). Miss Gratz used to write the lessons in a copy-book and send it on to Charleston every week; copies of the lessons were then made by Miss Lopez and distributed to the teachers. In 1842, Penina Moïse succeeded Sally Lopez (1806–1902) as head of the school. There were about fifty pupils in 1845, in four classes. The first confirmation exercises of Beth Elohim's Sunday school, called in the local newspaper's account of it "a novelty" in Reform Judaism, were held in 1855; "five females and one male were confirmed."[201] (The Hamburg Temple had held confirmation exercises for boys and girls almost twenty-five years before. The first confirmation exercises were held in New York City in 1846.)

Shearith Israel also had a Sunday school, conducted by "The Society for the Instruction in Jewish Doctrine," founded in 1844.[202] However, as the head of the Sunday school noted "at the annual exhibition" (May 7, 1854): "The children who attend during the week (for the purpose of receiving Hebrew instruction) are not as numerous as on Sunday mornings; and I deem it a duty to the principles of Judaism as well as a respectful consideration to the Rev. Mr. Jacobs (Henry S. Jacobs, minister of Shearith Israel, whose duties included instruction in Hebrew as well as supervision of the Sunday school), to invite the parents and guardians of the children to cause a more general and punctual attendance at the Hebrew School . . .[203]

The subsequent history of instruction in Charleston in Hebrew as well as in the principles of Judaism is to be found in Part III.

Rule IX of Beth Elohim's constitution of 1820 reads: "There shall be one Congregational Burial Ground only, wherein all the deceased members of this Congregation shall be interred, provided that this law shall not extend to any family place of interment already established . . . " This "one Congregational Burial Ground" was the cemetery on Coming Street: here among names that are in the minute-books of the congregation among its counsellors and in the annals of the city, on pillars or—in the manner of the Sephardim—on flat stones (sunk in the ground or raised upon a base of bricks), is the name of Rachel Lazarus, for example, whose gravestone reads:

> Fifty-two of her descendants preceded her to the grave, and one hundred and twenty-one survived her! Our mother! She taught us how to live and how to die.

And here are the names of victims of an old and by now forgotten disaster—Sarah, Frances, and Olivia Levy, and Philip S. Cohen, who lost their lives in the wreck of the steamer *Home* at Ocracook, North Carolina, in 1837—and the victim of a murder, Benjamin Plum, "assassinated on the road near Orangeburg" in 1847. (Even his gravestone has long been broken.) And here Penina Moïse, the poetess, lies with not a line from all the poetry she had written carved on her stone.

Part of this cemetery—walled off once—is the cemetery that had been Shearith Israel's. It was purchased with the bequest of Judah Touro (b. Newport, R. I., 1775; d. New Orleans, 1854) to whose memory a tablet was placed in the mortuary.[204] He left Shearith Israel five thousand dollars and Beth Elohim nothing. The tablet—among others—is

now fastened to the high wall of red brick that shuts out the street. A number of those buried here were young men —immigrants from Germany and Poland, from Prussia and "Prussian Poland."[205]

Next to the cemetery that had been Shearith Israel's is the burial-ground of David Lopez (who built the synagogue of Beth Elohim after the fire of 1838). His wife had been born a Christian and had never become a Jewess—formally. When she died in 1843, there was a solemn question whether she should be buried in a Jewish cemetery. David Lopez bought his own burial-ground, and there Catherine Lopez (b. 1814) lies with her infant under a stone canopy of Gothic design. A somewhat similar question had come up two years before. In 1841, at a special meeting of the board of trustees of Beth Elohim to consider the application of a Mrs. Lambert for burial in ground belonging to the synagogue of her son, Solomon, aged five, who had been circumcised "agreeable to our Law," although she was married to a Christian, it was the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Poznanski that "the child was entitled to burial among Jews," and the application was granted.[206]

Rule IX above, of Beth Elohim's constitution of 1820, recognized as a "family place of interment already established" only "that of the Tobias family" and also "the Burial Ground, heretofore called the Da Costa's." During the eighteenth, and the first half of the nineteenth, century, the Tobias family, according to the records in the family Bible, buried their dead in the burial-ground at their plantation at Hobcaw, near the village of Mt. Pleasant, across the Cooper River from Charleston. The first burial in the Coming Street cemetery was that of Abraham Tobias (1793-1856). The Da Costa burial-ground was on Hanover Street. Isaac Da Costa,

Sr., was buried there in 1783, when he died of a splinter in his hand at the age of sixty-one, and so, in 1786, was Joseph Salvador—Francis Salvador's uncle and father-in-law—who called Da Costa's son, Joseph, "worthy friend." The foundation stones of the wall were laid in 1786.[207] The elder Da Costa's widow, by a codicil to her will, dated 1793, directed her executors to hold this lot of land, "Situate in Hampstead," "for the Sole Purpose of being a Burial Ground for my Family and the Portuguese Jews."[208] In 1847, the two surviving trustees of the ground, Abraham A. Massias and Abraham Ottolengui, grown old and feeble, renounced their trusteeship and conveyed the cemetery to the president and trustees of Beth Elohim, retaining for themselves, as they had the right to, burial plots. The cemetery thereupon became a free burial-ground for penniless Jews—chiefly German and Polish immigrants.[209]

At the beginning of this century, Elzas found some of the elaborately carved gravestones of the Sephardic Jews missing and thought they were being used, perhaps, as doorsteps for cabins in the neighborhood.[210] The ground was sold in 1939 by the city council for paving assessments. A number of the gravestones—including that of Major Massias (the original set in a cement block)—are now in Beth Elohim's Huguenin Avenue cemetery.

In 1798, Betzye Henrickson conveyed some land on Hanover Street, near the Da Costa ground, to certain grantees to be a burying-ground for them and their descendants.[211] Beth Elohim's constitution of 1820 does not mention it. This, too, was sold in 1939 for paving assessments. Fragments of gravestones are still scattered about and the curious visitor may find a piece bearing the single word—"sacred."

Berith Shalome (as it was then spelled) bought land for a cemetery near Magnolia Cemetery the very first year the congregation was organized. The first to be buried there was a man now known only as Isaac, the son of Isaiah. A peddler, no doubt, he had been drowned in a river and was brought to Charleston for burial on the 7th of Ab, 5616 (August 8, 1856). The second grave was that of the president of the congregation, N. Rosenband, who died that year of yellow fever.[212]

The Hebrew Benevolent Society—originally for the relief of sick immigrants, victims "to a climate less hospitable than



Seal of the Hebrew Benevolent Society organized 1784 and still active

ourselves"—was founded in 1784[213] under the "Authority and Jurisdiction of Beth Elohim" and reorganized in 1824, when the purpose was enlarged to feed and clothe the poor, nurse the sick, and bury the dead.[214] The society was incorporated in 1830. In 1847 it numbered "48 residents and 15 country members."[215] It was reorganized again in 1866 after the War Between the States. It is still in existence—one of the oldest

incorporated charities in America. The original seal showed the Angel of Death with a scythe in the right hand and an hour-glass on the outstretched bones of the left, and in Hebrew the biblical (Proverbs 10.2) saying: "Charity delivers (us) from death." The early records of the society, taken to Columbia for safe-keeping with those of Beth Elohim, were lost when that city was set afire by the Federal troops.

The second oldest Jewish charity in Charleston is the Hebrew Orphan Society, founded in 1801 and incorporated in 1802, under the name of Abi Yetonim Ubne Ebyonim or Society for the Relief of Orphans and Children of Indigent Parents, upon the petition of David Lopez (d. 1811)—the first president—and others. They gave as part of their purpose (in the preamble of the constitution): "designing at the same time to cultivate any indication of genius they," that is, the orphans and children of the indigent, "may evince for any of the arts or sciences." So "that," the founders of the society added, "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."

The society used to place its wards in private homes; but this was not out of any advanced policy in their proper care, for in time it also had an orphan-house. Applicants for aid were few at first. The relief of widows was provided for in 1826. In 1833 the society bought the three-story building on Broad Street that had been used by the second Bank of the United States. The building had offices and a hall. When the synagogue of Beth Elohim was destroyed by fire in 1838, the

society, as noted above, offered the use of the hall to the congregation. It also rented the hall for a nominal rental (1850) to a Christian congregation that had no building of their own—the Society of Swedenborgians' New Jerusalem Church; the Hebrew Orphan Society had allowed the congregation to meet there for a while rent-free. A similar instance of cooperation was reported in *The Occident* in 1847: when the Hebrew Benevolent Society gave a ball at the hall of the St. Andrew's Society on Broad Street, it was "the first time the Israelites of this city called for aid among the community . . . (a) liberal spirit (was) evinced by all denominations . . . (and the) St. Andrew's Society refused any compensation for the use of their hall."[216] The Hebrew Benevolent Society, one of the tenants of the Hebrew Orphan Society's offices, used the rooms in the third story for the sick during an epidemic of yellow fever in 1858. As an instance of Victorianism in Charleston, perhaps, it may be noted that the Hebrew Orphan Society would not rent its hall for a dancing-school (1858).

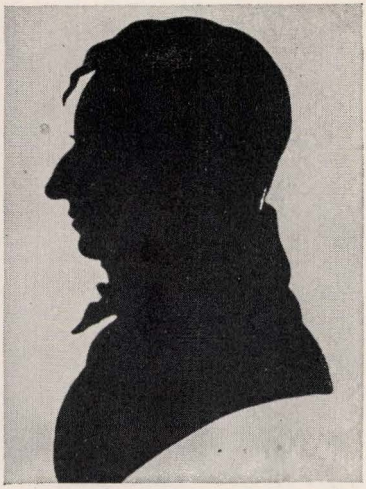
In 1860, the society decided to convert its building into an orphan-house, and it was dedicated with appropriate prayers, an ode by Harry S. Jacobs, minister of Shearith Israel, and an oration by a rising young lawyer—Asher D. Cohen (b. 1838; d. 1904). He was the second son of David D. Cohen, the planter on the Ashley River, and a grandson of Mordecai Cohen. Only one of the founders of the society was then alive, and he was present—Philip Cohen. The ceremony included the singing of a hymn with the optimistic chorus:

> Home, Home, the Orphan's Home—
> There is no place like Home, the Orphan's Home.



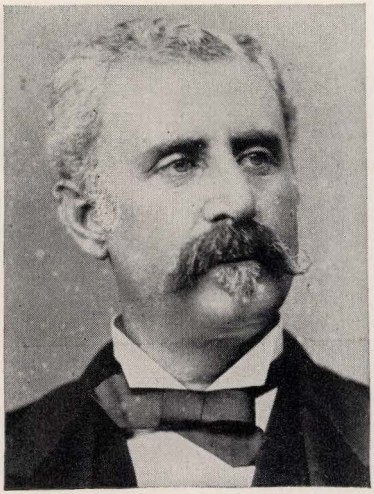
*Portrait by Unknown Artist*

David Lopez (1750–1811)

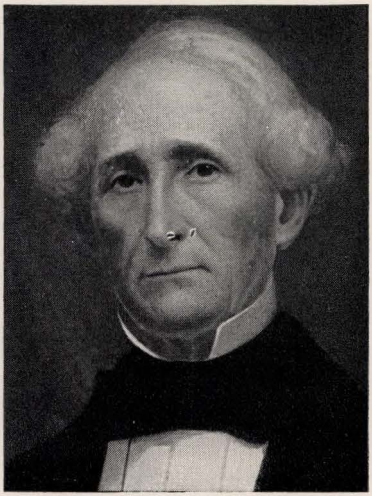


*Silhouette by Charles Willson Peale*

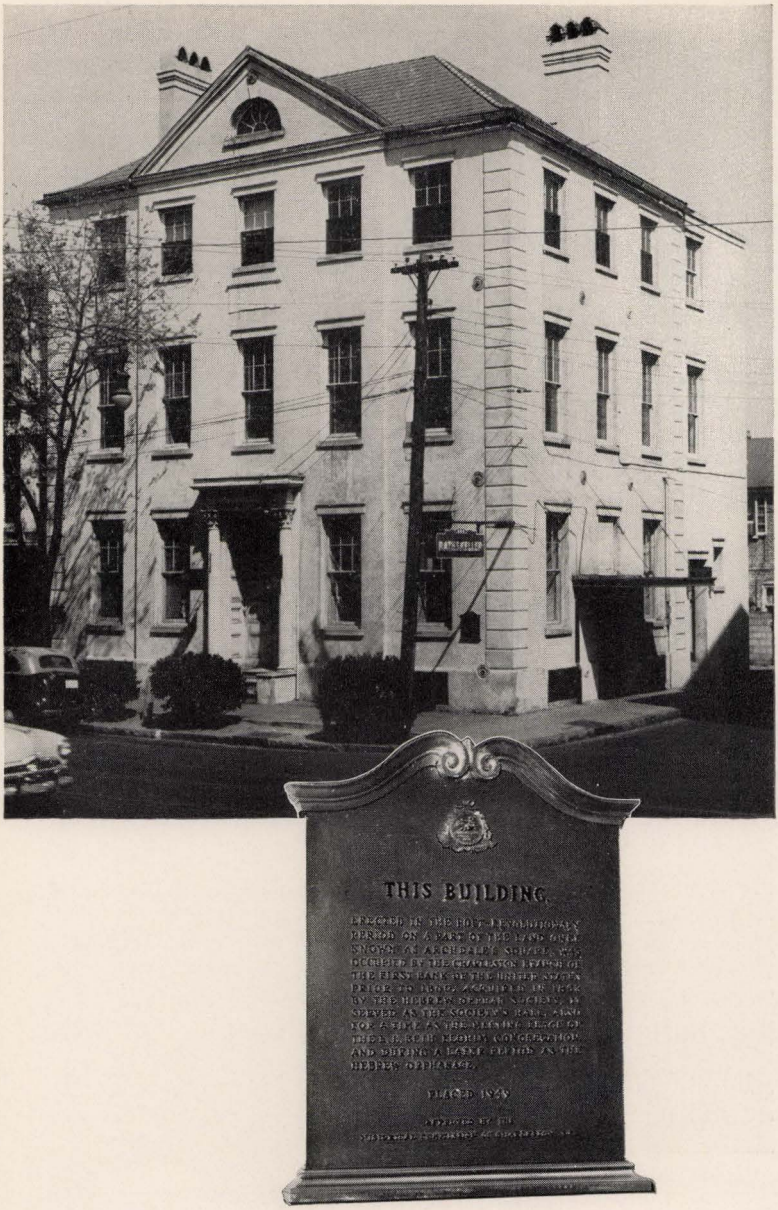
Jacob I. Cohen (1744–1823)



Asher D. Cohen (1838–1904)



B. D. Lazarus (1800–1875)




Former Hebrew Orphan Society Hall, 88 Broad Street, now used for business offices. The plaque on the building, shown below, gives its history.

During the War Between the States, the use of the building as an orphan-house was given up, and the minutes of the society (June 5, 1866) record a motion to thank the matron "for the manner in which she performed her duties . . . up to the time of the shelling of the city."

From the very beginning, in accordance with its purpose, the society did not neglect the education of its wards. In 1851 one room of its building was set aside for instruction in Hebrew (to be pronounced as the Sephardim do.) The children—orphans and the children of parents too poor to pay for Hebrew instruction—were duly examined by the school committee, but the pupils were few (five girls and six boys in 1850, six pupils in 1856, and only four boys in 1875) and, with one or two exceptions, far from excellent. In 1852, an attempt was made by several members to have the constitution amended so that the society might furnish "a general education instead of Hebrew"—as it did once when there were no free schools—but nothing came of this, and for general instruction the pupils went to the public schools.

## 3. The War Between the States and "Reconstruction"

During the War Between the States, Charleston in 1863 fought off a Federal fleet of ironclads; the Confederates launched in the Charleston harbor the first successful torpedo attack in history; and the city escaped burning by Sherman. But when Jacob N. Cardozo returned to the city after the war, he found a sixth of it destroyed by shell-fire.[217] Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel saw not merely grass growing in the streets but bushes and the shivered glass thick upon the ground.[218] A print in *Harper's Weekly* for July 8, 1865, shows a great pool in King Street—the heart of Charleston.

The wharfs were rotting and the railways destroyed. It was five years before trains were running again to Savannah.[219]

There had been about 146,000 white males of all ages in South Carolina in 1860; forty thousand of these died or were disabled in the war. Of the state's four hundred million dollars worth of property in 1861, about fifty million was left in 1865; the assets of the banks were gone; and the loss of the investment in slaves was greater proportionately than in any other Southern state, for the investment had been much greater.[220]

The Jews of Charleston shared in the heroism that had the singular virtue of being both rare and common—rare among most men, but common among the men and women of that time and place.

More than one hundred and eighty Jews of Charleston served in the armies of the Confederacy; of these twenty-five or so were killed.[221] (The average loss in the Confederate armies was ten per cent.) Among the Jews of Charleston killed, as mentioned in the foreword, was the grandson of Mordecai Cohen. Mordecai Cohen's son, Marx E. Cohen (b. Charleston, 1808; d. Sumter, S. C., 1881), a planter, educated at the University of Glasgow, had married Isaac Harby's youngest daughter, Armida; their only surviving son, Marx E. Cohen, Jr., was killed at Bentonville, N. C., where, as his tombstone in Beth Elohim's Coming Street cemetery reads, ". . . he distinguished himself in Hart's Battery . . . by volunteering the performance of a service in which he lost his life." Some shells had been thrown into the Confederate lines. The captain of the battery, according to Simon Wolf, "called for volunteers to hurl them aside before they should burst. Three men volunteered. Marx E. Cohen and his two companions were successful but while

returning to their lines were shot dead by Federal bullets."[222] A cannon is carved beneath the inscription on his tombstone and above the inscription are carved the palmetto flag of South Carolina and the flag of the Confederacy.

There is also—in the Coming Street cemetery—a stone to the memory of Isaac Barrett Cohen (b. Charleston, 1840), killed at Fort Fisher in 1865, and another for Alexander M. Hilzheim, "a victim at 18 years to the horrors of war," who, wounded at the battle of Kennesaw Mountain in Georgia, "fills an unknown grave." Isaac D. Valentine's name is on a stone in the part of the cemetery that once belonged to Shearith Israel, and so are the names of Isaac Phillip, aged twenty-two, and Mikell Meyers Goldsmith, aged seventeen, also "victims . . . to the horrors of war." Mikell's mother who lost two sons—one was killed and the other died of fever in camp—dreamed one night, according to the family tradition, that a shot pierced her eye; and her son was killed that very hour by a bullet through his eye when the trigger of his rifle caught on a barbed-wire fence. A third son, Abraham Alexander Goldsmith, was wounded and had a stiff right arm all his life.[223] A fourth son was in the Home Guards at the age of twelve. Theodore Belitzer of the German Hussars, taken prisoner at Wilmington, lost his life when the steamer taking prisoners to Fort Monroe caught fire at sea.

Benjamin Mordecai made the first, and largest, contribution to the war-chest of South Carolina—$10,000; and the Secession Convention, still in session, thanked him by resolution for his "liberality and patriotism . . . in making the first and very generous donation."[224] He also organized the "Free Market of Charleston" to help the families of volunteers. By May 1862, four hundred and twenty-five families

were wholly supported by it; in December of that year, the "market" was supporting more than six hundred families at a cost of $8,000 a month. Benjamin Mordecai contributed to the "market" and to the "Home for the Widows and Orphans of Soldiers;" he invested all he had in Confederate bonds and was penniless after the war.[225] M. C. Mordecai's steamer, *Isabel,* named after his wife, was a blockade-runner, and so was his schooner, *J. W. Ladson.*[226] After the war, he moved to Baltimore and with his son became an agent for a line of steamers that ran to Charleston: in 1870, Mordecai and Company brought back, without charge, the bodies of the soldiers from South Carolina who fell at Gettysburg.[227] David Lopez, who built the synagogue of Beth Elohim in 1840, during the war built one of the torpedo-boats designed by Dr. St. Julien Ravenel to protect Charleston, the first of which, *David,* seriously damaged the Federal warship, *New Ironsides* (1863).

After the war, the son of Major Myer Moses, Franklin J. Moses (b. Charleston, 1804; d. Columbia, 1877), who had settled in Sumter when a young man to practise law, became chief justice of the supreme court of the state under the "Reconstruction Acts" (1868). Although to the white man in the street and field he was nothing but a "scalawag,"[228] his ability and character have not been questioned by historians;[229] this is more, however, than can be said for his half-Jewish son, Franklin J. Moses, Jr., "the robber governor."[230] But let it be set down to the fairness and honor of those who denounced father and son that they were denounced as individuals and not as "Jews"—which, indeed, they were not, for the father had long left Judaism and the son was never a Jew. Another member of the "Reconstruction" governments in South Carolina was Francis Louis Car-

dozo, whose mother was half Negro and half Indian; he was supposed to be the son of Jacob N. Cardozo, the economist.[231]

Under a corrupt and incompetent state government, the true "reconstruction" of the state went on upon a "share" and "wage hand" basis of tenancy, in which necessity held a lash over the Negro freedmen more efficiently than any overseer of slaves. Finally, the "Straight-Out Movement," refusing any alliance with the party in power in the state, by arousing white voters, frightening Negroes from the polls, and placating public opinion in the North, won a dubious election in 1876 that was made certain by the Republican politicians in power at Washington: the Federal troops were withdrawn and Wade Hampton, a planter of a distinguished family and with a distinguished career in the Confederate army, was governor.[232]

Edwin Warren Moïse of Sumter, born in Charleston in 1832, was elected adjutant-general of South Carolina on Wade Hampton's "Straight-Out" ticket. He had worked for a wholesale grocer in Charleston at first, but in 1856, at the invitation of Raphael J. Moses, moved to Columbus, Ga., and practised law. He was a Douglas Democrat and opposed secession. At the outbreak of the war, however, he organized his own company, spending all he had for their equipment. This was afterwards Company A of the Seventh Confederate Cavalry. He was commissioned a captain and in 1863 promoted to major. After the war—in which he served under Wade Hampton—he had only a wounded horse with which to pay one month's board for his family. He settled in Sumter and practised law. He was re-elected adjutant-general in 1878, served until 1880, but declined to run again. He died in 1903 at Sumter.

The members of the Jewish community of Charleston were as anxious for a change from the "Reconstruction" government of the state as other followers of Wade Hampton. Jewish veterans in the city, Isaac W. Hirsch, for example, were among Hampton's "Red Shirts." When Wade Hampton, in his campaign for the governorship, came to Charleston, H. H. De Leon (who had refused the nomination for treasurer on his ticket) was among those who welcomed him and rode in the line of carriages that followed Hampton's carriage. David Levy, rabbi of Beth Elohim, signed the statement of the ministers of Charleston denying that the law could not be enforced as Governor Chamberlain had declared in a proclamation. And about fifty residents of Charleston, born in the North, defended the "Straight-Out" movement in a statement to the people of the United States: G. M. Pollitzer was among those who signed it.[233]

When Charleston was bombarded by the Federal fleet, Beth Elohim's scrolls of the Law, the organ that had caused so much difficulty, and the chandelier that hung in the center of the synagogue and was greatly admired (the gift of Jacob Barrett) were taken to Columbia for safety—and lost when that city was burned by General Sherman in 1865. One scroll and a single bell (from the ornaments of the scrolls) were found in the debris and brought back to Beth Elohim to be placed in the ark as relics.

Leeser, who visited Charleston in 1866, found the Wentworth Street synagogue of Shearith Israel "so greatly injured during the war, as almost to render it useless as a place of worship. The Hasel Street one (Beth Elohim's synagogue) was also much disfigured by the explosion of shells fired indiscriminately into Charleston during the protracted siege

it underwent, and, by being so long closed, it suffered likewise by natural dilapidation." Leeser preached there. "When we entered it, on the morning of Sabbath" (June 2), he noted "the unwashed floor, the dust resting on the furniture and benches, many panes of glass broken, (and) the ceiling crushed in many places by the explosion of shells that penetrated the roof."[234]

The end of the war found members of Shearith Israel, by permission of the Federal military authorities, in possession of Beth Elohim's synagogue. But they were required to surrender it to the trustees of Beth Elohim.[235] Beth Elohim's trustees had held no meeting, for lack of a quorum, since 1862. At times no one was present but the secretary.

In January 1866, the members of the congregation of Beth Elohim met in the Hebrew Orphan Society Hall: only eight were present—a majority of the members within a mile of the city. B. D. Lazarus, as president *pro tempore*, first had B. F. Moïse, acting as secretary, note in the minutes that the "Organ, Chandeliers, Sepherim and Remonim (?) . . . removed for safety" to Columbia were lost when "that City was invaded by the ruthless Army under command of General Sherman, who sacked it and then reduced to ashes the largest portion of its buildings, and other property." He then went on to introduce a resolution, as a result of "overtures . . . by the Congregation 'Shearith Israel'," for the "amalgamation on a basis of mutual concessions" of both congregations. As the president *pro tempore* pointed out, the membership of Beth Elohim had been "disastrously diminished by death, and removals and by the ravages of War, its property . . . seriously damaged, and its finances greatly reduced." The resolution was unanimously adopted.[236]

The services in Beth Elohim in 1852, according to the

circular letter printed in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (Leipzig) inviting applications for the office of minister, were outlined as follows: 1. The service was conducted with the accompaniment of the organ. 2. Sermon and prayers were preceded and followed by hymns and psalms sung by the choir in Hebrew and English. 3. The Pentateuch was read through at the synagogue once in three years. 4. The *Haphtarah,* and some other Hebrew portions of the service, were omitted. 5. The second days of the holidays were not observed. In addition, it was pointed out that the Hebrew portion of the service might be read "according to grammatical rules, or be chaunted in the manner of the Portuguese Jews." The sermons were, of course, in English and so were prayers.[237]

The agreement of union with Shearith Israel [238] was made part of the new constitution, by reference (article 1, Constitution of 1866), and was to run for five years. The service was to be according to the "Portuguese *Minhag,*" but the Orthodox service was shortened and there were to be no offerings or calling up of members to read the Law: the *hazan* was to take the scrolls from the ark with the help of the sexton and put them away, and was to read the portion of the Law and the portion from the Prophets; the service was to be without instrumental music but the choir had women in it and was to sing in English as well as Hebrew; the synagogue was to be open on the second days of festivals and the *hazan* was to minister for those who attended. The Wentworth Street synagogue was to be sold and the cemeteries of Shearith Israel on Coming Street and in Rikersville were to be conveyed to Beth Elohim. (The wall between the two cemeteries on Coming Street was torn down so that what was once Shearith Israel's cemetery is three or so feet

higher than the older part and reached by a short flight of stairs.) Eleven members signed the agreement for Beth Elohim and forty-eight for Shearith Israel. Some of the signatures are those of hands that trembled for age; some signatures are firm and buttressed with flourishes; some are clear as copperplate and others scrawled; but all are in English and only one man had to make his mark.[240]

The officers of the old congregation had resigned so that the new congregation might choose new officers, and Charles H. Moïse was elected president.[241] He addressed the members as follows: "My own religious sentiments are well known to you. I call myself an enlightened Orthodox Jew. I am to be understood by this as giving my adhesion to the great cardinal principles of an ancient religion, and in all matters of minor importance, all forms and ceremonies not involving the doctrines of Judaism, I occupy a conservative position. I do not reject all propositions for changes in externals simply because they are *new*, nor do I favor alterations of forms because they are *old*. The first wish of my heart is that a Central Jewish authority may soon be established in this Country, to regulate all matters appertaining to American Jews, adjusting all differences of opinion, and establishing an American *Minhag* for all Congregations in this Country . . ."[242] It was also decided to look for a competent minister to preach in English "and read the divine service in the *Portuguese Minhag*" with the added qualification that the "preacher must be one who can stand criticism."[243]

Jews everywhere were much interested in the new congregation—in the fact of compromise between Reform Jews and Orthodox rather than in the particular compromise.[244] Isaac Leeser wrote: "We deeply regret that one of the articles of

agreement is the abolition of calling up to the Sepher."[245] He need not have been troubled for, in a short time, members were again called to read from the Law.[246] But this union of the congregations, for most members perhaps, was a marriage of convenience or necessity and not of conviction. There was soon dissension: the leader of the choir, for example, as she wrote the president, was willing to sing "the old tunes" (that the Orthodox wanted) but would also sing "the new tunes" ("equally as old and cherished by the other portion") and this without "rule or time for so doing."[247] And there were resignations of old and once devoted members.[248]

In addition to lesser difficulties, the synagogue that had once been in a quiet neighborhood was now among busy and noisy streets. At a meeting of the board of trustees, May 6, 1866, the committee on repairs to the synagogue were in favor of changing its site: "At present during hours of worship, are to be seen the side-walk adjacent to the Synagogue blocked with merchandise, and the street with cattle and horses at outcry by noisy auctioneers, a Bar room directly in view from the windows, and on every hand active bustle of trade. . . ." The minister of Beth Elohim, Joseph H. M. Chumaceiro (1868–74), son of a distinguished father and himself quite satisfactory at first, was not only unable "to stand criticism" but quick to take offense.[249] Times were bad and growing worse, particularly in South Carolina under misgovernment by "carpet-baggers" and native "scalawags." There were seventy-two members of the congregation in 1866. Next year, twenty-five names were stricken from the roll for arrears.[250] The congregation was unable to pay its paid officers in 1867. The Ottolengui fund, established in 1850 by Abraham Ottolengui for "poor Israelites"

of the city, had among the applicants for its pittances some of the best names in the community, including that of Ottolengui.[251] The president of the congregation, Charles H. Moïse, who was in the wholesale grocery business, had to resign because of financial "embarrassments." On May 3, 1868, he brought the following letter to the meeting of the board of trustees: "The present condition of my business renders it necessary that I should retire from office in the Congregation. If my embarrassments were temporary, I would not withdraw from your counsels . . . But as my business is beyond the possibility of a revival, I feel it to be my duty to withdraw from all public positions, & to retire to that privacy, which is becoming to a man who is compelled to commence life anew." He apologized for being present while the letter was read to the meeting and explained that he knew the board would urge him to withdraw it and that he was present "to assure them that it was his unalterable determination to pursue the course proposed." The members of the board did urge him to reconsider his letter and a resolution to that effect was offered. Moïse repeated his reasons for resigning and "then retired after bidding a kind farewell to each member of the Board. After a silence of several minutes," the resignation was accepted. Six years later (June 7, 1874), Moïse wrote of "his inability to pay his arrears amounting to $90," and the board remitted the entire sum.

When the term of the contract of union between Beth Elohim and Shearith Israel expired, the organ was restored (1872). Beth Elohim was one of the twenty-eight congregations in the Middle West and South to join the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1873, as soon as it was organized by Isaac Mayer Wise. In 1879 the congregation

adopted the prayer-book compiled by David Levy, who had become the minister in 1875. With respect to abandoning the celebration of the second days of festivals and the establishment of family pews (which he urged), he could write the members of Beth Elohim in 1878: "It is not a question of orthodoxy or reform. The spirit of the former has long since departed from our midst here while that of the latter is but in the bud."[252]

Some of the former members of Shearith Israel had undoubtedly left the congregation by then—among those who resigned for religious or other reasons. A few may have joined the Orthodox congregation of Brith Shalom. The rest may have remained members of Beth Elohim simply because their own children and old friends belonged. Certainly, there was no attempt to organize a new Orthodox congregation to pray according to the *minhag Sephardim.*

When the congregations of Beth Elohim and Shearith Israel were united in 1866, the Sunday school of Beth Elohim was revived.[253]

The Hebrew Benevolent Society was also revived after the war. At its reorganization in 1866, the society had fifty-six members and the following year one hundred and nineteen. That year, for example, it received $657, spent in charity $494, in incidental expenses $147, and was left with $16. In 1868, a representative collected about a thousand dollars for the society in Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, but many of its members neglected, or were unable, to pay their dues: the roll that year showed one hundred and twelve members in arrears to the amount of $701.

In 1875, the membership—which had fallen off—was increased to seventy-nine by the promise of the president,

Maier Triest, to assist strangers in need and so stop a practice of going from house to house.[254] The society's physician during those years—from 1868 until 1882—giving his services without fee to the needy sick on its bounty, was Dr. John L. Ancrum, "a Christian philanthropist."[255] There had been talk now and then, in the hard times that followed the War Between the States, of uniting with the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith (organized in 1843 by German Jews in New York City) or with the Hebrew Orphan Society of Charleston, but the view of the majority was expressed by A. Falk, president soon after the reorganization in 1866, when he said that "there was enough for all charitable societies to do and room for more. Every society has a separate and distinct mode for expending its funds, and each is useful in itself, and is a helpmate to the others."[256]

After the war, the Hebrew Orphan Society's hall was rented as a Federal court, and the offices in the buildings in the rear (also owned by the society) were let to judges who were, as the chairman of the "hall committee" reported to the society, appointees of "the notorious bad State government." They could not, or would not, pay their rent.[257] But, on the whole, the society was prosperous. Now and then, it was repaid for its expenditures, as when it received $1,250 from H. H. De Leon, "being amount," his letter read (August 7, 1866), "advanced by your Society to my mother at a time when I was too young to render her that assistance which you so generously offered . . . I take great pleasure in refunding it . . . and sincerely trust that the distribution of the same among the widows and orphans may tend to relieve some of the distress which surrounds us on every side." In 1871, Jacob Barrett bequeathed the society five thousand dollars. Its securities in 1877 amounted to $22,493.

# III. NEW BLOOD AND OLD TRADITIONS: THE LIVING COMMUNITY

# 1. By Way of Introduction

After the War Between the States, the phosphate beds near Charleston began to be manufactured into fertilizer. In 1880, South Carolina was still first among the states growing rice, but it became cheaper to grow rice with the help of machinery in Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas than plant it by hand in South Carolina, and less subject to the hazard of storms. The days of the plantations of rice and sea-island cotton, killed by the boll weevil, that made the Low Country and its port, Charleston, prosperous, are—for the present—over. Wealthy men now own the abandoned rice plantations for hunting. The discovery of larger deposits of phosphate rock in Florida, easier to mine, led to the loss of all but the local market of Charleston's fertilizer factories; the mining of river rock was discontinued about 1890, and the mining of land rock became unimportant not long afterwards.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the rates on freight from the West to Charleston were much higher than to the northern Atlantic ports and to Norfolk; it was only in 1917, when the Federal government during the First World War took over the railways, that the rates were, more or less, equalized. But it is not enough to have equal rates: there must be some advantage to divert traffic from established channels. It was also to the interest of the Southern Railway, of which many of the lines in South Carolina were a part, to carry as much of the cotton traffic as it could to the northern terminal, Norfolk.[1]

Little wonder, then, that—as in the days before the War Between the States—men kept leaving Charleston for other cities.[2] In 1870, Charleston had about 48,900 inhabitants, and in 1880 only a thousand more. Sixty years afterwards, more than ninety cities of the United States had a population of 100,000 or more; Charleston, the largest city of South Carolina, was reported in the census of 1940 to have 71,275 inhabitants (of these 44.6% Negroes), and it ranked 129th. Its rival as a port for a long time has been neither New York nor Boston but Savannah.

However, the limits of Charleston have not been extended for a century and the legal area of the city is only 5.9 square miles. Within this area, the 1940 census shows an increase of 9,010 in Charleston's population over that in 1930 (14.5%). According to a special census in 1944, Charleston's population was then 81,347. But just beyond the legal limits of Charleston, for the most part on the west bank of the Cooper River where the United States navy-yard and the new port terminal are, is a new Charleston, generally called North Charleston. If this is considered part of metropolitan Charleston, as it is in fact although not yet at law, the population of metropolitan Charleston in 1944 was about 157,000. This was an increase of almost 60% since 1940 due to the Second World War and work at the navy-yard and port. It has been estimated that the population of metropolitan Charleston is now about 145,000 (1949).[3]

In 1880, harbor improvements were begun with Federal funds. At the beginning of this century, Charleston became the site of the only first-class navy-yard south of Norfolk. During the First and Second World Wars, Charleston was a great port again, for it has the best deep-water harbor on the Southeastern coast: thirty-five feet deep, ice-free and

land-locked, and only seven and a half miles from the ocean. After the Second World War, the South Carolina State Ports Authority acquired the Cooper River terminals that the army had used as a port of embarkation and other facilities that had been under municipal control. Today Charleston is at the head of all South Atlantic ports in the tonnage handled—about five million tons.[4] Steamship lines are again operating regularly out of Charleston; it is used by exporters of coal and tobacco and for heavy shipments of lumber and paper—lumbering, long an important industry in the country about Charleston, is now more important than ever in the manufacture of paper pulp out of pine. The port is also used by importers of hardwoods and bananas; and, true as it was in 1880, it is more than ever pertinent today that "the special importance of this city, now and in the future, is in connection with the markets of Central and South America . . . to which the West must look for a market when Europe shall cease or be unable to consume her surplus productions."[5]

With cheap hydroelectric power—the Santee-Cooper project within forty miles of the city completed—a large, almost unlimited, supply of soft water, a surplus of intelligent labor, and a climate generally mild in winter and not too hot in summer because of the sea breeze, a number of new industries have been established in metropolitan Charleston since the end of the Second World War: almost a hundred manufacturing about fifty different products.[6] The value of the manufactured products of the Charleston area has grown from $31,758,609 in 1940 to $94,245,791 in 1949; the number of manufacturers from 92 to about 250.[7]

Charleston has also shared in the marked improvement in the health of the country generally. The city has had no case of yellow fever since 1876; cases of malaria have diminished

from about six hundred in 1925 to eighty in 1945; deaths from typhoid fever have gone down from almost three hundred annually in the 1860s to less than twenty-five—in the worst year—in the 1940s. In 1942 there were sixty-four cases of typhus fever in the city; in 1948, only two in the city and four in the county. There has been no case of small-pox in the county since 1930. In spite of a greatly increased population during the Second World War in the metropolitan area and the lack of housing, there was no epidemic.

The city, moreover, has not grown as other cities of colonial America: these in their oldest districts—except for Quebec and New Orleans—have been rebuilt again and again. But much of Charleston is still as it was a century and more ago,[8] when people had the time to walk up a winding stairway to reach a door. About 1900, the citizens discovered that Charleston's old houses and the gardens of the vicinity were attracting tourists; and it was the first American city to protect its historic buildings by a zoning ordinance.[9] Good roads, built by the enterprise of the county, and great bridges make the city easy to reach by automobile, and year by year the visitors—many on their way from Florida—grow in number until the city has about a quarter of a million annually and some say more.

## 2. Jews as Residents and Citizens

After the abortive revolutionary movements in Germany and Austria in 1848, a few German and Polish Jews of the great number of emigrants to America settled in Charleston: here they found freedom and equality and hoped to find the living that was so hard to earn in their native lands. The Orthodox congregation, Brith Shalom, which they organized

in 1855, has already been referred to.[10] Most of these immigrants were peddlers at first and, if they prospered, opened small stores. Articles of clothing were fairly easy to carry in a pack. They were in general and steady demand—staples. The manufacturers were generally other immigrant Jews, for the investment required was small and the turn-over quick, and so the sources of supply were friendly and sympathetic. The supply of clothing at a reasonable price to a farmer or mechanic and his family was a genuine service in which a humble peddler might take a reasonable pride. And so many of the immigrants found themselves in the clothing business, in one branch or another.

Simon Fass might be taken as an example of a Jewish immigrant who was in Charleston in the 'fifties of the last century. He had been born in Galicia, Austria, and had landed in New York with a single coin worth a quarter. Helped by *landsleute* (fellow countrymen), he was soon peddling with a pack from his home in Charleston. Railroads were few and it was not easy for people in the country to go to town. When he had saved some money, like other successful peddlers, he acquired a horse and wagon. Finally, he opened a store in Charleston. Sinai Wolf Jacobosky had also come from Poland and he, too, had a store in Charleston, where he sold hats, caps and tobacco. (During the War Between the States, he was to make "Beauregard" caps for the Confederacy.) His daughter, Henrietta, who had been born in New York City, was married to Simon Fass in 1861.

Simon had come into the store, pretending to want a cap. She was sitting there, pretending to sew, and did not like him at all. When she heard that he wanted to marry her, she put blackberry juice on her face to look dark and ugly. But they were married, after all, for her father liked him. He had

sent one suitor away because he was a "sport," had no manners and would sit with his chair tilted backwards, and another suitor because he was a *Litvack* (Lithuanian), and still another because he was not religious. As the first suitor was to say bitterly to Henrietta afterwards: "Your father never wanted me, but when Simon Fass stood *davening* (that is, saying his prayers) on the corner, he took him."

Simon Fass died at the age of forty-five of "stranger's fever" (yellow fever).[11] Charleston had then, as it was to have for many years, pavements of wooden planks: pools of water would gather underneath and there the mosquitoes would breed.

According to a directory for 1867–68, there were then about fifty dealers in dry-goods and about twenty dealers in clothing in the city; somewhat less than a third of the former were Jews—at least those listed—and about half of the dealers in clothing. There were about fifteen tailors but no more than two or three of those listed were Jews. There was also a Jewish manufacturer of clothing—D. Jacobs, proprietor of the Carolina Clothing House. No doubt he was a newcomer, one of those who had come to Charleston after the war, for he advertised: "manufactory under the Superintendence of N. A. Cohen, a resident for the last forty years."[12] Not many Jews were dealers in boots and shoes (of whom there were about twenty-five). Of about seventy in the grocery business, few were Jews and of these C. H. Moïse, the wholesale grocer, was perhaps most important. There were three Jewish dealers in drugs and chemicals, including Dr. P. Melvin Cohen and Dr. Isaac E. Hertz; there were a couple of Jews who were watchmakers and jewelers—that ancient trade of the Jews of western Europe—and two of the four firms deal-

ing in hides, wool, and metals were Jewish.[13] At this time, the city had thirty-five or so auctioneers; but in this trade, in which there had been a number of Jews at the time of the Revolution, there were now perhaps two or three. Of more than a hundred and fifty commission merchants, of thirty listed as bankers and brokers, of fifty-odd lawyers, eighty-five doctors, and eight dentists, few were Jews. The firm of A. Tobias and Sons was among the commission merchants; C. V. Ancker and Company, H. H. De Leon, and Israel Ottolengui among the bankers and brokers; J. Barrett Cohen and Asher D. Cohen among the lawyers; P. Melvin Cohen, Isaac E. Hertz, and C. Davega among the physicians; and B. A. Rodriques and J. R. Solomons among the dentists.[14]

In 1877, according to an estimate of the Jewish population of the city, they numbered only seven hundred; in 1905, a quarter of a century later, the number of Jews was estimated at eight hundred, but two years later at fifteen hundred; and in 1912 at two thousand.[15] The 1905 estimate may have underestimated the number of Jews in Charleston; that of 1907 probably overestimated it. But at no time during this period were the Jews of the city unimportant and without worthy representatives in the commerce of the city and its counsels.

The Charleston *News and Courier,* canvassing important firms of the city, a week or so after the earthquake of 1886, as to their readiness for business, lists fifty-six names: about ten or twelve were Jewish—most of them selling clothing or dry goods. William A. Schaper, at the beginning of this century, wrote: "The retail clothing stores are all massed on King Street, and are almost exclusively owned and managed by Jews." The retail groceries, he also noted, were at that

time almost all run by North Germans, the fruit dealers were usually Italians or Greeks, and the bankers and brokers generally "Carolinians of the original stock."[16]

A guidebook to Charleston, dated 1901, intended chiefly for visitors to the West Indian Exposition (December 1901–May 1902), lists among the banks of the city the Charleston Savings Institution, organized in 1881, with the same officers and directors as when organized: M. Israel, president, Isaac S. Cohen, cashier, and S. S. Solomons among the directors[17] (Good Jewish names these!). Among the Jewish firms that by that time (1901) had been established for a number of years were: J. L. David and Brother, clothiers and hatters, established about fifty years before by the father of the owners; Louis Cohen and Company, a department store, established in 1852 by the father and father-in-law of the owners; and Hornik's Bargain House, clothing and dry goods at wholesale, established in 1886. J. L. David, at that time, was a director of the Dime Savings Bank and, during the 1920s, president. He was also, in 1901, a director of the Equitable Fire Insurance Company and of the West Indian Exposition. When Anne Crump, in Ludwig Lewisohn's novel *The Case of Mr. Crump,* opened accounts for herself in 1907, it was "at both Read and Company and Louis Cohen and Company on King Street."[18] M. Hornik, of Hornik's Bargain House, had begun his business with very little; by this time (1901), he occupied a building four stories high and, doing most of his business by mail, sent out 40,000 catalogues to retailers.

Another wholesaler was H. Herzog's Jobbing House. I. W. Banov and Joseph A. Volaski were tailors and retailers of men's clothing and shoes; they employed forty clerks. Jacobs Dry Goods Company, owned by Isaac Jacobs and Jacob



View of Congregation Beth Elohim's Cemetery at 189 Coming Street, one of the country's oldest Jewish burial grounds, with graves dating from 1762




Tombstone of Penina Moïse (1797–1880), poetess and hymn writer




Plaque to 1st Lieut. Sam D. Turtletaub, first Charleston Jew to die in World War I.



Tombstone of Marx E. Cohen, Jr., killed at 26 during the War Between the States while on a volunteer mission

Jacobs, occupied two buildings in which they sold haberdashery and millinery. H. Nachman was a wholesaler of millinery, hats and caps. J. S. Pinkussohn and his brothers, the firm established about 1880, had three stores for the sale of cigars and souvenirs. The M. H. Lazarus Company, established in 1835, had such a reputation for its hardware that when the business was finally continued by non-Jews the old Jewish name was kept. The Goldsmith Mercantile Company (A. A. Goldsmith, president) was dealing in cotton and wool, specializing in the local sea island cotton. G. Lévy was in "the merchandise brokerage business," and making a specialty of "cow peas"—handling the entire South Carolina crop.

Three or so years afterwards, Gabriel Lévy's widow, Fanny Lévy—with five daughters to bring up—took over his business when it was considered hardly proper for a woman to be seen in the East Bay district among the truckmen and longshoremen, let alone go about its streets unescorted, and ran the business for twenty years. But the tradition of the Jewish woman in business is very old—if that of the American woman in business is recent: "She considereth a field, and buyeth it . . . She maketh fine linen, and selleth *it;* and delivereth girdles unto the merchant" (Proverbs, 31. 16, 24). In the history of the early community of Charleston, a Jewish woman now and then managed her husband's business after his death: Judith Tobias, for example, the widow of Joseph Tobias, ran his store on King Street about 1810.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Asher D. Cohen was continuing a distinguished career as a lawyer. His part, in 1889, in the successful defense of Dr. Thomas B. McDow for killing Captain Francis W. Dawson, editor of *The News and Courier*—a defense described as "brilliant" by

the New York *Tribune*[19]—has been referred to in a recent collection of Charleston trials: as he scored during the cross-examination of a hostile witness, the courtroom rang with laughter "and even Mr. Cohen forgot to look at the jury in his usual convincing and triumphant way."[20]

J. N. Nathans and his son, who had the same name, were also distinguished lawyers in the second half of the last century. The son became president of Beth Elohim (1906–14). Barnett A. Elzas, rabbi of Beth Elohim (1894–1910), studied medicine (M.D., College of the State of South Carolina, 1900) and, at one time, was the only Jewish physician in the state.

Among the earlier officials of this period, Montgomery Moses was a circuit judge (1876–77); others were aldermen: Jacob H. Loeb (1879–83), during the administration of Charleston's great mayor, William A. Courtenay; and Isaac M. Pearlstine (1895–99). A number of the Jewish community were commissioners: of the Orphan House, of the almshouse, of the city hospital, of the markets; some were members of the board of health or the board of firemasters; others were police commissioner or harbor commissioner, or held other offices.[21]

In the Spanish-American War, a number of Jews from South Carolina served in the army or navy.[22]

In 1890, Ludwig Lewisohn, then a German-Jewish boy of eight, landed at Charleston with his parents, leaving the clean, orderly Germany he knew and a community where "great stress (was placed) on dignity and seemliness of manner," to find himself in a country where "burly Negroes . . . gabbled" and "white men (chewing tobacco) whittled and spat."[22a] A common vehicle in the streets of Charleston then was the light "buggy" with two or four wheels, usually

for one horse; the streets and houses were lit at night by gas; in the heat of summer people used palmetto fans, and almost every man chewed tobacco, even a prisoner in the dock.[23] The Lewisohns were met in a South Carolina village by a man in a red sweater, whom the boy at first thought a porter or cabdriver but who was, it turned out, a respected merchant of the village and his uncle.

Of the position of the Jews in that village, Ludwig Lewisohn has this to say in *Up Stream,* and it may have been just as true of the relation between most Jews and their white non-Jewish neighbors in Charleston:

> Of these (the Jews in the village) there were about ten families, all recent immigrants, and so aliens in speech and race and faith. Yet between them and these Southern villagers the relations were hearty and pleasant and consolidated by mutual kindness and tolerance. Only one Jew, and that was my father, was looked upon with some suspicion by the severer among his Gentile neighbors. The reason was curious and significant; he did not perform the external rites of the Jewish faith and, upon entering a fraternal life insurance order, he smiled and hesitated when asked to affirm categorically his belief in a personal God.[24]

The Lewisohns, since they had no garden of their own, were given daily gifts from the gardens of their neighbors, and they found in these neighbors an "honest simplicity" and "true democratic kindliness."[25] It misled the father, as the son was afterwards to be misled by the aristocratic kindliness of the city.

In 1892, Ludwig's father moved to Charleston, thinking that, although poor and in humble employment (he became a collector of installment payments for a furniture house), in a democratic America this would not keep him from the

society of his intellectual equals. The family had "two airy rooms and board for three" for eleven dollars a week in a boarding-house near the center of the city ("Queenshaven" in *Up Stream* and *The Case of Mr. Crump*) and all the elder Lewisohn had to furnish was "the fuel for the two fire-places on chilly days." But there were "invisible barriers"—and Ludwig Lewisohn thought the situation little changed thirty years afterwards—for it was, according to the writer of *Up Stream*, a city "of very rigid social groups," for the most part "denominational in character," with a "small, conservative group" of "descendants of the old Southern slave-holding aristocracy," to which members of the other groups, "primarily the Protestant ones," who had "attained any degree of education or wealth" tried to belong.[26] Such, the elder Lewisohn found, hardly cared for his acquaintance.

On the other hand, he saw no reason for associating with any Jewish group: the son mentions only one—"rather ignorant, semi-orthodox Jews from Posen."[27] Ludwig Lewisohn's parents had little use for "the clattering ritual of pots and pans" with its "meaty" and "milky" (never to be eaten together) and, besides, the elder Lewisohn was primarily interested in "Aryan ways of thought and feeling."[28]

Ludwig Lewisohn, who was to become the leading interpreter in American letters of Zionism and of Jewish self-awareness, was then as little interested as his father in Judaism. He attended, when he grew older, a Methodist church in Charleston; at the age of fifteen he was "an American, a Southerner, and a Christian."[29] Probably the only Jew, outside of members of his own family, that he was friendly with was "a wealthy Jewish physician who had turned Methodist in his boyhood" but still "surreptitiously distributed alms among the poor Jews of the city."[30]

However, the lad—with a "physiognomy . . . characteristically Jewish"[31]—found in the community, as he grew older and his abilities became known, "a half dozen cultivated lawyers and business men and journalists" "of English and Anglicized French Huguenot descent" who took an interest in him and his work; his teachers in the College of Charleston, from which he was graduated with the degrees of B.A. and M.A. in 1901, were his "thorough friends" and "aided and encouraged him in every way"; his classmates, of the same English and Anglicized French Huguenot descent, were also friendly, visited him and he visited them, and they elected him president of their literary society and editor-in-chief of their magazine.[32] (They did not take him into a Greek-letter fraternity, although he attended the Methodist Church and taught in its Sunday school.) Finally, when he was to go North to continue his studies, several of the Charleston gentlemen met and lent him three hundred and fifty dollars—not much, perhaps, but enough to help him through one semester. Ludwig Lewisohn was only twenty then. And he was to find that "the unreserved human friendliness,"[33] fair treatment, and the warm recognition of his abilities that he had met with so quickly among the non-Jews of Charleston, in spite of his Jewish descent, were not as common elsewhere.

Several estimates have been made of the Jewish population of Charleston within recent years: 1,900, according to the *American Jewish Year Book* (1917); 2,500, according to the United States Census of Religious Bodies (1927, 1937). According to a census conducted by the Jewish Community Center of Charleston in 1948, the Jewish community numbered 1906 men, women, and children, and 589 Jewish

families. This was based on a study of the membership of the synagogues and other Jewish organizations of the city, as well as the city and telephone directories, information furnished by individuals as to other Jewish residents of each block, and the list of voters.[34] The census included few, if any, of the residents of North Charleston, and with respect to newcomers who came to work but not necessarily to stay was undoubtedly incomplete.[35]

The Jews of Charleston in 1826, estimated at six hundred, probably equalled in number those of New York and the city had about 10% of all the Jews in the country.[36] In 1948, Charleston was 132nd in the size of its Jewish population, and this was 4/100ths of 1% of the Jews of the United States. During the twentieth century, the Jewish population of Charleston was stationary in number, if it did not actually decline. Although the general population of the city did not grow as rapidly as most Northern cities, it increased from 58,833 in 1910 to 81,347 in 1944—an increase of 38.3%, and this in spite of the probable emigration North of many Negroes;[37] nor do these figures show the much larger increase if the population of metropolitan Charleston were included. According to these figures, then, since the Jewish population remained stationary, its proportion to the general population fell from 3.4% in 1910 to 2.4% in 1948. And even this proportion was not maintained by a natural balance of births and deaths, but by immigration from abroad and by the settlement in Charleston of Jews from other cities in the United States.

Of about ninety Jewish families in the Jewish community of Charleston in 1948, of a total of 589 (17.1%), one or both paternal grandparents were born in the United States (the survey by the Bicentennial Planning Committee did not in-

clude the maternal grandparents); of these ninety families, one or both paternal grandparents of about a third were born in Charleston; of the rest, in the majority of cases (thirty-six out of sixty-three), both paternal grandparents were born in the United States. Of every hundred Jews now in Charleston, forty-two were born in the city, thirty-four in other American cities, and twenty-four abroad.[38]

Almost half of the Jews of Charleston, about 47%, came there during the last forty-five years; 20% in the last decade; and about 11% in the last five years. Of the number of Jewish residents who are not natives of the city, about a fourth (24.4%) settled there after 1942. These figures show an acceleration—to some extent—in the increase of the proportion of Jews in the community who were born elsewhere.

Many of the Jews now in Charleston, who were born elsewhere in the United States, are from New York City—about 37%; about 16% are from other communities in South Carolina; about 10% from Georgia; and about 6% from New Jersey, chiefly Newark. The rest are from twenty-one other states and the District of Columbia.[39] The relatively large number of Jews from New York City and Newark, since Charleston is a relatively small, non-industrialized community, is an exception to the broad rule—since the industrial era—that migration is from rural to urban areas and from small cities to large ones. But it is not necessarily exceptional with respect to Jews in the United States: if the general rule is also true of Jews, on the other hand, Jews have left, and are leaving, the large cities for opportunities in smaller communities although these may be of "low sociological intensity." In some respects, they are a more desirable place of residence.[40]

Of Charleston's general population in 1940, according to

the Federal census, only 1.8% of the whites were foreign-born. According to the survey of the Bicentennial Planning Committee, of the Jewish community of Charleston in 1948, 24%, as stated above, were foreign-born. However, this percentage of foreign-born is smaller than in any Jewish community in the North for which such information has been reported. In 1937, the percentage of foreign-born in the Jewish community of Passaic was reported as 37.6 and in Trenton as 34.3; in 1938, Pittsburgh 37.4, New London 37.3, Buffalo 35.9, Norwich 35.7, Stamford 29.8 and San Francisco (counting only heads of families and wives) 43.7; in 1948, Newark 31.0. The Jewish community of New Orleans, on the other hand, had in 1948, it was reported, 20.7 foreign-born.

Almost 80% of the foreign-born Jews in Charleston in 1948 came from Poland and Russia; if to this number is added those who came from Latvia, Lithuania, and Rumania, the percentage of Jews from eastern Europe among the foreign-born Jews of Charleston was about 85%. About 9% came from Germany and Austria. The rest came from other countries in Europe, from Syria and Palestine in the Near East, from Canada, Porto Rico, and Argentina. Only 30% of all immigrants in Charleston are from the countries of eastern Europe. No Jew is from Greece, from which have come 15% of all immigrants in Charleston; and no Jew from the West Indies (except Porto Rico), from which many came in the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth.[41]

The immigrants from abroad were, naturally, not without influence on Jewish institutions and societies of Charleston. As late as 1907, the Orthodox congregation of Brith Shalom, using the Polish *minhag*—the only Orthodox congregation

in Charleston for about forty years—was a small organization of about sixty members. It was soon to have four times as many because of immigration, and the immigrants took the lead in founding a second Orthodox congregation. Another result of immigration was the organization in 1920 of a *landsmannschaft* of recent immigrants for companionship and mutual aid. The local Zionist organization, that had been conducting its meetings in English, changed to Yiddish in 1922 in order not to keep members "from taking part in debates" (Minutes, April 9, 1922). On the other hand, the local section of the Council of Jewish Women organized a night school in the 'twenties for immigrants and an afternoon school for immigrant mothers.[42]

Though the Jewish population of Charleston has not increased for the last forty years, the number of Jewish families may have as much as doubled. In 1912, there were probably about three hundred Jewish families in Charleston, to judge from an estimate of the Jewish population and the average number of children in a family at that time. In 1922, the Jewish Welfare Board estimated the number of Jewish families in Charleston at 350.[42a] In 1948, according to the census by the Jewish Community Center, there were, as stated above, 589 Jewish families.

One reason for the increase in the number of Jewish families within a Jewish population that is unchanged in number is the fact that people live longer; many families continue after their children have established homes and families of their own.[43] But the increase in the number of families has been chiefly due to the decrease in the number of the average family.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a Jewish family of Charleston might well have had eight or ten children.

Marks Lazarus (b. 1757), for example, who married Rachel Benjamin (b. 1762) in 1776, had seventeen children: their oldest son had thirteen, their oldest daughter nine, and four other daughters fourteen, five, twelve and seven children respectively.[44] But Joseph Tobias (1685–1761) had only four children: his daughter Rina (b. 1741) had three, his son Joseph (b. 1745) three, and his son Jacob (b. 1747) none.[45] In 1791, when the congregation of Beth Elohim had fifty-three families, more than four hundred persons belonged to it.[46] But in 1826 the Reformed Society of Israelites had fifty members which, with their families, numbered only about two hundred, and Beth Elohim, at that time, had about seventy members and in all only about three hundred belonged to it.[47] The decrease in the size of the average Jewish family of Charleston may not be as sharp as particular families of ten or more in the last century would indicate, but there has been a marked decrease: the number of children a Jewish family in Charleston had in the winter of 1948 was, on the average, two—2.2 according to the survey of the Bicentennial Planning Committee.

This is probably somewhat less than the average number in other American Jewish communities: in Buffalo, for example, the average number of children in a Jewish family was 2.4 (1938); in Norwich (1938) 2.4; in New London (1938) 2.5.[48] (The average size of a Jewish family in New Orleans, however, was 3.03 in 1941.)[49] Moreover, in the Charleston survey by the Bicentennial Planning Committee, the large families belonged chiefly to foreign-born parents of an older generation whose number is diminishing. Since a small proportion of large families supplied a large proportion of children, the decline in the number of large families

will result in a larger decline, proportionately, in the size of the average family.[50]

The size of the average Jewish family in Charleston places this Jewish community also, it seems, in the category of those whose members are going to diminish in number—if the deaths are to be offset by the number of births.[50a] The causes for the fall of the Jewish birth-rate in Charleston are true of Jews everywhere in the United States—and not only of Jews: the urban way of life; the small families, as a rule, of professional men, of salesmen and other men in business; and, fundamentally, the fact that the optimistic faith of the Orthodox believer that "the Lord will provide" has, in many cases, been supplemented by "family planning."[51]

The Jewish population of the Western World had begun to decline even before the First World War, due to a decline in the number of births. Nor is this a particularly Jewish phenomenon, except that the Jewish population has an even lower birth-rate than the rest of the population.[52] However, as Mrs. Sophia M. Robison has said, "no demographer . . . (can) make an unqualified prediction of the future level of population, particularly in the case of a group so subject to special developments as the Jews . . . Jewish population may decline more rapidly . . . because of increases in birth control, intermarriage, conversion, and more intense urbanization. On the other hand, it is possible that other factors will operate to reverse the trends that now indicate the decline of Jewish population. Perhaps the continuance of relatively full employment, the lowering of the age of marriage, and other factors that have led to the striking increase in the American population since the last census may operate to as good effect on the Jews. . . . " After discussing suburban,

rather than urban, residence as possibly more favorable to the birth-rate of American Jews, Mrs. Robison says, to name only two of the factors she gives: "And there are such intangible factors as the desire to make up for the losses of the recent war . . . and perhaps of a greater sense of security in America. . . ."[53]

It may be regretted by some that Charleston and similar communities do not serve as a "hinterland" for the Jewish communities of the large cities to supply the deficiency in birth-rate,[54] although in a sense they do: "new families come to Charleston from the larger centers, but when the children grow up they often leave Charleston for the larger centers because there is more opportunity for them in the many new skilled professions of engineer, newspaper work, etc."[55] But, aside from these cases, it may be desirable that the Jewish communities of the large cities should rather serve as the "hinterland" for such communities as Charleston; that small Jewish communities, flourishing as they can under the American system of religious freedom, are to be preferred to a few large Jewish communities. And that, as stated above, seems to be a tendency.

There were in Charleston (1940 census) 32,774 males and 38,501 females: for every hundred white males one hundred and seven white females and for every hundred Negro males one hundred and twenty-eight Negro females. In the Jewish community (1948), on the other hand, about 52% were male. Of the foreign-born Jews, about 51% were male; of those born in the United States, about 52.5%; and of those born in Charleston about 55%. In other Jewish communities, for which this information is available, there were about as many males as females in Passaic (1937), Trenton (1937) and Pittsburgh (1938); in New London (1938) and Norwich

(1938) more males than females; and in Buffalo (1938) and San Francisco (1938) more females than males.

Somewhat more than half of the Jewish population of Charleston, fourteen years of age and over, were employed in business or a profession in 1948 (about 53%). Of these, about 80% were male and about 20% female. The percentage of male Jews so employed was about that of the total male population of Charleston, but the proportion of Jewish females employed was much smaller than that of the total female population, and is to be explained by the large number of Negro domestics.

More than half of the Charleston Jews earning a living in 1948 (again about 53%), according to the survey of the Bicentennial Planning Committee, were proprietors or managers of a business; of the total working population of Charleston in 1940, this class numbered 8.7%; of the total white working population, 18%. Almost a fourth of Jewish men and women earning a living in 1948 were clerks, salesmen or saleswomen, stenographers and typists; of the total working population of Charleston, this class numbered 17.3% (1940). Jewish professional workers numbered about 12% of Jewish workers in Charleston in 1948; of the total working population of the city, 7.8% were professional workers (1940). Of all Charleston Jews employed in 1948, about forty were skilled workers (about 7%); the proportion of male skilled workers in the total white working population was 12.4% (1940). More than half of all workers in the total population in 1940 were unskilled (including domestics); the Jewish population in 1948 had less than five persons in this class.

Charleston was not a manufacturing center until recently, and most of the Jewish immigrants who came there after the

First World War, chiefly from Poland and Russia—one member of a family, as a rule, sending for the others—became peddlers. Of necessity, if not by choice. This had also been true of the Jews who came from Germany in the 1850s. One great advantage of peddling for Orthodox Jews, as almost all these immigrants were, was that they could observe the Sabbath. As stated above, when a peddler had some money saved, he would, as a rule, open a store. In Charleston, the Jews on upper King Street lived above their stores or in back of them, in small wooden houses, painted yellow, white, or grey: house next to house in a long row, paint blistered by the heat, washed away by the rains, the bare boards showing—no wide porches here to catch the breeze from the Bay and no gardens. (Today there are few peddlers: their business was best when the road between the country and the city and its stores was long and difficult. The place of the peddler has now been taken by agents who go about with samples.)

The increase of manufacturing in South Carolina during the last great period of depression (1929–39) was of benefit to Charleston only indirectly and had slight, if any, effect on the Jewish population of the city: the cotton factories that were established in other parts of the state to take advantage of surplus labor and low wages did not ship through Charleston nor draw on the city for employees or plain hands. It was not until the Second World War that the navy yard and the port of embarkation accounted for most of the city's current prosperity and recent growth in population.[56]

Ever since the American Revolution, Charleston has had Jews in the professions, but the number of Jews who are lawyers or doctors today in Charleston are not many. It is true that there has been an increase of Jewish lawyers, doc-

tors and the like. But this is not due to any particular local reason and is generally true of all Jewish communities in the United States because of the general increase in prosperity, both of the country and of those who had once been immigrants, and especially because of the zeal for education that the immigrants from Eastern Europe brought over and transmitted to their children—a zeal that in their native lands, because of poverty and restrictions by the government, spent itself for the most part, if at all, in religious study. The Jewish immigrants from Germany in the 1850s had the same zeal and the Sephardic Jews before them: Judah P. Benjamin and Abraham Moïse, for example, to mention two sons of immigrants once residents of Charleston.

Twenty years ago, there was only one Jewish physician in Charleston—Kivy Pearlstine (d. 1933); one dentist thirty years ago—Abe Livingstain (d. 1921), and one dentist in 1936; there were also eight or so lawyers then. Today there are about five Jewish physicians among a hundred, seven Jewish dentists among forty, and fifteen Jewish lawyers among 110. At the time of the survey by the Bicentennial Planning Committee (1948), there were a number of engineers in Charleston (as many as eighteen), and of the Jewish students in Charleston, and from Charleston, studying a profession the largest number were taking engineering courses. There are Jewish writers, teachers, and social workers. There is a Jewish accountant among twenty-five non-Jews, five or six Jewish druggists and, among the women, Jewish librarians and nurses.

The sale of antiques is a business particularly suitable to an old city with many tourists, and there are about fifteen such shops in Charleston: seven are owned by Jews. There are two or three Jewish photographers. Much of the retail

business of Charleston is now in stores belonging to chains with executive offices elsewhere; but one firm of Charleston Jews has a chain of five-and-ten-cent stores. There are no department stores in Charleston now owned by Jews, as in earlier days, but they own stores selling men's clothing, women's clothing, haberdashery, millinery, shoes and jewelry. (Many who do the actual work for Jewish tailors are Negroes.) Jews are still important in the wholesale dry-goods business of Charleston and number five or six firms.

There are five or so Jewish firms in the real estate and insurance business out of twenty or twenty-five. Jews are important in the furniture business and have a number of large and handsome stores. A fairly large number of Jews, about forty, have grocery stores; but in this business Greeks are more numerous and more important. There is only one Jewish firm selling groceries wholesale and no Jews, as there are in other cities, in the wholesale fruit and produce business. There are six or seven Jewish-owned liquor stores.

There are Jewish pawnbrokers. Several deal in scrap metal. At this time (1949), two or three Jews run filling stations, and one is in the fuel oil business. There are a couple of Jewish shoemakers. Two butchers sell *kosher* meat, and there are several *kosher* delicatessens—in at least one of these *kosher* frozen meat from Cincinnati is sold. (With the use of frozen meat, the profession of local *shohet* or ritual slaughterer, not too prosperous for a long time, has become decidedly uncertain.) There is a Jewish bakery and a Negro who bakes "Jewish" bread.

There are no Jews in the important lumber business nor in the chemical and fertilizer business. Charleston has no Jewish bankers now. There are Jewish firms in the paper

business, and there are several Jewish firms among the industries recently established: firms making underwear, ties and mattresses. And for some time, Charleston has had a Jewish firm skilled in making and repairing iron gates and fences—such as are the ornaments of many old houses.

At least forty-six Jewish heads of families out of every hundred in Charleston—many of these immigrants or the children of immigrants—own their own homes. This is true of only about 18% of the total population: about 27% of the white families and, among Negroes, about 8%. In a study of the immigrants who settled in a "Yankee" city, it has been well said: "The purchase of a house implies the acquisition of a share in the property system and a special status, through the function of paying taxes, in the political system of a society. It involves driving permanent stakes . . ."[57]

Jews of Charleston, as they have been from the earliest days of residence, are active in civic organizations:[58] commercial,[59] cultural,[60] and patriotic;[61] and in this century, in which women have acquired a new status, this civic activity is also true of the Jewish women of Charleston.[62] Mrs. Ashley Halsey (Eleanor Loeb), for example, was one of the first two women ever to serve on the Charleston Board of Health and Welfare (1920–32). During the First World War, Mrs. Halsey was chairman of the Charleston chapter of the Red Cross and was awarded a life membership for her services. She organized public nursing and motorized diet kitchens to feed the sick during the influenza epidemic: this was the beginning of the public health nursing system of Charleston.[62a] Mrs. Harry M. Rubin has been head of important committees.[62b] Jews have been appointed or elected to office

—municipal, county, state and federal.[63] Dr. Leon Banov, for example, who has been health officer of the county since 1920 and of the city since 1926, succeeded in having an ordinance passed in 1919 requiring all milk sold in the city to be pasteurized. Charleston's infant death-rate had been among the highest in the country, but rigid pasteurization, as enforced by Dr. Banov, was not effected without threats against him; for a number lost their livelihoods: widows with two or three cows, for example, and a Negro helper to carry the pails through the streets and dip out milk for customers.[63a] As part of the friendliness that is characteristic of Charlestonians generally, Jews are active in the Masonic order, and other fraternal organizations, local and national, as they have been;[64] some Jews have been, and are, helpful to religious organizations of Christians.[65]

In the First World War, about ninety-five Jews from South Carolina served in the army or navy.[66] To single out one name from Charleston: in the fighting in the Champagne sector in September 1918, Samuel D. Turteltaub, a first lieutenant, "after repeated efforts to place a machine gun in position to return the enemy's fire had been made and all had failed . . . asked permission to place another gun in position, and, while doing so, fell mortally wounded."[67] In the Second World War, about 250 Jewish men and women of Charleston served in the armed forces. Philip Silverman, a paratrooper, was the first Jew from Charleston to be killed in action. Lieutenant Edward Irwin Hirsch (1920–44), killed in action at Anzio, had been detailed as an instructor in the United States but volunteered for duty overseas. Sergeant James Edward Levin and Sergeant Michael Rudich were killed in accidents in the line of duty. Thirty-nine Jews of Charleston were commissioned officers, and a number re-

ceived awards and medals.[68] With Charleston again a great port for the embarkation of troops, Jewish residents, men and women, became active in war work, including that of the USO (United Service Organizations).[69] There are seventy or so Jewish students at "The Citadel," the Military College of South Carolina, and many Jews of South Carolina are graduates.[70]

Ludwig Lewisohn (b. Berlin, 1882; Litt. D., 1914, College of Charleston) is best known and most distinguished of Jewish writers who have lived in Charleston.[71] William M. Halsey (whose mother, Mrs. Ashley Halsey, is Jewish), a grandson of Jacob H. Loeb, is perhaps best known of South Carolina's painters and is a resident of Charleston.[72] So is Willard Hirsch, the sculptor, a grandson of Isaac W. Hirsch.[73] Both teach at the Gibbes Art Gallery and Hirsch runs an "extension class" of the University of South Carolina. Dr. Leon Banov is professor of public health and preventive medicine at the Medical College of South Carolina.[74] As Ludwig Lewisohn pointed out in *Up Stream*—and it is no less true today of many if not of all—"the leading citizens of the town are alumni (of the College of Charleston) . . . and proud of its work and its traditions."[75] Jacob H. Loeb and Montague Triest were trustees of the college. Montague Triest was also treasurer of the alumni association for ten or fifteen years and Maier Triest, his son, has been treasurer since 1925. Edward Kronsberg was appointed a trustee in 1949. Several of the scholarships of the college were endowed by Jews,[76] and in 1949 it received a quarter of a million dollars, the largest bequest ever made to it, the corpus of the estate of Isabel Doud—Asher D. Cohen's daughter and the great-granddaughter of Mordecai Cohen.

## 3. Jewish Congregations and Societies

Although Beth Elohim was a Reform congregation in 1841 and considered itself such,[77] changes were made slowly: this was true of other Reform congregations elsewhere in the United States and particularly true in so conservative a community as Charleston. The discovery that *trefa* meat (ritually "unclean") was being sold as *kasher* warranted a special meeting of the board of trustees.[78] That a prayer "customary to be said on Saturday before Purim" had been omitted or that a new tune was used "to the Mismor at the replacing of the Sephar" was a matter for protest and inquiry.[79] It was not until 1879 that the election of a *shohet* for the congregation (slaughterer of animals for food according to the Orthodox laws) was "indefinitely postponed." But the members of the congregation, for the most part, still used *kasher* meat out of custom, although it was held no sin to eat the other; just as many a Russian or Polish Jew, brought up in an Orthodox household, although no longer a believer, would not eat *trefa* until his dying day. Until a few years ago, there were women of Beth Elohim who used only *kasher* meat.

Long after the Orthodox members withdrew from Beth Elohim in 1843, the Sunday school taught the creed of Maimonides,[80] and the secretary used the Hebrew calendar for his minutes.[81] In 1879, the congregation adopted the prayer-book compiled by its rabbi, David Levy. But it was not adopted until, after the rabbi had declared to a committee his belief both in the coming of the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead, the word "Redeemer" was substituted

for "Redemption" and the words "revive" and "revivest" for the words "grant eternal life."[82]

It was not until the same year (1879) that the seats in the synagogue were arranged as family pews and the women's gallery removed, at the urging of the rabbi, changing the traditional seating by which men and women do not sit together in synagogue. In the next decade or two, men of the congregation still wore their hats during services and the Orthodox prayer-shawls. Some of the present congregation remember the controversy about wearing hats and members of Sephardic descent, stately and ceremonious, wearing silk hats in synagogue and prayer-shawls over their frock coats.

The women of Beth Elohim, well into the twentieth century, did not consider it seemly to shop on Saturday, and some men carried no money on that day. Many homes served no bread during the Passover. It was not uncommon for a member of Beth Elohim to fast on the Day of Atonement and quite a number still do.[83] It was not until 1920 that the hour of the Friday evening service, now the important service of the ordinary week, was changed at the suggestion of the rabbi, Jacob S. Raisin, from 6:30 until after dinner to "enlarge the attendance."[84] The Reform Jews of Charleston also have a beautiful ceremony that seems old and is, it seems, in a German-Jewish tradition: after the blessing of the candles, bread and wine at the table Friday evening, and before the meal is served, the host rises and followed by his wife and grown children walks to the guest and welcomes him with a handshake wishing him "Good Shabbos" (a good Sabbath), and so does his grown son, while the hostess and her daughter do the like with a ceremonial kiss.

Ten years after the War Between the States, Beth Elohim,

no better off than the rest of the state, was still far from prosperous. After the names of ten members, in 1875, had been stricken from the roll for non-payment of arrears, and after three resignations and four deaths that year, Beth Elohim, including one new member, had a membership of eighty-five. The rabbi that year, Falk Vidaver, was receiving $2,000 annually and complaining that he found the cost of living "far greater than in Boston."[85]

In 1877, the congregation numbered eighty-two members, including forty-six heads of families, fourteen widows, seven single males, eight single females, and seven "country" members. Among those who worshipped in Beth Elohim on the "days of awe" were Dr. Simon Baruch, then practising medicine in Camden (1866–81), and his wife, the parents of Bernard M. Baruch—a descendant, on his mother's side, of Hartwig Cohen, one of Beth Elohim's cantors in the early part of the nineteenth century.[86] Now and then the congregation had, at long intervals, a convert to Judaism—all women.[87]

The synagogue was damaged by the earthquake of 1886, but money for its repair came from other congregations and from persons throughout the United States.[88]

In 1894, Barnett Abraham Elzas (b. Eydtkuhnen, Germany, 1867; d. New York City, 1936) was chosen minister of Beth Elohim. Rabbi Elzas not only studied medicine and became a physician, as stated above, but made a detailed study of the early history of the Jewish community and of other Jewish communities in the state. The result of his studies was first printed as a series of articles in the Charleston *News and Courier* and reprinted in a series of pamphlets under the title *The Jews of South Carolina,* Charleston, 1903, and finally as a book, *The Jews of South Carolina from the*

*Earliest Times to the Present Day,* Philadelphia, 1905. It is one of the first exhaustive studies of an American Jewish community. To prepare it, Elzas examined the existing files of the newspapers published in Charleston from 1732 to about 1900, and also the public documents of the state from the earliest times to his own day. Many of the inscriptions he recorded in his studies of the old Jewish cemeteries of Charleston are now illegible—if the stones exist at all.[89]

The membership of Beth Elohim in 1897, including fifty-nine heads of families, was one hundred and eleven. Thirteen of these were "country members." The congregation had grown somewhat in twenty years, but in 1907 it had to dispense with a paid choir "due to loss of membership," and in 1910 Elzas resigned because of "the increased cost of living, the many demands upon my purse, & the necessity of keeping up a reasonable amount of life insurance—and especially the fact that the usual perquisites of my office are here insignificant." He added bitterly: "After sixteen years of faithful service I think it not unreasonable that life should be more to me than a constant struggle to make ends meet & to keep out of debt." The congregation advertised again for a minister:

> a first class English and Hebrew scholar capable of delivering English lectures and assisting in religious school. Union prayer book services used. Must come highly recommended.

The congregation had adopted the Union Prayer Book in 1896.

In 1924, Beth Elohim celebrated the commencement of Reform Judaism in the United States and its own adoption of Reform by observing the centennial of the organization—by its seceding members—of The Reformed Society of Israel-

ites.[90] (On its letterhead and monthly bulletin Beth Elohim is called "The Cradle of Reform Judaism," not only because of the Society, but because the first Reform Jewish service in this country by a congregation still in existence was held in its synagogue.[91]) The congregation had by this time (1924) one hundred and twenty-nine members, fifteen living elsewhere than in Charleston.[92] Jacob Salmon Raisin (b. Nieswizh, Poland, 1878; d. Charleston, 1945), best known, perhaps, for his *The Haskalah Movement in Russia,* 1913, who had been elected rabbi of the congregation in 1915, described the celebration in a booklet (Charleston, 1925) and included a brief history of the Jewish community.

With "characteristic conservatism," as Rabbi Raisin pointed out in his booklet (p. 53), the congregation still called its house of worship a "synagogue," not a "temple"—unlike other Reform congregations and many that are Conservative. The older members call it a "synagogue" to this day. The full name of the congregation is still the ancient *Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim,* that is, the "Holy"—in the sense of "devoted to God"—"Congregation of the House of God" (Constitution, 1947, Art. I, Sect. 7).[93] But the congregation, as Rabbi Raisin also pointed out in his booklet (pp. 50, 51), "was among the very first to remove the religious disabilities of women, and allow them not only to vote but to take their place on the Board of Trustees."[94] The latest constitution provides that the president of the Sisterhood shall be an ex-officio member of the board of trustees.

How closely the congregation has become allied by the marriage of members or their children with non-Jews can be seen in that donations in memory of the dead are at times made by non-Jews. Almost half a century ago (1904), a committee of the trustees, reporting to the congregation at the

annual meeting "on the admission to the privileges of seat holders of Israelites who have married out of the faith," found nothing in the constitution forbidding this, but added "it might be unwise to give one who has married out of his faith the opportunity to participate in the religious policy of the Congregation." The latest constitution provides that "A person not of Jewish faith may be interred in the Cemeteries of the Congregation provided the Commitment Services are in no way contrary to the Jewish religion" (Constitution 1931, Art. VII, Sect. 2; Constitution 1947, Art. VII, Sect. 4), and there is a special provision for the dues of "Married women whose husbands are not members of the Congregation and married men whose wives are not members of the Congregation" (Constitution 1947, Art. X, Sect. 3).

Rabbi Raisin noted long before that the "doors (of the synagogue) were open even on the High Holidays to non-members as well as to members" (*Centennial Booklet,* p. 50). In 1947, the congregation voted that "there shall be open seating on the Holidays with no pews being reserved" (*Bulletin,* 1947). A less democratic change is the provision that the rabbi "shall be elected by the Board of Trustees" instead of by the congregation at large (Constitution 1947, Art. VI, Sect. 1). This has been attributed to the difficulty of finding a successor to Rabbi Raisin (elected rabbi emeritus, 1944).

Certainly, the members of the congregation found it difficult to agree on a successor. The congregation had a membership of various backgrounds—as, indeed, it always had. Now there were descendants of the original members; descendants also of the German immigrants who came to Charleston before, and just after, the War Between the States; and children of immigrants who came to the United

States before, and just after, the First World War. Some were ardent Zionists and some opposed to it. Younger men who had returned from service in the armed forces were active members with minds of their own. In addition, the Orthodox congregations of Charleston had young and able rabbis, and it was necessary for Beth Elohim to have a rabbi at least as effective.

Allan Tarshish, the present rabbi, was elected in 1947. A number of the members were against his selection on the ground that he belonged to the American Council for Judaism and, presumably, shared its position against Zionism. Several, including a trustee and a former trustee, in protest joined the new Conservative congregation—Synagogue Emanu-El. However, upon becoming rabbi of Beth Elohim, Rabbi Tarshish won over almost all who had opposed him. He was still not a Zionist nor did he attempt to persuade those who were Zionists to change their views, but he was genuinely interested in all Jews who were in need and distress; and it was generally felt that there was room for a difference of opinion in a democratic Jewish community.

As in the case of other Reform congregations recently, the ceremonies of "candle blessing" and *kiddush* (the proclamation of the Sabbath over a cup of wine by the master of the house—also recited in an Orthodox synagogue by the *hazan* or reader at the Friday evening service), both part of the Friday evening ceremonial in every Orthodox home, have been introduced into the congregational service: the *kiddush* performed by a member of the Brotherhood and the "candle blessing" by one of the Sisterhood. Beth Elohim has a communal *seder* at Passover (about fifty were present in 1947); and at Hanukkah a candle-lighting ceremony, also adopted from the ceremonial for the home, is held in the synagogue.

As in the case of other Reform congregations, too, some members—and these not the least active—are the children or grandchildren of Orthodox Jews. In 1948, Beth Elohim had about two hundred and seventy members. About two hundred of these were married men and their wives; of the rest, there were about thirty more women than men. Several members did not live in Charleston but elsewhere in South Carolina, and one or two in Florida, in North Carolina, Georgia, Pennsylvania, or New York. They belonged to the congregation because their parents had been members and some wished to be buried among their kin in Beth Elohim's cemetery. In that year (1948), the old Tabernacle that had been built in 1838 was torn down and the building of a new tabernacle commenced, to be dedicated in 1950, on the anniversary of the founding of the congregation two hundred years before. And in 1949, Thomas J. Tobias of Charleston, a direct descendant of Joseph Tobias, the first president of Beth Elohim two hundred years before, was elected president of the present congregation.

When Isaac Leeser came to Charleston in 1866, after the War Between the States, and had seen the damaged synagogue of Beth Elohim, he "visited also the Polish synagogue.[95] It, too, is without a permanent minister," he wrote. "Mr. Benjamin Weinberg is President. The members contemplate building a Synagogue." And then he added sourly: "A great change has taken place in the Jewish population in the past eleven years, when we last visited Charleston. We are sorry to notice, from appearance, that the new-comers have not adequately replaced those who have left the earth, or merely removed."[96]

The descendants of those who had "left the earth," how-

ever, must have thought better of the newcomers than did the Rev. Mr. Leeser, for, when the cornerstone of the synagogue of Brith Shalom was laid in 1874, the procession included not only Rabbi Ruben of that congregation, a Rabbi Cardozo who was in Charleston at the time, and Rabbi Jos. H. M. Chumaceiro of Beth Elohim, but—in carriages—some of the most distinguished members of the old community, S. N. Hart, Asher D. Cohen, J. N. Nathans, and others. The procession left the hall of Harmony Circle, went from Liberty to King Street, and through Calhoun to St. Philip Street. Rabbi Chumaceiro delivered the principal address, exhorting his listeners to be thankful for the privileges they enjoyed in America "where liberty is accorded to the afflicted and the oppressed." The building to be erected was described as "of brick and wood, forty feet front and sixty in depth, two stories high . . . the style of architecture Tuscan." The gallery was to rest on "fluted iron columns."[97] Rabbi Chumaceiro, Sephardi though he was, got on very well, it seems, with the members of Brith Shalom. Two years or so before, he had written the trustees of his congregation: "most always your minister is requested to honor with his presence at the Beriths (*brit milah*—rite of circumcision) of members of the Polish Congregation . . . although those persons do not belong to *our* Congregation, they honor and respect our minister not alone by words, but also by actions."[98]

The original synagogue had been a small wooden building, formerly a dwelling—like most of the first synagogues of immigrants—at 68 St. Philip Street. The congregation bought it for $2,500, and did the painting and altering themselves. The room in which they met for prayers was divided into two: the back part partitioned off for the women, and curtains hung from the ceiling to the wooden partition. The new

building had a portico with four Corinthian pillars and a piazza facing west. The ark was a gift of Beth Elohim, and the tablets showing the Ten Commandments (still standing above the present ark) a gift of the Hebrew congregation in Columbia, South Carolina. The gallery—for the women—was curtained off by hangings.

In the "Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations" of 1860–1,[99] as well as in Rabbi Chumaceiro's letter, Brith Shalom was the "Polish" congregation, and Leeser wrote of "the Polish synagogue," but *The Jewish Messenger,* in its report of the laying of the cornerstone, was closer to the truth in using the expression "the German and Polish congregation," for a number of the congregation were from Germany —although many of these, perhaps, if not most of them, from the Prussian province of Posen that had been Polish half a century or so before. Now they lie among the very first to be buried in Brith Shalom's cemetery—along the red brick wall.

A number of the immigrants from Eastern Europe who came to Charleston after 1881, when the Russian persecutions sent many Jews to the United States, joined the congregation. In 1929 the synagogue had become too small and was rebuilt. The walls of the building were covered with yellow brick; the columns were removed and the portico made part of the auditorium. The balcony was kept, but the curtains taken away. A member of the congregation, in favor of building a new synagogue, in 1945, paid a deposit for a site on Ashley Avenue; however, there was so much feeling among the members against moving from the place where the synagogue had been for almost a century, that the congregation never approved of the site. In 1947, the synagogue was remodeled again and the floor in the center of the auditorium, towards the rear, raised six inches and curtained off

(the curtains no higher than the pews) that women might sit there as well as in the balcony that extended along the rear of the auditorium and along both sides—almost to the east wall against which the ark stands.

The early minutes of Brith Shalom are lost. The loss may be cited as an illustration of how easily precious papers may be gone with the wind. About fifteen years ago, it is said, a president of the congregation and a former president, looking over the old records and admiring the beautiful writing —in Yiddish some say, in Hebrew others—the former president asked if he could take the books to his office to read at his leisure. After his death, a few months later, when his office was made ready for the new tenant, the minutes, it is said, were thrown away by the handyman. Be that as it may, they are not in the synagogue's safe and no one knows where they are.

As late as 1914, Brith Shalom's constitution was printed in Yiddish as well as in English. (There are still in Charleston about a hundred subscribers to the Yiddish newspapers published in New York: the Orthodox *Jewish Journal* has about sixty subscribers; the *Forward* twenty-seven; and the *Day* about twenty.) An indication of the educational background of some of the members in those days when many were recent immigrants may be seen, perhaps, in the provision that "any member may nominate any other member (for office) who is in good standing and is able to read and write" (Constitution 1914, Art. IV); an indication of their financial standing in the provision that the president "shall have power to dispense charity out of the funds of the Congregation, with the consent of the Trustees, sums not exceeding in the aggregate five dollars ($5.00) per month" (Art. VI, Sect. 3). The decorum may not always have been of the



*Mizrach* made by Mordecai Judah Patla in 1888 and presented to Brith Shalom Synagogue

best: there was a provision for the trial of a member using "insulting or profane language . . . against any officer or member of this Congregation, whether in Synagogue during services or at meetings . . ." (Art. XV).

As for the orthodoxy of Brith Shalom: "The form of prayers and ceremonies shall be in accordance with the Orthodox Ritual of Poland and Lithuania" (Constitution 1914, Art. I, Sect. 2); "The observance of the strict Orthodox Service as practised by Jews in Poland and Lithuania is the basic principle of this Congregation. Therefore, it is especially provided that the placing of an organ or any other musical instrument in the synagogue for use with the regular morning or evening services, or for men and women to be seated together during divine Services, as is the practice among other denominations, shall never be permitted" (Art. II, Sect. 4); "All officers are required to attend Divine Service on every Sabbath and Holy-days" (Art. III). "No person shall be eligible to membership . . . (who) if married, has not been wedded in accordance with the laws of Moses and Israel. If a member marries contrary to Jewish law he shall be subject to expulsion . . ." (Art. I, Sect. 3). No doubt, it was a rabbi of Brith Shalom who wrote Naphtali Zebi Judah Berlin (1817–1893), head of the *yeshivah* at Volozhin, to ask whether minors or Sabbath-breakers might be included in a *minyan* or religious quorum, and the answer is in his responsa published in Warsaw (1894).[100]

The later constitutions are no less insistent on orthodoxy. "The object of this Congregation shall be to maintain a place or places of worship wherein the form of prayers and ceremonials shall be in conformity with the orthodox Jewish ritual . . . No musical instrument shall be used during divine service in any synagogue under its jurisdiction. Quarters

shall be provided for women worshippers in a section separated from those of the male congregants" (Constitution 1922, Art. I, Sects. 1, 3; Constitution 1945, Arts. 1, 3, except for the use of "Accommodation" instead of "quarters"). "No person shall be eligible to membership in this Congregation who . . . if married, had not been wedded in conformity with Jewish law. Any member marrying contrary to Jewish law shall be subject to expulsion from membership. Provided, however, that in no event shall the remains of the non-Jewish spouse of such a union, or that of any children born of such coverture, be given burial in any of the cemeteries of this Congregation unless they had been previously confirmed in the Jewish faith and were adherents thereof at the time of their demise" (Constitution 1922, Art. II, Sect. 2; Constitution 1945, Art. II, Sect. 2). This would indicate that such marriage did not necessarily result in expulsion. The provision as to officers absenting themselves from divine service is, perhaps, less strict than in the earlier constitution: "Any officer absenting himself from divine service on four consecutive Sabbaths or holidays . . . shall forfeit his right to the office he holds . . ." (Constitution 1922, Art. III, Sect. 2; Constitution 1945, Art. III, Sect. 2).

Brith Shalom has a membership of about two hundred and eighty men. Most of the members were born in Charleston. Thirty-five or so live elsewhere but come to the city for the high, or solemn, holidays.

Beth Israel and Synagogue Emanu-El are offshoots of Brith Shalom. There have also been other meeting-places for prayers. At one time, members of Brith Shalom in business on upper King Street found it difficult to go to St. Philip Street and would meet at 468 King Street; this was known as the "alley *minyan*." (There was also a *mikveh*, or ritual

bath, on the second floor for the women.) When a businessman would come for *Yahrzeit* (anniversary of the death of a parent or other near relative), the custom of the "alley *minyan*" required him to bring whiskey and cookies (*Shnaps und Kichlach*), and all who had gathered for prayers would join him in a drink. At the beginning of this century, a small group formed a congregation that met in Mechanics' Union Hall at King and John Streets. But the members soon rejoined Brith Shalom.

Beth Israel was organized in 1911 by members of Brith Shalom.[101] It is said, in explanation of that secession, that Brith Shalom had elected a president who was not an observer of the Sabbath. To those who objected, he is said to have answered: "Who wants you people with beards?" Whether the story is true or not, Beth Israel was a congregation of men strictly orthodox, and as such attracted immigrants who came to the city after the First World War from pious communities of Poland—Kalushin (Kaluszn) for example.

The new congregation bought a small building that had been a dwelling at 145 St. Philip Street and made it into a synagogue. In 1948, Beth Israel dedicated a new synagogue, the first air-conditioned synagogue in Charleston, on Rutledge Avenue; it cost almost $140,000 of which about a third remained due on a mortgage. It is a large building of yellow brick with two flights of broad stairs to the entrance, and six tall windows on either side. It has a small gallery, but the women sit at the sides where the flooring has been raised six inches or so to make separate sections; these are not curtained off. In 1920, Beth Israel had a membership of about eighty-five men; in 1945, about a hundred and eighty members; and in 1948 about two hundred and forty.



Brith Shalom Synagogue
64 St. Philip Street



Beth Israel Synagogue
182 Rutledge Avenue

Since the hard times that followed the First World War—after an interval of ten years—younger members of Brith Shalom and Beth Israel in many instances are no longer as orthodox in practice as they had been. There are still several stores on upper King Street with a sign such as: "Closed on Saturdays until sundown." There were many such in the 'twenties of this century, and it was a familiar sight to see customers waiting for the stores to open. But after the panic of 1929 and with the new competition of the chain stores, many stores that had been closed on Saturday are now open,[102] even though in Charleston it is no longer unlawful for Jews who observe Saturday as the Sabbath to do business on Sunday.[103]

Service in the army or navy in the Second World War, as no doubt in the First World War, too, made many a young Jew of Charleston less orthodox in practice: there was not only the difficulty of performing the daily rites or observing the dietary laws, but contact with other Jews—from other communities—who had never been observant at all. Before the Second World War, young men, whose parents were orthodox, did not ride on Saturday or smoke in public. Now, it is said, many ride to services at Brith Shalom or Beth Israel but leave their automobiles a few blocks away out of respect for the orthodoxy of the older members. Many no longer eat *kasher* food. Brith Shalom no longer has a *shohet;* the congregation had employed one until 1949 and paid three-quarters of his salary—the rest was paid by the butcher. (The only public *mikvah,* or ritual bath, for women is in the basement of a building to the rear of Brith Shalom's synagogue.) Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that a "Conservative" congregation was organized in 1947.

Although not so radical a departure from Orthodox Juda-

ism as Reform Judaism was a century earlier, Conservative Judaism is also a "modernized" Judaism. It is a comparatively new movement—about thirty-five years old.[104] The name "Conservative Judaism" indicates that its aim is "the conservation of Jewish tradition."[105] Like Reform Judaism, it recognizes the difficulty of keeping Jewish ritual law, as distinguished from Jewish ethical law, under conditions in which Jews live in this country; unlike Reform Judaism, which does not recognize the authority of Jewish law regulating the ceremonial in Judaism, Conservative Judaism clings to the traditional, but " 'allows for the adaptation of basic theological concepts to the changing social and environmental needs.' "[106] It maintains that "any Jewish practice *eo ipso* has a claim upon . . . (Jews), unless it can be proved that it no longer performs a valuable function . . . (and cannot) be reinterpreted to do so,"[107] but that "most of Jewish tradition . . . can be maintained and made meaningful to modern Jews, if properly interpreted."[108] The movement has issued no manifestos or program: one of its rabbis has pointed to this as "in its pragmatic approach and its distrust of abstract theory . . . characteristically American in spirit."[109]

Benjamin S. Axelman had been the rabbi of Brith Shalom from 1927 until 1943. He was also the rabbi of Beth Israel. In 1943, Brith Shalom elected as their rabbi Solomon D. Goldfarb, a graduate of the Conservative Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. In time, under a Conservative rabbi, Orthodox Brith Shalom was becoming Conservative: using a Conservative prayer-book, for example, in which important parts of the service were in English as well as Hebrew, the congregation had late Friday evening services at which men and women sat together; but, since these services are not

required by Orthodox ritual, they were considered by the Orthodox as *oneg shabbat* (gatherings for "enjoyment of the Sabbath") and not a formal service. However, even at formal services, after the synagogue was remodeled in 1947, women sat in the section reserved for them on the main floor of the auditorium—the section, as stated above, the floor of which was elevated one step and curtained off to the height of the arm-rests. In 1947, Rabbi Goldfarb left Charleston for a congregation elsewhere.

In selecting a successor, a number of the members of Brith Shalom, including most of the officers, were in favor of a rabbi who was likewise a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary; and they also favored the adoption of the Conservative prayer-book and approved of men and women sitting together at services—the Conservative practice. At the annual meeting of the congregation in April 1947, a petition for these changes had 125 signatures, and a resolution was introduced to amend the constitution by substituting "traditional" for "orthodox" in the second section of the first article: this read "the form of prayers and ceremonials shall be in conformity with the orthodox Jewish ritual."

The resolution, at a special meeting in July, was defeated by a vote of 100 to 72. (It is questionable whether any such change would have been constitutional if only seven were to vote against it, for the same section of the constitution read that the "Congregation shall not be dissolved nor its object changed so long as seven (7) members in good standing vote to maintain the same.") The resolution lost, many, including most of the officers of Brith Shalom, organized Synagogue Emanu-El in September 1947. They were careful to call it "Synagogue" Emanu-El, although many Conservative congregations, as stated, call themselves "temples." It is

to be noted that some of the opposition to the changes proposed by the seceding members had not arisen out of the orthodoxy of the members themselves but out of reverence for the orthodoxy of their fathers: the *shul* (synagogue) had been Orthodox when their parents worshipped there, and they wished it kept so.

Many of Synagogue Emanu-El did not resign from Brith Shalom and are members of both. Beth Elohim lent the new congregation a *sepher Torah* (scroll of the Law) and Beth Israel lent it a large menorah (seven-branched candlestick). At first the congregation of Emanu-El worshipped in the Jewish Community Center but, after the high holidays, they bought an abandoned army chapel for their synagogue and moved it to the city into a new residential area where a number of well-to-do Jews live—the first Conservative synagogue in Charleston and the state.[110] It is a white building of wood with a red brick entrance, far from the street in a spacious lot; the worshippers enter from the west and face the ark at the eastern wall; as in other army chapels, the ceiling is timbered and there is dark wainscoting below the white walls.

Many Jews of Charleston live at the beaches in the summer. Brith Shalom has a *minyan* at one, and Emanu-El late Friday services, conducted by laymen, at another.

The four congregations of Charleston have almost a thousand members (including wives). The number of Jewish families in Charleston, as stated above, was 589 in 1948, and the congregational membership is almost two for each family (1.7%): a very high rate, particularly since the number of "families" in the survey included almost sixty (57) living alone; a rate of congregational membership unequaled, perhaps, by any other community. In the Jewish community of

Buffalo, well organized though it is, only 50% to 60% of its families belonged to a congregation in 1941;[111] in Stamford, about 28% in 1938 (273 out of 960 families).[112]

One consequence of the respect for the traditional, characteristic of all Charleston, is that a few who can afford it belong, as has been stated, to both Orthodox and Conservative congregations, or even to Reform and Orthodox. The majority of the Jews of Charleston are Orthodox: in the survey by the Bicentennial Planning Committee, 281 heads of families (57.9%) said that they were Orthodox; 116 (23.9%) Conservative; and 70 (14.4%) Reform. Ten men were "indifferent." Wives, in this matter of congregational preference, differed somewhat, in several cases, from their husbands: another instance of the growing independence of women.[113] No woman was "indifferent": an instance, perhaps, of a woman's respect for the good opinion of her neighbors.

In spite of large contributions for the relief of Jews abroad,[114] a moderate prosperity during the last few years has enabled the congregation of Beth Elohim, as stated above, to rebuild the Tabernacle, the congregation of Brith Shalom to remodel its synagogue, Beth Israel to build a large air-conditioned synagogue, and Synagogue Emanu-El to have a synagogue of its own: in all, the cost of new buildings and renovations during the past five years has been between $225,000 and $250,000. In addition, there has been a sharp increase in the cost of maintaining synagogue and religious school.

The aggregate budget for 1948 of the four congregations amounted to about $100,000—a tenfold increase in a decade (this does not include the cost of new buildings or improvements). The average cost per family, at that rate, is about

$175. Brith Shalom at one time, for example, like other Orthodox congregations, was content to have merely a good cantor, but, in the rivalry for members, the congregation found it necessary to have a rabbi as well for his sermons and leadership. The chief item, by way of salary, in Brith Shalom's budget a decade ago was still the cantor's salary—not the rabbi's: in 1936, the cantor's salary was $1,750, the rabbi's only $750. By 1949, the rabbi of the congregation was receiving more than ten times as much, and the cantor three times as much, as rabbi and cantor had been paid respectively. At the same time, the rabbi of Orthodox Beth Israel was receiving about three times as much as the cantor. As for Beth Elohim—with a choir but no cantor—the rabbi's salary was about three times as much as in earlier years.[115]

In 1916, the Sunday school of Beth Elohim was made a Sabbath school, to be held before the morning service, and the school became a member of the Union of Jewish Sabbath Schools. But this did not change, it seems, the "difficulty of procuring teachers," the lack of interest on the part of the pupils "largely due to the parents who failed to cooperate," and the "spirit of merriment . . . (among) children who behaved in the public schools"; the condition of the Sabbath school was summed up as "deplorable."[116] Almost the same complaints had been made in 1882—and, no doubt, at other times.

Today, the religious school of Beth Elohim has ten teachers and about fifty pupils in seven grades, beginning with a kindergarten class. The teachers have been trained to be public-school teachers, and are paid. The Tabernacle, built as a temporary place of worship after the fire of 1838, was enlarged in 1924 through a bequest of Miss Anna Luryea in

time to be used to celebrate the centennial of the beginnings of American Reform Judaism in Charleston; it was torn down in 1948 and replaced by a new building with an auditorium and eight class-rooms—to be dedicated in 1950, as stated above, at the celebration of the founding of the congregation two hundred years before. Here the instruction of the children will include, as indeed it has for the past two years, the latest techniques in education, such as the use of motion-pictures and phonograph records and work in the arts and crafts.

Instruction among the Orthodox Jews of Charleston in the first two or three decades of this century was—as in the generations before—generally by a teacher who went to the homes of his pupils or who had a school in his own home. (Among these were A. Patla, who lived to be very old, some say 106, and Jacob Glasser, who had a room equipped with desks and "graded" classes—all in the same room with most of the children coming at the same time.) Mrs. Lena Berkman, the daughter of Tanchum Pearlstine, one of the founders of Brith Shalom, organized a Sabbath school for the congregation at the beginning of this century. Mrs. Henry Hirschmann (Rosa Sternberger), a member of Beth Elohim, was the superintendent of the school for about forty years.

In 1922, Oscar Levy and others, principally members of Brith Shalom, bought a building on George Street, that had been a Catholic parochial school, for a Jewish community center and an Orthodox Hebrew school. The enrollment in the school in 1927 was about a hundred.[116a] But funds to run the building were soon lacking. In the hard times that followed the panic of 1929, the building was much run down and, in 1938, was used only a few hours a day as an Orthodox Hebrew school. It was finally abandoned to the mortgagees.

In the late 'thirties, however, in 1938 or 1939, another community school, The Hebrew Institute, was established by members of Brith Shalom and Beth Israel, and a building for it erected on St. Philip Street near both synagogues (Beth Israel was then on that street, too). The co-operation between the two congregations did not last, and each in the end withdrew the children of its members: Beth Israel to its own synagogue and Brith Shalom to the Daughters of Israel Hall. (Brith Shalom had acquired this when the Daughters of Israel, an organization of Orthodox Jewish women founded in 1910 by Mrs. Lena Berkman, became the women's auxiliary of the congregation about 1945, at the suggestion of the rabbi, Solomon D. Goldfarb. Their building, of red brick, was built in 1912 on St. Philip Street, next to the synagogue.)

Charleston has today, for the first time, a Hebrew school free to all, opened in 1948.[117] (The religious schools of Beth Elohim and Synagogue Emanu-El are free for those who cannot pay.) About a hundred children attend, chiefly the children of the members of Brith Shalom and Beth Israel. It costs about ten or twelve thousand dollars a year to run. The school has a kindergarten (not free at present) and a Sunday school. The school also runs the congregation of children that conducts a full Orthodox service every Saturday morning, meeting alternately at the synagogues of Brith Shalom and Beth Israel.[118]

This service is particularly touching to the visitor who thinks of just such boys and girls killed in the myriads by the Nazis. The boys wear skull caps and prayer-shawls. The older children are properly grave and attentive, and even the smiling younger boys—who read little and are easily tired—are somewhat awed by the general decorum. The girls sit in their own corner—in the Orthodox fashion. A member of

the senior congregation walks about, saying his prayers and gently urging the younger children to their books. When the writer was present, now and then another member of the senior congregation with a long black beard looked in—his thin ascetic face lighting up at the sight. The children speak Hebrew as Southerners do English: with a drawl, dropping their "r"s, and the Ashkenazi *kametz,* which is pronounced like "a" in "all," has the sound of "o" in "holy."

The school itself, still The Hebrew Institute, is in a modest building in back of Beth Israel's new synagogue and on its grounds; and there, too, in a building of its own is the kindergarten.[119]

Beth Elohim had three cemeteries in 1881: at Coming Street, Rikersville, and Hanover Street. The minutes have a reference, once in a while, to the necessity of draining the cemetery at Rikersville. In 1887, the congregation bought a cemetery on Huguenin Avenue, and bodies and gravestones at Rikersville and Hanover Street were removed to the new cemetery.

Among the tombs here is the striking mausoleum of Thomas W. Mordecai in the very center—of dark red brick. Here, too, with her kin—to name only one of many devoted members of Beth Elohim—lies Bluhma Cohen (Mrs. Lee Loeb), who died in 1941 an old woman of almost ninety; she had given the congregation the eternal light that hangs in the synagogue and pointer, shield and bells for the Torah. The cemetery is near the railway tracks and now and then the bell of a locomotive is heard to ring slowly, breaking the long silence. In the old cemetery at Coming Street, behind the high wall of red brick with its memorial tablets of white marble, the green iron fencing about some of the family

plots has a design of weeping willows; many carefully chiselled inscriptions are now hardly legible: even these "the Lord hath taken away."

Brith Shalom's first cemetery, near Magnolia Cemetery, is now crowded. In the center is a monument erected by the Jewish citizens of Charleston to their "fellow townsman," Samuel David Turteltaub, born in Galicia in 1896, a lieutenant in the United States infantry, who "volunteered for service in the World War and (was) killed in action" in 1918. On the monument is a bronze plaque with a quotation from his citation for bravery.[120] Beth Israel's cemetery is near by.

Brith Shalom has another cemetery at Maryville. Here, in what was then a remote field that had just begun to be used as a burial-ground, Jacob Emanuel de Valencia in 1888 buried his "noble wife," Janette (Kornmann), who had been born in 1866 in Baden, Germany; in a medallion on the large flat stone, in the finest of craftsmanship, is a hand holding a hatchet and cutting down a weeping willow, and below this a Hebrew elegy and an English translation beginning: "Woe is the cry for those who are lost and cannot be found." Synagogue Emanu-El has a burial-ground next to Brith Shalom's at Maryville—the gift of Leon Steinberg.

All four Jewish congregations have "brotherhoods" and "sisterhoods" that are associated with the congregations and assist them in their religious, educational, social and financial programs. Of the twenty or so organizations limited to no particular congregation, the oldest are the Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Hebrew Orphan Society, and the Council of Jewish Women; the youngest, and very active, the Jewish Community Center. In the history of the older organizations—as in the history of the congregations, too—

it is interesting to note how the obligation to serve is inherited, and those who shirk it are not regarded with much favor by the Jewish community; for, in spite of the community's respect for descent, no one can claim any standing in it by birth alone.

The Hebrew Benevolent Society had hardly weathered the difficult times after the War Between the States before its members felt called upon to help refugees from the Russian massacres who were reaching the city. The society (Joseph Triest, president) was spending more than its income for this purpose in 1882, when it was relieved of this burden by the newly-organized Russian Emigrant Aid Society. In 1886, the society was compelled to call upon other Jewish charitable associations of the United States for assistance in caring for Jews of Charleston who had suffered in the earthquake; and it received almost one hundred remittances in reply. The membership then was somewhat more than fifty.

In 1905 the society, without much success, tried to induce Jewish immigrants to settle in South Carolina, preferably as farmers, instead of adding to the congestion in New York. In 1911, when Montague Triest, Joseph Triest's grandson, was president—Maier Triest, Montague Triest's son, has also been president—the society decided to lend money instead of giving it, so that, according to the minutes, "recipients . . . (may) endeavor . . . to render unnecessary the continued charity of the Community"; and loans without interest, in amounts of fifty to one hundred dollars, became an important part of its work. The names of those helped were no longer spread upon the minutes as in the early days. (Now they are also kept from the members at large.) That year (1911) Isaac M. Pearlstine, the son of one of the founders of

Brith Shalom and himself president of the congregation several terms, died; he had been chairman of the society's Committee on Benevolence for a generation, and he was succeeded by Jacob Turteltaub, who had come to Charleston as an immigrant from Galicia. Jacob Turteltaub was chairman of the committee from 1911 until the end of 1926, when he was succeeded by his son, Max Turteltaub, who was the chairman until his death in 1949 and also chairman of a similar committee of the Hebrew Orphan Society.

Much of the income of the society at one time was derived from the annual Purim ball—the largest masquerade ball held in Charleston—to which many non-Jews came. But about twenty or twenty-five years ago, the ball lost its attraction: perhaps because the society decided, in 1918, to eliminate "games of chance." By 1922, the society was alloting sums from its income to other institutions and organizations and had become—for the most part—a donor acting through special agencies. In that year, for example, most of its income went to the Strangers' Aid Society of Charleston and to the B'nai B'rith's orphan-home in Atlanta. The loan fund, since 1947 known as the "J. Goldman Memorial Fund," is now used to aid Jewish immigrants. Money for charitable purposes is still being left the society: about four years ago, for example, Mrs. E. M. Solomons, who had been the first woman to be a trustee of Beth Elohim, left the Hebrew Benevolent Society a bequest of $30,000 to "provide nursing care for the poor of the city."

The society has about one hundred and sixty members. Its 165th annual meeting was held in 1949.

For about fifty years, membership in the Hebrew Orphan Society has been limited to eighteen members, and the actual membership was sixteen in 1948. Membership is on

"application upon invitation," based on an interest in benevolence, since the members are virtually trustees of the society's funds—now about $45,000. Much of this sum was derived from the sale of the society's buildings a few years ago.

When B'nai B'rith established an orphan home in Atlanta in 1876 (open to the children of Jews residing in South Carolina and several other states as well as Georgia), the Hebrew Orphan Society of Charleston used the home for any orphan in its charge, and made the home an annual appropriation that from 1909 on was $500. (This asylum is no longer in existence and the children live in "foster homes"[121]—but there have been no orphans from Charleston there for some time.) However, the society's charities have never been limited to the assistance of orphans.

The members of the Hebrew Orphan Society meet once a year at a dinner. (The 148th annual meeting and dinner was held in 1949.) As in the case of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, no mention is made of the names of individuals helped, and both societies, using civic agencies (not directly but through the Jewish Community Center), now keep their assistance hidden from the beneficiaries, too.

Among the records of the society the following letter addressed to an officer is not without interest:

> For many years we have been beneficiaries of your charitable organization, and it has been our support during our most trying times. Now we are no longer entitled to it. We ask you, therefore, please discontinue our monthly allowance. We fervently thank your benevolent associates for your efforts in our behalf, and hope you will be blessed by others as you are by us.

The Happy Workers was organized in 1889 for the care of needy children; Miss Addie Solomons was the first president and Miss Florida Fabian the first secretary-treasurer. Membership, at first, was open to "any single lady"; but it was limited, in fact, to the families of Beth Elohim. Since 1894, married women might join and, since the first decade of this century, those who did not belong to Beth Elohim. For a number of years, the society conducted a sewing-class for poor girls, particularly the children of immigrants. During the Second World War, it was especially helpful when children of soldiers were in need. It is no longer a separate organization: in 1949 it became a committee of the Charleston Section of the National Council of Jewish Women.

The Charleston Section of the National Council of Jewish Women was organized in 1906 by Mrs. Octavus Cohen (the daughter of Israel and Rosalie Moïse Ottolengui). More than one woman belonging to Beth Elohim could say in 1948, as one of them did: "In my mother's days, members of our temple did not know the members of the other congregations." But the Charleston Section of the National Council of Jewish Women made a point of advertising that they would "be glad to welcome any Jewish woman . . . who wishes to join the organization,"[122] and did their best to break down the isolation of the immigrants and engage the women of Brith Shalom and Beth Israel in common civic projects. For several years, the section conducted a night school for immigrants and an afternoon school for immigrant mothers, as stated above, as well as a non-sectarian kindergarten. Among their civic projects have been aid for Roper Hospital through the organization of the Roper Hospital Auxiliary (1911), the advocacy of medical inspection in schools (1912), and aid for the hard of hearing through

the organization of the League for the Hard of Hearing (1927).

Dan Lodge, of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith (originally an organization of German Jews), was organized in Charleston in 1867—all business to be transacted in English according to Article I of the by-laws. The lodge was reorganized about 1907, no longer as a secret society with insurance benefits. The "anti-defamation" work of Arthur V. Williams, for thirty years chairman of a committee of B'nai B'rith for that purpose, was successful in stopping insulting references to Jews in newspapers and on the stage. (The non-Jewish owner of the local vaudeville theatre and the police were friendly enough, but the Jewish actors who made their living ridiculing Jews were uncooperative—at first.) The committee also helped prevent the teaching of religion in the public schools. In 1947, Rabbi Bertram Klausner, then of Beth Elohim, organized a chapter of the Hillel Foundation, sponsored by B'nai B'rith, at the Military College of South Carolina in Charleston ("The Citadel").

The Kalushiner Society was organized in 1922 by a group of immigrants from Kalushin (Kaluszn), in Russian Poland,[123] to meet as friends, to send money home to those in need and to help each other, particularly in case of sickness. This last was emphasized in the oath members took when joining. In 1923, the society was re-organized to admit others than those from Kalushin, and an added purpose was to lend the members small sums. (In these loans the society has not lost a cent.) In 1947 it had a membership of one hundred and ten. It used to have a picnic in summer and it still has an annual dinner. The members, as a rule, have prospered. The sick no longer have to depend on the care of fellow members. The society still has sick benefits and insurance

for its members, but these are incidental. The meetings are no longer conducted in Yiddish nor are the minutes written in that language.

The Jewish War Veterans have a post in Charleston, named after Samuel D. Turteltaub; it was organized in 1925 and re-organized in 1945. It has about two hundred members.[124]

There were Zionists in Charleston as early as 1897, and an organization, "Bnie Zion Society," in 1917. It would meet in the Daughters of Israel Hall, and the minutes were kept in English but were ill-written and misspelled.[125] By 1920, the minutes were well written and the spelling correct. The Sons of Zion Society, as it was now called, still met in the Daughters of Israel Hall. In 1922, "M Straznir complained that the proceedings of the meetings are conducted in English and he pointed out that there are many members who are not versed in this language and they are, therefore, debarred from taking part in debates" (Minutes, p. 57). It was then decided that the proceedings should be conducted in Yiddish. In 1924, the Sons of Zion became a "district" of the Zionist Organization of America (the only district in the state): the membership was still the same—a hundred or so. But at a meeting in February 1928, for example, only eighteen were present, including Rabbi Raisin of Beth Elohim and Rabbi Axelman of Brith Shalom and Beth Israel. In 1933, there were only thirty-one members in good standing, and in 1936 it had become "a one-man Zionist district:" Joseph Goldman, secretary for many years, collected the dues, was a delegate to every convention, and called a meeting once or twice a year.

In 1944, however, due to the frightful deaths of millions of Jews at the hands of the Nazis and the plight of Jewish

refugees with no place to stay or go to, interest in Zionism and in Palestine as a land of refuge for the refugees grew greatly throughout the country and no less in Charleston.[126] The membership of the Zionist district has now grown to about four hundred.

The Charleston chapter of Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization, was organized in 1921 by Jane Lazarus Raisin (Mrs. Jacob S. Raisin). In 1927 it had about forty members; today it has about four hundred.[127]

The Jewish Welfare Fund of Charleston is a member of the Southeastern Region of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. As a member, planning for local welfare, a home for the Jewish aged (none now in South Carolina) or the care of orphans, for example, is regional instead of limited to Charleston. The chief beneficiary of the Charleston Welfare Fund at present is the United Jewish Appeal and the sum raised annually goes principally for the relief of Jews abroad,[128] but the Fund is intended to be a permanent fund for local needs.

The Jewish Community Center is in the two-story building of yellow brick on St. Philip Street built in 1939 for the Charleston Hebrew Institute. The upper floor had been left unfinished and was made into a dance-hall for soldiers and sailors by the Jewish community of Charleston as part of the program of the National Jewish Welfare Board and the United Service Organizations (USO) during the Second World War. In 1945, the Jewish Community Center rented the building for a number of years.

There have been similar organizations in Charleston—much more limited in scope, however, and none so well organized. A "Young Men's Hebrew Association" was formed in 1877 and Rabbi David Levy of Beth Elohim was elected

president.[129] The Hebrew Benevolent Society, according to their minutes, met in 1903, and again in 1904, at the rooms of a Young Men's Hebrew Association at 232 King Street. In the latter year, the association reprinted "A Century of Judaism in South Carolina (1800–1900)," by Barnett A. Elzas from the Centennial Edition of the Charleston *News and Courier*. A "Jewish Alliance" was established in 1914 by Rabbi J. T. Loeb of Brith Shalom, and it met in the Daughters of Israel Hall on St. Philip Street. It had literary programs and lecturers, its meetings were crowded, but after Rabbi Loeb left Charleston the Alliance had no meetings. A report of the Council of Young Men's Hebrew Associations and Kindred Associations for 1920 listed such an association in Charleston—the only one in the state.

When the Catholic parochial school that had been at 54 George Street was purchased for an Orthodox Hebrew school,[130] the building was also used for a Jewish community center: this was organized in 1923.[131] A number of organizations met in the building, including Hadassah, the Kalushiner Society and the Boy Scouts, but by 1927 there was a shortage of funds for running it and, in the hard times that followed, the building, as stated above, was abandoned—except for the Hebrew school.

The Jewish community of Charleston, Reform and Orthodox, had met in the patriotic work of the USO during the Second World War,[132] and it was generally felt that they should continue to work together for the general good. Accordingly, a meeting of the Jewish organizations in the city was called to discuss a Jewish center—to serve all in the city, young and old, Reform and Orthodox. The Jewish Community Center of Charleston, as a result, was incorporated in 1945, each organization of the city, if qualified, to be

represented.[133] In this respect, the Jewish Community Center is also a community council. Nathan Shulman, who had been director of the Jewish Welfare Board in Charleston and of its share in the work of the USO, became executive director: a position he still holds (1950).[134]

The work of the Center is manifold: it is a cultural agency, a social agency, a health agency and a financial agency. The cultural work includes lectures secured by various organizations but delivered at the Center; it has run Yiddish films, for example; and it keeps the calendar of community events to keep them from conflicting. It is the agency for the Charleston Jewish Welfare Fund; the Fund's office is in the Center, and the executive director of the Center is also the paid secretary of the Welfare Fund. The Center refers to the civic agencies for investigation cases involving residents and applies to the local Jewish charities for the necessary funds; however, it helps Jewish transients without calling upon the civic agencies. Among its functions, the Center includes raising of funds for purposes in which the community is interested, the relief of refugees in the United States, for example.

The Jewish Community Center derives its own funds from the Jewish Welfare Fund, from the Community Chest of Charleston County,[135] from the dues of members, and from entertainments. In 1948, it cost about $17,000 to run. In 1949, the Endowment Fund of the Jewish Community Center of Charleston was organized:[136] one of its purposes is to erect a new building for the Center.

There was a Young Men's Hebrew Club in Charleston in 1918, for the Bnie Zion Society appointed a committee to visit it (Minutes, Bnie Zion, p. 3). A Jewish Literary Club was mentioned in 1925 (*ibid.*, p. 119). There was also a

Yiddish literary society in 1933–35 that discussed Yiddish literature and heard lectures. But none of these has survived.

Brith Shalom and Beth Israel have a burial society in common. The *Chevra Kadisha* have an arrangement with a non-Jewish undertaker, for there is no Jewish undertaker in Charleston. The society meets once a year for the traditional *Chevra Kadisha* dinner and on the previous Saturday the members are given special honors in the synagogue—which they alternate.

## 4. By Way of Conclusion

A French aristocrat, visiting Charleston in 1817, wrote:

> Those people whom I should call *gentlemen* here, in spite of the republic, do not have that morose look that one can reproach in the inhabitants of the northern states. Their air is frank and open. Good breeding has made great progress among them; they are hospitable in the country, sociable and obliging in the city. They are almost the only Americans to whom laughter is natural and easy. I think even that the gradations that time cannot fail to bring about in them will all be to their advantage.[137]

One gradation that time has brought about is that what was true of "gentlemen"—if only of these—is now generally true, and that "along the coast good manners" may be found "in all classes . . ."[138]

It is not surprising, perhaps, that such a sociable community should have six hundred or so social, civic and cultural associations.[139] The Jewish community, for its number, has in proportion at least as many: as stated above, it has twenty or so organizations connected with no particular congregation, to say nothing of four congregations and the auxiliary




Jewish Community Center
58 St. Philip Street



Beth Elohim Synagogue
72 Hasell Street
Built in 1840



Synagogue Emanu-El
78 Gordon Street
A converted Army Chapel

societies of each. Men and women are expected to give at least their time to activities of the community, and he who separates himself from the community in this respect is not well thought of. Members of one congregation will help those of another in the spirit of friendliness that is characteristic of Charleston. In such a community of many organizations, men and women, boys and girls, belong to several; and eloquence, as a result, is as common as the palmetto. It is not a flamboyant variety, but the ability to state facts and feelings clearly and simply—sometimes not without the salt of wit.

It would be a mistake to attribute to a recent rise in prosperity the role of "a great social leveler" in such a community; nor was the Jewish community of Charleston ever "stratified into family prestige groups." It is true that between immigrants who made their living as peddlers and could hardly speak or understand the language of the land, and who also belonged to an Orthodox congregation using the Polish ritual, and the descendants of old families who worshipped in the Reform congregation and made their living at more dignified occupations there may have been few occasions to meet in Charleston—or anywhere. But all Charleston, with very few exceptions, was poor for many years after the War Between the States and poverty alone—if not exactly an honor, as the Jewish saying goes—kept no one from the society of his fellow Jews. If Charleston Jews who were descendants of old and distinguished families were proud of their descent and took it seriously, they also wore it lightly as a dignity to which they were well accustomed.

For example, the rabbi and the most distinguished members of Beth Elohim, quite unashamed of their fellow Jews, joined the poverty-stricken German and Polish immigrants

in a procession through the principal streets of the city when Brith Shalom dedicated its synagogue in the 'seventies; women who belonged to the oldest families of the Jewish community went out of their way to teach and help Russian and Polish immigrants at the beginning of this century; the able immigrant, a Jacob Turteltaub for instance, was welcomed to important posts in the oldest Jewish societies. Whatever scorn these immigrants met with was by those who had once been immigrants themselves, like Leeser, who was just a visitor in Charleston, and Elzas.

The "great social leveler" in the Jewish community of Charleston was Americanism: the immigrants became Americans and spoke a common language with those whose ancestors had been here for centuries. Many, indeed the majority of Charleston's Jews, still are Orthodox; some have made money and others are still poor; some descendants of old Jewish families in Charleston are engaged in humble occupations and others who were peddlers or are the children of peddlers have callings of dignity and honor; however, they meet as equals in Charleston thanks to no "recent rise in prosperity" but as fellow Jews and fellow Americans.

Although the Jewish community of Charleston is old and has been a part of the general community for at least two centuries, it would also be a mistake to say that the community never had to "adjust" itself as younger Jewish communities had to. Like all American Jewish communities, young and old, the Jewish community of Charleston had Jews who were adjusted to the general community because they came from, more or less, similar communities. And the community, even of Charles Town, likewise had Jews who, because they were immigrants from non-English-speaking communities and also, in many cases, from rural commun-

ities, had many adjustments to make—made in some cases only by their children.

The proportion of native-born Jews in the Jewish community of Charleston today is high (76%) and, as in other American Jewish communities, increasing. There are Jews of Charleston today who feel at home because their ancestors have walked the narrow streets for two centuries and more, have sat in the councils of the city and have fought in all the wars of the country; but the average Jew of Charleston does not feel at home because the Jewish community is old: Jews in other countries have belonged to much older communities and have never felt at home there. He feels at home because he belongs to an American community where by law and tradition he is free and equal.

The Jewish immigrant is welcomed, too, by the non-Jews of Charleston,[140] although by some because he is white.[141]

A rise of a rung or two in the economic scale and roots in the community have been followed in Charleston, as in other American cities, by a withdrawal from Orthodox Judaism. It was not too difficult to remain Orthodox in Charleston, nor is it difficult. Many families, well-rooted, respected and successful, fifty years and more in the land, are members of the Orthodox congregations. New arrivals who wished to become what earlier immigrants were did not have to abandon Orthodoxy. The newcomer generally made his living at peddling or by running a small store and had plenty of time for every requirement of the Orthodox ritual; and their children had the example of friends and companions who were, and remained, Orthodox.

Nevertheless, although the majority of Jews in Charleston, as stated, are still Orthodox, just as children and grandchildren of the first members of Brith Shalom, to say nothing

of Shearith Israel, sooner or later became members of Reform Beth Elohim, so, in this generation, some of the children of Orthodox Jews have also joined the Reform congregation. Others have joined the new Conservative synagogue. But if Charleston Jewry is moving away from Orthodoxy, as it has been doing for a century and more, it is doing so more slowly than in other cities, and this is partly so because of Charleston's conservative atmosphere and reverence for the past.

For if, among Charleston's Jews, may be found the distinguished woman who knows more people in St. Michael's than in the Reform congregation of Beth Elohim—St. Michael's sounding the quarter hour in a somewhat scratchy baritone but the hours in deep, solemn tones—there is also the young Jew born in Charleston of parents born there, too, or who came there as children, to all appearance a young man as Charlestonian as any living south of Broad Street, and yet one who observes the Jewish Sabbath strictly. After the Sabbath meal he sings the songs his father's father sang and does so with the very gestures and joy of a Polish *hasid* —proving that Orthodox Judaism still flourishes in Charleston in the third generation. And there is also the young Jew (whose parents now belong to the Reform congregation) who, after listening with pleasure to the latest songs on a phonograph, will put on Orthodox prayers as sung by a famous cantor, saying reverently: "My grandfather owned these records."

Unlike other communities, Charleston has never had a residential "Jewish district." True enough, the synagogue of Brith Shalom, the Daughters of Israel Hall, and the Jewish Community Center are on one block, but the neighborhood is not Jewish. Recently, a number of well-to-do Jews have moved to a new neighborhood northwest of the older dis-

tricts, and here Emanu-El has its synagogue; but as many non-Jews, at least, as Jews live there.

There has been intermarriage between the Jews of Charleston and Christians,[142] as everywhere in the United States: not only among descendants of families that have been long in the land but among children of Orthodox immigrants. It has been estimated that in this generation of Charleston's Jews, by this time, eight or nine marriages out of every hundred are cases of intermarriage; in the two generations preceding this, more than fourteen out of every hundred. But much trust should not be put upon percentages based on broad, perhaps ambiguous and hurried, questions; on replies, not always willing, to questioners, often inexperienced; and, finally, on percentages, where the numbers actually involved are small as in Charleston. In the records of one old Jewish family of Charleston of which eight generations are listed, dating back to the founder who was born towards the end of the seventeenth century, it may be of interest to note that the first cases of intermarriage recorded in the family took place when two great-grandsons, out of a family of nine children born about the end of the eighteenth century, married out of the faith. The children of these two became Christians. In the sixth generation, out of a family of eight children born about the middle of the nineteenth century, two sons also married Christians and their children were Christians. In the next generation, of a family of four children, one daughter married a Christian and one son married a Christian who became a Jewess.

The Jews of Charleston who left Judaism, or who married out of the faith, did not do so, necessarily, to escape from it, as in less tolerant communities, or for the sake of advancement: their Judaism, with no pressure from without and

without any inner conviction, simply dissolved in the friendly air. J. Barrett Cohen (1835–85), the lawyer, for example, soon after his graduation from the College of Charleston, delivered an oration before the South Carolina Historical Society on its first anniversary (1856) in which he referred to the fact that Baron Rothschild, lord mayor of London, could not take his seat in Parliament at that time because he was a Jew.[143] Almost thirty years later, he delivered the oration in the synagogue of Beth Elohim at the celebration of the centennial of the birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore in 1884; leading Christians of the city, including Mayor Courtenay, came to hear him, and the Charleston *News and Courier* reported the celebration under the caption "The Whole World Kin."[144] Certainly, here was no attempt to escape from Judaism, and yet the Charleston *Courier* (September 23, 1862) carried the following marriage notice: "Married, in Richmond, Va., on the 15th instant, at St. Paul's Church, by Rev. Dr. Minnegerode, J. Barrett Cohen, of Charleston, to Miss Marie Young, of New Orleans." Those who abandoned Judaism as a rule kept their Jewish names.

Marriages between Jews and Christians in Charleston are generally, it has been said—as if the city is an exception in this respect—between those in the same social class, and this is cited as an illustration of the social equality of the Jews in the city. For the general experience, according to some, is that Jews marry beneath them—socially and economically.[145] This may have been true once but it is questionable now, for intermarriage is now—within the range of common observation—often the result of acquaintance in high school or college and the Jew is as apt to be the inferior, socially and economically, as the Christian.

Looking back at the religious schools of Charleston before

the present schools, too much stress should not be put on casual and unpremeditated remarks. One member of the present community may sum up his Sunday-school education as "zero" and then add to explain his devotion to Judaism: "I was raised with a deep pride in my origin—in the religious tradition of my family." Another member of the community, also active in Jewish communal affairs, who brought up her children as Jews although she herself had married outside the faith, may explain her interest in Judaism by "a sense of personal dignity and pride" and add: "I did not learn much in the Sunday-school about Judaism and the Jewish people to be proud of, but somehow we did not need the knowledge, we did not need the meat—we had enough red blood-corpuscles." It is quite likely that by these comments no more is meant than an attempt to evaluate the formal Jewish education received beside the education received at home, in the Jewish community, and perhaps in the synagogue at services.

There is no record of great Jewish learning in Charleston in spite of loyalty to Judaism. But there was not much Jewish scholarship anywhere in the United States until larger and much richer communities began to bring scholars from abroad in the second half of the nineteenth century. And even Charleston had scholars in fields of Jewish learning, to mention only Raisin and Elzas.

Before the Jewish Community Center of Charleston referred cases to a civic agency, no Jewish family ever came for aid to the civic agencies—the Department of Public Welfare or the Family Agency, for example. Nor, to date, has there been a case of a delinquent Jewish child in court.[146]

Living as they do in an old city, among citizens that remember, and are proud of, its history, the Jews of the city

are also mindful and proud of the history of their own institutions and societies. They are mindful and proud, too, of the history and the present ante-bellum beauty of their city. A Jew who has risen from errand boy to have his own stores, in explaining why he wished them not merely to attract trade but also to add to the beauty of the city and reflect it, says: I am like one of those peasants in Europe who before they drink wine pour some of it back on the ground from which it came.[147] Jews, no less than other Charlestonians, have a great respect for genealogy; as a member of one of the old families (non-Jewish) explained: that is how we trace the descent of spiritual qualities as well as descent of property.

Steeped in its history and genealogy as its citizens are, it is not strange, then, that in Charleston, where there is perhaps more independence of judgment with the courage to act on it than in any other city of the United States, there is also greater respect for tradition. As another member of an old family (also non-Jewish) said: schism and orthodoxy, in religion as well as in politics, flourish here. It is in the Jewish community of Charleston, accordingly, that Jews must look for the beginnings of Reform Judaism in the United States and here, too, they will find an American Orthodoxy flourishing today that will not have even the modifications of Conservative Judaism.

# APPENDIX AND NOTES

# APPENDIX

## A. Income and Disbursements of Beth Elohim at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

In 1800, when the congregation had 107 members and contributors, its income was about eight hundred pounds. Much of it was in voluntary offerings. Daniel Hart, for example, gave about fifty pounds in 1800. Other gifts were by way of legacies. (During this period, for example: Moses Molina, "unto the Portuguese Jewish Congregation of *Beth Elohim Unve Shalom* fifteen Pounds Sterling," *Will Book,* vol. 21, 1783–86, pp. 774, 775; Joseph Myers, "Shop-Keeper," "as to my real & personal Estate . . . Three fourths to the Congregation of the Jews Synagogue in Charleston . . . distinguished and known by the Name of *Kall Kodish Elohim* of which I belong & a Congregator thereof," *ibid.,* vol. 22, 1786–93, p. 191; Hymon Hart, "Ten Guineas," *ibid.,* vol. 24, 1786–93, pp. 946–948; Hart Moses Hart, "K. K. Bait Elohen Fifety Pound Sterling," *ibid.,* vol. 25, 1793–1800, pp. 317, 318; Jacob Jacobs, "ten pounds," *ibid.,* vol. 26, 1793–1800, pp. 640–644; Philip Hart, "to the Synagogue in Charleston two hundred pounds," *ibid.,* 1793–1800, pp. 397, 398; Alexander M. Hart, "Gentleman," "Ten Pounds Currency of this State," *ibid.,* vol. 26, 1793–1800, pp. 607, 608; Philip Moses, Sr., "Butcher," "unto the Hebrew Synagogue called K. K. Bethloeme . . . Ten Pounds," *ibid.,* vol. 27, 1793–1800, pp. 848, 849; Ester Azuby, "the balance" of her estate "whatever it may be . . . as a grateful acknowledgement of the support generously given me, after the dissolution of my late worthy husband," *ibid.,* vol. 30, 1800–7, pp. 855, 856; Solomon Hart, "and the residue of my Estate to go one half to the Hebrew Congregation," *ibid.,* vol. 30, 1800–7, p. 863; Hart Solomons, "One hundred Dollars to Purchase a Sephar (*Torah* written in Hebrew) for the use of the Synagogue," *ibid.,* vol. 33, 1807–18, pp. 1348, 1349; Benjamin Davis, who made his mark as signature to the will, "to the Hebrew congregation of Rahy Godoys Beath Elswhal of Charleston Three Hundred dollars," *ibid.,* vol. 39, 1826–34, p. 903.)

Members were assessed according to their means. Not a little of the income was from the fines with which the vestry disciplined the members. These, too, varied according to the means of the members and might be in shillings or in pounds.

Abraham Azuby was the *hazan* or reader of Beth Elohim in 1800. His salary in 1800 was a hundred pounds a year. Israel Davis, the

*shohet* (ritual slaughterer of cattle and poultry for the congregation), was paid sixty pounds. Hart Levi, the sexton, forty-five pounds. He was also "*Shomar* (watchman) to the children" for which he was paid sixty pounds: "his function as *Shomar* was to help in the religious school, to take the children to school and back home, etc., in other words, assistant teacher, like the Ashkenazic *Behelfer*" (Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, August 3, 1949). Lyon Levy was secretary of the congregation at a salary of twenty pounds a year and Hyam Jacob "shomar of market" (ritual inspector of meat for sale). For this he was paid twenty pounds a year. (Emanuel Ezekiel is also listed among the Jews of Charleston in 1800 as a *shohet*.)

In addition to the salaries of its employees in 1800, and twenty pounds as a pension for Abraham Jones, who, according to a marriage notice in 1792, was "clerk to the Hebrew synagogue," the congregation spent almost sixty pounds for wax and making candles and about 125 pounds in charity: more than eighty pounds in donations to the poor, besides about thirty-five pounds for the sick and in doctors' bills, and about ten pounds to help Jewish wayfarers—"to Poor coming & going." In 1818, for example, the congregation spent for this:

| | |
|---|---|
| A Marks for departure | $15 |
| Little Englishman | 5 |
| Little Dutchwoman | 5 |
| Departure for Polander..... | |

Abraham Azuby's widow—he died in 1805—received his salary and the use of the house in which she lived until another *hazan* should be elected. (She was then to have a pension of $300 a year for life.) See Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina*, and the account book of Beth Elohim for 5560 (C.E. 1800).

B. The Petition of Forty-Seven Members of Beth Elohim Asking for Changes in the Ritual, 1824

To the President and Members of the Adjunta of Kaal Kadosh
Beth Elohim of Charleston, South Carolina

Gentlemen,

THE memorial of the undersigned, showeth unto your honourable body, that they have witnessed with deep regret, the apathy and neglect which have been manifested towards our holy religion. As inheritors of the true faith, and always proud to be considered by the world as a portion of "God's chosen people," they have been pained

to perceive the gradual decay of that system of worship, which, for ages past, peculiarly distinguished us from among the nations of the earth. Not unmindful, however, of the various causes which regulate human conduct; and at the same time, unwilling to shield themselves from any censure to which their actions may justly entitle them, they have ingenuously investigated the reasons which may have led them from the Synagogue, and are now seriously impressed with the belief, that certain defects which are apparent in the present system of worship, are the sole causes of the evils complained of.

In pointing out these defects, however, 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 honourable body. By causing the Hasan, or reader, to repeat in English such part of the Hebrew prayers 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 the 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.

These results, it is respectfully submitted, would be sufficient of themselves to induce the alterations requested. But your memorialists cannot fail to impress upon the minds of your honourable body, the singular advantages this practice would produce upon the habits and

attention of the younger branches of the congregation; besides the necessity of good behaviour, which the solemnity of the service should impose, they would become gradually better acquainted with the nature of our creed, the principal features which distinguish the Jew from every other religious denomination, and the meaning, and the reason, of our various forms and ceremonies. Believing, at the same time, that the above views of what is indispensable to the preservation of our faith, will meet with the approbation of every reflecting and liberal mind—they repeat, that they are actuated by no other motive, than to see our Synagogue in a better, a more wholesome, and a more respectable state of discipline; to see it elicit that regard from Jew and Gentile, which its great character deserves, and should always commend; and finally, not to destroy long standing institutions, but to accommodate them to the progress of time, and change of situation and circumstances.

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 the service. In submitting this article of our memorial to the consideration of your honourable 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 honourable 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 further submit to your honourable body whether, in the history of the civilized world, there can be found a single parallel of a people, addressing the *Creator* in a language not understood *by that people?* It is indeed surprising, that heretofore no innovation has ever been *attempted*, although it is readily admitted your honourable body may boast of many very enlightened liberal and intelligent members.

Your memorialists would next call the particular attention of your honourable 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. This must be evident to every reflecting mind, when it is seen, that notwithstanding the evil

complained of, the service of the Sabbath, for instance, continues until *twelve* o'clock, although usually commencing at *nine*. It is therefore manifest, that, according to the prayer of your memorialists, should the service be in the future conducted with due solemnity, and in a slow, distinct, and impressive tone, its length would certainly occupy the attention of the congregation, until two o'clock, if not later.

The *Offerings* will next command the attention of your honourable body; and upon this part of our memorial, we would respectfully crave the favour of a patient hearing, while we clearly set forth the entire uselessness and impropriety of this custom. In the first place, your memorialists earnestly protest against the unwise and absurd practice of rendering in the Spanish language, any offerings which may be intended to benefit the Synagogue, or which may be otherwise identified with our holy religion. Besides the free scope which the practice of offering in a language understood by few, affords to mischievous, and designing men to pollute the holy altars by gratifying their evil intentions—we certainly think it highly inconsistent to select for this very purpose, the language of a people from whom we have suffered, and continue to suffer, so much persecution. But forgetting for a moment this consideration, your memorialists would further suggest to your honourable body, whether the arrangement recently made in the financial transactions of the congregation, would not altogether supercede the necessity of any offerings whatever? This is most seriously and strenuously desired by your memorialists, because they are prepared to show, by an act of your own body, that the practice of offering is not the result of any imperious necessity, but merely intended as an idle and absurd indulgence. By the 11th Article of the Constitution of your honourable body, it is provided, that such offerings as are made by any member of the congregation, shall, at the end of the year, be deducted out of the amount of his annual subscription, as well as that of his wife, if he be a married man. According to this part of the Constitution, a revenue is created independent of the offerings which are subsequently made and deducted out of the amount of subscription at the end of the year. Your memorialists would, therefore, inquire, wherein exists the necessity, under this arrangement, of any offerings whatever? How, and in what manner, the support of the congregation depends upon them? and, in a word, whether the above article is not a tacit admission by your Constitution, that so much of the offerings as may amount to the annual subscription of a member, was never intended as a means of supporting the congregation, inasmuch as the whole amount is already anticipated long before a single offering is

made! In fact, many persons, when their amount of assessment is exhausted in offerings, are induced to go out and remain in the Synagogue yard, to prevent being compelled to offer against their will,—a practice irregular, indecorous, and highly to be censured,—because it sets an ill example to our children, and draws upon us the eyes of strangers.

Your memorialists are aware, it may be said, that some few subscribers offer more than the amount of their annual subscription. But to this it may be answered, that it is certainly not difficult for the general body, in their wisdom and discretion, to devise some means equally profitable to the congregation, and at the same time, as well calculated to meet the views of the liberal, without resorting to a practice, which only interrupts the worship of God, and is productive of so little good. Your memorialists therefore respectfully suggest, that the addition in numbers to your body, which it is expected will shortly take place, will greatly aid in the funds, and serve as an additional reason why the offerings should be abolished; but as a further inducement for their entire abolishment, your memorialists would respectfully recommend, the propriety and expediency of addressing to the understanding of the people, and more particularly to the younger branches of the congregation, appropriate discourses, *in the place and at the very time the offerings are usually made.*

According to the present mode of reading the Parasa, 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 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.

It is also worthy of observation, that a number of Israelites, whom it should be the special care of your honourable body to bring back under your immediate protection and influence, are now wandering gradually from the true God, and daily losing those strong ties which bind every pious man to the faith of his fathers! In these individuals, your honourable body have fair subjects for the holy work of reformation; by moulding your present form of worship to suit their comprehensions, you will instantly receive them among you; they will collect under your especial care and guardianship; they will aid in the pecuniary resources of your holy institution; and if, from among the whole number now scattered about our city and state, either through irreligion, through disabilities imposed, or any other cause, you are enabled to make but one convert, it will add much to those laudable ends which

it should be the principal desire of your honourable body to accomplish. It should also be remembered that while other sects are extending the means of Divine Worship to the remotest quarters of the habitable globe—while they are making the most zealous efforts to bring together the scattered of their flock, offering the most flattering inducements to *all denominations*—we, who may be termed the mere remnant of a great nation, are totally disregarding the fairest opportunities of increasing our own numbers, and at the same time neglecting the brightest prospects of enlarging our resources, and effectually perpetuating our national character.

Your memorialists trust, that they have been perfectly understood by the foregoing observations, that they entirely disclaim any idea of wishing to abolish such ceremonies as are considered land-marks to distinguish the *Jew* from the *Gentile;* they are wholly influenced by a warm zeal to preserve and perpetuate the principles of Judaism in their utmost purity and vigour, and to see the present and the future generations of Israelites enlightened on the subject of their holy religion, so as by understanding, they may learn the nature of its Divine source, and appreciate its holy precepts; that they would not wish to shake the firmness of any man's faith, or take from his devotion towards it; that they will always fervently and zealously support it as the first and most ancient of religions.

The alterations above submitted, being all your memorialists can in reason and moderation require, they would beg leave, in concluding, to bring to the notice of your honourable body, the reformation which has been recently adopted by our brethren in Holland, Germany and Prussia. The following is an extract from a German paper entitled the *"Frankfort Journal."*

"The functions relative to Divine Service, such as the rite of taking the Law out of the Ark, the promulgation of the Law, etc., shall no longer be sold by auction in the Synagogue. The Rabbis, and the Elders of the Synagogue, (the first in their discourses) must endeavor to put an end to the custom of *see-sawing* during the prayers, and to that of repeating the prayers in too loud a voice; all profane tunes during Divine Service are prohibited. The ceremony of striking the *impious Haman* at the festival of Purim, is most strictly prohibited. Children below the age of five years are not to be taken to the Synagogue. All unsuitable pleasantries, in which the young people sometimes indulge in the Synagogues on the eve of some festivals, or on the festivals themselves, as well as the distribution of sweetmeats by the women to each in the Synagogues, are strictly forbidden. Some of

the religious ceremonies must be accompanied by a German discourse (that being the vernacular) on a Hebrew text, in which the meaning of these solemnities shall be *explained, and on the Sabbath a discourse shall be held in German* in every Synagogue after the reading of the prescribed passage of the Law, and a chapter of the Prophets."

Thus, from the above extract, it appears, that no climes, nor even tyranny itself, can forever fetter or control the human mind; and that even amidst the intolerance of Europe, our brethren have anticipated the free citizens of America in the glorious work of reformation; let us then hasten to the task with harmony and good fellowship. We wish not to *overthrow,* but to *rebuild;* we wish not to *destroy,* but to *reform* and *revise* the evils complained of; we wish not to *abandon* the institutions of Moses, but to *understand and observe them;* in fine, we 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. (Moïse's *Biography of Isaac Harby,* pp. 52–58.)

### C. Rabbi and Congregation

From the Minute-Books of Beth Elohim, Charleston, S.C.

#### 1. Maurice Mayer (1852–59)

*January 3, 1858.* From a resolution by the board of trustees: ". . . we most earnestly request the Revd. Dr. Mayer will scrupulously avoid all remarks or allusions impugning the conduct of members—or calculated directly or indirectly to arraign their individual actions—and further in as much as the expressed opinions of the revd Dr. in *doctrinal* points have been in conflict with the cherished principles of some members, which caused the withdrawal of their presence from divine worship,—the Board would take this occasion to express their high approval that such themes have for sometime been ignored by the pulpit, and deeming them unimportant to the teaching of judaism—the Board desire to impress upon the Revd. Dr. the propriety of continuing to eschew such subjects and thereby to induce the return of worshippers: as a means toward such end,—the Board feel it encumbent upon them respectfully to require that the Revd. Dr. should hereafter *write out* his sermons, by which practice, impulse would have no sway—subjects could be judiciously selected and matter materially condensed . . .

*January 5, 1858.* From the reply of Dr. Mayer to the board of trustees: ". . . notwithstanding my profound solicitude for the welfare of the Congregation, self respect, as well as a due regard for the dignity

of the ministerial station, forbid my acquiescing in the assumption and requirements contained in those Resolutions, and . . . I, therefore, feel myself compelled, herewith, most respectfully, to resign my office as Minister of your Congregation, from the expiration of the present quarter,—unless you should deem it fit to reconsider and annul said Resolutions . . ."

*January 6, 1858.* From the reply of the board to Dr. Mayer: ". . . there was no intention of insult or to take away from his dignity as a man or minister of the Congregation, but their sole desire was to suggest to him a course which would add to the harmony and keep together the small number we now have." (Dr. Mayer withdrew his letter of resignation.)

*April 22, 1858.* From Dr. Mayer's letter to the board asking for the payment of his salary two weeks past due and to be placed in such a position as to be able to meet his own obligations and make his own arrangements: ". . . nor are the prospects as I learn from the Secretary & Treasurer of the Congregation such as could give me the assurance of a speedy settlement." (In reply he was informed that "it is not in the power of this Board, under the doubtful state of its revenue, to give him any assurance for the future punctuality of the payment of his salary.")

*June 6, 1858.* The board of trustees "protest against their Rev'd Minister's continuing to appear before the public as a student of law or in any other occupation than that of minister during his continuance in the ministerial office" and, further, "having learned that their rev'd Minister on being called upon to qualify under oath in a court of the State, did so with his head uncovered, they feel constrained to express their serious disapproval of such act, as at variance with the established usages of our holy religion and as inconsistent with the dignity of a Jewish minister."

*June 7, 1858.* In his reply, Dr. Mayer, after stating that he had been a student of law for six months, not in secret but openly, expressed his surprise at being told now that "this pursuit is incompatible with the dignity and position of a minister," and denied it "with all due deference to your wisdom and intelligence." After referring to "repeated indignities offered to me even by those who seem to be so very scrupulous with regard to the dignity of my station," he announced that he must study law for "the duty of self preservation . . . to be provident for the future." As to the second resolution: "I cannot conceive how a Board of Trustees consisting of Laymen, should take it upon themselves, to teach their minister the laws and usages of his religion . . . up this point, I do place

my opinion . . . above yours . . . If usages have really such a great authority, then indeed! you must remove the Organ from your Synagogue, reinstate the second day of our festivals, in a word, abolish all Reforms introduced ever since the consecration of our Temple." (Dr. Mayer, however, finally agreed not to appear again as a law student either in a law office or in court and, further, that he would in the future take his oath in court or elsewhere with his head covered.)

*August 20, 1858.* The Rev. Dr. Mayer leaves for the North, according to the advice of his physician, for his health has been "greatly impaired": after "the most excruciating sufferings that have now lasted almost uninterruptedly for the last 10 weeks, it would be hazarding my life, were I to delay any longer to obey the urgent advice of my physician, to change the climate."

*September 5, 1858.* The board of trustees decide that "the pay of the said Doctor Morris Mayer pastor of this Congregation be stopped from the time of his departure from the city until his return and resumption of his clerical duties."

*November 8, 1858.* In reply to a letter from Dr. Mayer in New York pointing out that in a yellow fever epidemic—as when he left the city—leave of absence without any deduction of pay was the rule in the case of his predecessors in office, even unsolicited, and that he had the written consent of the majority of the congregation to leave, the board of trustees resolved: they "do not conceive they have *any right* to be governed in their decisions by any *act* or *acts* of their *predecessors in office* . . . their sole duty . . . to husband the very limited means (of the Congregation) they have at their disposal, and to pay those officers *only,* who perform the duties assigned to them . . . They further feel constrained to say that during the prevalence of any epidemic in future that they consider it absolutely necessary to have in their midst a minister whose offices are to visit the sick and dying—to comfort those who are in affliction and distress while at the same time it will enable us to keep open the doors of our House of Prayer during the Summer Season." However, in this instance, the board rescinded their former resolution and "will pay Dr. Mayer as soon as sufficient funds are in the treasurer's hands." In the meantime, the Shammas (beadle) performed the Rev. Dr. Mayer's duties without compensation.

*February 28, 1859.* Dr. Mayer having written that he would have to commission his lawyer to collect his salary but "I trust you will not regard this as a threat; nothing is further from my mind; but I could no longer delay to inform you of my true position which does not enable me to uphold that dignity which ought to be maintained by every man

and particularly by a minister, even for the sake of his congregation," the board in reply, after mentioning "the distracted Condition of our Congregation—the sparseness of its members, their unwillingness to contribute, and the irreconcilable objections, which have led to resignations, and kept so many of its members from attending their place of worship," and that "no one is more familiar than our minister must be" with these facts, "the Board is constrained to denounce the letter of the Doctor as deficient in a proper regard for the welfare of his congregation and antagonistic, to that spirit of forbearance and meekness, which should characterize a minister." Regretting "the temporary withholding of his legal dues," the board "cannot but regard the issue tendered by him of placing Pastor & Flock as opposing litigants in a court of justice, as one which must inevitably sever the Bond of their union."

*September 5, 1859.* Dr. Mayer resigns.

*September 8, 1867.* From a resolution by the board of trustees: ". . . although the religious principles and doctrinal ideas which regulated this Congregation during the ministry of the late Revd Maurice Mayer are essentially different from those which form the basis of the present Union . . . we will not withhold from his memory that respect and esteem which truth, candor, and uprightness of conduct will always command . . . we may prefer to follow the path trodden by our ancestors for so many generations, rather than adopt the new teachings which were followed by the deceased, as well as by many others of the present day; but we must not forget that those opinions were honestly and sincerely entertained, were always expressed with propriety, and were generally acceptable to the members who then composed the worshippers in this Synagogue . . . as a mark of respect to his memory (let) a special 'Escobah' be offered in the Synagogue during the month of mourning," and sympathy to the widow was expressed. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

## 2. Joseph H. M. Chumaceiro (1868–74)

A native of Amsterdam, Chumaceiro was the son of Aaron Mendes Chumaceiro (1810–82), the first rabbi in the Netherlands to deliver sermons in Dutch instead of Ladino. (Aaron Chumaceiro became the chief rabbi of Curaçoa and was pensioned by the king for his services during an epidemic of cholera.) In November, 1873, Chumaceiro resigned as minister of Beth Elohim, "Having been informed by reliable authority, that at a General meeting of my Congregation convened this day,—notice was given . . . that changes would be preferred against me seriously reflecting on my character as a Man and a Minister . . . from

this day I consider my functions as your Minister are suspended . . . until after due investigation, I shall be officially informed of your *final* action in the matter." Next day, upon the request of the president, Philip Wineman, that A. Falk furnish the charges, Falk replied that he would give the matter his earliest attention, but the following day stated: "I now candidly confess that I acted hastily, under a great state of excitement . . . the charges . . . are not such as would reflect upon him as a Man or a Minister." That day (November 4), at a special meeting of the board of trustees, after approving of the minister's action in suspending his functions, they also approved of him "as a man and a minister."

In April of the next year, Chumaceiro resigned again. He had received a letter from the president in which the minister was informed that the Rev. J. Mendez De Sola was in the city and that "The use of the pulpit having been tendered by the Board of Trustees the gentleman will be prepared to deliver an English discourse on the next & following Sabbaths." As Chumaceiro explained to the committee waiting upon him to ascertain the reason for his resignation, a certain courtesy was due him also and, when he was directed to perform only a portion of the service, the privilege should be accorded *to him* also to extend the invitation to the applicant applying for the use of the pulpit. However, if the Rev. Mr. De Sola desired to perform the entire service, then it would be his own duty to comply promptly with the request of the board. The committee having ascertained that the issue involved only a question of etiquette asked Chumaceiro if he were requested by the board to tender the use of the pulpit to the Rev. Mr. De Sola would he do so. The minister promptly answered that he would and would even call upon the reverend gentleman for that purpose. The committee then requested him to authorize them to withdraw his letter of resignation. He did so, and the board passed a resolution requesting him to tender the use of the pulpit on Saturday next to the Rev. Mr. De Sola.

On April 30, the president again wrote Chumaceiro. "I beg to inform you," he wrote, "that the Revd. Mr. De Sola will remain in the city over the coming Sabbath & has consented to perform the service on Friday evening & Saturday morning including the sermon." This letter was written on a Thursday morning. That very day the minister replied: "I beg most respectfully to state that I decline answering on the same, and refer the matter to the Board of Trustees of my Congregation for future instructions." To the board he wrote as follows: "I hereby beg to enclose you a communication received this moment, and as . . . a hasty answer would be imprudent I take the liberty to refer this important matter to

your Honorable Body for further instructions." The next day, Chumaceiro wrote again in answer to another letter from the president. The minister's letter was long and in it he said, referring to the president's second letter: "that you have requested the Revd Mr De Sola to officiate on the coming Sabbath, and . . . as President of the Congregation you have certainly the right to allow any candidate to be heard . . . Permit me to express my deep regret, that you did not acquaint me before with the fact, 'that *you have requested* the Revd Gentleman to officiate' as in your other communication you stated 'that the Revd Mr. De Sola has consented to perform the service.' " To this Wineman replied curtly: "I thought my language in my first note to you did not admit of any other construction, that I intended to convey, that Mr. De Sola would perform the service, for he certainly could not do so, without he was asked. I did not desire to throw any responsibility . . . on you, at the same time I wished to be courteous to you. Your reply indicated that you ignored my authority, if I understand English . . ."

Minister and president were soon in another controversy. On May 1, the president wrote Chumaceiro: ". . . I have decided after conferring with the members of the Board of Trustees to permit the gentleman to deliver the sermon at the usual time, and not defer it till the end of the service." The minister replied: ". . . I have requested you in order to respect my religious conviction . . . (to have the Rev. Mr. De Sola) defer . . . (his sermon) till the end of the service . . . submitting myself 'to your decision,' I do so in order to avoid further unpleasant complications, as I consider it an imposition upon the religious convictions of your Minister which should be respected by his flock."

Chumaceiro finally resigned July 5, 1874. His resignation was accepted and resolutions expressing appreciation of his services adopted by a vote of twelve to ten: the president, Philip Wineman, and the vice-president, A. Falk, voted against the resolutions.

## D. TABLES: THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF CHARLESTON (1948)

### I. *Place of Birth*

| | Number | | Male | | Female | | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Charleston | 751 | 41.5% | 414 | 44.9% | 337 | 37.9% | 55.1% | 44.9% |
| U.S.A. (outside of Charleston) | 625 | 34.5 | 291 | 31.6 | 334 | 37.5 | 46.6 | 53.5 |
| Abroad | 435 | 24.0 | 216 | 23.5 | 219 | 24.6 | 49.7 | 50.3 |
| Total* | 1811 | | 921 | | 890 | | 50.9 | 49.1 |

* In addition, 27 males did not report their place of birth.

II. *Place of Birth of Parents and Paternal Grandparents of Native Born*

| Place of Birth of Parents | Total | Both Born in Charleston | Both Born in U.S.A. | One Born in Charleston and One in U.S.A. | Total Native Born | One Born in Charleston and One Abroad | One Born in U.S.A. and One Abroad | Total Mixed | Both Born Abroad | Total One or Both Born Abroad |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 343 | 12 | 36 | 11 | 59 | 5 | 27 | 32 | 252 | 284 |
| Father & Mother born in Charleston | 31 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 15 | 19 |
| One born in Charleston & one in U.S.A. | 97 | 1 | 19 | 1 | 21 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 68 | 76 |
| Father–born Charleston & Mother in U.S.A. | 71 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 15 | 2 | 11 | 13 | 43 | 56 |
| Father–born in U.S.A. & Mother in Charleston | 40 | | 8 | 1 | 9 | | 4 | 4 | 27 | 31 |
| Total–Native born | 239 | 10 | 36 | 11 | 57 | 5 | 24 | 29 | 153 | 182 |
| Father born in Charleston Mother Abroad | 17 | 2 | | | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 13 | 15 |
| Father born Abroad, Mother in Charleston | 17 | | | | | | | | 17 | 17 |
| Father born in U.S.A. and Mother Abroad | 17 | | | | | | | | 17 | 17 |
| Father born Abroad and Mother in U.S.A. | 53 | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 52 | 53 |
| Total–Mixed | 104 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 99 | 102 |

# *Appendix*

## III. *Country of Origin of Foreign-Born Jewish and Total Foreign-Born Population of Charleston*

| Place of Birth | Jewish Foreign Born | | | | Total Foreign-Born | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total Number | % | Number | % |
| Argentina | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0.74 | | |
| Australia | | | | | 1 | 0.08 |
| Austria | 5 | 12 | 17 | 4.19 | 27 | 2.08 |
| Belgium | | | | | 5 | 0.38 |
| Canada | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1.23 | 45 | 3.46 |
| Central & South America | | | | | 4 | 0.31 |
| Cuba & West Indies | | | | | 6 | 0.46 |
| Czechoslovakia | 2 | | 2 | 0.49 | 3 | 0.23 |
| Denmark | | | | | 18 | 1.38 |
| England | 3 | 1 | 4 | 0.99 | 65 | 4.50 |
| France | | | | | 18 | 1.38 |
| Finland | | | | | 2 | 0.15 |
| Galicia | 1 | | 1 | 0.25 | | |
| Germany | 12 | 9 | 21 | 5.17 | 204 | 15.69 |
| Greece | | | | | 204 | 15.69 |
| Hungary | 2 | 2 | 4 | 0.99 | 8 | 0.62 |
| Iceland | 1 | | 1 | 0.25 | | |
| Irish Free State | | | | | 56 | 4.31 |
| Italy | | | | | 74 | 5.69 |
| Palestine & Syria | 2 | 2 | 4 | 0.99 | 26 | 1.20 |
| Latvia | 2 | 2 | 4 | 0.99 | 8 | 0.62 |
| Lithuania | 7 | 2 | 9 | 2.22 | 6 | 0.46 |
| Mexico | | | | | 1 | 0.08 |
| Newfoundland | | | | | 1 | 0.08 |
| Netherlands | | | | | 3 | 0.23 |
| North Iceland | | | | | 6 | 0.46 |
| Northern Ireland | | | | | 6 | 0.46 |
| Norway | | | | | 23 | 1.77 |
| Poland | 97 | 99 | 196 | 48.28 | 218 | 16.77 |
| Puerto Rico | | 1 | 1 | 0.25 | | |
| Rumania | | | | | 17 | 1.31 |
| Russia (U.S.S.R.) | 72 | 62 | 134 | 33.30 | 155 | 11.92 |
| Scotland | | | | | 36 | 2.77 |
| Spain | | | | | 4 | 0.31 |
| Sweden | | | | | 18 | 1.38 |
| Switzerland | | | | | 2 | 0.15 |
| Turkey in Europe | | | | | 1 | 0.08 |
| Turkey in Asia | | | | | 23 | 1.77 |
| Wales | | | | | 2 | 0.15 |
| Yugoslavia | | | | | 1 | 0.08 |
| Not Reported | 8 | 21 | 29 | | 3 | 0.23 |
| Total | 216 | 219 | 435 | 100.0 | 1300 | 100.0 |

Source for Total Foreign Born—Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, vol. II, p. 397.

IV. *State of Origin of Native-Born Jewish Population of Charleston*

| | Male | Female | Total Number | Total Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 2 | 3 | 5 | 0.4 |
| Arkansas | | 1 | 1 | |
| California | | 2 | 2 | |
| Connecticut | | 2 | 2 | |
| Florida | 2 | 8 | 10 | 0.8 |
| Georgia | 27 | 41 | 68 | 5.2 |
| Illinois | 1 | 6 | 7 | 0.5 |
| Indiana | | 1 | 1 | |
| Kentucky | 1 | 1 | 2 | |
| Louisiana | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0.2 |
| Maine | 1 | | 1 | |
| Maryland | 8 | 9 | 17 | 1.3 |
| Massachusetts | 10 | 6 | 16 | 1.2 |
| Michigan | | 1 | 1 | |
| Missouri | 4 | 2 | 6 | 0.5 |
| New Jersey | 19 | 14 | 33 | 2.5 |
| New York | 118 | 91 | 209 | 15.9 |
| North Carolina | 8 | 13 | 21 | 1.6 |
| Ohio | 4 | 14 | 18 | 1.4 |
| Pennsylvania | 13 | 14 | 27 | 2.1 |
| Rhode Island | | 1 | 1 | 0.1 |
| South Carolina | 45 | 46 | 91 | 6.9 |
| Tennessee | 3 | 4 | 7 | 0.5 |
| Texas | 1 | 0 | 1 | |
| Virginia | 7 | 7 | 14 | 1.1 |
| Washington, D.C. | | 2 | 2 | 0.2 |
| Charleston | 414 | 337 | 751 | 57.0 |
| U.S. Place not indicated | 31 | 28 | 59 | |
| Total | 690 | 627 | 1,376 | 100.0 |
| Percent | 52.4 | 47.6 | 100% | |

## V. *Number of Children Born in Each Family*

### a. TOTAL JEWISH POPULATION OF CHARLESTON

| | Number of Children | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Total |
| | | | | | | 1–18 years | | | | | | |
| No. of Families | 57 | 94 | 111 | 30 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 297 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 94 | 222 | 90 | 12 | 5 | 6 | | | | | 429 |
| % of Families | 19.2 | 31.6 | 37.4 | 10.1 | 1.0 | 0.3 | 0.3 | | | | | 100.0 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 21.9 | 51.7 | 20.9 | 2.8 | 1.2 | 1.4 | | | | | 100.0 |
| | | | | | | 19–60 | | | | | | |
| No. of Families | 15 | 32 | 67 | 46 | 32 | 18 | 15 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 242 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 32 | 134 | 138 | 128 | 90 | 90 | 17 | 16 | 9 | 30 | 744 |
| % of Families | 6.2 | 13.2 | 27.7 | 19.0 | 13.2 | 7.4 | 6.2 | 4.5 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 1.2 | 100.0 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 4.3 | 18.0 | 18.5 | 17.2 | 12.1 | 12.1 | 10.3 | 2.2 | 1.2 | 4.0 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | | 1–60 | | | | | | |
| No. of Families | 72 | 126 | 178 | 76 | 35 | 19 | 16 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 539 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 126 | 356 | 228 | 140 | 95 | 96 | 77 | 16 | 9 | 30 | 1173 |
| % of Families | 13.4 | 23.4 | 33.0 | 14.1 | 6.5 | 3.5 | 3.0 | 2.0 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 100.0 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 10.7 | 30.3 | 19.4 | 11.9 | 8.1 | 8.2 | 6.6 | 1.4 | 0.8 | 2.6 | 100.0 |

## V. *Number of Children Born in Each Family* (Continued)

### b. BOTH PARENTS BORN IN THE U. S. A.

| | Number of Children | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Total |
| | | | Incomplete Families | | | | |
| No. of Families | 44 | 67 | 76 | 16 | 1 | 1 | 205 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 67 | 152 | 48 | 4 | 5 | 276 |
| % of Families | 21.5 | 32.7 | 37.1 | 7.8 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 100.0 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 24.3 | 55.1 | 17.4 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 100.0 |
| | | | Complete Families | | | | |
| No. of Families | 4 | 12 | 28 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 59 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 12 | 56 | 24 | 16 | 15 | 123 |
| % of Families | 6.8 | 20.3 | 47.5 | 13.6 | 6.8 | 5.1 | 100.0 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 9.8 | 45.5 | 19.5 | 13.0 | 12.2 | 100.0 |
| | | | Combined | | | | |
| No. of Families | 48 | 79 | 104 | 24 | 5 | 4 | 264 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 79 | 208 | 72 | 20 | 20 | 399 |
| % of Families | 18.2 | 29.9 | 39.4 | 9.1 | 1.9 | 1.5 | 100.0 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 19.8 | 52.1 | 18.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 100.0 |

### c. ONE PARENT BORN IN U. S. A. ONE ABROAD

| | Number of Children | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | Total |
| | | | | Incomplete Families | | | | | | |
| No. of Families | 8 | 16 | 27 | 9 | 1 | | | | | 61 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 16 | 54 | 27 | 4 | | | | | 101 |
| % of Families | 13.1 | 26.2 | 44.3 | 14.8 | 1.6 | | | | | 100 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 15.8 | 53.5 | 26.7 | 4.0 | | | | | 100 |
| | | | | Complete Families | | | | | | |
| No. of Families | 1 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 36 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 6 | 20 | 30 | 12 | 5 | 18 | 7 | 8 | 106 |
| % of Families | 2.8 | 16.7 | 27.8 | 27.8 | 8.3 | 2.8 | 8.3 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 100 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 5.7 | 18.9 | 28.3 | 11.3 | 4.7 | 17.0 | 6.6 | 7.5 | 100 |
| | | | | Combined | | | | | | |
| No. of Families | 9 | 22 | 37 | 19 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 97 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 22 | 74 | 57 | 16 | 5 | 18 | 7 | 8 | 207 |
| % of Families | 9.3 | 22.7 | 38.1 | 19.6 | 4.1 | 1.0 | 3.1 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 100 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 10.6 | 35.7 | 27.5 | 7.7 | 2.4 | 8.7 | 3.4 | 3.9 | 100 |

### d. BOTH PARENTS BORN ABROAD

| | Number of Children | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Total |
| | | | | | 1–18 years | | | | | | | |
| No. of Families | 4 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 23 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 5 | 14 | 15 | 4 | 6 | | | | | | 44 |
| % of Families | 17.4 | 21.7 | 30.4 | 21.7 | 4.3 | 4.3 | | | | | | 100.0 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 11.4 | 31.8 | 34.1 | 9.1 | 13.6 | | | | | | 100.0 |
| | | | | | 19–54 | | | | | | | |
| No. of Families | 4 | 5 | 18 | 16 | 16 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 1 | | 2 | 81 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 5 | 36 | 48 | 64 | 25 | 42 | 49 | 8 | | 20 | 297 |
| % of Families | 4.9 | 6.2 | 22.2 | 19.8 | 19.8 | 6.2 | 8.6 | 8.6 | 1.2 | | 2.5 | 100.0 |
| % of Children | 0 | 1.7 | 12.1 | 16.2 | 21.5 | 8.4 | 14.1 | 16.5 | 2.7 | | 6.7 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | 1–54 | | | | | | | |
| No. of Families | 8 | 10 | 25 | 21 | 17 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 1 | | 2 | 104 |
| No. of Children | 0 | 10 | 50 | 63 | 68 | 25 | 48 | 49 | 8 | | 20 | 341 |
| % of Families | 2.3 | 2.9 | 7.3 | 6.2 | 5.0 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 0.3 | | 0.6 | 100.0 |
| % of Children | 0.0 | 2.9 | 14.7 | 18.5 | 19.9 | 7.3 | 14.1 | 14.4 | 2.3 | | 5.9 | 100.0 |

# *Appendix*

## VI. *Number of Children Per Family According to Length of Marriage*

JEWISH POPULATION OF CHARLESTON

| Length of Marriage (in completed years) | Number of Families | Number of Children | Average Number of Children per Family |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1– 3 | 58 | 35 | 0.6 |
| 4– 6 | 55 | 65 | 1.2 |
| 7– 9 | 50 | 80 | 1.6 |
| 10–12 | 43 | 78 | 1.8 |
| 13–15 | 50 | 90 | 1.8 |
| 16–18 | 41 | 81 | 2.0 |
| 1–18 | 297 | 429 | 1.4 |
| 19–21 | 41 | 76 | 1.9 |
| 22–24 | 23 | 40 | 1.7 |
| 25–27 | 38 | 90 | 2.4 |
| 28–30 | 32 | 99 | 3.1 |
| 31–33 | 23 | 76 | 3.3 |
| 34–36 | 19 | 72 | 3.8 |
| 37–39 | 12 | 38 | 3.2 |
| 40–42 | 22 | 130 | 5.9 |
| 43–45 | 11 | 46 | 4.2 |
| 46–48 | 8 | 31 | 3.9 |
| 49–51 | 4 | 11 | 2.8 |
| 52 and over | 9 | 35 | 3.9 |
| 19 and over | 242 | 744 | 3.1 |
| Combined | 539 | 1173 | 2.2 |

## VII. *Children Per Family According to Father's Occupation*

Number of Children Per Family

| Occupation of Father | Past Generation | Present Generation | Decrease in the Average Number of Children per family |
|---|---|---|---|
| Business | 5.92 | 2.82 | 3.10 |
| Professional | 5.86 | 2.00 | 3.86 |
| Salesmen | 4.60 | 2.80 | 1.80 |
| Skilled Workers | 4.50 | 3.25 | 1.25 |

## VIII. *Occupations of the Jews of Charleston (Male and Female)*

| Occupation | No. of People | Occupation | No. of People |
|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Engineer | 1 | Accountants | 4 |
| Naval Architect | 1 | Librarians | 2 |
| Electrical & Mechanical Engineers | 3 | Teachers (elementary, high school) | 8 |
| Radio Engineers | 2 | Teacher, dancing | 1 |
| Marine Engineer | 1 | Radio Commentators | 3 |
| Engineers | 4 | Writers & Editors | 3 |
| Research Engineers | 3 | Artists (sculptors & painters) | 3 |
| Chemical Engineer | 1 | Orchestra Leader | 1 |
| Chemist (textiles) | 1 | Navy Officer | 1 |
| Radar | 1 | Rabbis | 4 |
| Physicians | 8 | | |
| Radiologist | 1 | | |
| Physical Therapist | 1 | | |
| Public Health Officers | 2 | | |
| Laboratory Technician | 1 | | |
| Dentists | 7 | | |
| Opticians | 1 | | |
| Pharmacists | 5 | | |
| Social Workers | 7 | | |
| Lawyers | 18 | | |

VIII. *Occupations of the Jews of Charleston (Male and Female)* (Continued)

| Occupation | No. of People | Occupation | No. of People |
|---|---|---|---|
| Restaurant | 5 | Sweet Shop | 1 |
| Hotel Operators | 4 | Grocers | 62 |
| Dairy | 2 | Potato Chips | 1 |
| Meat packer | 1 | Meats | 6 |
| Liquor & Wine | 8 | | |
| Furniture | 31 | Children's Furniture | 2 |
| House Furnishings | 1 | Mattresses | 1 |
| Seat covers | 4 | Antiques | 9 |
| Dry goods | 11 | Linen | 1 |
| Clothing | 52 | Furs | 1 |
| Children's Wear | 3 | Uniforms | 5 |
| Shoes | 12 | | |
| Millinery | 2 | | |
| Army Store | 3 | General Merchandise | 5 |
| Dept. Stores | 5 | Package store | 1 |
| Notions | 1 | | |
| Real Estate & Insurance | 19 | Bldg. contractors | 2 |
| Electrical contractors | 5 | Heating contractor | 1 |
| Interior Decorators | 2 | | |
| Radio Repair | 1 | Television | 2 |
| Electrician | 3 | Refrigeration | 1 |
| Floor covering | 1 | Hardware | 8 |
| Paint & Wallpaper | 2 | Bldng. Supplies | 1 |
| Radio Supplies | 1 | Electrical Appliances | 1 |
| Typewriters | 1 | | |
| Beauty Supplies | 1 | Restaurant Supplies | 1 |
| Bicycle Shop | 1 | Sport Shop | 1 |
| Records & Music | 3 | Drug Store | 4 |
| Oil | 2 | Automobiles | 3 |
| Gas Stations | 4 | Auto Wrecking | 1 |
| Tires | 1 | | |
| Gas Cutter and Burner | 1 | Print Shop | 2 |
| Woodcraftsmen | 2 | Carpenter | 1 |
| Sheet metal workers | 2 | Machinist | 1 |
| Plumbers | 2 | Photographer | 2 |
| Sign painter | 1 | Coffee roaster | 2 |
| Dry Cleaner | 1 | Laundry | 1 |
| Tailors | 2 | Shoe Repair | 3 |
| Leather | 3 | Tobacco | 3 |
| Jewelry | 9 | | |
| Baker | 1 | Farmer | 1 |
| Nurses | 4 | Cantors | 2 |
| Metal & iron works | 2 | Scrap iron | 6 |
| Peddling | 1 | Loan corp. | 2 |
| Pawn Shop | 2 | Installment merchants | 2 |
| Police Force | 1 | Post office | 1 |
| Advertising & Public Relations | 3 | Buyer (Chain Store) | 1 |
| Clerks & Salesmen | 133 | Stenographers & Secretaries | 40 |
| Domestic Worker | 1 | Milkman | 2 |
| Workers (Unclassified) | 56 | | |

# *Appendix*

## IX. *Congregational Preferences*

Congregational preferences of wives whose husbands' congregational preferences are indicated to the left

| Husbands | Husbands Totals | | Wives Orthodox | | Wives Conservative | | Wives Reform | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Conservative | 116 | 23.9 | 24 | 8.1 | 87 | 78.4 | 5 | 6.3 |
| Orthodox | 281 | 57.9 | 262 | 88.8 | 16 | 14.4 | 3 | 3.8 |
| Reform | 70 | 14.4 | 5 | 1.7 | 3 | 2.7 | 62 | .78.5 |
| Indifferent | 10 | 2.1 | 2 | 0.7 | 3 | 2.7 | 5 | 6.3 |
| Non-Jewish | 8 | 1.6 | 2 | 0.7 | 2 | 1.8 | 4 | 5.1 |
| Total | 485 | 100.0 | 295 | 100.0 | 111 | 100.0 | 79 | 100.0 |
| % | 100.0 | | 60.8 | | 22.9 | | 16.3 | |

## PART ONE

[1] Barnett A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina from the Earliest Times to the Present Day,* 1905, p. 117, note.

[2] John L. E. W. Shecut, *Medical and Philosophical Essays,* p. 30.

[3] *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* collected and edited by William L. Saunders, 1886, vol. I, pp. 202, 203.

[4] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History,* 1937, vol. III, p. 220.

[5] John Archdale, "Description of Carolina," in B. R. Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina,* 1836, vol. II, p. 106.

[6] Abram Vossen Goodman, *American Overture: Jewish Rights in Colonial Times,* 1947, pp. 155, 156, citing Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina,* 1928.

[7] *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina,* edited by Thomas Cooper, vol. II, 1837, pp. 131–133. See also David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina,* vol. I, 1934, p. 417.

[8] Goodman, *American Overture,* p. 154.

[9] William James Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina,* 1856, pp. 455, 459.

[10] Goodman, *American Overture,* pp. 36 et seq.

[11] *Statutes at Large,* vol. III, 1838, pp. 136, 137.

[12] Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina,* pp. 20, 21.

[13] See below, this chapter, 1, c, p. 12.

[14] Barnett A. Elzas, *Leaves from my Historical Scrap Book,* 1907, p. 4.

[15] Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* p. 22.

[16] Ibid., p. 23.

[17] *Miscellaneous Records,* vol. 86-B, 1758–1763, p. 459.

[18] See below, this section, 3, a, pp. 36, 37.

[19] See below, this section, 1, d, pp. 17, 18.

[20] See below, this section, 1, c, pp. 13, 16.

[21] ". . . such a Rabble was got together, it was with much Difficulty the Corps was interr'd . . . they even insulted the Dead in such a vile manner, that, to mention all would Shock a human ear. One whom by his dress I should have thought to be a Gentleman, seem'd to head this Mob . . ." From a letter on the first page of John Peter Zenger's *The New-York Weekly Journal,* May 16, 1743 (cited by Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness,* p. 421); Governor Clinton's letter from New York, February 17, 1749 (*Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* vol. VI, 1855, p. 471).

[22] Goodman, *American Overture,* pp. 53 et seq. See also *Pilgrims in a New Land,* by Lee M. Friedman, 1948, pp. 31–46.

[23] A little rice was shipped as early as 1674—about ten years before Madagascar seed was brought to Charles Town (Samuel G. Stoney in a letter to Thomas J. Tobias, citing *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* vol. 37, p. 99). See also "The True Story of How the Madagascar Gold Seed Rice Was Introduced into South Carolina," by A. S. Salley in *Rice and Rice Planting in the South Carolina Low Country,* by David Doar, 1936, p. 51. I am also grateful to Dr. J. Harold Easterby for information on this point. [C.R.]

[24] Some indigo was raised as early as 1690 (Samuel G. Stoney in a letter to Thomas J. Tobias, citing *History of South Carolina,* by David Duncan Wallace, 1934, vol. I, p. 121).

[25] Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution,* 1934, pp. 166, 167.

[26] Jno. P. Thomas, Jr., "The Barbadians in Early South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* vol. XXXI, April 1930, no. 2.

[27] St. Julien Ravenel Childs, "Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country," in *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* series LVIII, nos. 1–3, 1940.

[28] G. Croft Williams, *A Sociological Interpretation of South Carolina,* 1946, p. 42, citing the annual report of the South Carolina State Board of Health for 1945, p. 238.

[29] Leon Huhner, "Asser Levy," in *Publications, American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 8, p. 22 note, citing *Valentine's Manual,* 1858, p. 594.

[30] Simon W. Rosendale, "An Early Ownership of Real Estate in Albany, New York, by a Jewish Trader," in *Publications, American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 3, pp. 68–71.

[31] Max J. Kohler, "Jewish Life in New York Before 1800," *Ibid.,* p. 85.

[32] Elzas, *Leaves from my Historical Scrap Book,* 1907, p. 4.

[33] *Will Book,* vol. 6, 1747–52, p. 635.

[34] See below, this section, 1, d, pp. 17, 18.

[35] John Ash, "The Present State of Affairs in Carolina . . . 1706," in *Narratives of Early Carolina,* edited by Alexander S. Salley, 1911, p. 275, who says of Ash, p. 268: "his statement of the case . . . plainly shows his bias . . . (vitiating) the truth in so many particulars as to render it unreliable in any, and should not be taken too seriously . . ."

[36] *Will Book,* vol. 69-B, 1736–1740, pp. 449, 450.

[37] A letter from Jacob Franks of New York, dated 1743, declared to be in his handwriting by his son, David Franks of Charles Town, refers to Jacob's nephew, Moses Solomons, on his way—to judge from another letter—to India (Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* pp. 24, 25). Jacob Franks (b. Germany, 1688; d. New York, 1769), the son of a merchant of London, was a distinguished merchant in New York.

[38] *The South-Carolina Gazette,* August 3 to August 10, 1765.

[39] *The Gazette of the State of South Carolina,* July 8, 1778.

[40] In 1793, when their mother died, her will provided that the property she left them should not be liable for their debts: with respect to Joseph, for example, "And if any of his creditors, should by operation of Law make or be attempting to make with Effect the said Property, liable to his Debts, and Engagements, then, and from thence forth I Give, devise and bequeath the same to the Child, or Children of my said Son, immediately . . . Provided Nevertheless that my Son Joseph shall have the use of what is given to his Children, during his life, if his Creditors will permit him to enjoy it . . ." *Will Book,* vol. 25, 1793–1800, pp. 89–91.

[41] A prayer-book in his handwriting written in Charleston in 1809 for Rosh Hashanah (New Year's) and Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), according to the Sephardic ritual, is in the possession of Cecil Abram Alexander of Atlanta, Ga., a descendant.

[42] One of the executors was his nephew, Sampson Simson (b. New York about 1725; d. New York, 1773), a distinguished merchant of New York.

[43] Leo Baeck, *The Essence of Judaism,* 1948, p. 196.

[44] George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era,* 1932, vol. I, p. 121.

[45] Ibid., pp. 114, 115.

[46] Hirsch, *Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina,* pp. 315–319.

[47] Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina,* p. 33.

[48] Goodman, *American Overture,* p. 192.

[49] *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Jun., of Massachusetts, by his son,* 1825, pp. 97, 103.

[50] Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith, *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston,* 1917.

[51] Albert Simons, "The Development of Charleston Architecture. Part I. Dwelling Houses," in *The Architectural Forum,* October 1923, vol. XXXIX, no. 4.

[52] Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic,* 1922, pp. 98, 99 (cited by Samuel G. Stoney in a letter to Thomas J. Tobias).

[53] Harriott Horry Ravanel, *Eliza Pinckney,* 1896, pp. 5, 18.

[54] *The Nation,* October 5, 1899, vol. 69, p. 259, contributed by Worthington C. Ford.

[55] See below, Part III, p. 237 and n. 141.

[56] "Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography," p. 161, in Plowden Weston's *Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina,* 1856 (quoted in part by Goodman, *American Overture,* pp. 166–7).

[57] Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* p. 28 (quoting *South-Carolina Gazette,* April 16, 1744).

[58] In general, see: Frederick P. Bowes, *The Culture of Early Charleston,*

1942; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness,* 1938; and William A. Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* 1901.

[59] I am indebted to Dr. Carl Bridenbaugh for this characterization of Lindo. [C.R.]

[60] Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* p. 47. There is a letter to this effect among Dr. Elzas's papers in the New York Historical Society.

[61] *The Gentleman's Magazine,* vol. 23, p. 53.

[62] Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* p. 55.

[63] *Philosophical Transactions,* of the Royal Society, vol. 53, pp. 238, 239.

[64] Goodman, *American Overture,* pp. 61–66.

[65] Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution,* 1934, p. 167.

[66] See in general: Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* pp. 47–67; Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution,* pp. 165 et seq. See also *This Our Land: The Story of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina,* by Chalmers S. Murray, 1949, p. 12.

[67] Leon Huhner wrote the first article on Francis Salvador and the first on the Jews of South Carolina. Both were read as papers before the American Jewish Historical Society in 1899; the article on Francis Salvador appeared in no. 9 (1901) of the publications of the Society, p. 107, and that on the Jews of South Carolina in no. 12 (1904), p. 39.

[68] John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* 1821, vol. II, pp. 348, 349.

[69] Goodman, *American Overture,* p. 166.

[70] Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719–1776,* 1899, p. 761.

[71] See below, in this section, the oath by the commissioners "belonging to the Company of Militia commanded by Capt. James Bentham."

[72] *Journal of the General Assembly of South Carolina, March 26, 1776–April 11, 1776,* edited by A. S. Salley, Jr., 1906, p. 6.

[73] Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* vol. II, p. 348.

[74] Manuscript, in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library.

[75] *The Remembrancer for the Year 1776,* London, Part II, pp. 319, 320. See in general: Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* pp. 68–77; Allen Lesser, *Weave a Wreath of Laurel,* 1939.

[76] *South-Carolina and American General Gazette,* December 3, 1778.

[77] Jacob I. Cohen remembered him as a fellow Israelite in Captain Lushington's company of Charles Town militia and called him "Abram" Seixas. See below, note 78.

[78] There is a list of Jews in Lushington's company as remembered by one of them, Jacob I. Cohen, more than forty years afterwards: Isaac Solomon, Levy Solomon's brother; Abram Seixas, Reverend Seixas' brother; Solomon Aarons; Aron Henry; Solomon "the Chosan," that is, the "bridegroom"; Ephraim Abrams, wounded at Beaufort; Attival Moses (also listed as "Akival" Moses); Moses Cohen (also listed as "killed"); Barnard Moses; Sam'l Simons;

Ezekiel Levy; Zadok Solomon; Moses (no given name listed); and Nathan Phillips. Jacob I. Cohen thought that twenty-six or twenty-eight Jews belonged. His own certificate of service, dated April 6, 1779, reads: ". . . Jacob I. Cohen enroll'd himself in my Company on his arrival from the Northward here, and has been with me a volunteer on ye expedition to Beaufort, and has in every respect conducted himself as a good soldier and man of courage." Reported by Joshua I. Cohen of Baltimore, Jacob I. Cohen's nephew, June 7, 1822. Leon Hühner, "Some Additional Notes on the History of the Jews of South Carolina," *Publications American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 19, pp. 151–156.

Jacob I. Cohen (1744–1823) was born at Oberdorf, Bavaria, and came to America in 1773; he lived at Lancaster, Pa., before going south, and settled in Virginia about 1780, where he became rich and distinguished as a merchant and was one of the founders of Beth Shalome in Richmond. His silhouette is in Hannah R. London's *Shades of My Forefathers*, 1941.

[79] He is not on Jacob I. Cohen's list unless he is Solomon "the Chosan" or "bridegroom." But the old man would have remembered that.

[80] Barnett A. Elzas, *The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S. C.*, 1903, p. 11.

[81] *Will Book*, vol. 22, 1786–93, pp. 116, 117.

[82] Sarah (surname not stated) is also the name on Cardozo's application for a pension, July 30, 1832.

[83] "Married, Mr. Jacob Tobias, to Miss Rachel Da Costa. *South Carolina Gazette, and Country Journal*, May 30, 1775" (Elzas, *Jewish Marriage Notices from the Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C., 1775–1906*, 1917).

[84] William Gilmore Simms, *History of South Carolina*, 2d ed., p. 342.

[85] Manuscript, New York Public Library. See Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina*, p. 91 et seq.

[86] *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing out of the Revolution*, Books R-T, p. 138; voucher in the possession of Miriam Newberger Triest (Mrs. Maier Triest), Charleston, S. C.

[87] Janye Conway Garlington Pruitt, *Revolutionary War Pension Applicants Who Served from South Carolina*, 1946, p. 5.

[88] The following Jews signed the petition of civilians: Markes (also Marks or Marcus) Lazarus, Solomon Aaron, Philip Minis, Isaac Da Costa, Jr., Joseph Solomons, Gershon Cohen, Jacob Jacobs, Zadok Solomo, Meyer Moses, Joseph de Palacios, another Joseph de Palacios, Philip Hart, David Sarzedas, Abraham Moses, and Joseph Myers. Joseph Solomons and Joseph Myers could only make their marks, although Myers attempted to sign "Joseph" in Hebrew script. Emmett Collection, New York Public Library. See Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina*, p. 90 et seq.

[89] Among those who signed the petition of the militia were: 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, Junior, J. Cohen, and Samuel Mordecai. *Ibid.*

Samuel Mordecai is described by his son-in-law, Isaac Harby, in the North American Review for July, 1826, as "a brave grenadier in the American army . . . (who) fought and bled for the liberty he lived to enjoy and hand down to his children."

[90] David Ramsay, *The History of the Revolution of South-Carolina,* 1785, vol. 2, pp. 119–121.

[91] *Stub Entries to Indents issued in payment of claims against South Carolina growing out of the Revolution,* Books L-N, by A. S. Salley, Jr., Secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1910: No. 110, Lib. M: "Issued the 1st October 1784 to Mr. Abraham Alexander, late Lieutenant in McKenzie's Troup, Hill's Regiment, Sumpter's Brigade, etc. for one hundred and forty pounds Sterling being balance of pay and Bounty due him for services done in that Troop; together with interest thereon from the first April 1782 to date hereof; Agreeable to Resolution of General Assembly of the Eleventh of March last . . ." No. 229, Lib. M: "Issued the first October 1784 to Mr. Abraham Alexander late in Burn's Troop, W. Hampton's Regiment Sumpter's Brigd. for ninety four pounds Sterling being balance pay and bounty due him for Services in that troop together with interest thereon from the first April 1782 to date hereof: Agreeable to resolution of General Assembly of the Eleventh of March last . . ."

[92] Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston, The Place and the People,* 1906, p. 276.

[93] See below, pp. 49, 50.

[94] His agreement to marry Rebecca Pimenta, "according to the rights and ceremonies of the Jews without portion to be demanded or required," is among the probate records (1763–1767).

[94a] In the possession of Mr. Thomas J. Tobias of Charleston. The miniature is supposed to be by Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860).

[95] His nephew, Sheftall Sheftall of Georgia, was appointed December 1780 by the American Board of War in Philadelphia "a Flag Master" to carry money and provisions in the sloop *Carolina Packett* to the superior officer of the troops that were prisoners of war in Charles Town—for their benefit and that of the starving inhabitants.

[96] Quoted in Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* p. 100.

[97] Minutes of court of inquiry, office of Secretary of State, Columbia, S. C., identified by Barnett A. Elzas. See his *Jews of South Carolina,* p. 97 et seq.

[98] Isaac Da Costa was chairman of a meeting called in 1782 to raise funds for building a synagogue in Philadelphia where he and Isaac Da Costa, Jr., had become members of Congregation Mikvé Israel (afterwards Mikveh Israel). So had Samuel Da Costa, Philip Moses, Israel Jacobs, Jacob Cohen, Ezekiel Levy, Abraham Sasportas, Solomon Aaron, and Abraham Mendez Seixas, all of Charles Town.

[99] See "The Footpad's Memorial—1788," by Samuel Gaillard Stoney, in *Charleston Murders,* edited by Beatrice St. J. Ravenel, 1947.

[100] William L. King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C.*, 1882, pp. 42–50, *passim.*

[101] Pp. 30, 31.

[102] Elzas, *Jewish Marriage Notices from the Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C. (1775–1906).*

[103] Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* p. 43.

[104] Her *ketubbah* (marriage contract) was in the possession of Mrs. Henry Mosler, of Cincinnati, Ohio, a descendant of Abraham Alexander, Jr.

[105] His naturalization papers, dated September 4, 1798, are in the possession of Mrs. Ashley Halsey, of Charleston, S. C., a descendant.

[106] *Wills,* Charleston County, Book H, pp. 173, 174.

[107] Elzas, *The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S. C.*, 1903. For the history of the Da Costa burial-ground on Hanover Street and of another early burial-ground on the same street see below, pp. 152, 153.

[108] "The property (the 'old Synagogue') was owned by Tobias and was only sold by his estate to the congregation on 20th March, 1792, and the congregation bought from the same estate the lot West of the same on May 15th, 1792. Both deeds are of record in the Register's Office for Charleston, in Book M 6, pages 45 and 48. The lot on which the new Synagogue was built was bought from Susannah Quince, 12th September, 1791. This deed is of record in the same office, in Book H 6, page 98." Nathaniel Levin in the Charleston *Year Book 1883,* p. 579 (errata). But, according to Mr. Thomas J. Tobias, in a letter dated October 24, 1949: "I have checked Vol. M 6 pages 45 and 48 Mesne Conveyance Records . . . The titles read 'Joseph Tobias, the elder and Isaac De Lyon, administrators of the will annexed of Jacob Tobias, deceased, to the Trustees of the Jewish Congregation Beth Elohim etc.' The language recites that the sale of the land was made Dec. 10, 1794, and recorded Dec. 11, 1794. Jacob willed his estate to his mother, Leah Tobias, during her lifetime, and after her death to the children of his brother, Joseph, and his sister, Rinah, who was wife to Isaac De Lyon, equally. The administrators sold it to the congregation."

[109] Contributions were undoubtedly solicited, according to the general custom, from other congregations. The Hebrew congregation on the island of Barbados in the West Indies, for example, gave twenty-five pounds.

[110] Samuel Oppenheim, "The Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810," *Publications American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 19, pp. 76–87.

[111] The first cornerstone to be laid was the east stone, laid by Israel Joseph, and the second the west stone by Philip Hart—both had given generously to the building fund—and the right to lay the other six stones had gone by auction: Lyon Moses paid fifteen pounds; Isaac Moses thirteen pounds; Emanuel Abrahams eighteen pounds; Mark Tongues nine pounds, six shillings; Hart Moses eight pounds, ten shillings; Abraham Moses, Senior, eight pounds, seven shillings. Nathaniel Levin in the Charleston *Year Book 1883.* (In his earlier article in *The Occident,* founded 1843, vol. I, p. 386, he lists the last contribution as five pounds seven shillings.)

[112] A. Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or Journal of a Voyage to the United States,* translated by John D. Godman, 1829, vol. II, p. 53.

[113] Nathaniel Levin in the Charleston *Year Book 1883.*

[114] Idem, in *The Occident,* vol. I, p. 387.

[115] See above, pp. iii, iv and note 1.

[116] *The Occident,* vol. IV, no. 2 (May 1846), pp. 103–104.

[117] Hyman B. Grinstein, *The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York,* 1945, p. 40.

[118] Article VIII, Section 1.

[119] Article I, Section 4.

[120] His name does not appear in the *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina May 10, 1790–June 3, 1790,* edited by Francis M. Hutson, 1946, but the list of delegates from Charleston is not complete, for part of the page listing them is missing.

[121] Of this letter to Washington, Elzas in *The Jews of South Carolina,* p. 126, says that Washington's reply is in the Charleston *Year Book* for 1884, pp. 280–1. He supposes, as Nathaniel Levin did in his article in the *Year Book* for 1883, that the original of the reply was lost in 1838 when the synagogue was destroyed by fire; and Nathaniel Levin, in his earlier article in *The Occident,* vol. I, no. 7 (October 1843), p. 342, making the same conjecture wrote: "the reply . . . cannot be procured. It is but too probable that, as many of the books containing the minutes of the congregation were consumed in the great fire of 1838, which destroyed the Synagogue and many valuable congregational papers, this invaluable document has also been lost." The Charleston *Year Book* for 1884 does print a letter from Washington as published in the *Washington Gazette* in 1790 and asserts that it is the reply to the individual letter of Beth Elohim; but it is the same letter as that in reply to the joint letter. Here then is a letter, supposedly sent by the congregation in Charleston, followed in a few months by participation in another letter with the same object, a letter undoubtedly sent, and replies, supposedly to each, that are identical. Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History in The Hebrew Union College, wrote to Mr. Thomas J. Tobias of Charleston, S. C., June 8, 1948: "In my opinion, this letter of Jacob Cohen was actually never sent to George Washington, but was written as a draft for a proposed letter by all the Jews to Washington."

## PART TWO

[1] *Diary of Timothy Ford,* edited by Joseph W. Barnwell, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* vol. XIII, p. 145.

[2] Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston, The Place and the People,* 1906, p. 405. See also "Lovely Lavinia and the Drunken Hangman," by Beatrice St. J. Ravenel in *Charleston Murders,* 1947, p. 42.

[3] W. Thacher's diary for Oct. 1818, quoted in Rosser H. Taylor's *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* 1942, p. 44.

[4] Jacob N. Cardozo, *Reminiscences of Charleston,* 1866, p. 11.

[5] John G. Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina,* 1928, pp. 183 et seq.

[6] Theodore D. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times,* 1909, pp. 70, 71.

[7] *Sefer Haberith,* Vilna, 1797, has a reference to Charleston as "Charleville."

[8] London edition (1818), pp. 463 et seq.

[9] A. Levasseur, *Lafayette in America,* 1829, vol. II, p. 62, quoted in J. Rion McKissick's "Some Observations of Travelers on South Carolina, 1820–1860," *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association,* 1932, p. 45.

[10] P. 72.

[10a] From the will of Moses C. Levy filed in Charleston County: ". . . I give . . . to the Synagogue of Zobnau about Eight Miles from Cracou in Poland where I was born the sum of Fifty Pounds Sterling . . ." *Will Book,* vol. 41, 1834–39, pp. 909–915.

[11] David D. Wallace, *The History of South Carolina,* vol. II, 1934, p. 353. For Sasportas's will see *Will Book,* vol. 36, 1818–1826, pp. 1067–1072.

[12] *Will Book,* vol. 29, 1800–7, pp. 673–678.

[13] "Mendes," according to the notation of his death—written by his son—in his prayer-book.

[14] *Will Book,* vol. 26, 1793–1800, pp. 640–644.

[15] Edmund H. Abrahams, "Some Notes on the Early History of the Sheftalls of Georgia," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 17, pp. 181–3.

[16] From an advertisement (1795).

[17] Custom duties upon imports collected at Charleston fell from an average of almost a million and a half dollars annually (1815–18) to an average of about $680,000 annually (1819–25) and about half a million in 1829 and again in 1831. Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819–1848,* 1948, p. 250.

[18] In 1839, New York had twenty packets sailing to Liverpool, sixteen to

Havre, and twelve to London. Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina,* p. 187.

[19] Ibid., pp. 186 et seq.

[20] Idem; William A. Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* 1901.

[21] Otherwise, Charleston and Savannah would be "mere suburbs of New York and Boston." Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina,* p. 217, quoting Charleston *Mercury,* Oct. 3, 1859.

"Do you really think it is possible ever to get rid entirely of a protective tariff? Must not the South in the present Confederacy continue to pay tribute to the North? . . . (but) a government based upon a Confederacy of the Southern slave-holding States—with the great informing principle of our generation —Free Trade . . . would in a few years achieve a position of power, dignity, prosperity and wealth . . ." Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina,* p. 102, quoting Wm. Porcher Mills to J. H. Hammond, Nov. 15, 1858 (from the J. H. Hammond papers).

[22] In 1826 the value of the slaves in the South was about three hundred million dollars; of this about a fifth belonged to residents of South Carolina (Theodore D. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times,* p. 198, citing W. B. Seabrook, *View of the Colored Population*). The demand for slaves in growing cotton was such that a slave, according to Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* citing Olmstead, *The Cotton Kingdom,* vol. II, p. 151, was worth several times, it has been said seven or ten times, as much in 1860 as at the end of the Revolution. By 1850 in South Carolina, although of a total white population of 274,563 only 25,596, strictly speaking, owned slaves, almost half of the white families of the state were directly interested in that ownership (Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* pp. 8 and 41, note 2, citing *Compendium of the Seventh Census* and H. M. Henry, *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina*). See also Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* p. 391. Of the 25,596 in South Carolina that owned slaves in 1850, 1,471 owned fifty slaves or more. The majority of slave-owners had less than twenty. By 1860, the slave-owners of the state had grown in number to 26,701. The average slave-owner in the Low Country had twenty-one slaves; in the Up Country eleven (Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* pp. 4, 8).

Emancipation of slaves by will was forbidden after 1841 (Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* p. 186). At least as important as the protection of an inheritance was the policy of keeping down the number of free persons of color as a source of unrest, and even insurrection, among the slaves.

[23] Frederick P. Bowes, *The Culture of Early Charleston,* 1942, p. 130. The aristocracy of planters that ruled the city and state felt a grave and militant responsibility for the government and welfare of the community—on the stability of which their own standing rested (Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* pp. 3, 41, 42). After 1816, they took over from the Virginians the leadership of the South, and, since their Negro slavery rested on the laws of the

states, they were ardent advocates of state sovereignty (Alexander Johnston, *The United States: Its History and Constitution,* 1889, p. 137; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* p. 273); this was true of those who were against nullification and as true of those who were against secession as of those for it.

[24] The first steam railway in America was running on wooden rails from Charleston at the end of 1830; in three years it reached Hamburg, opposite Augusta, Georgia, bringing to Charleston the products of Georgia and South Carolina that had gone down the Savannah River to Savannah (Flora Hutson Heyward, "America's First Steam Railroad," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* 1934, pp. 38 et seq.). This was then the longest railway in the world—136 miles.

It was fully twenty-five years after the Erie Canal was completed (1825) before the railways reached the Middle West; but these led to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston. Robert Y. Hayne (d. 1839) advocated a railway from Charleston to Cincinnati to bring South and West together commercially and, hence, politically; but Calhoun (d. 1850) threw all his prestige against the project—although the panic of 1837 and engineering difficulties in the mountains had their weight, too—in favor of an extension of the railway to Hamburg westward to the Tennessee in order to strengthen the bonds between Southeast and Southwest and make the South commercially independent of the North (John Cleveland, *Controversy between John C. Calhoun and Robert Y. Hayne as to the Proper Route of a Railroad from South Carolina to the West,* 1913; Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times;* Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism*).

[25] Although many had argued for the postponement of secession until the state would be joined by other slave states, an important minority, including such men as Daniel E. Huger, John B. O'Neall, James L. Petigru, and Joel R. Poinsett—even the Charleston *Courier* was Unionist—opposed secession; but all followed their state to war (Chauncey Samuel Boucher, *South Carolina and the South on the Eve of Secession, 1852–1860,* 1919; Lillian A. Kibler, "Unionist Sentiment in South Carolina in 1860," in *Journal of Southern History,* vol. IV (1938), no. 3, p. 346 et seq.; D. D. Wallace, "Some Unexploited Fields in South Carolina History," in *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association,* 1935, pp. 31, 32).

[26] Wm. P. Trent, *Southern Statesmen of the Old Regime,* 1897, p. 168 et seq. See also Gamaliel Bradford, *As God Made Them,* p. 99.

[27] Frederick A. Ford's *Census of the City of Charleston South Carolina for the year 1861,* Charleston, 1861: white, 26,969; slave, 17,655; free colored, 3,785; total, 48,409. According to Ford, of the white inhabitants, 13,139 were male and 13,830 female; of the males, 6,964 were born in Charleston, 1,058 in South Carolina but not in Charleston, 389 in other Confederate states, 732 in the "present United States," 279 in England, 1,771 in Ireland, 158 in Scotland, 6 in Wales, 97 in France, 48 in Spain, 17 in Portugal, 1,429 in Germany, 18 in Switzerland, 45 in Italy, 21 in Russia, 15 in Denmark, 17 in Sweden, and the rest in other countries; of the females, 7,978 were born in

Charleston, 1,271 in South Carolina but not in Charleston, 414 in other Confederate states, 651 in the "present United States," 294 in England, 1,891 in Ireland, 101 in Scotland, 9 in Wales, 92 in France, 11 in Spain, 3 in Portugal, 1,008 in Germany, 8 in Switzerland, 14 in Italy, 12 in Russia, 7 in Denmark, 10 in Sweden, and the rest in other countries.

[28] Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* pp. 393, 394; Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina,* p. 264.

[29] Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times,* pp. 80, 130, 131.

[30] St. Julien Ravenel Childs, "Notes on the History of Public Health in South Carolina, 1670–1800," in *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association,* 1932; Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* pp. 90, 91.

[31] Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* p. 305. But see Robert R. Russel's "The General Effects of Slavery upon Southern Economic Progress," in *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. IV, no. 1, Feb. 1938, pp. 37–39: there is "only a modicum of truth" in the statement that where there were many slaves white men would not do physical work, if they could help it; there was no stigma attached to manual labor, as distinguished from menial service or manual labor beside slaves without distinction of work or status; however, white people did not take to physical work as they did in the North, but there may have been other reasons—difference in temperature, for example.

[32] Robert R. Russel, "The General Effects of Slavery upon Southern Economic Progress," in *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. IV, no. 1, pp. 40 et seq.

[33] From the diary of Jacob F. Schirmer, manuscript, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C.:

(April 19, 1847) "*Factory* a movement for a subscription to erect a factory to spin yarn" (in Hampstead district of Charleston); (May 17, 1852) "*Cotton factory* a final winding up of this concern has now taken place, the 2d Company has sold out not much better than the first Company—The City has bought the main buildings for an Alms House, and it is said the Ravenels have bought the Machinery to take in the Country, the balance divided and sold—and thus is gone all our money."

[34] *Gourdin memoir,* p. 104, quoted in Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* p. 44.

[35] W. L. Trenholm, *Centennial Address before the Charleston Chamber of Commerce,* 1884, p. 27. See Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* pp. 43–45.

[36] See above, p. 10.

[37] Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina,* pp. 279, 283.

[38] Russel, "The General Effects of Slavery upon Southern Economic Progress," in *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. IV, no. 1.

[39] *Will Book,* vol. 1793–1800, pp. 397, 398.

[40] *Will Book*, vol. 28, 1800–7, pp. 7, 8.

[41] *Will Book*, vol. 43, 1839–45, pp. 556, 557.

[42] *Will Book*, vol. 43, 1839–45, pp. 834, 835.

[43] Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina*, p. 159.

[44] George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, 1932, vol. II, pp. 18, 19 (citing *Yebamot* 48b), also p. 136.

[45] Lewis N. Dembitz, "Slaves and Slavery," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. XI, 1905, p. 407, citing ReMa's gloss on the *Shulhan Aruk, Yoreh De'ah*, 267, 4.

[46] "This congregation shall not encourage or interfere with [sic] 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 No. 23, Constitution of 1820.

[47] "There is a Negro among the members of my congregation. He is over seventy and he says he came from Madagascar by way of the Barbary States when he was very young with his Jewish masters who are now dead. He is a pensioned newspaper carrier. I can testify for him that he is the most observant of those who go to the synagogue. Although in the South, as well as the free North, blacks and colored persons sit apart from the whites in all public places, churches, theatres, and the like, Uncle Billy sits in the nave of the temple among his white co-religionists. Only one thing worries him, as he has often told me, namely that, when he has passed away, by some oversight he may not be buried in the Jewish cemetery. If God lets me survive him and if it is only in my power, he shall rest among his co-religionists instead of among the slaves or the free persons of color! To show how worried he is about this he has let all the Christians of the city know that he is a Jew and would like to be buried among his co-religionists." Translated from the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, vol. 21, p. 339.

[48] As owners of slaves see the preceding section.

[49] Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina*, p. 117, citing Colyer Meriwether's *History of Higher Education in South Carolina*, p. 59.

[50] Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times*, pp. 199 et seq., citing Robert Mills's *Statistics of South Carolina*, p. 467.

[51] *The American Almanac* for 1845 quotes Governor James H. Hammond of South Carolina as follows (pp. 251, 253): "The Free School system has failed . . . it does not suit our people or our government, and it can never be remedied. The paupers, for whose children it is intended, but slightly appreciate the advantages of education; their pride revolts at the idea of sending their children to school as 'poor scholars;' and besides, they need them at home to work. These sentiments and wants can, in the main, only be countervailed by force . . . It is contrary to the principles of our institutions to apply it here."

[52] Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism*, p. 307.

[53] Eleazer Elizer compiled a Charleston directory for 1803 and Morris Goldsmith published a directory for 1831.

[54] L. C. Moïse, *Biography of Isaac Harby with an account of The Reformed Society of Israelites of Charleston, S. C., 1824–1833*, 1931, p. 50.

[55] Quoted by Max J. Kohler, "Isaac Harby, Jewish Religious Leader and Man of Letters," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 32, p. 43.

[56] Charlotte Adams, "A Hebrew Poet of the South," in *The Critic*, December 28, 1889, p. 328.

[57] Rebecca O. Cohen, Bluhma C. Loeb, Hortense S. Cohen, Belle E. Blank, Sarah B. Visanska, and Eleanor L. Halsey.

However, an earlier attempt to honor Penina Moïse was less successful. In December 1882, women of Beth Elohim who had been her pupils requested permission of the board of trustees for a tablet to her memory in the vestibule of the synagogue, "having sufficient funds in hand for the purpose." S. S. Solomons moved that the application be approved by the board and referred to the congregation for approval, but the resolution was tabled (4 to 3) and the communication referred to the general meeting to be held in April. H. H. De Leon resigned as vice-president in protest and in his letter of resignation (December 3, 1882) added: "I am requested by the near relatives of the late Penina Moïse to say that the application to have a tablet placed in the vestibule of the synagogue to her memory was not in accordance with their wishes & a written request has been forwarded to the ladies making it to withdraw same. I am also requested to inform you that at the time of her death the Trustees offered to defray the funeral expenses, which was accepted, thinking it was a compliment to her memory but your action of to day has satisfied them of their mistake, they have therefore refunded the amount . . ."

On January 5, 1883, H. H. De Leon had occasion to write the board again: his request that the president place his resignation as vice-president before the congregation has been ignored by Mr. Wineman, the president, and, as Mr. De Leon has been informed by a member of the board, the president does not intend to call a special meeting of the congregation to consider the election of a successor, in spite of the requirement of the constitution of the congregation that all vacancies must be filled by the congregation at a general meeting to be called within one month, because the president "does not consider the office of vice-president of any importance." In spite of Mr. De Leon's protest, however, a vice-president was not elected until the regular meeting of the congregation in April. *Minutes*, Beth Elohim.

[58] *American Jewish Archives*, vol. I, no. 2 (January 1949), p. 56.

[59] Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization 1606–1865*, 1946, vol. II, p. 551.

[60] He was not against "relief" legislation for himself. For example, he had bought *The Southern Patriot* on credit (the sum due secured by a mortgage) for $20,000—the amount for which the government held a lien against the

paper: it was a high price, but Cardozo relied on the public printing which the paper had been receiving. When John Quincy Adams became president, his secretary of state, Henry Clay, gave the public printing to another paper, although the sum so received by *The Southern Patriot* had been paid back to the United States on account of the debt due it. Cardozo could not meet the obligations of his contract, and Senator Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina came to his assistance: Congress passed a bill "for the relief of J. N. Cardozo," authorizing the secretary of the treasury to reduce the debt and extend the payments "as may in his opinion be consistent with equity and justice." President Jackson signed the bill March 1831. Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization,* vol. II, p. 853.

[61] Ibid., pp. 551 et seq., pp. 854 et seq. In 1845, Cardozo sold or lost *The Southern Patriot* and established *The Evening News.* (Jacob F. Schirmer, the Charleston merchant whose diary is now among the manuscripts of the South Carolina Historical Society, has the following entries: "Jan. 1, 1845, *Cardoza & Munro* dissolved Copartnership as Proprietors of the Southern Patriot and with it appears a Newspaper Controversy . . . April 11, 1845 J. N. Cardoza publicly notified that he had retired from the Editorship of the 'Patriot' and it has now gone into the hands of M E Munro their recent dispute was settled by Arbitration and decided in favor of Munro . . . Oct 1, 1845 *Evening News* a newspaper made its appearance to be conducted by J N Cardoza . . .). Cardozo sold *The Evening News* in 1847, but remained the managing editor until 1861, when he moved to Savannah. During the War Between the States, he was an editor in Mobile and in Atlanta.

[62] Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization,* vol. II, p. 552.

[63] John Bennett, *"Apothecaries' Hall": its history,* 1923.

[64] *The Occident,* vol. I, no. 10 (January 1844), pp. 490, 491.

[65] *Will Book,* vol. 44, 1845–51, pp. 261–267.

[66] Feb. 28, 1836.

[67] His second wife was a Catholic and so were their children: two became priests and one was a judge in New Orleans.

[68] *Minutes,* Beth Elohim, Oct. 21, 1838.

[69] Carvalho also painted a portrait of Rabbi Isaac Leeser. In 1853, he went with Fremont across the Rocky Mountains as artist of the expedition and published a record of the journey (*Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West with Fremont's Last Expedition,* 1857).

[70] David Sarzedas was in practice from about 1795 and still practising medicine in 1822. Other Jewish physicians in Charleston were Isaac Da Costa (1809), Abraham De Leon (1813, before moving to Camden), Levi Myers (who moved to Charleston from Georgetown in 1812 and, after practising in Charleston, went back to Georgetown), P. Melvin Cohen, Isaac Lyons, and Columbus Davega.

[71] Zacharia Florence was a dentist in Charleston as early as 1802. J. R. Solomons was also in practice as a dentist.

[72] John Belton O'Neall, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of*

*South Carolina,* vol. II (1859), lists the following as admitted to the bar in Charleston: S. Benjamin (1841), M. M. Cohen (1829), J. Barrett Cohen (1857), Abraham Moïse (1822), F. J. Moses (1825), and Joseph W. Moses (1858).

[73] Jacob Canter was an interpreter and translator in 1802. S. H. Massias was also a translator.

[74] Isaac Ricardo was an accountant in 1813 and so was Abraham Tobias—afterwards a distinguished merchant—in 1822.

[75] Abraham Tongue was a schoolmaster, Abraham Jacobs a tutor (1804), Abraham Ottolengui, afterwards a distinguished merchant, a teacher in 1807, and David Cardozo a free-school teacher in 1812 and master of Free School No. 1 in 1813. As stated above, in the text, Joshua Canter taught drawing. Mrs. R. J. Ricardo had a music school in 1810.

Dr. Elias Marks (1790–1886), a converted Jew and a member of Trinity Episcopal Church in Columbia, S. C., was born in Charleston and studied medicine in New York—his dissertation, "A Conjectural Inquiry into the Relative Influence of the Mind and Stomach," might interest students of psychosomatic medicine. His Barhamville school for young women became famous for its instruction in languages, music, art, and philosophy (David D. Wallace, *The History of South Carolina,* vol. II, p. 44). His children are said to be buried in a Jewish cemetery in Columbia.

[76] According to Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* Myer Moses (d. New York City, 1833), the father of Franklin J. Moses, was a director of the Planters' and Mechanics' Bank in 1811, Joshua Lazarus president of the Cheraw Bank in 1825, and Jacob Barrett a director of the State Bank (1842–43). W. A. Clark, *The History of the Banking Institutions organized in South Carolina prior to 1860* (1922), lists the following directors: Farmers' and Exchange Bank, M. C. Mordecai (1853–60); A. L. Tobias (1860–65); The South-Western Rail Road Bank, M. C. Mordecai (1840–52, according to Elzas), D. C. Levy (Elzas, 1843–46), I. S. Cohen (1849–65); The Bank of the State of South Carolina, Dr. P. Melvin Cohen (Elzas, 1849–55); The Union Bank of South Carolina, in addition to Abraham Tobias, A. Ottolengui (Elzas, 1843–50), Joseph L. Tobias (1857–65), Jacob Barrett (1863–65).

A. L. Tobias was elected secretary of the South Carolina Insurance Company in 1850 (Jacob F. Schirmer's diary, June 11). M. C. Mordecai was a director of the South Carolina Insurance Company (1849–57), David C. Levy of the Charleston Insurance Company (1837–47), and Jacob C. Levy of the Union Insurance Company (1830–40).

Mordecai Cohen was a director of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad in 1836 and M. C. Mordecai of the Gas Light Company (1848–56).

Jacob C. Levy was also a member of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce (1841–47).

[77] The house is at 138 Wentworth Street and is listed as "valuable to city" in *This is Charleston,* published by the Civic Services Committee of the Carolina Art Association, 1944.

[78] The house—at 119 Broad Street—has had a marble front added.

[79] Theodore D. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times,* citing Robert Mills's *Statistics of South Carolina,* p. 467.

[80] See "Mordecai, Moses Cohen" by Barnett A. Elzas, *The Dictionary of American Biography,* vol. XIII (1934), pp. 154, 155.

[81] Other planters were Isaac Lyons, Isaiah Moses, and Barnet A. Cohen.

[82] Israel Myers was import inspector in 1802; Myer Jacobs was a surveyor in the customhouse from 1847 until 1849 and again in the customhouse from 1854 on—surveyor under President Buchanan and under President Davis for the Confederacy; Isaac N. Cardozo was a weigher in the customhouse (1831–55); Elias Levy was guager of liquors in 1845. Gershom Lazarus was a steamboat inspector (1847–58). Hyam Cohen was a city assessor (1838–50) and Thomas Sampson assistant assessor (1852). Levy J. Myers was clerk to the treasurer (1854–57). Samuel Hyams was crier of the court in 1816 and keeper of the jail in 1822; J. M. Seixas was master of the workhouse in 1802, and Lewis Gomez turnkey of the jail. Elisha Elizer was city deputy sheriff in 1806; Marks Marks deputy sheriff (1822); Solomon Moses constable in 1822 and city marshal from 1833 until 1846; Solomon Moses, Jr., deputy sheriff (1822); Morris Goldsmith deputy marshal in 1819; Moses Solomon constable in 1802; and Nathan Hart constable in 1821. Moses Levy was a police officer in 1847 whose name was signed to the publication of ordinances in the daily press. Henry J. Harby, a brother of Isaac Harby, was city blacksmith in 1835.

[83] J. H. Easterby, *History of the St. Andrew's Society of Charleston, South Carolina,* 1929, p. 31.

[84] J. H. Easterby, *The South Carolina Society,* 1937, p. 15.

[85] Albert G. Mackey, *The History of Free Masonry in South Carolina,* 1861, reprinted 1936, p. 41.

[86] Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina,* pp. 25, 28.

[87] Easterby, *The South Carolina Society,* pp. 65, 105 et seq. The following are listed among the members: Ezra Benjamin (1824); Nathan A. Cohen (1841); Octavus Cohen (1907); D. C. Levy (1837); M. C. Mordecai (1837); T. M. Mordecai (1890); Franklin J. Moses (1833); Myer Moses (1807); G. M. Pollitzer (1891); R. M. Pollitzer (1913); J. R. Tobias (1901); J. L. Tobias (1860); Abraham Tobias (1835). The dates are when they became members.

[88] Samuel Oppenheim, "The Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 19, p. 76.

[89] Mackey, *History of Freemasonry in South Carolina,* p. 533.

[90] Among these were Abraham Alexander (March 18, 1798) and Emanuel De La Motta (July 8, 1798).

[90a] In 1806, Emanuel De La Motta was master, David Brandon senior warden, Samuel Hyams junior warden, Cherry Moïse treasurer, and M. L. Henry secretary.

Friendship Lodge was not in any Masonic order for a while. Originally chartered by the Grand Lodge of York Masons, Emanuel De La Motta as master, the senior warden and other members joined the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in 1809. Some members, however, received authority to continue the lodge from the Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons. De La Motta refused to give up the books and jewels of the lodge on the ground that he owed allegiance to the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons. The lodge was suspended, and at the final union of the Grand Lodge in 1817, it was not in either body; its number was then declared extinct and transferred to Union Lodge of Charleston.

In 1819, Friendship Lodge was revived by a warrant issued to Barnard Cohen, master; Samuel Hyams, senior warden; and Joseph Josephs, junior warden. The warrant was surrendered in 1833, revived again in 1842 and issued to Jacob De La Motta, master; Nathaniel Levin, senior warden; and Levin L. Levy, junior warden. See Mackey, *History of Freemasonry in South Carolina.*

[91] See above, p. iv; also p. 69 and n. 10a.

[92] Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* p. 110.

[93] "The various religious denominations were called upon to aid this laudable undertaking. The congregation 'Beth Elohim' complied with this request, and on the 21st August, 1791, an invitation was extended to the city authorities, the commissioners and children of the Orphan House to attend the Synagogue. After Divine Service by the Rev. Ab'm Azubee, an excellent discourse was delivered by Mr. Joseph Myers. The sum collected was £ 58 5s., the receipt of which was duly acknowledged by A. Vanderhorst, Esq., who transmitted to the Vestry a complimentary resolution unanimously adopted by the Commissioners of the Orphan House." Nathaniel Levin, Charleston *Year Book* 1883, p. 306.

When the Ladies' Benevolent Society, established in 1813, in accordance with a practice of applying annually to one of the different churches of the city for a discourse from the pulpit in behalf of their undertaking and a collection, made such an application to Beth Elohim in 1821, Nathan Hart, then president, explained that since the congregation had "no regular minister at present, an English discourse cannot be delivered, nor can a collection be made on our Sabbath, without violating our ancient customs, which forbid the handling of money on that day," but that an appeal would be made. The offerings amounted to $250. Nathaniel Levin, *The Occident,* vol. I, pp. 435, 436.

[94] *Minutes,* Beth Elohim, December 25, 1842.

[95] G. Croft Williams, *A Social Interpretation of South Carolina,* 1946, p. 25.

[96] Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston, The Place and the People,* p. 414.

[97] Manuscript, South Carolina Historical Society.

[98] Thomas Gamble, *Savannah Duels and Duellists,* pp. 260–269.

[99] From a "Discourse Before the Reformed Society of Israelites For Pro-

moting True Principles of Judaism According to its Purity and Spirit. Delivered by Appointment in Charleston, S. C., on the Twenty-First Day of November," quoted by L. C. Moïse in his *Biography of Isaac Harby*, pp. 118, 121. See also p. 36 for year of "discourse."

[100] Abraham Cohen's will, *Will Book*, vol. 31, 1807–18, pp. 294, 295.

[101] Abraham Tobias's will, *Will Book*, vol. 47, 1851–56, pp. 820–3.

[102] For example, Elias Levy was a second lieutenant of the Charleston Neck Rangers (1822), Myer Jacobs colonel of the Twelfth Regiment (1828–33), Joshua Lazarus major of the Seventh Brigade (1830), M. C. Mordecai a captain of the Marion Artillery (1834), and Henry J. Harby a lieutenant (1834).

[103] See below, pp. 104, 105; 158, 159.

[103a] See below, note 125.

[104] Diary, pp. 25, 31, 122, manuscript, copy in American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

[105] *Occident*, vol. VI, no. 1 (April, 1848), p. 46.

[106] Quoted by Dorfman, *Economic Mind in American Civilization*, vol. II, p. 853.

[107] Ibid.

[108] In 1852, five others joined the founders of *The Southern Standard* (afterwards the Charleston *Standard*) in a stock company to publish it: L. W. Spratt, E. H. Britton, W. D. Porter, James Tupper, and Jacob Cohen. The wealth of the eight shareholders was estimated at six million dollars. Publication of the newspaper was discontinued in 1858. William L. King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C.*, 1882, p. 160.

[109] A native of England, naturalized in 1788, he had been a clerk of the state treasurer in 1806, deputy state treasurer in 1813, and was elected state treasurer in 1817—"a reward for his integrity," as his tombstone reads. He held the office until 1822.

[110] Myer Moses (1810); Myer Jacobs, representative of St. Helena's (1833) and of St. Philip's and St. Michael's (1838–39); Philip Phillips (1834–35); Myer M. Cohen, representative of St. Philip's and St. Michael's (1835–36); and M. C. Mordecai, representative of St. Philip's and St. Michael's (1845–46) and state senator (1855–58).

[111] Assistant city treasurer: H. H. De Leon (1850–2); alderman: M. C. Mordecai (1836); member of the board of health: Mordecai Cohen (1819), Philip Cohen (1819–23), M. C. Mordecai (1833–36), Abraham Tobias (1833–37), Henry J. Harby (1838–42), E. Abrahams (1840–2), Aaron Lopez (1838–39), E. Levy (1838–39), Jacob Cohen (1852), Dr. Benjamin A. Rodriques (1849), and Dr. P. Melvin Cohen (1843–54, chairman 1850–4); commissioner of the Marine Hospital: Philip Cohen (1826–33); S. N. Hart (1850–1); commissioner of public schools: Myer Moses ("free schools," 1811; "public schools," 1823); commissioner of the poorhouse: Mordecai Cohen (1811–18), Abraham Ottolengui (1833–34); commissioner of the orphanhouse: Mordecai Cohen (1838–44); commissioner of markets: Mordecai

Cohen (1826–32), M. C. Mordecai (1837), Samuel Hart, Sr. (1852–59), M. H. Nathans (1854); commissioner of streets and lamps: Mordecai Cohen (1817), E. Levy (1843–48); commissioner of roads: E. Solomons (1858–59); commissioner of pilotage: Abraham Tobias (1838–43), M. C. Mordecai (1845); magistrate: Abraham Mendez Seixas (1797–1799), Abraham Moïse (1842–59); justice of the peace: Lyon Levy (1806), Eleazer Elizer (1813), Isaac C. Moses (1819), Moses K. Hyams (1823), Abraham Moïse (1827–40); commissioner of the workhouse: David Lopez (1850–5), S. N. Hart (1852); warden of the police: M. C. Mordecai (1837). Abraham Mendez Seixas was a warden of the workhouse at his death (1799).

[112] *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States during the War with Great Britain,* collected and arranged by John Brannan, 1823, pp. 470–4.

[113] Leon Hühner, "Jews in the War of 1812," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 26.

By his will, probated in 1848, Major Massias left three thousand dollars to the president and trustees "of the Hebrew Synagogue of 'Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim or House of God' in Hasell Street" to invest the sum for his niece "of the Island of St. Thomas in the West Indies" but, should she die without children, in trust for the synagogue "so long as they continue to worship according to their present reform doctrines." He left the son of a friend "my gold watch which I now use No. 6936" and gave another friend "all my plate and plated ware . . . and also my gold ring which I usually wear"; and to still another friend, "my diamond breast pin which I usually wear" (*Will Book,* vol. 44, 1845–51, pp. 353–356).

[114] See below, p. 160.

[115] Charleston *Mercury,* Aug. 26, 1850.

[116] Diary, Joseph Lyons, p. 131, manuscript, copy in American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[117] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 1, p. 100.

[118] See below, pp. 127 et seq.

[119] Barnett A. Elzas, *Leaves from my Historical Scrap Book, Second Series,* no. 6.

[120] Henry Cohen, "Settlement of the Jews in Texas," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 2, pp. 139, 140.

[121] Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade,* 1938. Levin's wife and son became Catholics. *Ibid.,* p. 217.

[122] Charleston *Courier,* 1855.

[123] Albert M. Friedenberg, "Solomon Heydenfeldt: A Jewish Jurist of Alabama and California," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 10. See also Max J. Kohler, "Jews and the Anti-Slavery Movement," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,*" no. 9.

[123a] He wrote a tragedy, *Queen Esther,* and metrical translations of the Psalms, but none of these was published. As reader of The Reformed Society of Israelites see below, pp. 131, 132.

[124] He had changed the family name of one son to Nunez and of another to Luria, since he himself was a descendant of both families. Raphael J. Moses served on the staff of General Longstreet as chief commissary of subsistence with the rank of major. His son, Albert M. Luria, a lieutenant in the Twenty-third Regiment (North Carolina), picked up a bomb that fell into his company at the bombardment of Sewell's Point, Norfolk, Virginia, in 1861, and threw it into the water. The bomb was sent to his father with these words on it: "Albert Luryea (*sic* in the Chesnut *Diary,* p. 175), bravest where all are brave!" He was mortally wounded in battle the next year. Mary Boykin Chesnut in *A Diary from Dixie* (1929 edition), p. 183, has the following of his death: Just before his birth, his mother was at a hotel in Charleston and her sister-in-law, Anna De Leon Moses, gave up her own room in her home that the child might be born there with more comfort and privacy; when Albert Luryea was mortally wounded at Chickahominy, Anna Moses, then living in Richmond, brought him to her home and again gave up her own room (for her house was crowded "to the door-steps"), and in her room he died—as he had been born.

[125] From the Charleston *Times* for October 16, 1800: "Messrs. Cox & Sheppard, A writer in your paper of Monday last, who stiles himself A. B. most wantonly asperses the Hebrew nation, and insinuates, 'that a federal or state officer affected to join in worship with the Jews, attending Divine service, and afterwards distributing tickets.' At the request of several respectable members of that community, who attended the whole time of service, on the day alluded to, I beg leave, though (*sic*) the channel of your impartial paper, to deny the ungenerous aspersion, which would have been passed over with silent contempt, had not C. D. in your paper of yesterday, fixed the *indecorum* on some state officer, and by way of a plaister to the sore, made a fulsome apology to the Hebrew nation for the illiberal and groundless assertion. As it relates to any state officer, *affecting to join in worship with the Jews,* I am warranted to declare it altogether void of truth or candour, and it can be incontrovertibly proved that no state officer was in the synagogue inclosures after the service was finished, consequently no tickets could have been distributed by him, as alledged for electioneering purposes. These gross aspersions are equally unwarranted and without the least foundation. It is supposed to be an electioneering trick, fabricated by some prolific brain to answer the purposes of the moment; the effect of suspicion which commonly haunts a jealous mind, or the offspring of some prejudiced and illnatured disposition. The opposition party did not slily insinuate to the Hebrews that the observations of A. B. were intended as a slur upon their congregation, *they* forcibly felt the insult offered them in an artful and indirect manner; and had any person been as imprudent as to exercise electioneering tricks within the pale of their synagogue, they would not have been at a loss to know how far it *would, in the eyes of some,* have approached a sacrilege, without the unsolicited and acrimonious suggestions of the alphabetical writer. The Hebrew nation cannot do less than be grateful to C. D. for the great compliments he paid them,

alledging there were very many who were satisfied with the happiness they enjoy—'They wanted no change, and merited the approbation of all good men.' The conduct of the Hebrews during the late revolution, their steady adherence to the American cause, and their continued submission to the government and laws of the country, are substantial proofs of their patriotism and attachment; and is the *real standard* by which they hope ever to merit the esteem and approbation of their fellow citizens; and, although *very many* may not *wish* a change, as C. D. asserts, yet, permit me to say, that there are also *very many* respectable Hebrews, who, while they conceive it is their duty to respect and submit to the existing laws and constituted authorities of the government, yet they so far indulge a hope, that ere long a *free, unmixed and uncontaminated republican* form of government will arise out from the abolition of the sedition and alien laws. Such an one as will conciliate the jarring contentions which now so unhappily prevail; and which, by a change of measures, and laws less oppressive and objectionable, tend to consolidate the true interest and happiness of America. As *individuals,* no doubt, can exist under the constitution, the Hebrews, in common with their fellow citizens, have an indisputable right to express their political sentiments with freedom and moderation; but lest it should be said *'ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi',* they, *as a body,* have never presumed to take an active part in political measures, at times not even appropriated to solemn and Divine worship, much less would they, as alledged, 'prostitute the temple of the Most High, for electioneering purposes;' they leave that for such *mild* and *charitable* Christians as A. B. who, without compunction, and to call a slur on a whole community, can carry his rage and resentment, 'even unto the horns of the altar.' E. F."

[126] Diary, p. 5.

[127] Among the presentments of the grand jury for Charles Town in October, 1776: "we present and recommend, that Jews and others may be restrained from allowing their negroes to sell goods in shops, as such a practice may induce other negroes to steal and barter with them . . . We present the ill practice of Jews opening their shop and selling goods on Sunday, to the profanation of the Lord's Day." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 5, p. 202.

[128] Albert M. Friedenberg, "The Jews and the American Sunday Laws," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 11, pp. 103, 104, quoting City Council of Charleston v. S. A. Benjamin, 2 Strobhart, pp. 508, 527.

[129] Vol. VI, no. 1 (April, 1848), pp. 36, 38.

[130] For example: ". . . I wish that South Carolina stood upon the Cliffe of Hell & I had power to cast her into the flaming gulf below. I would do it before you could across a t . . ." Elizabeth Merritt, *James Henry Hammond (1807–1864),* 1923, quoting, p. 109, Hammond's diary, May 12, 1852.

[131] He was extremely severe with his Negroes but, according to his biog-

rapher, only at first and merely to prevent them from imposing on his good nature. Merritt, *James Henry Hammond*, particularly p. 63.

[132] See Max J. Kohler, "Phases in the History of Religious Liberty in America with Particular Reference to the Jews," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 13, and *The Occident*, vol. II, pp. 496–510.

[133] Jacob F. Schirmer's diary, November 6, 1845.

[134] "An Open Letter to the Hon. W. O. Tuggle, of Lagrange: I have taken time to authenticate a report which I heard for the first time on the evening of the last day of the Convention. At West Point, in a public speech, during your Congressional campaign, and in my absence, you sought for me a term of 'reproach,' and from your well-filled vocabulary you selected the epithet of Jew.

"Had I served you to the extent of my ability in your recent political aspirations, and your overburdened heart had sought relief in some exhibition of unmeasured gratitude; had you a wealth of gifts and selected from your abundance your richest offering to lay at my feet, you could not have distinguished me more gratefully nor honored me more highly than by proclaiming me a Jew. I am proud of my lineage and my race. In your severest censure you cannot name an act of my life which dishonors either or which would mar the character of a Christian gentleman.

"I feel it an honor to be one of a race whom persecution can not crush—whom prejudice has in vain endeavored to subdue—who, despite the powers of man and the antagonism of the combined governments of the world, protected by the hand of diety, have burst the temporal bonds with which prejudice would have bound them, and after nearly nineteen centuries of persecution, still survive as a nation and assert their manhood and intelligence, and give proof of 'the divinity that stirs within them,' by having become a great factor in the government of mankind.

"Would you honor me? Call me Jew. Would you place in unenviable prominence your unchristian prejudices and narrow bigotry? Call me Jew.

"Would you offer a living example of a man into whose educated mind toleration cannot enter, on whose heart the spirit of liberty and the progress of American principles has made no impression? You can find it illustrated in yourself.

"Your narrow and benighted mind, pandering to the prejudices of your auditory, has attempted to taunt me by calling me a Jew—one of those peculiar people at whose altars, according to the teachings of your theological masters, God chose that his son should worship.

"Strike out the nationality of Judea and you would seek in vain for Christ and his apostles. Strike out of sacred history the teachings of the Jews, and you would be as ignorant of God and the soul's immortal mission as you are of the duties and amenities of social life.

"I am not angered, but while I thank you for the opportunity which you have given me to rebuke a prejudice confined to a limited number, distin-

guished for their bigotry and sectarian feelings, of which you are a fit exemplar, I pity you for having been cast in a mould impervious to the many and liberal sentiments which distinguish the nineteenth century.

"You are not created without a purpose; nature exhibits her beauties by the contrast of light and shade. Humanity illustrates its brightest and noblest examples by placing its most perfect in juxtaposition with the meanest specimens of mankind. So that you have the consolation of knowing that your mind has been thus deformed in the wisdom of the Great Architect, that you might serve as a shadow to bring forth in bold relief the brighter tints of that beautiful picture of 'religious toleration' engrafted in the Constitution of the United States by the wisdom of our fathers. R. J. Moses. Columbus, Ga., Aug. 29, 1878."

The letter appeared in the Columbus *Daily Times* for August 30, 1878, and was reprinted in *The American Israelite,* September 6, 1878, p. 6.

The mother of Raphael J. Moses, Deborah Moses of Charleston, had no less eloquence. The following is from her will: "I request that no pomp or parade whatever may be exhibited over my last remains. A plain Coffin of the most simple materials and in due time a wooden head & foot post without any inscription whatever are all that I require. The wisdom of God has mingled us indistinctly with the earth why then should we take from the living to arrogantly perpetuate an ephemeral name: To be forgotten is the lot of all I therefore require no mark of outward woe lay the earth quietly and with respect on me, I leave the rest to conscience feeling and duty—Mourn not beyond the hour sanctified by nature and true grief the tears which spring from the heart are the only dews the grave should be moistened with, the dead receive sufficient honor in being called to face their God." *Will Book,* vol. 45, 1845–51, pp. 581–583.

[135] Charleston *Year Book* 1883, p. 525.

[136] Vol. 21, p. 521.

[137] From 1808 to 1811, Carvalho taught at the Polonies Talmud Torah School in New York. There is a reference to him in the minutes of Shearith Israel, dated March 15, 1809: "letter of Revd. E. Carvalho asking to be relieved from the obligations of his contract as Teacher or to have his salary increased $500 the Congregation Beth Elohim in Charleston having offered to him the offer of his old situation as Hazan permanently his health had become impaired here the warm climate would suit him better. Trustees declined his request expecting him to do his duty."

[138] Isaac Goldberg, *Major Noah: American Jewish Pioneer,* 1936, p. 512.

[139] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 12, p. 88.

[139a] After Carvalho's resignation, Beth Elohim had only lay readers for four years. In 1818, Hartwig Cohen was elected *hazan* and he served until 1823. (One of his descendants is Bernard M. Baruch: see below, p. 202 and note 86.) Hartwig Cohen was followed by S. C. Peixotto who was the *hazan* from 1823 until 1835.

[140] *The Jewish Chronicle,* January 4, 1901, quoted by Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* pp. 148, 149.

[141] Reprinted by Barnett A. Elzas, 1904, as probably the "oldest printed Constitution in America with the exception of one of the Congregation Shearith Isreal of New York dated 1805."

[142] According to Rule 17, "any person, who from poverty or other misfortune, shall make it appear to the Private Adjunta that he is utterly incapable (without manifest injury to himself or family) to settle and pay off his arrears before Rossanna: they shall be authorized to take his note for the amount due, thereupon he shall be permitted to subscribe for the next year, and retain his seat, and the honors of the Congregation."

[143] The following were elected in 1820 to act as the General Adjunta: Abraham Alexander, Marks Lazarus, Emanuel De La Motta, Myer Moses, Simon Levy, Jacob De Leon, Nathan Hart, Moses C. Levy, Philip Cohen, Aaron Moïse, Samuel Simons, Lyon Levy, Solomon Hyams, Lyon Moses, Isaiah Moses, Moses Cohen, H. M. Hurtz [*sic*], Isaac Lyons, David Cardoza, Simon Mairs, Jacob Lazarus, Hyam Harris, S. M. Hart, Joseph Joseph, Abraham Lipman.

[144] A partial list of the fines for 1807 includes: Jacob Cohen "find (*sic*) for refusing to serve as parnass presidente and member of adjunta" fifteen pounds and "for not attending G. meets" ten shillings; Philip Cohen "find for not attending G. & Private meetings" one pound, twelve shillings, sixpence; "Mordeica Cohen . . . find for refusing to serve in the adjunta" one pound; Emanuel Levy was fined the same amount for the same reason; Cherry Moïse was fined five pounds for refusing to serve as a member of the general adjunta after accepting the office and also twelve shillings sixpence for not attending a general meeting; Myer Moses was fined a pound for not attending "G & Private Meetings;" Israel "Delebon" was fined six pounds for accepting a place on the adjunta and then refusing to serve; Jacob "Cantor" was fined one pound and five shillings for not attending a general meeting.

Abraham Isaaks—as an example of earlier penalties imposed—was fined twenty pounds in 1802. Solomon Harby was fined a like sum in 1803. In 1805 there were sixty-seven fines, including those for not attending a general meeting, for not serving in the adjunta, or for not accepting office.

[145] Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* pp. 154, 155.

[146] A friendly review of Isaac Harby's pamphlet, *Discourse on the Jewish Synagogue,* delivered in Charleston, November 21, 1825.

[147] Quoted by Bowes, *Culture of Early Charleston,* p. 32.

[148] Vol. IV, no. 3 (June 1846), p. 158.

[148a] Based upon an interpretation by Dr. Uriah Z. Engelman.

[148b] See below in this section.

[149] Vol. I (1843–44), p. 436.

[150] Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* p. 157.

[151] The petitioners added "an extract from a German paper entitled the *Frankfurt Journal*": " 'The Functions relative to Divine Service, such as the rite of taking the Law out of the Ark, the promulgation of the Law, etc., shall no longer be sold by auction in the Synagogue. The Rabbis, and the Elders of the Synagogue, (the first in their discourses) must endeavor to put an end to this custom of *seesawing* during the prayers, and to that of repeating the prayers in too loud a voice; all profane tunes during Divine Services are prohibited. The ceremony of striking *the impious Haman* at the festival of Purim, is most strictly prohibited. Children below the age of five years are not to be taken to the Synagogue. All unsuitable pleasantries, in which the young people sometimes indulge in the Synagogues on the eve of some festivals, or on the festivals themselves, as well as the distribution of sweetmeats by the women to each in the synagogue, are strictly forbidden. Some of the religious ceremonies must be accompanied by a German discourse (that being the vernacular) on a Hebrew text, in which the meaning of these solemnities shall be *explained, and on the Sabbath a discourse shall be held in German* in every Synagogue after the reading of the prescribed passage of the Law, and a chapter of the Prophets' " (from the petition as reprinted in an appendix to the *Biography of Isaac Harby with an account of The Reformed Society of Israelites of Charleston, S. C., 1824–1833*, by L. C. Moïse, 1931, pp. 52–58).

For the petition in full see the appendix of this book.

[152] David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (2d ed.), 1931.

[153] See above, pp. 81, 82 et seq.

[154] "Although in France the rich Jews generally had little or no religion, yet in Bordeaux the Israelites have built a handsome Temple, sing with taste and music, preserve great decency and order, and have a portion of the liturgy in French. I have not been able to ascertain whether they sit covered or not. But I perfectly recollect being told, by competent authority, that the worship was solemn, affecting and engaging. In Germany, where the civil (Christian) authorities interposed to prohibit several exceptional ceremonies and practices, it was done at the request of enlightened Israelites." *The North American Review*, vol. XXIII, pp. 72, 73.

[155] See above, note 51.

[156] *Occident*, vol. I, p. 438.

[157] I am indebted to Dr. Jacob R. Marcus for this comment. The expression, "slaves of bigotry and priestcraft," was used and italicized at the end of the petition for changes in the ritual of Beth Elohim in 1824 (see appendix). C. R.

[158] Dr. Cooper had to resign the presidency of South Carolina College in 1834 because of his religious views. Whatever his influence on the religious thought of the state might have been, on its political thinking it was undoubtedly great, for he was an advocate of free trade and state action against "Federal tyranny" before Calhoun; his "it is time to calculate the value of the Union" was one of the earliest expressions of Southern sectionalism. Edwin

L. Green, *A History of the University of South Carolina,* 1916, p. 40; Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819–1948,* 1948, pp. 70 et seq., citing Dumas Malone, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper, 1783–1839.* See also Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times,* p. 279; Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* pp. 120, 121.

[159] Diary, pp. 46–95 *passim.*

[160] "The important thing to notice is that this is the work of Jewish laymen. They did not follow the prayer book prepared by German scholars and already published in 1819 for the use of the Reform Temple in Hamburg." Lee M. Friedman, *Pilgrims in a New Land,* 1949, p. 157. They may not have known about it. C. R.

[161] *Occident,* vol. I, p. 436.

[162] Other officers during the existence of the society were: president, Isaac Harby (1827), Abraham Moïse (1828–32); vice-president, Abraham Moïse (1827), Isaac N. Cardozo (1828–32); secretary, Henry M. Hyams (1827), Philip Phillips (1828), Thomas W. Mordecai (1829–32); treasurer, Joseph Phillips (1828), Thomas W. Mordecai (1829–32); orator, David Nunes Carvalho (1827). Most of these were also on the "corresponding committee." So were Philip Benjamin (1827), Colonel Myer Jacobs (1829), David C. Levy (1832), and Isaac C. Moses (1832). Isaac Harby delivered an address before the society at the first anniversary in 1825, Abraham Moïse an address at the second, and Isaac N. Cardozo at the third.

[163] The committee in charge consisted of Abraham Moïse, Isaac N. Cardozo, Isaac Mordecai, Michael Lazarus, and Thomas W. Mordecai.

[164] The vestry of Beth Elohim had been experiencing "much inconvenience and perplexity in managing their financial affairs, and for several years were unable to employ a permanent *Hazan,* from the impoverished condition of their funds." Nathaniel Levin, *The Occident,* vol. I, p. 439.

[165] For example: "Perhaps their efforts had been too far in advance of the religious thinking of their Jewish contemporaries. Possibly their method had been too amateurish." Friedman, *Pilgrims in a New Land,* p. 160.

[165a] D. Philipson, "The Progress of the Jewish Reform Movement in the United States," in *The Jewish Quarterly Review,* London, 1898, vol. X, p. 52.

[166] "The impetus for the Reform movement came with new immigrants from Germany and at this time they had not started to come in great numbers . . . (also the Reformed Society) had no professional leadership. Har Sinai of Baltimore immediately invited Einhorn. Emanuel of NY had Merzbacher. Isaac Mayer Wise came on the scene in 1846, but the Reformed Society had no one to give his full time and also to give the philosophical background to the movement." Dr. Allan Tarshish, rabbi of Beth Elohim, in a comment to the writer.

[167] Jacob C. Levy (d. Savannah, 1875), a director of the Union Insurance Company and a member of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce (1841–47), whose hymn was one of two sung at the consecration of Beth Elohim's

new synagogue in March 1841, wrote a lengthy article, "The Reformed Israelites," for *The Southern Quarterly Review* (April 1844), advocating Reform Judaism and reviewing, among other publications, *Twelve Sermons, delivered in the New Temple of the Israelites at Hamburgh* by Dr. Gotthold Salomon, translated from the German by Anna Maria Goldsmid, and published in London and Charleston in 1841.

[168] *Reminiscences of Charleston,* pp. 29, 30.

[169] *Occident,* vol. I, p. 439.

[169a] Ibid.

[170] According to Nathaniel Levin (*The Occident,* vol. I, p. 440), "the only response . . . was heard from the Congregation of Cincinnati, Ohio, enclosing $119.50." (Beth Elohim, according to David Philipson, "The Cincinnati Community in 1825," in *Proceedings of the Jewish Historical Society,* no. 10, had sent a contribution to the building fund of the congregation.) Isaac Leeser, editor of *The Occident,* added: "A few contributions, small enough, it is true, were nevertheless sent from Philadelphia; and one of our societies offered fifty dollars for the relief of the distressed poor, who had lost by the fire, which aid was declined, because there were none who needed such assistance."

In 1839, according to the minutes of Beth Elohim, "a Letter was received from the rev Dr Hershell of London in answer to the circular sent, stating that no Aid can be given to this Congregation owing to repeated calls at home, but that he had received from Mr. Isaac Cohen Pres of the great Synagogue" five pounds five shillings and the like sum from B. Hyams of Manchester. (Solomon Herschell, who died in London 1842, was rabbi of the Great Synagogue and the first English Ashkenazi chief rabbi.) In April, 1839, "Mr. Lazarus reported that he had received a letter from the secretary of the Portuguese Congregation of London in reply to the circular sent stating that 25 pounds had been appropriated in aid of our building fund."

The building fund in 1839 amounted to $15,767. Most of this was from the insurance company. The following communities sent contributions: Beaufort ($70); Vicksburg ($50); Camden ($10); Cincinnati, as stated above ($119.50); Philadelphia ($10); Alabama ($110); Columbia ($210). In addition, there were sixty-two individuals in Charleston who gave various sums; among these N. A. Cohen ($200); B. D. Lazarus ($50); Joshua Lazarus ($100); D. C. Levy ($100); L. L. Levy ($100); M. C. Levy ($100); M. C. Mordecai ($100); T. W. Mordecai ($150); A. Ottolengui ($55); G. Poznanski ($50); A. Tobias ($100).

[171] The fashion was soon not without criticism. Gilmore Simms, for example, writing on Charleston about twenty years later in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* vol. XV, p. 13, in pointing out that a Greek temple was intended as the residence of a divinity and not for the worshippers in a body, added: "There is no getting over the absurdity of a Greek temple on a dead city level—taking a model from a mountain, designed expressly for a great

elevation, and letting it down upon the plain, where it is overlooked on every side by meaner, but taller, structures."

[172] He offered to rebuild the synagogue for $32,500. At first the committee wished to reserve $2500 until sixty days after the building was completed and the keys delivered, but Mr. Lopez objected to this "as not customary & injurious to his reputation as a Mechanic" and the committee did not insist on it. Minutes, October 2, 1839.

[173] Because of "the great Length of the Building," Joshua Lazarus urged a portico and columns to the south, as well as a door, but was the only member of the board in favor of the change with four against it. However, the board of trustees received a petition, signed by twenty-five members, "contemplating an entrance to the Synagogue from the South & some further ornament on that side." The signers included J. N. Cardozo, B. D. Lazarus, M. Lopez, Nathaniel Levin, M. C. Mordecai, Jacob De La Motta, Abraham Tobias, and S. Valentine, the secretary. At the meeting of the congregation, at which fifty-four were present, the motion "to contract for the building of a portico and entrance on Hasel Street" in addition to the portico on the west was defeated: twenty for it and thirty-two against. Minutes, Oct. 27, Oct. 29, and Nov. 3, 1839.

"Side entrances and cross aisles were just about then being generally eliminated from several Christian churches, which may have added to the force of the argument against another to the south of the synagogue." Mr. Samuel G. Stoney in a letter to Mr. Thomas J. Tobias, July 17, 1949.

[174] From an account of the consecration of the synagogue in *The Courier,* March 20, 1841:

"The Sacred Rolls, each containing the five books of Moses . . . (were) borne slowly round the reader's desk, the bearers finally taking their stations in the rear of the same. The Minister, the Rev. G. Poznanski, then descended and with the assistance of two Members of the Congregation, appointed for the purpose, proceeded to the Ark, or depositary of the law, where he pronounced, in Hebrew, the appropriate blessing, and lighted, for the first time, the perpetual lamp; he then returned to the desk, and, with the gentlemen who had charge of the Sacred Rolls, seated himself on the west side of the desk while the choir sang" an ode by Miss Penina Moïse.

In 1879, when the women's gallery was removed, the reading-desk was placed in front of the ark.

[175] From a letter in *The Occident,* vol. I, no. 12 (March 1844), p. 603, attributed by the editor, Isaac Leeser, to Dr. Jacob De La Motta, who had been president and reader of Shearith Israel for somewhat more than two years: "Respectful demeanor and proficiency in his (Poznanski's) clerical duties, produced an evident improvement in the tone, manner, and general arrangement in the service in the Synagogue. His occasional discourses and appropriate prayers in the English language, acquired and commanded the

best attention. Many were induced to attend public worship who were previously neglectful . . . The unlettered in our ancient tongue desired instruction. Parents sought to have their children taught, not only the rudiments but the translations; and a more earnest respect for our religion began to pervade all classes of our people." At this time, according to Leeser (*Occident*, vol. III, no. 1 (April 1845), p. 59), De La Motta had withdrawn from "the unpleasant contentions which agitate the Israelites in Charleston" partly because "his female relatives were attached to the new order of things." Leeser himself had become cynical of Poznanski's piety. "At the period when the Rev. G. Poznanski was elected, for a probationary term of two years, Hazan of the K. K. B. E., it was one of the most orthodox, religious, and charitable in the United States. After the expiration of one year, the Congregation, in consideration of his ardent zeal in the cause of our holy religion, his piety and conformation to all the laws, both Mosaic and Rabbinical, elected him for life. As soon as this event took place, a course diametrically opposite was immediately pursued by Mr. Poznanski . . . his conformity was such that he did not partake of a meal prepared for the public celebration of the anniversary of a charitable institution of the members of his congregation, soon after his election" (*Occident*, vol. IX, no. 2 (May 1851), pp. 203, 209.

[176] See below, note 183.

[177] The cornerstones of the old synagogue were deposited first, Nathan Hart, president of the congregation, depositing that of his uncle, Israel Joseph; Abraham Ottolengui, that of his father; and the keys of the old synagogue were placed on the cornerstones. Gustavus Poznanski, the *hazan*, laid the cornerstone of the new synagogue.

[178] Minutes, November 29, 1840.

[179] *The Courier*, March 20, 1841.

[180] Ibid. See also the extract from the opinion in The State v. Ancker (Richardson's *South Carolina Law Reports*, vol. 2, pp. 245–286) below in these notes.

[181] "*Resolved* (at a regular meeting of the board of trustees) That a Committee be appointed to wait on the Revd Mr Poznanski, & to represent to him the wishes of the Board & the congregation to have English introduced during divine Service in Synagogue, either by discourses or prayers . . ." (Minutes, July 10, 1839). "The Committee appointed to wait on the rev Mr Poznanski *Reported* that they had conversed with the rev Gent. who in reply stated, that he would consider the subject, & endeavor to comply with the wishes of the Board as much as possible . . ." (Ibid., July 24, 1839).

[182] *The Courier*, March 20, 1841. This has been variously quoted as: "This land is our Palestine, this city our Jerusalem, this house our temple" (Leeser, *Occident*, vol. IX, no. 2, May 1851, p. 214, whose comment is: "by which he evidently denied the coming of the Messiah, and the restoration of the temple and the ancient worship"); "This country is our Palestine, this city our Jerusalem, this house of God our temple" (David Philipson, "The Prog-

ress of the Jewish Reform Movement in the United States," in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. X, London 1898, p. 61).

[183] Isaac Leeser in *The Occident:* ". . . about three years ago a sudden light dawned upon a portion of the Israelites of Charleston, whilst the synagogue was in progress of erection, after having been destroyed by fire two years before. They thought to have discovered that instrumental music was absolutely requisite to add solemnity to the public worship of the Minhag Sephardim; and having received the sanction of the Rev. Hazan of the congregation, Mr. G. Poznanski, it was carried by a majority of 46 to 40 to erect an organ in the synagogue to be played on during services on Sabbaths and festivals. A portion of the congregation objected (and we joined them in the objection) that instrumental music on the Sabbath is contrary to our laws, inasmuch as it is a labor interdicted on that day, (see also Orach Hayim, chap. 338, § 1,) and permitted only in the temple during the performance of the daily sacrifices and additional offerings (Num. x. 10), as all other necessary acts for the service of the temple were permitted on the days devoted to rest, though interdicted elsewhere. The majority, whilst giving their vote, were reminded by the then president of the congregation, the late Nathan Hart, that their proceedings were unconstitutional, inasmuch as, irrespective of the illegality on Jewish grounds of playing on the Sabbath, the introduction of instrumental music was clearly an infringement of the usual custom of the Portuguese Jews, to which the congregation of Charleston professes itself, and that consequently no alteration in the constitutional form of worship could on any account be permitted without a vote of three-fourths, (we believe) which is requisite for any alteration in the constitution of the Kahal Beth Elohim of Charleston. It is true that Mr. H. was opposed conscientiously to the organ, but the grounds of his objection were constitutional; the majority, therefore, should not have pressed the measure when the congregation was nearly equally divided. But the persons who had voted for the organ, with the minister who had originally been supported, in fact mainly so, by the orthodox party, persisted in carrying out their resolve. The consequence was, that a great portion of the minority withdrew from the synagogue, to which they had liberally contributed, and established a congregation for themselves, under the name of Kahal Shearith Israel. We, having been asked our opinion, which we gave honestly to both friends and opponents of the innovation, urged that the question should be taken on constitutional grounds before the courts of law, in order to test the power of a bare majority of infringing upon the clear letter of the charter under which they acted as a corporate body. But our friends were unwilling to go to law, to bring Jewish matters before public tribunals; and much to our regret, and as we thought, and yet think unwisely, they left the synagogue, permanent fund, burial-ground, and all other property, uncontested in the hands of the reform party (vol. I, no. 4, July 1843, pp. 204, 205);

". . . the manner of worship in other congregations, professing the Minhag Shephardim, would have been the only evidence required to prove that the introduction of musical accompaniment of the hymns on the Sabbath and festivals was against the usages of these bodies, and hence an unauthorized deviation (vol. IV, no. 3, June 1846, p. 159);

". . . upwards of forty of the most conscientious and strictly conservative members were scrupulously compelled to withdraw . . . and to leave in the power of its rulers not only that sacred edifice . . . but were denied any participation in the management of the Keren-kayemet fund, to which they had largely contributed, until it had accumulated to the sum of $25,000 . . . immediately upon their withdrawal, the constitution of K. K. B. E. was amended, as follows:—Any subscriber, Yehid, or member of this Congregation, male or female, who shall habitually attend *Divine* service at any other place of worship within the city than that of the K. K. B. E., or subscribe thereto, as members or Yehedim, shall be charged annually one hundred dollars . . . (vol. IX, no. 2, May 1851, p. 204);

". . . we advised Mr. Hart (the president) to take out an injuction against the organ, so as to test the question judicially; but he refused, as he was unwilling to bring Jewish matters before a court of justice" (Ibid., p. 213).

However, at a general meeting of the congregation of Beth Elohim, May 21, 1848, it was decided that since "some of our Brethren who have withdrawn from this Congregation, are nevertheless desirous of interment in those portions of ground in which repose the remains of their immediate relations, a desire not only reasonable and proper but in harmony with the best feelings of our nature; and, whereas, it is apprehended, that unless some provision be made at an early date, to meet such cases, the portions of ground so partially occupied, may be applied for by our own members and thus bring into conflict the claims of right, and those of humanity . . . upon written application to the Board of Trustees (who are hereby authorized to adjust the terms upon which such application shall be granted . . .) all persons so situated, may secure to themselves the prevelege (*sic*) of burial in said portions of ground, provided the application be made within Six months from the date hereof."

[184] Minutes, July 28, 1841.

[185] Isaac Leeser in *The Occident:* "It was evident to every unprejudiced mind that the organ would necessarily lead to further changes, as it accorded with the measures introduced by a portion of the Jews of Europe, who had made many innovations not only in the worship, but also in the *ideas* of ancient Jews . . . Now it is one thing to say, that the second days of the *captivity* are not a biblical institution, and quite another to assert them unnecessary, especially as they have always been observed out of Palestine long before the destruction of the second temple . . ." (vol. I, no. 4, July 1843, p. 205).

In this number of *The Occident,* Leeser printed a list of subscribers to his "monthly periodical devoted to the Diffusion of Knowledge on Jewish Literature and Religion," and it may be of interest to show the extent of its circulation in the United States—particularly in Charleston: 77 subscribers were from Philadelphia, 63 from New York, and 30 from Charleston. Other cities: Richmond 15, Savannah 14, Cincinnati 13, New Orleans 12, Augusta 11, Baltimore 10, St. Louis 9, Montreal 7, and London 5. St. Thomas had 33 subscribers and Barbados 6. Seventy-five were from other places although some of these were doubtful—those who had not returned earlier numbers but who had not actually subscribed. The Charleston subscribers were: A. H. Abrahams, Sol J. Barret, Solomon Benjamin, Isaac S. Cohen, Jacob Cohen, N. A. Cohen, Rev. W. Curtis, Dr. Jacob De La Motta, Miss Henrietta Hart, Mrs. Nathan Hart, Sam N. Hart, M. D. Hyams, J. J. Josephs, Miss Elmira Lazarus, Nathaniel Levin, Jacob C. Levy, L. L. Levy, M. Loovis, David Lopez, Levi Mairs, M. C. Mordecai (doubtful), Thos. W. Mordecai, Isaiah Moses, Nathan Nathans, Rev. G. Poznanski (doubtful), Jacob Rosenfelt (*sic*), Rev. Thos. Smyth, J. S. Solomons, E. Sommers, Abr. Tobias. It is to be noted that two of these are not Jewish. Joshua Lazarus was listed as of Cheraw.

[186] Minutes, August 10, 1841 (quoted by Joseph Buchler, "The Struggle for Unity," in *American Jewish Archives,* vol. II, no. 1 (June 1949), p. 27).

[187] The opinion of the Court of Error and Appeals (The State ex rel. A. Ottolengui vs. G. V. Ancker and others, Richardson's *South Carolina Law Reports,* vol. 2, pp. 245–286) affirming, in 1846, the judgment below, conceded that the charter of the congregation guaranteed that the ritual of Beth Elohim should be according to the *minhag Sephardim* and that in that ritual instrumental music was not used; but "to suppose that the exact kind of music that was to be used . . . had been fixed and agreed upon by the Jewish worshippers who obtained this charter would be to attribute to them an impracticable undertaking," for, the court went on to say, that "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 legislation."

[188] From the opinion of the court: "The power of the president is distinguishable from his duty. He has the power to call the board together as often as he may think proper. It is his duty to do so once a month, or on the application of three members of the board . . . the ground taken is, that although they cannot supersede the power of the president when he is willing to exercise it, they may assemble and be a legal body, in spite of the president, on his refusal to call them together in the manner pointed out in the Constitution. The assumption is to transfer to the board itself, by its own spontaneous action, the power of the president in the contingency supposed. The assumption is the hinge of the case. The readmission of the twenty-two

who had resigned (the court had previously held in the opinion as "well authorized" the finding of the jury that those now claiming to be members of Beth Elohim but who had become members of Shearith Israel had surrendered their rights by resignation under the constitution of 1837, although under the constitution of 1840 such resignation had to be by letter), and the original admission of the other twenty-three, depend on this narrow proposition, whether the meeting of the board of trustees on the 6th of May, 1843, was legal or not. That meeting was not, in fact, called by the constitutional officer, but was brought about by the trustees themselves . . . A meeting called by the president would be obligatory on all . . . And at a time of great excitement . . . (a meeting) called by the trustees themselves might be secretly convened, and might consist of only those who were of the same opinion . . . It seems that the president refused to call the trustees together, on the application of the requisite number, in consequence of certain resolutions offered by Mr. Cardozo, on the 2nd May, 1843 . . . I do not regard the resolutions as imposing the obligations of a by-law . . . They were adopted in full assembly, and by the legislative body of the corporators; but that body not being summoned for constitutional purposes, had at the time no right to assume a jurisdiction beyond the objects for which it was summoned together. Although the resolutions may not have had the obligation of constitutional authority, they . . . seem to have been regarded by (the president) . . . as a virtual suspension of his authority to call a meeting of the trustees . . . *in calling together the Trustees,* no one else had any substantive power but himself . . . The charter does not give the election of members to the Trustees. If they have that power, it is vested in them by the Constitution of 1840; but the same instrument provides that they shall not meet for that or any other purpose, unless convened by the President. Their meeting having been effected without the authority of the President, its proceedings must be held illegal and void . . . The subsequent meeting of the Yehidim cannot sanctify what was already illegal."

Isaac Leeser in *The Occident:* ". . . the counsel of the defendants erred in the manner of proceeding; they ought to have taken out what we believe is called a writ of *mandamus,* to compel the president of the congregation to fulfill his constitutional duty, to call a meeting of the Board upon the requisition of three of the trustees . . ." Leeser also notes that two out of the six members of the Court of Appeals dissented (vol. IV, no. 1, April 1846, pp. 50, 51).

[189] *Occident,* vol. V, no. 1 (April 1847), p. 49.

[190] *The Jewish Messenger,* vol. 45, no. 3 (January 17, 1879).

[191] The trustees added: ". . . this Congregation were led to expect, from the protracted receipt of Dr. Wise's own official announcement of facts, that his communication would have been accompanied by a return of the amount of

expenses ($149) incurred on his account & which by his own final action, he so clearly forfeited. B. A. Rodrigues, Acting Secretary."

[192] 2d edition (1945), pp. 142 et seq.

[193] *Occident,* vol. IX, no. 2 (May 1851), pp. 205 et seq.

[194] See in appendix *Rabbi and Congregation.*

[195] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 29, p. 129.

[196] See Part III, n. 95. Also *The Asmonean* for Sept. 26, 1856, p. 188.

[197] See below, pp. 155, 157.

[198] Minutes, Beth Elohim, November 11, 1838.

[199] Ibid., November 26, December 29, 1838, January 17, 1839.

[200] Ibid., March 11, 1839.

[201] *The Israelite,* vol. I, no. 49 (June 15, 1855), p. 387, reprinting a report in the Charleston *Evening News.*

[202] *Occident,* vol. III, no. 1 (April 1845), pp. 94, 136.

[203] *Occident,* vol. XII, no. 5 (August 1854), p. 255.

[204] *Jewish Messenger,* vol. II, p. 93 (December 4, 1857).

[205] A number of these were victims of yellow fever: in 1854, for example, Aaron Goldstein, from Prussia, died at the age of twenty-two; Isaac Bentschner, also from Prussia, at the age of twenty; and Isaac's brother, Jacob, at the age of eighteen. Two years earlier, Isidore W. Bentschner had died at the age of twenty. From yellow fever, too, probably; for that year Marks Levy, a "native of Poland," had died of the disease and Minna, the wife of Levy Bush, a "native of Posen, Prussia."

[206] Minutes, Beth Elohim, August 15.

[207] The first stone was laid by Joseph Da Costa, the second by the younger Da Costa, probably his cousin, the third by Joseph Depallacios, the fourth by Joseph Benzakin, the fifth by Samuel Da Costa, Joseph's younger brother, and the sixth by Joseph Abendanone.

[208] In 1820, after the lot was levied upon by the sheriff as a result of a suit against the estate of the elder Da Costa and bought at public auction by Isaac Da Costa, the younger, he conveyed it to Emanuel De La Motta, Jacob De La Motta, and David Abendanone in trust "that the said lot of land shall be kept as a burial ground for . . . Portuguese Jews . . . and for no other purpose and use whatever."

[209] Henrietta Emanuel, for example, born in Obrigheim, Germany, who died in 1852 at the age of twenty-two; Abraham Levin Lowenstein, born in Glasgow, Scotland, who died in 1854 also at the age of twenty-two; Sally Louis Jacobi, born in Copenhagen, Denmark, who died in 1871 at the age of thirty-six; Leah Levy, born in Tsizewa, Poland, who died in 1871 at the age of thirty-three; Sigmond Sabath, born in Bohemia, who died in 1871 at the age of nineteen—did these die in an epidemic of yellow fever?—Golde, the wife of Joseph Aarons, who was killed in the earthquake of 1886 at the age

of thirty-five; and the nameless poor for whom nobody, neither husband nor sister, bought a gravestone.

[210] Barnett A. Elzas, *The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S. C.*, 1903, p. 105.

[211] The grantees were Henry Moses, Solomon Moses, Meyer Derkheim, Samuel Hyams, Benjamin Tores, and Solomon Harby. In 1872, Miss Caroline D. L. Harby (1801–76), of Sumter, S. C., a sister of Isaac Harby and one of the last to be buried in the cemetery (Elzas, *The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston*, p. 111), wrote an indignant letter to the trustees of Beth Elohim protesting the use of the Da Costa cemetery "as a cemetery for strangers" and claiming it as, for fifty years, "the Harby Burial Ground," but she had confused, as she afterwards conceded, the Da Costa cemetery, in which no Harby was buried, with this cemetery on the same street, half a block away.

[212] *The Asmonean*, vol. XIV, no. 24 (Sept. 26, 1856), p. 188.

[213] This, no doubt, is "the Society of the Jewish Profession called Gamilod Hasadim," to which Joseph Myers left a fourth of his estate in 1787 (*Will Book*, vol. 22, 1786–93, p. 191), and "the Hebra Gamilut Hasadam, or the Benevolent Society established under the Authority and Jurisdiction of Beth Elohim or House of God," which Israel Joseph gave "ten pounds sterling" (*Ibid.*, vol. 29, 1800–1807, pp. 673–678). In 1805, it was thought sufficient to refer to it as "the Benevolent Society," and as such Solomon Hart left it half of "the residue of my Estate" (*Ibid.*, vol. 30, 1800–1807, p. 863).

At a meeting of the society in 1903, called "the 108th annual meeting," Dr. Barnett A. Elzas stated that he had discovered the original silver seal of the society, dated 1784, and that there was an error of eleven years in the date of the organization as fixed by the society. The members were not quite convinced and appointed Dr. Elzas a committee of one to "establish beyond the shadow of a doubt, the fact that this was the Hebrew Benevolent Society founded in 1784." At the meeting held in 1904 it was determined that the next annual meeting be called the 121st: "Dr. Elzas having gathered the necessary data."

[214] Report of committee on the revision of the constitution, Minutes, 1870.

A notice in the Charleston *Courier* (August 31, 1838, for example) read as follows: "Sick persons requiring aid from this society, can have it to the utmost extent of its funds, by calling on or notifying either of the Committee of Benevolence. L. J. Moses, President." The members of the committee and their addresses followed: "L. J. Moses, cor. King & Hudson streets; S. Valentine, 151 King-street; R. Woolf, 121 East Bay; A. N. Cohen, cor. King & Broad streets; A. Harris, 187 East Bay; Dr. B. B. Strobel, Physician Society, Meeting-street, near Queen."

[215] *Occident*, vol. V, no. 6.

[216] Ibid.

[217] *Reminiscences,* p. 7.

[218] Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston, The Place and the People,* p. 505.

[219] E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction 1865–1877,* 1947, p. 3.

[220] John Porter Hollis, *The Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina,* 1905, p. 25.

[221] The following—among others—were killed or wounded: McDuff Cohen, Company D, 5th Regiment Cavalry, wounded at Drury's Bluff, 1864, and again at Gravelly Run, 1864; Samuel Cohen, Company G, Holcombe Legion, South Carolina Volunteers, wounded at Saponey Church; A. A. Goldsmith, promoted to second sergeant, Brook's Guards, Kershaw's Regiment (2d), wounded at Sharpsburg; W. Henry Goldsmith, wounded at Malvern Hill, transferred to Company A, 16th South Carolina Volunteers, killed at Kennesaw Mountain, Georgia; Isaac W. Hirsch, Butler Guards, Company B, 2d Regiment Kershaw's Brigade, South Carolina Volunteers, shot through the hip at Chancellorsville and entitled to an honorable discharge because he could not walk well without a stick, returned to his company and marched with it (according to the account of a fellow soldier in a newspaper, when he fired his gun in battle, he would cross his legs and put the stick between them); B. D. Lazarus, Company A, 2d Regiment Cavalry, wounded at York River in 1864; Joshua L. Moses, Palmetto Guards, Company I, 2d South Carolina Volunteers, promoted to lieutenant of artillery, killed at Blakely, Alabama, 1865; Perry Moses, Company C, Culpepper's Battery, Palmetto Battalion of Light Infantry, senior second lieutenant, wounded at Blakely; Perry Moses, Jr., Company D, 2d South Carolina Volunteers, died at Richmond in 1862 from a wound received at Malvern Hill; Maier Triest (1831–1894), sergeant major, 24th South Carolina Volunteers, promoted twice, once by General Stevens, who died before the commission was returned, and again by General Capers just before the end of the war, wounded at Atlanta; Isaac D. Valentine, corporal, killed at the age of twenty-nine at Secessionville, 1862; Jacob Valentine, veteran of the Mexican War, appointed a lieutenant at the beginning of the War Between the States (he took part in the bombardment of Fort Sumter), later a captain, wounded at Fort Moultrie in 1862; and W. M. Wolfe, first lieutenant, Company G, 4th Regiment Infantry, killed at Stony Creek while in command of his company.

Joshua L. Moses and Perry Moses, Jr., were brothers—two out of five brothers in service: the other three were Jackson, Horace (who enlisted at seventeen), and I. Harby Moses, who served throughout the war in the Sixth Cavalry. Judah Barrett Cohen (1835–85), practising law in New York at the outbreak of the war, was captured crossing the Potomac on his way south, but paroled because he was near-sighted. He continued on his way to Charleston and was put in charge of the records of the county. Asher D. Cohen, grandson of Mordecai Cohen, was a lieutenant in Col. Timmerman

Davis' regiment of cavalry. (Among the papers left by Asher D. Cohen's daughter, Isabel Doud, is an order of General Beauregard, dated January 29, 1864, ordering Private A. D. Cohen, "Co. D, 5 S. C. Cavalry," to report at Atlanta, Ga.) Columbus Davega was a surgeon in the 23rd Regiment; Jacob H. Loeb, son of the intendant of Branchville, was assistant provost marshal of Charleston at sixteen; Jacob M. Williams, a native of Samter Posen, Prussia, went to Griffin, Georgia, to enlist in a cavalry regiment, and fought in it; Aaron Moïse (b. Charleston, 1820; d. Richmond, Va. 1880) was a captain in a Tennessee regiment.

[222] *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen,* 1895, p. 374.

[223] See above, note 221.

[224] *Journal,* p. 282.

[225] In a suit by the cestuis of a trust, he was held liable as trustee—after the war—for accepting payment in Confederate notes and investing the trust funds in Confederate bonds (Rachel M. Mayer v. Benjamin Mordecai and others, 1 South Carolina Reports, p. 383), Moses, C. J., saying (p. 398): "That he sold during the war, his own residence, in Charleston, and invested largely in Confederate bonds, while it exhibits his great faith in the ultimate establishment of the Government whose currency he so much favored, may be accepted as the evidence of a patriotism so controlling as to absorb every selfish and interested motive. He could do as he pleased with his own, but he had not the right to risk, to the chances of the whirlpool, the means of others, entrusted to his care and protection."

[226] Charleston *Year Book* 1883, p. 559.

[227] Barnett A. Elzas, "Mordecai, Moses Cohen," in *The Dictionary of American Biography,* vol. XIII (1934), pp. 154–5.

[228] From Jacob F. Schirmer's diary, Aug. 2, 1868: "*Chief Justice.* Our Scalawag Legislature have elected that worthless Renegade F. J. Moses Chief Justice and two carpet baggers, his associates to dispense Justice to poor down trodden So. Ca."

[229] Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction,* 1932, p. 126; David D. Wallace, *The History of South Carolina,* vol. II (1934), p. 260; Alfred B. Williams, *Hampton and His Red Shirts,* 1935, p. 376.

[230] As private secretary of Governor Francis Wilkinson Pickens, Franklin J. Moses, Jr., is supposed to have raised the Palmetto flag over Fort Sumter but David D. Wallace denies it (*The History of South Carolina,* vol. II, p. 167). Moses died of asphyxiation by gas in a rooming-house in Winthrop, Massachusetts, after serving three years in Massachusetts State Prison as a petty swindler. Simkins and Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction,* p. 545.

[231] A graduate of the University of Glasgow, he was a Presbyterian minister and an accountant. Secretary of state under Scott (1868–72) and treas-

urer under Moses and Chamberlain (1872–76), he refused at times to put the state seal on fraudulent bonds. After the election of Wade Hampton, he was sentenced to prison for fraud and fined but was pardoned by Governor Simpson. He became a clerk in the auditing department of the federal treasury and the principal of a Negro high school in Washington. Simkins and Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction*, pp. 116, 543, 546.

[232] Francis B. Simkins, "The Election of 1876 in South Carolina," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. XXI (1922), pp. 225–240; 335–351.

[233] Williams, *Hampton and His Red Shirts.*

[234] *Occident*, vol. XXIV, no. 4 (July 1866), pp. 184 et seq.

[235] "May 31, 1865/Brig. Gen. Wm Gurney, Community Fort/General: The undersigned trustees of the Congregation of Reformed Israelites of this place most respectfully request that they be put in possession and control of their Synagogue in Hasell Street, which they now learn is (by permission of the United States Military Authorities) in possession of some members of the Wentworth Street Congregation who have no right in the premises except those granted by authority as above stated. Very Respect/Benj. D. Lazarus/ B. F. Moïse/Trustees." On the back of the letter: "Headquarters, City of Charleston, South Carolina, May 31, 1865/Respectfully referred to Capt. H. James Western(?), Provost Judge for report, by order of . . . Brig. Gen. Wm Gurney"/"Office of Provost Judge, City of Charleston, June 8/65/Respectfully returned. The congregation to which Mr. Moïse belongs has the right of possession by a decision of a civil court previous to the Union forces occupying the City. Mr. Jacobi holds the house by an order from Post Headquarters. There are only about eleven of Mr. Jacobi's congregation and not so many of the other. I think the congregation represented by Mr. Moïse is entitled to possession by law. H. James Western (or Weston), Capt. 127 NYVols. Provost Judge." (Letter in possession of Beth Elohim, Charleston, S. C.)

[236] January 21, 1866 (Minutes, Beth Elohim).

[237] No. 11, p. 133. The circular adds that "Various other improvements have been made in the mode of worship, with the view of promoting devotion and decorum." The salary of the minister was to begin at $1000, "independent of the perquisites of office."

[238] Volume A-14, no. 7, Register Mesne Conveyance Office, Charleston, S. C., pp. 162–169.

[239] It is now a Catholic church for Negroes.

[240] The minutes at the beginning of the volume *1866–1875* are a fair copy of the minutes at the end of the preceding volume, and here the actual signatures are to be found.

In the earlier community of Jews, Solomon Moses who had been fined for striking Simon M. Hart in 1802 could not sign his name in English but did sign it in Hebrew before the notary to the effect that he had made amends.

But few—at least among those who left property by will—were unable to sign their names in English. Reuben Moses, who died in 1850 and whose will was proved that year, by which he left land and houses in Charleston, could not write English and signed his name in Hebrew (*Will Book*, vol. 45, 1845–51, pp. 682–693); earlier, Joseph Myers could only make his mark (Ibid., vol. 22, 1786–93, p. 191) and, likewise, Benjamin Davis (Ibid., vol. 39, 1826–1834, p. 903).

Illiteracy was commoner among the women: Ester Azuby, widow of the *hazan* of Beth Elohim, could only make her mark (Ibid., vol. 30, 1800–7, pp. 855, 856); Abigail Minis could sign her name only in Hebrew (Ibid., vol. 25, 1793–1800, pp. 296, 297); Sarah Levy, the wife of David Levy but "duly Constituted a free trader," could only make her mark (Ibid., vol. 35, 1818–26, pp. 759, 760); and the like was true, it seems, of Leah Pimenta (Ibid., vol. 11, 1767–71, pp. 301, 302); Mary Moses (Ibid., vol. 31, 1807–18, p. 391); and Rose Pecare (Ibid., vol. 41, 1834–1839, p. 817). In this connection, a provision in the will of Joseph Solomons may be noted: "I desire that My Daughter Rachaels Proportion of Property be Placed at Interest for the Purpose of Cloathing and giving her a genteel Education" (Ibid., vol. 31, 1807–18, pp. 99, 166–168).

[241] The other officers were: "P. Wineman, Vice President; H. H. De Leon, A. Falk, D. S. Hart, J. L. Moses, and D. Jacobs, Trustees; Nathaniel Levin, Secretary and Treasurer" (*Occident*, vol. XXIV, no. 2 (May 1866), p. 95). Philip Wineman had been a trustee of Beth Elohim and Charles H. Moïse and Nathaniel Levin trustees of Shearith Israel.

[242] April 8, 1866 (Minutes, Beth Elohim).

[243] *The Israelite*, vol. XII, no. 45 (May 11, 1866) p. 357.

[244] *Abendland* (Prague, 1866, no. 8, p. 62) reported the compromise as: *Beide Theile haben sich zu einem Compromisse verstanden. Die Reformer verzichten auf die Orgel and Lassen auch die zweiten Festtage fortbestehen, wogegen sich die Orthodoxen zur Abkuerzung und Abschaffung einzelner Gebetstuecke herbeilassen* (Both sides have reached a compromise. The Reform group gave up their organ and also permitted the second days (of holidays) to be observed; the Orthodox, for their part, consented to the shortening or doing away with certain prayers.) It was also reported in *Archives Israélites* (Paris, 1866, p. 565) with the added comment: *Ce que nous approuvons là, ce ne sont pas les termes de la transaction: c'est le principe même d'une transaction; il ne sera pas impossible de trouver ailleurs de meilleurs termes de conciliation*" (What we like here are not the terms of the compromise: it is the principle itself of a compromise. It will not be impossible to find other and better terms). *Der Israelitische Volklehrer* (Frankfurt-am-Main) and *Il Corriere Israelitico* (Triest, 1866, no. 3, p. 841) also carried the compromise as an item of news.

[245] *Occident*, vol. XXIV, no. 4 (July 1866), p. 202.

[246] A committee appointed "to frame a service more acceptable than that now established" included among its recommendations that no person "who does not wear the Tallith (prayer-shawl) habitually & has it on, to be called up" (Minutes, October 7, 1866).

[247] Letters of Laura L. Wineman, director of the choir, dated December 31, 1866 and January 7, 1867 (in possession of Beth Elohim).

[248] For example: "July 2, 1868/ Philip Wineman/ President K. K. B. E./ Dear Sir: Not being disposed to contribute to the fund of the Congregation to be applied to carry on a mode of worship not (in my conception) ever contemplated by the contract made between the two congregations, I beg you will consider this as my letter of resignation. Very truly yours/David Lopez" (letter in possession of Beth Elohim).

David Lopez became a member of Beth Elohim with the following—among others: Jacob Barrett, Asher D. Cohen, R. L. David, A. Falk, A. A. Goldsmith, Moses Goldsmith, Samuel Hart, Sr., D. Loeb, Montgomery Moses, B. A. Rodriques, Dr. J. R. Solomons, S. S. Solomons, Joseph L. Tobias, and D. Triest. Most of those joining, or rejoining, Beth Elohim had been members of Shearith Israel—Samuel Hart, Sr., had been president and Asher D. Cohen a leading member—but others at that time may not have belonged to either congregation (see Minutes for March 25, 1866).

[249] See below, appendix: "Rabbi and Congregation."

[250] Minutes, March 31, 1867.

[251] The secretary and treasurer reported his inability to collect sufficient funds to pay the salaries of officers (August 4, 1867). "The general prostration of every branch of business, has affected collections, and we cannot hope that the future will prove more encouraging than the past" (from the report of the secretary and treasurer, April 12, 1868). The minutes for September 13, 1868, speak of "the reduced state of our finances caused by the resignation of some members and the default of 23 others."

Among the beneficiaries, when the interest of the Ottolengui fund—about a hundred dollars—was divided in 1867, were "the Misses Mordecai" and Miss De La Motta. In 1877, Jacob Ottolengui was first on the list of beneficiaries and received the unusual amount of $15.

[252] Minutes, Beth Elohim.

[253] *Occident*, vol. XXIV, no. 1 (April 1866), p. 47.

[254] "Benevolence (of our people) was almost daily taxed by subscribing small sums to indigent Strangers who are continually passing through our city. I called in person on every resident Israelite who had ceased to pay to the Society as well as on those who had never belonged to it, & promising to abate, & if possible entirely abolish the above mentioned nuisance, nearly every one whom I approached on the subject unhesitatingly subscribed themselves as members . . . The result of the present system has been to almost stop indigent strangers from going from house to house begging for assistance.

Such parties are sent to me & if under advice of your Com on Benevolence they are deemed worthy assistance is always extended . . . " From the president's report, Dec. 15, 1875.

[255] From the minutes of the meeting in 1882 when Dr. Ancrum was presented by the society with silverware in appreciation of his services.

[256] Minutes, 1869.

[257] "The notorious bad State Government for the past six or eight years has been felt as seriously in the appointment of Trial Justice (sic) as in other offices. These offices have been filled by men of little means and of no responsibility outside their salary. The Buildings of the Society other than the Hall can only be rented for Magisterial purposes. Trial justices have been the tenants for years past. Despite the efforts of the Chairman, the rent remains unpaid. The never changing reason being stated, That their pay is withheld and they have no other means to pay with. The matter was considered whether it was better to eject the tenants or leave them in and take the chance of collecting at least sufficient to pay taxes, the latter conclusion was reached. In case the Tenants had been ejected the offices would have been unoccupied, the chance of collecting the rent diminished and the location for offices of this kind might be changed. As long as our Government remains in Radical hands, if these offices are to be rented at all they must be rented to just such persons as in the past. With a change of Government such as we trust will soon be made, a better class of men will be our tenants, and the Buildings will then become a source of Revenue . . ." (December 12, 1876).

## PART THREE

[1] Robert Goodwyn Rhett, *Charleston: An Epic of Carolina,* 1940, pp. 322 et seq.

[2] Homer M. Pace in *Charleston Grows: An Economic, Social and Cultural Portrait of an Old Community in the New South,* 1949, p. xii. See also "Population" by Julian J. Petty in *South Carolina: Economic and Social Conditions in 1944,* 1945.

[3] Herbert Ravenel Sass, "The Charleston Story," in *Charleston Grows,* pp. 4, 28. See *Metropolitan Charleston* by Christian L. Larsen and Robert H. Stoudemire, 1949.

[4] Sass, "Charleston Story," in *Charleston Grows,* pp. 7, 30. See also *Cargoes through Charleston,* 1949.

[5] Report of special committee of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1880.

[6] Sass, "Charleston Story," in *Charleston Grows,* pp. 4–7, 27; Arthur M. Field, "Economic Charleston," Ibid., p. 35.

[7] Ibid., p. 44.

[8] Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith, *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston,* 1917.

[9] Sass, "Charleston Story," in *Charleston Grows,* p. 22. In 1940–41, a committee of Charlestonians made a study of Charleston's buildings for the purpose of preserving "the values of the past." Charleston Civic Services Committee of the Carolina Art Association, *This is Charleston* (text by Samuel Gaillard Stoney), 1944.

[10] See above, p. 148.

[11] From the accounts of descendants.

[12] *Charleston Directory 1866,* compiled by Burke & Boinest.

[13] *Charleston City Directory for 1867–68,* published by J. Orrin Lea & Co.

[14] *Charleston City Directory for 1867–68.*

[15] Joseph Jacobs, "Jewish Population of the United States," *American Jewish Year Book 5675* (1914–15), pp. 354, 375 (citing Wm. B. Hackenburg's estimate for 1877; the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* vol. XII, 1905; Henrietta Szold's estimate in the *American Jewish Year Book,* 1907; and the estimate of the Industrial Removal Office in 1912).

[16] Wm. A. Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* pp. 298, 299.

[17] The Charleston Savings Institution in 1901 had a paid-up capital of

$100,000, surplus and undivided profits of more than $200,000, and deposits of more than $800,000.

[18] Pp. 129, 130.

[19] Cited by Robert Molloy in *Charleston, A Gracious Heritage,* 1947, p. 219.

[20] Thomas K. Peck, "The Killing of Captain Dawson," in *Charleston Murders,* p. 97.

[21] The following were commissioners of the orphan house: Joseph L. Tobias (1876–80); H. H. De Leon (1890–1900); Isaac W. Hirsch (from 1901 until his death in 1925); T. M. Mordecai (from 1901); commissioners of the almshouse (afterwards the Charleston Home): Dr. Joseph R. Solomons (1879–80); Morris Harris (from 1880 until his death in 1914); S. Phillips (1895–1900); commissioners of the City Hospital: Dr. Joseph R. Solomons (1880–87); Morris Israel (1887–89); G. M. Pollitzer (1895–1903); commissioners of markets: S. Hart, Sr., (1880–82); A. A. Goldsmith (1880–83); Dr. P. Wineman (1883–87). Benjamin F. Moïse (d. 1887) was chairman of the Board of Health from 1880 to 1882, and Joseph L. Tobias was a member of the Board from 1882 to 1893. Jacob H. Loeb was a member of the Board of Firemasters (1880–1). His helmet as head of a fire company is in the Charleston Museum. A. A. Goldsmith was police commissioner, and Ansley D. Cohen harbor commissioner, from 1883 to 1887. Ralph Elias was assistant postmaster (from 1890). Louis Jacobs was chief deputy collector of customs (1891). J. L. Moses was a member of the Board of Equalization (1880–1), and so was Morris Israel.

J. N. Nathans was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1895.

[22] Henry Appelt, Company A, 2d Regiment; Clarence M. Berman, Company K, 1st Regiment; Ansley D. Harby, Company M, 1st Regiment; Herbert A. Moses, corporal, Company M, 1st Regiment; Isaac H. Moses, Jr., first lieutenant, Company M, 1st Regiment; W. Graham Moses, sergeant, Company A, 1st Regiment; A. Pearlstine, corporal, Company G, 2d Regiment; Mordecai A. Strauss, corporal, Company M, 1st Regiment. M. E. Lopez, Jr., was a seaman, attached to the naval batteries at Port Royal.

August Kohn, of Columbia, S. C., was a war correspondent for the *News and Courier* of Charleston.

[22a] *Up Stream: An American Chronicle* (originally published in 1922), Modern Library Edition, 1926, pp. 15, 35.

[23] Thomas K. Peck, "The Killing of Captain Dawson" (1889), in *Charleston Murders,* p. 105.

[24] *Up Stream,* p. 43.

[25] Ibid., p. 58.

[26] Ibid., pp. 60, 61.

[27] Ibid., p. 62.

[28] Ibid., pp. 41, 11.

[29] Ibid., p. 85.

[30] Ibid., p. 98.

[31] Ibid., p. 118.

[32] Ibid., pp. 98, 104 et seq.

[33] Ibid., p. 99.

[34] *Center Talk*, vol. III, no. 16 (April 16, 1948).

[35] ". . . in my capacity as rabbi, I continually come upon Jews, in the hospitals, etc., who are not listed in the Jewish Community Center survey and lists." Dr. Allan Tarshish, rabbi of Beth Elohim (1949).

[36] See above, pp. 68, 69.

[37] "During the period of 1916 to 1920 more than half a million Negroes moved North, and during the later period, 1921 to 1925, a number equally large . . . The cities of the Northern section have drawn principally from Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Alabama and Virginia." Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization*, 1930, pp. 16, 17.

[38] See tables in appendix.

[39] Ibid.

[40] "In my former community of Hazleton, Pa., recent growth was also due to quite sizable groups of Jews coming from New York and the metropolitan area, and I know the same was true of Wilkes-Barre, Allentown, and other communities. I think this trend has not been noticed enough and in actuality the trend in Charleston may not be different but rather similar to the rest of the country. I have a feeling that in recent years there has been a migration of Jews from the larger centers to the smaller ones." Dr. Allan Tarshish, rabbi of Beth Elohim (1949).

[41] See table in appendix.

[42] See below, section 3: "Jewish congregations and societies."

[42a] Memorandum by Philip Goldstein, field secretary, to Harry L. Glucksman, executive director, Jewish Welfare Board, Nov. 12, 1922.

[43] The survey of the Bicentennial Planning Committee included as "families" fifty-seven persons living alone (widows, widowers and those who had never married).

[44] Family Bible, now in the possession of Mrs. Jane Lazarus Raisin, Charleston, S. C.

[45] Family Bible, now in the possession of Mr. Thomas J. Tobias, Charleston, S. C.

[46] See above, p. 54.

[47] See above, p. 128.

[48] *Jewish Population Studies*, edited by Sophia M. Robison, 1943.

[49] Julian B. Feibelman, *A Social and Economic Study of the New Orleans Jewish Community*, 1941, p. 12.

[50] See tables in appendix.

[50a] ". . . to replace the population in this country the fertile couples surviving the childbearing span should average about 3.3 children to compensate for women who never marry, for the sterile married women, for deaths of offspring, and for mortality of women before the completion of the childbearing span." Clyde V. Kiser, "Social Implications of the Under-Developed Family," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* vol. XIX, no. 1 (January 1941), p. 28.

[51] See tables in appendix.

[52] L. Hersch, "The Downward Trend of Jewish Population," *Commentary,* vol. 7, no. 2 (February 1949), pp. 186 et seq.

[53] "How Many Jews in America?" in *Commentary,* vol. 8, no. 2 (August 1949), p. 192.

[54] "Charleston is a southern small community. One would expect it to serve the large Jewish communities in the manner the rural communities serve the large cities, namely, as hinterland where more children are raised who in time migrate to the big urban centers where they make up the human deficit incurred by the low reproduction rate that prevails in them. But the Charleston Jewish Community does not behave that way. It does not play the role of hinterland. It does not produce a human overflow, and even those it sends out to other cities are locally replaced, not by increased number of births over deaths, but by in-migrants from other cities, mainly the larger ones. The implications of this situation are very grave, and the long shadows they cast athwart the future are not for little Charleston only." U. Z. E.

[55] Dr. Allan Tarshish, rabbi of Beth Elohim (1949).

[56] Homer M. Pace, "Preface," *Charleston Grows,* p. xii; Herbert Ravenel Sass, "The Charleston Story," Ibid., p. 4.

[57] W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social System of American Ethnic Groups: Yankee City Series,* vol. III, p. 99.

[58] For example, Rabbi Jacob S. Raisin was chairman of the Community Chest and Rabbi Allan Tarshish is a director of the Charleston Welfare Council and chairman of its personnel committee; he is also on the board of directors of the Shaw Community Center (for Negroes). Edward Kronsberg is a director of the Red Cross, of the Family Agency, and of the Boy Scouts of America (also chairman of the finance committee of the Coastal Carolina Council of Boy Scouts); Arthur Rittenberg is head of the public health and safety committee of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce; and Jack Krawcheck head of Rotary's committee for beautifying Marion Square.

[59] For example, the following were presidents of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce: P. LeRoy Pinkussohn and Julius Visanska. Other officers of the Chamber of Commerce include: Edward Kronsberg and Maier Triest, vice-president; Maier Triest, treasurer and chairman of the budget and

finance committee; Jack Krawcheck, director. The presidents of the Retail Merchants Association of Charleston include: I. Lee Banov and Jack Krawcheck. Macey Kronsberg is vice-president and Edward Kronsberg a director. Edward Kronsberg was treasurer, and in 1948 became vice-president, of the Charleston Development Board. He is also a director of the South Carolina State Chamber of Commerce. Montague Triest (d. 1927) was president of the Charleston Board of Fire Insurance Underwriters, and his son, Maier Triest, has been secretary, treasurer, and president of the Charleston Real Estate Board, and president of the Charleston Board of Insurance Underwriters. He is also a member of the board of directors of the South Carolina Power Company.

Jewish businessmen are members of the luncheon clubs—Kiwanis, Lions and Rotary. Jack Krawcheck was vice-president of Rotary and Edward Kronsberg a director of Kiwanis. George C. Birlant is a member of Kiwanis.

[60] Sidney Rittenberg was on the Charleston Civic Services Committee of the Carolina Art Association at the time of the committee's architectural survey of the city (1940–1), and the membership of the committee includes Jack Krawcheck and Edward Kronsberg. Thomas J. Tobias is secretary, and a director, of the Carolina Art Association (which manages the Dock Street Theatre and the Gibbes Art Gallery). George C. Birlant was appointed by the mayor to the board of governors of the Dock Street Theatre when first organized. Jack Krawcheck is on the board of the Charleston Symphony Orchestra. For the cultural activities of the Jewish women of Charleston see below.

[61] Maurice Rosen was a commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. For the activities of Jewish men and women in the USO and other organizations see below.

[62] Miss Annie Simpson (d. 1905) was a director of the Confederate Home. Irena Goldsmith (Mrs. August Kohn), daughter of Abraham Alexander Goldsmith and descendant of Abraham Alexander, was president of the South Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; and Mrs. Julius Visanska, the second president of the Charleston Civic Club, was also president of the City Federation of Women's Clubs and the South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Octavus Cohen was a founder of the Women's Auxiliary of Roper Hospital. Anita Pollitzer Edson helped organize the National Woman's Party to obtain equal rights for women.

Jane Lazarus Raisin (Mrs. Jacob S. Raisin) was chairman of the Americanization division of the South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs and president of the Free Kindergarten Association of Charleston. Other officers, past and present, include: Mrs. Leon Banov, Jr., member of the board of directors of the USO-Travelers Aid Service; Mrs. David Cohen, member of the board of directors of the Florence Crittenton Home (for unmarried

mothers); Mrs. Max Furchgott, member of public relations committee, Girl Scouts; Mrs. Jack Krawcheck, president Rotary Auxiliary; Mrs. Edward Kronsberg, president of the board of directors of the Florence Crittenton Home; Mrs. Macey Kronsberg, secretary of the Social Service Exchange; Mrs. Jack Patla, chairman of the organization committee, Girl Scouts; Mrs. Edwin S. Pearlstine, president of the City Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Thomas J. Tobias, chairman of the subcommittee on education of the Urban League Survey sponsored by the Charleston Welfare Council (1946); Mrs. Joseph Read, on the board of the Charleston Symphony Orchestra.

The Council of Jewish Women is a member of the Charleston Welfare Council and so was The Happy Workers. The Council of Jewish Women and the women's auxiliary of B'nai B'rith assist in the work of the Charleston County Health Council. The Council of Jewish Women also sponsors three troops of Girl Scouts and contributes equipment to the Shaw Community Center (for Negroes). The Happy Workers likewise contributed equipment to Fraser Field (playground for Negroes).

[62a] Mrs. Halsey was secretary of the Board of Health and Welfare and chairman of the sub-committee on welfare. She has been the executive director of the Charleston County Tuberculosis Association from 1926 on, and president of the National Conference of Tuberculosis Secretaries (1942). During the Second World War, she was one of six women on the State Civilian Defense Committee.

Mrs. Halsey has been a member of the board of governors of the Daughters of the American Revolution and was secretary of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and vice-president of the state auxiliary of the American Legion. She is a member of the board of directors of the Charleston Symphony Orchestra.

[62b] Mrs. Rubin was chairman of the information and registration committee of the Red Cross during the tornado of 1938 and hurricane of 1940. She has been organizer (1932–48) and chairman (1933–46) of the Women's Division of the Red Cross Roll Call. She has been a member of the board of the Charleston Welfare Council since its organization in 1940 and chairman of a number of its committees, and was a member of the committee for the reorganization of the Community Chest (1943) and has been on the budget committee from then on. During the Second World War, she was chairman of committees purchasing supplies.

Mrs. Rubin is now (1949) president of the Charleston County Health Council working in cooperation with the Charleston County Health Department. She is also chairman of the Social Service Exchange, governed by a committee appointed by the Charleston Welfare Council, to aid the social agencies of the city and county and elsewhere. She was awarded a pin for

thirty-five years of continuous service for the Girl Scouts (1948) and is a member of the Juliette Low Regional Committee.

She is a member of the editorial board of the Civic Services Committee of the Carolina Art Association and a member of the board of directors of the Charleston Symphony Orchestra.

Mrs. Rubin has been president of the Civic Club.

[63] The following were members of the state legislature: Samuel Rittenberg (1913–14, and from 1925 until his death in 1932); Harry Simonhoff (1921–22); and Nathan Rosen (from 1940); in 1949, the following were members of the city council: Irwin D. Karesh (Ward 8) and Sam Addlestone (Ward 12). Irwin D. Karesh resigned to become assistant city attorney. Samuel Rittenberg's son, Sidney Rittenberg, was a member of the city council and several times, during the 1920s, mayor pro tem.

Arthur V. Williams, who had been secretary to Tristam T. Hyde, mayor of Charleston, was a member of the Port Utilities Commission for ten years, most of the time as vice-chairman. Milton A. Pearlstine (president of Beth Elohim, 1944–48) was also a member of the Port Utilities Commission and is now one of the five members of the South Carolina State Ports Authority. Edwin S. Pearlstine is a member of the Board of Public Buildings. Maier Triest has been chairman of the City Zoning Adjustment Board and Edward Kronsberg is chairman of the Board of Architectural Review. Mitchel Robinson was appointed in 1943 a member of the Grace Memorial Bridge Commission. Sam Berlin was a member of the Public Service Commission of the city in the 1920s.

Nathan Rosen is judge of equity; Irwin D. Karesh was acting police recorder. Joseph Fromberg was police recorder for several years. Louis M. Shimel is Federal assistant district-attorney, and Irving Steinberg is attorney to the Domestic Relations Court (he had been attorney for the County Board of Commissioners and for the County Board of Assessors). Aleck Ellison was a county commissioner. Joe Patla was corporation counsel about 1920.

For a number of years, Arthur V. Williams was trustee on the board of school commissioners for the city. Rabbi Jacob S. Raisin, G. M. Pollitzer and Montague Triest were school-board members. Mrs. Edwin S. Pearlstine was appointed by the governor of the state in 1948 to the Board of Education of School District No. 20—the Charleston district; and Maier Triest has been a member of the Charleston County Board of Education, the members of which are elected, since 1931 and chairman since 1939.

Moses H. Nathan was once chief of the fire department; Joseph Needle has been an assistant engineer of the city for more than twenty years; and Herman Berkman is head of the detective department of the police. Samuel A. Cothran mentions him in "First Come, First Serve—1936" (*Charleston Murders,* 1947, p. 200).

[63a] Leon Banov (b. Suwalki, Russian Poland, 1888) was originally a

pharmacist and the owner of a drug-store in Charleston. In 1912, he became assistant city bacteriologist and milk inspector. In 1936, the health department of the city was merged in that of the county, and from then on Dr. Banov—he received his degree of doctor of medicine in 1917 from the Medical College of Charleston—has been health officer of the Charleston County Department of Health. For statistics as to the marked improvement in the health of Charleston since 1920 see "A Quarter of a Century of Public Health in Charleston, South Carolina, 1920–1945," published by the Charleston County Department of Health.

Dr. Banov has been president of the International Society of Medical Health Officers, chairman of the Health Officers Section of the American Public Health Association, and chairman of the South Carolina Public Health Section of the Southern Medical Association.

Pinehaven Sanitorium, for the care of tuberculosis patients, was constructed when he was executive secretary of the Charleston County Tuberculosis Association.

Max Turteltaub was director of the Sanitary Section of the Department of Health until his death in 1949.

[64] Arthur V. Williams was master of Solomon's Lodge, No. 1, in 1914 and, in 1924, elected to an honorary life membership. Edwin J. Blank was also master of the lodge. Rabbi Jacob S. Raisin was a 32d degree Mason. Arthur Furchgott is a 33d degree Mason. Montague Triest and Joseph Fromberg were chancellors of the state lodge of the Knights of Pythias. The former and Nathan Rosen were also exalted rulers of the Elks. Montague Triest and his father, Maier Triest, belonged to the Charleston Rifle Club (originally The German Society). Montague Triest was also a member of the St. Andrew's Society, of the New England Society, and of the Hibernian Society. Maier Triest, his son, is a member of the Hibernian Society and has been on its managing committee.

[65] Rabbi Jacob S. Raisin was a member of the executive board of the Salvation Army and Dr. Allan Tarshish, rabbi of Beth Elohim, is a member of the board. So is Jack Krawcheck. Maier Triest was on the House Committee of the Y. M. C. A., and Mrs. Harry M. Rubin on the Public Affairs Committee of the Y. W. C. A. Edward Kronsberg was a member of the Building Committee of the Bishop England High School (Roman Catholic).

[66] Of the members of Beth Elohim in service: Ernest L. Visanska, 2d lieutenant, 16th Inf., 1st Div., AEF, was wounded in action, and so was Joseph Brown, private, 30th Div., AEF. Lt. Visanska refused the decoration of the Purple Heart on the ground that he wanted no recognition for injuries sustained in the service of his country. Sixteen others served in the army: five as commissioned officers, eight as non-commissioned officers (one corporal and the rest sergeants); six were in the navy: two as ensigns (one in aviation). Henriette Levy was an army nurse, AEF, and three members of Beth Elohim were yoemanettes.

[67] From memorandum of commanding officer, recommending that Lt. Turteltaub be awarded Distinguished Service Cross "for extraordinary heroism displayed in the face of deadly artillery and machine gun fire."

[68] Seymour I. Barkowitz, sergeant, Purple Heart; Henry Berlin, seaman second-class, Presidential Unit Citation; Herbert Berlinsky, private first-class, Purple Heart; Fred Bernstein, sergeant, Purple Heart, Commendation; Sam Bielsky, warrant officer, Bronze Star medal; George Breibart, technical corporal, Bronze Star medal; Isadore Cohen, corporal, Purple Heart; Harry Cygielman, private first-class, Purple Heart; Ralph Goldberg, private, Purple Heart; Milton Goldin, private first-class, Bronze Star medal; Reubin Goldman, private first-class, Purple Heart; Merwin Kalman, private first-class, Presidential Unit Citation; James Edward Levin, sergeant, Purple Heart; Earl Mazo, lieutenant (Army), Air Medal; Stanley Meyerson, lieutenant (Navy), Presidential Unit Citation; Isadore Posner, corporal, Presidential Unit Citation; Julius A. Rosenblatt, staff sergeant, Presidential Unit Citation; Michael Rudich, sergeant, Purple Heart; Simon Sharnoff, technical corporal, Presidential Unit Citation; Philip Silverman, staff sergeant, Purple Heart; Irving Sonenshine, second lieutenant (Army), Distinguished Flying Cross, Air Medal, Four Oak Leaf Clusters, Purple Heart. *American Jews in World War II*, compiled by the Bureau of War Records of the National Jewish Welfare Board, 1947, vol. II, p. 565.

Of the Jews of Charleston, 148 served in the army, 62 in the navy, 6 in the marines, and 8 in the coast guard. The types of service engaged in were: army air force 35, armored forces 2, artillery 10, engineers 8, infantry 24, paratroops 1, signal corps 4, quartermaster 8, administration and headquarters 2, finance 1, military police 3, adjutant general 2, ASTP 3, chemical warfare 4, medical corps 15, ordnance 3, transportation 8, unknown 15; navy air force 1, invasion unit 1, administration 12, communications 9, gunnery 1, line personnel 13, medical corps 7, personal services 3, skilled crafts 10, supply services 2, unknown 2; marine air force 1, administration 1, artillery 1, defense battalions 2, quartermaster 1, coast guard administration 1, coxswain 1, line personnel 2, supply services 4. *Center Talk*, September 25, 1946 (from records on file at the Charleston Jewish Community Center).

[69] Of the committee of seven which planned and spent for the Charleston Service Men's Club in its many activities for both white and colored service personnel, two were Jewish: Mrs. Harry M. Rubin and Milton A. Pearlstine. In 1946, the former was awarded the 6000 USO service pin, the first in Charleston to receive this highest of USO awards. Mrs. Rubin, at present, is secretary of the Charleston Service Men's Club. In 1944, Arthur V. Williams became general chairman of the United Service Organizations (USO) of the district, comprising installations in Charleston County for both white and colored service personnel. Edwin S. Pearlstine was chairman of the operating committee of the Isle of Palms, USO.

[70] Milton A. Pearlstine was president of the Association of Citadel Men (1930).

[71] Other writers: Leah Cohen Harby (b. Charleston, 1849; d. Charleston, 1918), also known as Lee C. Harby, a granddaughter of Isaac Harby; Octavus Roy Cohen (b. Charleston, 1891), writer of humorous stories about Negroes and of detective stories; Daniel N. Rubin (b. 1892), writer of several plays produced on Broadway, New York, including "Riddle me this!" (published by S. French, 1933). A novel, *Storm Beach* (1933) by Virginia Davis Hersch, deals with several generations of a Jewish family in Charleston. Rowena Wilson Tobias (Mrs. Thomas J. Tobias) is the author of "God's Avenging Angel" in *Charleston Murders* (1947). Mrs. Tobias also wrote text for *Charleston Grows* (1949), published by the Civic Services Committee of the Carolina Art Association, and designed the typography.

Sidney Rittenberg was an editorial writer for the Charleston *Evening Post* and publicity secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. Manning J. Rubin is associate editor of the *Evening Post.*

[72] William M. Halsey (b. Charleston, 1915) studied art at the University of South Carolina and at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He won a traveling fellowship at the museum and, among other prizes and honors for his work in water-colors and in oil (including a "Pepsi-Cola fellowship" in 1948), his painting was chosen to portray South Carolina by the Container Corporation of America in its series of color advertisements (*Time, Fortune* July 1948).

[73] Willard Hirsch (b. Charleston, 1905) studied at the National Academy of Design and the Beaux Arts Institute of Design. His portrait busts have been praised. He uses terra cotta for small figures and "garden sculpture" but some of his most interesting work is in wood.

[74] As health officer see above, p. 198.

[75] P. 113.

[76] Asher D. Cohen scholarship (1905), endowed by his wife, Mrs. Miriam Cohen, as a memorial to her husband; Minnie L. Barnett scholarship (1926); David Sternberger scholarship (1931), endowed by Mrs. Sternberger as a memorial to her husband.

[77] See above, p. 142.

[78] Minutes, Beth Elohim, November 23, 1841.

[79] Ibid., February 20, 1842.

[80] Incidentally, "Jewish Creed arranged by H. Hart for the use of the Sunday School of Charleston for Teaching Jewish Doctrine," Philadelphia 5607 (1846), a little booklet of seventeen pages containing the thirteen articles of the creed of Maimonides in Hebrew, with the vowels marked, and a translation, among the papers left by Dr. Jacob S. Raisin, is now in the possession of Mrs. Jane L. Raisin (Mrs. Jacob S. Raisin). But this was for the use of Orthodox Shearith Israel's school.

[81] Jews of Charleston had generally signed legal documents dated "in the

year of our Lord," meaning nothing by it except the date. However, there were exceptions: Abraham Cohen, after declaring in his will that "I have always possessed the Jewish faith, and do die in the Principles of Judaism," was careful to date his will both "in the Year of the Christian Eree (sic) 1809 of the Jewish Eree 5558" as well as "in the thirty fourth Year of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States of America" (*Will Book,* vol. 31, 1807–18, pp. 294, 295).

[82] Minutes, Beth Elohim, November 9, 1879.

[83] Rabbi Allan Tarshish (1949).

[84] Minutes, Beth Elohim, October 3, 1920.

[85] Ibid., 1875.

[86] The mother of Bernard Mannes Baruch (b. 1870) was Belle (Wolfe) Baruch. Belle Wolfe was the daughter of Sailing L. Wolfe (b. 1817; d. 1893) and his wife Sarah (b. 1826; d. 1892). They were married in 1845. Sarah was the daughter of the Rev. Hartwig Cohen (b. 1783; d. 1861) and his wife Deborah (b. 1801; d. 1888). They were married in 1824. Deborah was a descendant of Isaac Rodriques Marks or Marques (b. 1692) who came to this country from Denmark in 1700 and settled in New York City. (From the papers of Dr. Elzas in the New York Historical Society).

[87] Minutes of Beth Elohim for 1878, 1881, and 1884. See also the minutes for 1847 and 1858 for earlier applications. The following is the earliest in the minutes and most detailed: a committee was appointed, October 17, 1841, to confer with the Rev. Mr. Poznanski as to what was necessary and proper in the case of Mary Ann Suares "who had some years ago abandoned her religion, & joined a Christian Church, (and) does now repent . . . & was desirous of returning to the bosom of our Holy Religion . . ." The Rev. Mr. Poznanski suggested the following requirements: 1. That Mrs. Mary Ann Suares appear in the synagogue before the minister and trustees and declare her sincere regret at having embraced the Christian religion, and also her earnest determination to return to the religion of her forefathers. 2. That the above declaration be proclaimed by the secretary in the synagogue on the succeeding Sabbath. 3. That the applicant publish a card in the journals of the city stating that she is happy to inform her friends that she had appeared on a certain day before the minister and elders of the Hebrew congregation Beth Elohim and there "with a sincere and repentant heart expressed her deep regret at having abandoned the jewish (sic) faith, and also her earnest desire to return to the religion of her forefathers. Whereupon she was received and restored to all former rights and privileges." The proposal to publish a card was rejected by the trustees, five against two, and even the second requirement suggested had a vote against it.

Mary Ann Suares, accordingly, appeared with her mother and sister at a special meeting of the board of trustees. In her original letter she had written: ". . . some 12 Years ago, I abandoned the religion of my forefathers & became a Christian. I was then young & inexperienced, living entirely among a Chris-

tian community, all of which overcame my understanding . . . it is my utmost desire again to worship with You at the same altar, at which Your & my ancestors worshipped, & am willing to undergo any penalty you may be inclined to inflict . . ." At the meeting, she added that "she felt perfectly satisfied that no person born in the jewish faith can reconcile himself to believe in any other; she also stated she wished her return to the jewish religion should be publicly known, & that she would be glad if the synagogue was filled with Christians on Saturday next, to hear the proceeding read . . . and with tearful eyes again expressed her desire to become a jewess." She was informed by the president (A. Ottolengui)—all seven members of the board were present—that after the proceeding should be read in the synagogue, she would be considered a Jewess and entitled to her former privileges. After she withdrew, the Rev. Mr. Poznanski stated that he regretted that the board had rejected his proposal that she publish the card.

Jacob Suares had been cantor of Beth Elohim in the first decade of the 19th century.

[88] Charleston *News and Courier,* September 21, 1886. *The American Israelite,* Cincinnati, O., for September 24, 1886 (vol. XXXIII, no. 13), reporting the earthquake and the damage to Beth Elohim's synagogue, announced the receipt of a printed circular, dated September 6, "calling upon their brethren throughout the United States for contributions 'to enable us to repair our place of worship, that has been the refuge for the prayerful and devout for nearly half a century.'" It was estimated that to put the building in good repair would cost about $7,000.

[89] Elzas also published *The Old Jewish Cemeteries of Charleston,* 1903, and *The Jewish Cemeteries of South Carolina,* 1910–11, as well as additional material on the Jews of Charleston and South Carolina in his *Leaves from my Historical Scrapbook.*

[90] Montague Triest was chairman of the general committee of the centennial celebration. David Levy, rabbi of B'nai Israel, Bridgeport, Conn., who had been the rabbi of Beth Elohim from 1875 until 1893 and who compiled the prayer book in use at Beth Elohim until the adoption of the Union Prayer Book, delivered an address the first evening, Friday, November 21st. On Saturday, the second address was by Dr. Barnett A. Elzas, then rabbi of Beth Miriam, Long Branch, N. J., and the third address that day was by Isaac E. Marcuson, rabbi of Beth Israel, Macon, Georgia, who had been rabbi of Beth Elohim from 1910 until 1914.

[91] *American Jewish Archives,* vol. II, no. 2 (January 1950), p. 2.

[92] Seven were residents of New York City, four of Jacksonville, Florida, one of Chicago, one of Summerville, S. C., and one of Bessemer, Ala.

[93] However, in this latest constitution there is a reference to the "Temple Sisterhood" and "Temple Brotherhood" (Art. II, Sect. 1).

[94] The Constitution of 1931 provided that "Any female member and the wife of any member of the Congregation, shall have all privileges of voting

and holding office," but that "No more than three women shall be elected to serve on the Board of Trustees (seven members) at any one time" (Art. V, Sects. 2 and 3). This limitation was omitted from the latest constitution.

[95] The booklet containing Brith Shalom's constitution of 1945 has a page "in memorium Nathan I. Rosenband (Nathan son of Isaac)/Founder and first President of Brith Sholom (sic) Congregation/Author and compiler of its first constitution and by-laws./ Born in Warsaw, Poland/ Elected president, September 30, 1855/ Died, September 7th, 1856–7th, Elul, 5616." It also lists (p. 41) the first board of officers, "Elected 19th Tishre 5616–September 30th, 1855:" Nathan I. Rosenband, president; Baruch Wolf Frank, vice-president; Abraham I. Mintz, secretary; Abraham Livingstain, treasurer; Morris Ehrlich, first trustee; Joseph Bork, second trustee; Mordecai Davis, third trustee; Ephraim P. Zacharias, fourth trustee; and Tanchum Pearlstine, Gabbai at Torah. His descendant, Milton A. Pearlstine, was president of Beth Elohim in 1948.

The first reader, according to Elzas (*Leaves from my Historical Scrapbook*), was "Elijah son of Jacob."

[96] *The Occident,* vol. XXIV, no. 1. As late as 1905, Elzas in his *History of the Jews of South Carolina* wrote by way of a note (p. 261): "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 position."

[97] *The Jewish Messenger,* vol. XXXV, p. 5 (March 20, 1874).

[98] Minutes, Beth Elohim, August 29, 1872.

[99] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 29, p. 129.

[100] Cited by Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina,* p. 219.

[101] Among those who organized Beth Israel were: A. Addlestone, M. Baker, H. Bluestein, J. Bluestein, J. Doobrow, J. R. Epstein, J. Glasser, I. Jacobs, J. Kamenitsky, Lehrman, E. Mazo, A. Morgan, I. Oberman, E. Prystowsky, M. Prystowsky, S. Rosen, A. Rudich, I. J. Slotchiver, A. M. Solomon, B. Solomon, W. H. Solomon, and S. Steinberg. Samuel Steinberg was the first president; the other officers were: Jacob Glasser, vice president, Michael Prystowsky, secretary and trustee, Hyman Bluestein, treasurer.

[102] They tell in Charleston of a store that had always been closed on Saturday. The owner and his son went regularly to synagogue every Saturday. Saturday night the store would be open and the old man would sit there in a favorite chair while his son stood behind the counter waiting on their customers. One Saturday, in the hard times of the early 'thirties, the son was not at the synagogue but in the store. That evening his father came and took his chair away and was never there again. His son, it is said, tried to excuse himself and promised that when times were better he would close the store again on Saturday. "You will never close it again," his father is said to have

answered. "I was afraid of this day." However, this particular store is now closed on Saturday.

[103] "Any person who conscientiously believes another day to be the Sabbath and who actually observes such other day as the Lord's Day and refrains from secular business and labor on that day shall be permitted to petition the Police Commission for the City of Charleston, and the Police Commission for the City of Charleston is hereby vested with full power and authority to permit the individual so believing to carry on his or her usual secular business and labor on Sunday, provided that such business and labor are permitted to be done so as not to disturb other persons engaged in religious worship." Sec. 613 (c), Ordinances of the City of Charleston (as revised in 1929).

[104] The United Synagogue of America, the national organization of Conservative congregations, has a membership of about five hundred organizations (1949); it began with twenty congregations in 1913.

[105] Robert Gordis, *Conservative Judaism: An American Philosophy*, 1945, p. 9.

[106] Ibid., pp. 26, 27, quoting Professor Salo W. Baron.

[107] Ibid., p. 62.

[108] Ibid., p. 66.

[109] Ibid., p. 11.

[110] Macey Kronsberg, president.

[111] U. Z. Engelman, "Medurbia," in *Contemporary Jewish Record*, vol. IV, no. 5 (October 1941), p. 515.

[112] Samuel Koenig in *Jews in a Gentile World*, edited by Isacque Graeber and Steuart H. Britt, New York, 1942, p. 232.

[113] See table in appendix.

[114] The United Jewish Appeal ran its first campaign in Charleston in 1937 (Sam Berlin, chairman). In 1943, Charleston raised $45,049.92 for the United Jewish Appeal; in 1944, $68,981.50; in 1945, $82,297.50. In 1946, the Jewish Welfare Fund (Edward Kronsberg, chairman) raised $162,483.95, almost twice as much as the amount raised in 1945 and almost as much as that raised in 1946 for the local community chest (of course, Jews contributed to this, too). For the first time, non-Jews—chiefly members of the Chamber of Commerce—were asked to contribute, and $4,000 was received. In 1947, however, local projects were no longer postponed, and there was a decrease in the total raised—$154,483. But the number of donors had tripled since 1943: in 1943, 343 had contributed; in 1947, 948. The average pledge in 1943 was $134; in 1946, $207; and in 1947, $160.

[115] In 1949, Allan Tarshish was the rabbi of Beth Elohim, Gilbert Klaperman of Brith Shalom, and Lewis A. Weintraub of Synagogue Emanu-El.

[116] Minutes, Beth Elohim, October 3, 1920; October 9, 10, 1921.

[116a] *The Community Reflector*, published by the Charleston Jewish Center,

1927, among the papers of Dr. Jacob S. Raisin, now in the possession of Mrs. Jane L. Raisin (Mrs. Jacob S. Raisin), Charleston, S. C.

[117] Rabbi Louis Tuchman, principal.

[118] This was commenced by Rabbi Benjamin S. Axelman (1926–43) but given up after he left Charleston. Rabbi Axelman also trained a choir of boys that visited the neighboring cities of Augusta and Columbia for concerts of liturgical music.

[119] Organized in 1947 by Rabbi Samuel W. Rubenstein of Beth Israel.

[120] See above, p. 198.

[121] In the care of the Jewish Children's Service of Atlanta.

[122] *The Community Reflector*, 1927.

[123] Kaluszn, near Warsaw, is a small town (population about 8,000 in 1930). Its population was once mostly Jewish: 5,022 out of a total of 6,122, in 1921, were Jews. There were then 231 Jewish places of business.

The organizers of the Kalushiner Society were: Walter Solomon, Noah Sokol, Morris Taporek, and Joseph Zucker. I. M. Goldberg was the first president.

[124] Leroy Silverstein, the first commander, was also commander of Palmetto Post No. 112 of the American Legion.

[125] For example, "A total of $9000.00 was collected during year 1917 (for the relief of Jewish war sufferers) one half of that sum was raisid by the so called up town section (those who had their places of business on upper King Street). It gives pleasure the committee to note the eaqualness of the amount colected from our side so called 'up town' Jews we are not rich in welth or in money, but we are rich in nobleness in ideals in self sacrifice" (Minutes, p. 3).

[126] Governor Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina spoke against the British White Paper (limiting immigration and restricting land transfers in Palestine) at a late Friday evening service at Brith Shalom's synagogue. Rabbi Solomon D. Goldfarb, of that congregation, also enlisted Senators Burnet R. Maybank and E. D. Smith, Congressman L. Mendel Rivers, Speaker Sol Blatt of the House of Representatives of the state, and Henry W. Lockwood, mayor of the city, in the protest against the White Paper.

In April 1948, Jews of Charleston—more than a thousand it was estimated by the local newspaper—met to petition the president of the United States not to change the policy of the nation as expressed in the United Nations' plan for partition. Bernard J. Olasov was chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council.

[127] In 1943, under the chairmanship of Mrs. I. Slatchiver, the chapter raised $1,500 for trees to be planted in Palestine. The chapter is a member of the Charleston City Federation of Women's Clubs and is also active in raising funds for the purposes of the general community.

[128] See above, note 114.

[129] *American Israelite,* vol. XXIX, no. 1219, New Series, vol. VII, no. 24 (December 14, 1877), p. 6.

[130] See above, p. 221.

[131] Sam Rittenberg, president, and Manning A. Bernstein, executive director.

[132] See above, p. 199.

[134] Shulman's "Field Report on Charleston, South Carolina" is part of the report on the care of the Jewish aged in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, published by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1948.

[135] In 1946, the Jewish Community Center became one of the donees of the local community "chest."

[136] Edward Kronsberg, president.

[137] "A Frenchman Visits Charleston, 1817," edited by Lucius Gaston Moffatt and Joseph Médard Carrière, in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* vol. XLIX, no. 3 (July 1948), p. 154. See also "Some Observations of Travelers on South Carolina, 1820–1860," by J. Rion McKissick in *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association,* 1932, p. 47, quoting Charles Augustus Murray, *Travels in North America* (1839), p. 276: "There is something warm, frank, and courteous in the manner of a real Carolinian; he is not studiously, but naturally polite; and though his character may not be remarkable for that persevering industry and close attention to minutiae in business, which are so remarkable in the New England merchants, he is far from deficient in sagacity, courage, or enterprise. Altogether, with due allowance for exceptions, I should say that the Carolinian character is more kin to that of England; the New England, to that of the lowland Scotch."

[138] G. Croft Williams, *A Social Interpretation of South Carolina,* 1946, p. 3.

[139] Homer M. Pace in the preface to *Charleston Grows,* p. xii.

[140] About twenty-five or thirty refugees from the Nazis were brought to the city by organizations that have been helping them. A boy of seventeen, who survived six years in a German concentration camp, won honors upon graduation from the city high school (*News and Courier,* May 30, 1948). Several, helped by small loans, are now successful in business, and the wife of one is a physiotherapist—the first in Charleston. The Charleston *News and Courier,* speaking for the community as a whole, in a characteristic editorial urged scholarships for foreigners and welcomed the "new blood" (August 14, 1948).

Incidentally, one refugee left Beth Elohim a hundred dollars in his will, "in appreciation for the many mercies and the deliverance of myself and dear family from bondage; and for the many hours of consolation derived by me in the above synagogue" (Richard Heineman's will, Beth Elohim *Bulletin,* January, 1948).

[141] "The state needs more white people, of any race with white skins . . .

and if they should bring with them new religions, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Greek Orthodox, as well as Protestant, so much the better." William Watts Ball, *The State That Forgot: South Carolina's Surrender to Democracy,* 1932, p. 277.

[142] The will of Hyman Jacobs of Charleston Neck (where "much of the devilment perpetrated around Charleston was" prior to its annexation to the city in 1849, according to Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina,* p. 39) is not without interest in this connection. It concludes: "I do further request my Executor to continue the Religious Worship of my Children in the Same Jewish faith as myself and my ancestors. I do deliver my soul to Almighty God and depart in peace with mankind" (*Will Book,* vol. 41, 1834–39, p. 820). His children were named "Isiah, Meriam, Joseph and Israel" but their mother, according to the same document, was "Susan Smith."

[143] *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society,* vol. II, 1858.

[144] October 27, 1884, p. 8.

[145] Hannibal G. Duncan, *Race and Population Problems,* 1929, p. 113.

[146] The Domestic Relations Court of Charleston (organized in 1936) has had 630 delinquency cases to date (1948).

[147] For an illustration of such stores see *This is Charleston,* p. 65, and *Charleston Grows,* p. 107. See also pp. 106, 139 of *Charleston Grows.*

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