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# The Jews of Baltimore to 1810

By IRA ROSENWAIKE

## INTRODUCTION

From a historical viewpoint keen interest focuses on the question of who can be considered the first Jewish settler in Baltimore. Yet, even were the answer known definitively, it would contribute only in a limited way to a coherent viewing of the early Jewish settlement. It appears of much greater significance to explore the specific pattern of arrivals of newcomers decade by decade, to study their origins, to estimate their period of residence in Baltimore, and to learn of their subsequent movement. As Korn has pointed out, the study of individuals provides material for the rudiments of early community history.<sup>1</sup> This proves to be nowhere more pointedly true than in the case of Baltimore. In the period here examined, 1770–1810, the Jewish population attained a modest size (probably the fifth largest in number in the nation by 1800). Yet no congregation was formed, forcing the history of the Jewish “community” to consist of the story of a collection of individuals. The systematic study of these men and women reveals that by 1810 a rough outline—in miniature form—had been shaped of the communal trends to come in the next stage of development.

Definite records referring to Jewish settlers in Baltimore before the year 1770 are lacking. While it seems probable that some individual Jews may have passed through the town on business or may even have stayed awhile, reliable evidence of establishing residence is absent. This, however, is not particularly surprising when Baltimore is seen in its proper perspective for the period. First laid out in 1729, the population grew with remarkable rapidity for a colonial town, reaching 5,934 in a census taken early in 1775.<sup>2</sup> But compared with Philadelphia and its estimated 34,000 inhabitants at the latter date,<sup>3</sup> Baltimore was diminutive indeed. When

<sup>1</sup> Bertram W. Korn, *The Early Jews of New Orleans* (Waltham, Mass.: 1969), p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Eugene F. Cordell, *The Medical Annals of Maryland 1799–1899* (Baltimore: 1903), p. 657.

<sup>3</sup> The most realistic estimate probably is Rossiter's 34,400 in 1776. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth* (Washington: 1909), p. 11. Other calculations of Philadelphia's population at this time range from Warner's low 23,700 to

it is realized that Philadelphia, the largest city in the English colonies, was credited by the astute contemporary observer, the Reverend Ezra Stiles, with only "about a Dozen Jew Families" in 1771,<sup>4</sup> the near absence of Jewish settlers in much smaller Baltimore can be more readily accepted. In the colonial period, Baltimore was much more comparable in size with Lancaster, located some seventy miles away, in central Pennsylvania. The two towns were founded in the first third of the eighteenth century and grew at roughly parallel speed in their early years.

Several factors taken together would seem to explain the developments in Jewish settlement in Baltimore in the era examined here. First, and probably most important, was the surging growth of the city itself. As early as 1771 one Philadelphian noted that "Baltimore town in Maryland has within a few years past carried off from this city almost the whole trade of Frederick, York, Bedford, and Cumberland Counties. . . ." The Revolution, so detrimental to the commerce of other American ports, stimulated activity in Baltimore, which was free from the British blockade. In the ensuing decades the city steadily advanced in importance because it served a large market, provided the necessary vessels to carry wheat into the interior, and possessed merchants of great enterprise and industry.<sup>5</sup>

A second factor concomitant with the rise of Baltimore was the sharply curtailed growth of Lancaster. With three or four thousand residents on the eve of the Revolution, Lancaster was the largest inland town in the English colonies. But 25 years later its population had advanced only to 4,292 by the time of the 1800 census.<sup>6</sup> In the colonial years trade with the Indians and with settlers strung out along the expanding frontier had accounted for its prosperity, and some Jewish traders had been attracted to the Pennsylvania town almost from its earliest days. During the Revolution, when Lancaster's population was inflated by refugees from parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania, a short-lived Jewish congregation came into being. So brief was its duration that memory of the event gradually

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Bridenbaugh's 40,000. Sam B. Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: 1968), pp. 5, 225-26; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776* (New York: 1955), p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> Morris Jastrow, Jr., "References to Jews in the Diary of Ezra Stiles" in Abraham J. Karp, ed., *The Jewish Experience in America* (Waltham, Mass.: 1969), vol. I, p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> James W. Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry 1780-1860* (Harrisburg: 1947), pp. 6,13-15.

<sup>6</sup> Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew 1492-1776* (Detroit: 1970), p. 338; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950. Vol. I. Number of Inhabitants* (Washington: 1952), ch. 38, "Pennsylvania," p. 11.

faded and its story was consigned to legend rather than history. It was not until the 1960's when an offerings book for "the Holy Congregation of Lancaster, Pa.," dated 1781, was discovered in England that the fact of its definite existence was brought to light. The Lancaster membership list in a sense turns out to be a prologue to Baltimore Jewish history for no fewer than seven of the fifteen members are known to have subsequently shown up in Baltimore.<sup>7</sup> The congregation in Lancaster is believed to have dissolved no later than 1783.<sup>8</sup>

The third factor was the city's close relationship with Philadelphia. If Baltimore grew partly at the expense of the City of Brotherly Love, individual Philadelphians often moved to the rival city on the assumption that their business opportunities would be enhanced. With only one or two exceptions — other than the former Lancaster residents — the Jews residing in Baltimore in the eighteenth century had previously appeared in the records of Philadelphia's Congregation Mikveh Israel. While it is instructive in studying the post-Revolutionary period to compare Baltimore's progress with that of Philadelphia, it is essential in developing a picture of Baltimore Jewry (prior to any existing congregational records) to rely on accurate sources about the Philadelphia Jewish community.<sup>9</sup>

#### JEWISH SETTLERS IN THE 1770'S

Since in most cases it has not been possible to ascertain exactly when specific Jewish settlers first appeared in Baltimore, newcomers are classed by decades (rather than year) of arrival and listed in alphabetical order in Table 1. This grouping indicates that, as far as can be determined, the Jewish settlers were not unevenly distributed over the last three decades of the eighteenth century. In view of the fact that data are scanty for this period, caution should be used in deriving more than a very general picture from the

<sup>7</sup> A copy of the names on the list from the document now in the American Jewish Archives was kindly furnished by Dr. Malcolm Stern. Those who later appeared in Baltimore were Salomon Etting, Barent Jacob, Ezekiel Levy, Levy A. Levy, Isaac Salomon, Levy Salomons, Myer Salomon. (Spelling as per document).

<sup>8</sup> Malcolm H. Stern, "Two Jewish Functionaries in Colonial Pennsylvania," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* [AJHQ], LVII, 1 (Sept., 1967), 33-34.

<sup>9</sup> Fortunately, Edwin Wolf, 2nd and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia: 1957), a classic of its type, is now available, although this was not the case when early twentieth century writers attempted their histories of Baltimore's early Jews. This work contains the names of more Jews who turned up in Baltimore by 1810 than any account previously published.

TABLE I

JEWISH SETTLERS BY DECADE OF FIRST KNOWN APPEARANCE  
IN BALTIMORE, 1770-1810

Name	Place and Date of Death	Year Last Listed in Baltimore
<i>1770-1779</i>		
Jacob Hart	New York City 1822	1785 (B)
Benjamin Levy	Baltimore 1802	...
Eleazer Lyons	Philadelphia 1816	1786 (B)
Mordecai M. Mordecai	Baltimore 1809	...
Elias Pollock	Philadelphia 1832	1822 (D)
<i>1780-1790</i>		
Isaac Abrahams	New York City 1832	1786 (B)
Boaz Benjamin	? ?	1785 (M)
Reuben Etting	Philadelphia 1848	1803 (D)
Barnard Jacobs	Baltimore? 179?	...
Joseph Jacobs	Richmond 1811	1808 (D)
Moses Jacobs	Baltimore 1802	...
Moses Lazarus	? ?	1785 (M)
Noah Lazarus	? ?	1785 (M)
Samuel Lazarus	New York City 1798	1785 (M)
Ezekiel Levy	Farnham (Va.) 1812	1782 (W)
Isaac Levy	? ?	1785 (P)
Michael Levy	Philadelphia? 181?	1785 (P)
Lyon Nathan	Baltimore? 179?	...
Philip M. Russell	Philadelphia 1830	1817 (D)
Isaac Solomon	Baltimore 1798	...
Levy Solomon	Baltimore 1827	...
<i>1791-1800</i>		
Jacob Block	Richmond 1835	1803 (D)
Simon Block	Cincinnati 1832	1797 (M)
Solomon Etting	Baltimore 1847	...
Levy Andrew Levy	Baltimore 1829	...
Solomon Raphael	Richmond? 182?	1796 (D)
Hyman Samuel	? ?	1799 (D)
Myer Solomon	Baltimore 1800	...
John Tobias	? ?	1799 (D)
Benjamin Wolf	? ?	1799 (D)
<i>1801-1810</i>		
Solomon Benjamin	Baltimore 1818	...
Jacob I. Cohen Jr.	Baltimore 1869	...
Levi Collmus	Baltimore 1856	...
Moses Derkheim	? ?	1810 (C)
Myer Derkheim	Philadelphia 1818	1812 (D)
Andrew Levy	Philadelphia 1834	1820 (C)
Hart Levy	? ?	1819 (D)

## 1801-1810 Continued

Lion Levy	?	?	1807	(M)
Goodman Mordecai	?	?	1807	(M)
Jacob Moses	?	?	1819	(D)
Abraham Schoyer	New York City	1823	1822	(D)
Alexander Wertheim	Philadelphia	1830	1810	(D)

NOTE: (B) Birth date of child (C) Census (D) Directory  
 (M) Baltimore County Court Minutes or Dockets  
 (P) Pleasants and Sill (citing newspaper advertisement)  
 (W) Wolf and Whiteman (citing Mikveh Israel records)

material at hand. Very likely there were other, unrecorded, Jewish pioneers who came and went.

Five men (and their families) are known to have settled in Baltimore sometime during the 1770's. These were Benjamin Levy, Mordecai M. Mordecai, Eleazar Lyons, Jacob Hart, and Elias Pollock. The Levy family links the story of Baltimore Jewry to that of Jewish settlement in early eighteenth century New York and Philadelphia. Benjamin Levy (1726-1802) was born in New York, the son of Moses Levy, a prominent merchant, originally from London. Orphaned at an early age, he seems to have been in Philadelphia, living with a considerably older half-brother, by 1742. Benjamin married Rachel, the daughter of another half-brother, Nathan Levy (1704-1753), who had carried the family's business activities to Philadelphia, where he settled permanently in 1737. Benjamin Levy was thus the son-in-law of the enterprising merchant who has been considered the "founding father of Philadelphia Jewry."<sup>10</sup>

The earliest known record of Levy's move to Baltimore is an advertisement in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* of December 9, 1773, reporting that he "has just opened store in Market Street, at the corner of Calvert Street, where he sells, wholesale and retail, for ready money only." Levy did not entirely give up his roots in Philadelphia, however, for a tax list for 1780 indicates he still owned valuable property in that city. In Philadelphia Benjamin Levy's high social status was attested to by his membership in the exclusive Mount Regale Fishing Company and his close friendship with Robert Morris, the prominent financier.<sup>11</sup> The family

<sup>10</sup> Leo Hershkowitz and Isidore S. Meyer, eds., *Letters of the Franks Family (1733-1748)* (Waltham, Mass.: 1968), pp. 19, 81; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25, 31, 39; Marcus, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

<sup>11</sup> Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore* (Baltimore: 1910), p. 3; Wolf and Whiteman,

mingled in Baltimore society, as well, and their oldest daughter Abigail (c.1761–1821) married Lyde Goodwin, a physician who was close kin to the well-known Ridgelys, and after his death, Dr. John Worthington, also of the Maryland aristocracy.<sup>12</sup>

By 1789 the Levys were in financial straits and Rachel wrote a letter to George Washington in New York fervently applying for a post “for my second son, a minor . . . brought up as a Merchant, without a Capital to put into trade, and his Father unable to assist him.”<sup>13</sup>

The Levys' life style seems to have marked the epitome of eighteenth century Jewish assimilation; yet American-born Rachel Levy preferred not to sever her ties to Judaism. In 1793, sensing the end of her life was close at hand, she travelled to Philadelphia to make arrangements for a plot for her husband and herself in the cemetery her father had purchased in 1740 which had become the city's Jewish communal burial ground. Unfortunately, a failure on the part of Mikveh Israel officials to find cemetery ownership documents “led to some bitterness” and in consequence, when Rachel Levy died in 1794 she was laid to rest in Baltimore in St. Paul's cemetery.<sup>14</sup> Her husband and a number of her children were later buried in the same Episcopalian ground.<sup>15</sup>

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*op. cit.*, pp. 33, 409; Edward D. Coleman, “Benjamin Levy,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* [PAJHS], XXXIV (1937), 271–73.

<sup>12</sup> Cited in *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, March 23, 1779, Hayward File, Maryland Historical Society; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 2, 1821; Joshua Plaiskitt, *A Genealogical Sketch of the Worthington and Plaiskitt Families* (Baltimore: 1886), p. 12. Among Abigail's children was Charles Ridgely Goodwin (1784–1848), a noted naval officer, whose name was changed in 1790 to Charles Goodwin Ridgely so that he might qualify to inherit part of a vast property according to the terms of the will of a childless uncle of Lyde Goodwin. Others who also had their last names changed to Ridgely for this purpose (not for the reasons implied by Stephen Birmingham, *The Grandees* [New York: 1971], p. 5) included Charles Carnan Ridgely who later became governor of Maryland. Mary Keyser Meyer, *Divorces and Names Changed in Maryland, by Act of the Legislature, 1634–1854* (Baltimore: 1970), pp. 25, 54; “Charles Goodwin Ridgely,” *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 1935), vol. XV, p. 595; Frank F. White, Jr., *The Governors of Maryland 1777–1970* (Annapolis: 1970), p. 71. Another son, Robert Morris Goodwin (1796–1861), won notoriety in New York in 1819 when he killed the son of the Spanish consul and, after two dramatic trials, was acquitted. Percy J. King, “An Early New York Tragedy,” *U. S. Catholic Historical Society: Historical Records and Studies*, XXIV (1934), 276–83.

<sup>13</sup> Rachel Levy to George Washington, Baltimore, July 26, 1789, Ms., George Washington Papers, series 7, vol. 17, Library of Congress.

<sup>14</sup> Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, pp. 259–60. Her tombstone, still standing, reads “In memory of . . . Rachel Levy who departed this life the 11th of November, 1794, aged 55 years. From life to death to life.”

<sup>15</sup> Church records show the burials of Benjamin Levy on Feb. 3, 1802, of Jacob Franks Levy on Aug. 18, 1811, of Hetty Levy on Jan. 19, 1816, and of Nathan Levy on Feb.

One writer has speculated that Sampson Levy, an older brother of Benjamin Levy was "probably one of the earliest Jewish settlers in Baltimore County" on the basis of a judgment he obtained in 1755 on the property of the widow of Talbot Risteau in the town of Joppa, then the county seat of Baltimore County. It would seem, however, since Sampson Levy's lengthy residence in Philadelphia is well documented, that this incident reflected his far-ranging commercial activities rather than his settlement in Maryland. It is worthy of note, too, that at Sampson Levy's death in Philadelphia in 1781 his will directed that "... My lot and House in the Town of Baltimore in the state of Maryland I devise to my Executors to be sold and the Money arising from the Sale to be divided equally between my two Daughters..." Levy's estate also included property in New Jersey, as well as Philadelphia.<sup>16</sup>

Although Nathan Levy (1759-1846), the oldest son of Benjamin and Rachel, died in Baltimore, he seems to have spent a good part of his long and checkered career elsewhere. In an account written in 1830 he declared that for "many years I lived at Georgetown, D. C. where I am well known as well as Washington & Baltimore." In U. S. Supreme Court records for a case involving his firm, Levy is shown to have resided at Georgetown while he "carried on trade & commerce in co-partnership, under the name & firm of Levy & M'Intosh, at Alexandria . . . from sometime in the year 1796, till the 12th day of November, 1797, on which day the partnership was dissolved . . ." Much later, in 1818, Levy was named U. S. commercial agent in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; his activities here until his retirement in 1832 were subject to some criticism. One detractor in 1820 commented "This N. Levy is a Jew and lives with a Black woman and frequently Walks the Streets with her arm in arm." Nathan Levy had been one of the Marylanders who fought under Lafayette in Virginia in 1781 during the last phase of the Revolutionary War, and in 1824 he seems to have been present in Baltimore

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1, 1846, in the same cemetery. St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore: Register 1776-1879, Maryland Historical Society, vol. I, p. 413; vol. II, pp. 485, 531, 542; vol. III, p. 403. Only for Hetty Levy is there any positive indication of conversion. Fein notes that an abbreviation for Episcopalian follows Rachel Levy's name in William G. Cochran's *Memoirs of the Dead and Tomb's Remembrances* (Baltimore: 1806) and concludes this establishes that she did convert. The abbreviation the author used, however, did not refer to the religion of the decedent, merely to the auspices of the burial ground. Isaac M. Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920* (Philadelphia: 1971), p. 262; Cochran, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 218.

<sup>16</sup> J. Hall Pleasants, ed. *Archives of Maryland*, vol. LV.: *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland 1757-1758* (Baltimore: 1938), pp. xix, 306; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Register of Wills, County of Philadelphia, will no. 395, book R, p. 544.



when General Lafayette visited the city as part of his grand tour of a grateful nation. Levy was among "a small remnant" of the "First Baltimore Cavalry" chosen by the mayor to honor the returning hero.<sup>17</sup>

There is much less information available on the other two Levy sons. Robert Morris Levy evidently died young. Jacob Franks Levy (d. 1811) is listed as a broker in Baltimore city directories from 1796 to 1810.<sup>18</sup> On June 9, 1796 he acquired a mortgage on a "parcel of ground situate lying and being on Baltimore Street extended in Baltimore County and near to Baltimore Town." Two years later as an "Insolvent Debtor" he executed a deed conveying "all his property real Personal and Mixed, Rights and Credits except the necessary wearing apparel of himself and his family in trust for the benefit of the Creditors. . . ."<sup>19</sup>

Rachel Levy's sister, appropriately named Philadelphia Levy for the city of her birth, appears infrequently in the annals of her adopted city, Baltimore. In 1793 she accompanied Rachel on the unsuccessful trip to Mikveh Israel and in 1796 her name appeared among the stockholders of Union Bank. At her death in 1826, at the age of 85 (according to a contemporary newspaper) or 86 (according to church records) she was interred in St. Paul's beside her relatives.<sup>20</sup>

A close contemporary of Benjamin Levy in time, but very different in background and character, was Mordecai M. Mordecai (1727-1809), a native of Lithuania, who made the arduous journey to America sometime before 1760 when he shows up in Pennsylvania. His varied activities have been interestingly recounted by Stern in a recent article. Mordecai and his wife Zipporah, daughter of Abraham de Lyon, one of the early settlers of Savannah, made their first recorded appearance in Baltimore in 1770; sometime after, on January 9, 1772, Mordecai acquired a deed for Baltimore property "on the West side of Jones's Falls," which he released a year and a half later. Whether the Mordecais remained long in

<sup>17</sup> Joseph L. Blau and Salo W. Baron, *The Jews of the United States, 1790-1840: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: 1963), vol. II, pp. 327, 330, 611; *Levy v. Gadsby*, 3 Cranch (U. S.), (1805-1806); J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore: 1874), p. 409.

<sup>18</sup> For complete source data of all city directories referred to in this article see Dorothea N. Spear, *Bibliography of American Directories Through 1860* (Worcester: 1961).

<sup>19</sup> Jacob F. Levy had a brief marriage to Anne Maggs; they were wed in 1804 but Anne lived only to 1808. St. Paul's Register, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 492, 523; Baltimore Land Records, book WG, no. VV, folio 587; book WG, no. 53, folio 517.

<sup>20</sup> Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, p. 459; St. Paul's Register, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 659; *Baltimore American*, Oct. 5, 1826.

Maryland is doubtful. A deed dated July 19, 1775, describes Mordecai as "of Pittsburgh." In the 1780's he was actively involved in the affairs of Philadelphia's Congregation Mikveh Israel. By 1789, however, he turns up as one of the original members of Congregation Beth Shalome in Richmond. A letter written by Mordecai in Baltimore dated June 13, 1790, discussing his hopes to engage in business in that city has survived; nevertheless, he does not appear to have left Richmond to permanently reside in Baltimore until about 1799, when he appears in the city directory. Mordecai remained in Baltimore until his death in 1809, surviving his wife by almost three years.<sup>21</sup>

Mordecai's son Isaac appears to have been downwardly mobile, at least on the basis of data found in the Baltimore city directories: in 1804 he is shown as a tobacco manufacturer, in 1808 as a storekeeper and in 1814 only as pedlar. By 1816, however, he shows up as a "venduemaster" but Isaac's 1817 listing, his last, mentioned no occupation. Isaac's name evidently was absent from the 1810 census (as well as the directory of that year) because he was residing in his brother-in-law's household. The 1812 and 1814 directories give his address as 4 Low Street, O. T. (Old Town) the same as that reported for Philip Russell in 1810. A clear indication of the financial problems of the Mordecai family is seen in a deed dated October 20, 1820. Rebecca Mordecai, Isaac's daughter, whose trustee then sold the lot on Low Street "east side of Jones's Falls" her father had purchased in her name in 1800, was described as "an applicant for the benefit of the acts of the General Assembly of Maryland made and passed for the relief of insolvent debtors."<sup>22</sup>

Like Benjamin Levy and Mordecai M. Mordecai, Eleazer Lyons (1729-1816), a native of Holland, first appears in the records of Pennsylvania. Lyons seems to have moved to Baltimore not long after the birth of his son Judah in Philadelphia in 1779 for according to family records his next three children were born in Baltimore between 1781 and 1786. Evidently Lyons migrated to Surinam sometime after the latter date, for his youngest children were born in this Dutch colony in South America. He later returned to the the United States and resided in Philadelphia until his death.<sup>23</sup>

Jacob Hart (1746-1822) and Elias Pollock (1755-1832) both were young unmarried men in their twenties at the time they settled in

<sup>21</sup> Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-48.

<sup>22</sup> Baltimore Land Records, book WG, no. 61, folio 531; book WG, no. 157, folio 128. Isaac died in Philadelphia in 1822 at age 56. Philadelphia Board of Health, burial records, City Hall.

<sup>23</sup> Malcolm H. Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent* (Cincinnati: 1960), p. 129.

Baltimore in the 1770's. Hart, a native of Fürth, Germany, seems to have rapidly progressed as a merchant, and in 1781 his name appears on a list of patriots who pledged loans to finance the campaign of the Marquis de Lafayette against the British. He married Leah Nathan in 1778 and at least one of their sons — David — is known to have been born in Baltimore (in 1785). By 1786, however, Hart had removed to New York where he swiftly became one of that city's Jewish communal leaders.<sup>24</sup>

Elias Pollock's early experiences in Baltimore are known to us from his Revolutionary War pension application, filed in 1818.<sup>25</sup> Under the name of Joseph Smith he enlisted in Baltimore in May 1778, was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Camden (S. C.), and sent to Halifax, Nova Scotia. He returned to Baltimore after the war where his progress was gradual. Minutes of the "Court held in Baltimore Town" in March 1792 show Pollock was granted a license as a "hawker & pedler." He was listed as a black ball maker in the first city directory (1796), a trade later directories indicate he pursued until at least 1814. In consequence of "becoming Bondsman for another" Pollock was reduced to penurious circumstances. This is reflected in the 1819 directory where he is listed as a pedlar. Two of his daughters married Philadelphians; one of these, Pollock wrote in his pension request, was deserted by the husband and father [of her two infant children] "and . . . left destitute."<sup>26</sup> Pollock himself married the former Rebecca Hart in Philadelphia on August 21, 1806, six months after the death of his first wife, Polly. About 1823 the Pollocks moved to the Quaker City where they spent their remaining years.<sup>27</sup>

#### JEWISH SETTLERS IN THE 1780'S AND 1790'S

Since those who have written about the well-known Etting family have differed on the date of arrival of Reuben Etting (1762-1848) in Baltimore, it is perhaps necessary to quote at some length from

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71; David de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone* (New York: 1952), pp. 411 f.; Fein, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Pool and Fein state Hart was Lafayette's largest Baltimore subscriber. However, Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 414 has listed sums for each of the 24 contributors and the figure given for Hart is less than half that of the merchant subscribing the largest amount.

<sup>25</sup> For the complete account see Blau and Baron, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 72-73.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*; *Baltimore County Court Minutes [BCCM] 1792-1797*, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, p. 37; *Baltimore American*, Feb. 13, 1809, Dec. 31, 1810.

<sup>27</sup> Alan D. Corré and Malcolm H. Stern, "The Record Book of the Reverend Jacob Raphael Cohen," *AJHQ*, LIX, 1 (Sept., 1969), 70, 73; Cochran, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

the account that appears most reliable, that by Frank Willing Leach.

Reuben Etting, the elder of the two adult sons of Elijah and Shinah (nee Solomon) Etting, was born in York [Pa.], June 6, 1762, and was, therefore, a youth of sixteen at the time of his father's decease [in 1778]. Two years later [in 1780] he accompanied his mother to Baltimore, upon the removal of the family to that city. There he remained until several years after his marriage, becoming a leading figure in the commercial and social evolution of the Maryland metropolis.<sup>28</sup>

Surprisingly, neither Baroway, author of an article on the Ettings, nor Fein, who has discussed the family at length in his history of Baltimore Jews, appears familiar with this source. Baroway concluded Reuben Etting moved to Baltimore in the 1790's while Fein reported that Shinah Etting moved there in 1780 although her "two sons, Reuben and Solomon remained in York" but "before long not only her two sons but also her three brothers settled there."<sup>29</sup> Isidor Blum — citing a grandson of Shinah Etting — reported the date Shinah and her family moved from York to Baltimore as September 1780, the same date given by Leach.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, two contemporary sources indicate Shinah — widow of Elijah Etting (d. 1778) — may not have reached Baltimore until 1782. The first, Mrs. Shinah Etting's obituary notice, indicates that at her death in November 1822 she had been a resident of Baltimore for 40 years. Similarly, at the death in January 1828 of her daughter Frances, the widow of Col. Robert Taylor, a newspaper reported Frances had resided in Baltimore for 45 years.<sup>31</sup>

Reuben Etting throughout most of his life exemplifies the intimate social and commercial relations that linked Baltimore and Philadelphia. A letter still extant addressed to "Mr. Ruben Etting Mercht Baltimore" from a friend in the Pennsylvania city in 1783 is illustrative of this. In addition to discussing a business transaction the correspondent informed Reuben he "had the pleasure of seeing your Mother this day. She is very well and promis' To go for your Town on Wednesday next. I have the expectation of been

<sup>28</sup> Frank Willing Leach, "Old Philadelphia Families — Etting," *The North American* (Philadelphia), March 23, 1913.

<sup>29</sup> Aaron Baroway, "Solomon Etting 1764-1847," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XV, 1 (March, 1920), 8; Fein, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>30</sup> Other 'facts' given by this grandson have been shown by thorough research to be incorrect — e. g. Solomon Etting's date of arrival in Baltimore was not 1789 but 1791. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Baroway, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

<sup>31</sup> *Baltimore American*, Dec. 3, 1822; Jan. 24, 1828.

Introduc'd to your Brother (who is Return'd from New York) on Tomorrow. . . ." In closing, his friend asked Etting to "Present my Dispatch to your Uncle & Family."<sup>32</sup>

During Reuben Etting's years in Baltimore he became an important figure in both civil and military positions. A document signed by Reuben Etting in an official capacity dated November 23, 1791, certifying the owner of a Baltimore distillery had paid "the Duties imposed by Law, on One Hogshead of Rum, . . . distilled from foreign Materials" is evidence he was then working in the Office of Inspection.<sup>33</sup> A brief experience as a private during the Revolution had given Etting a taste of military life, which he evidently relished. During the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 he was commissioned as Lieutenant in the Maryland Militia and the following year he was made captain of his company. In 1797, when troubles with France were grave, he was commissioned captain of a new command, the Baltimore Independent Blues, a post he resigned in 1803. On May 25, 1801, President Jefferson appointed Etting United States Marshal for the District of Maryland. Three years later he and his family (he had married Frances Gratz in 1794) moved to Philadelphia where he resumed his commercial career and where he died in 1848.<sup>34</sup>

Isaac (1742-1798) and Levy Solomon (1748-1827), Shinah Etting's bachelor brothers, were sons of Joseph Solomon, originally from London, who died in Lancaster in 1780 after a residence in America of almost four decades. Listed among the members of the Lancaster Jewish congregation in 1781, they were among those who departed the Pennsylvania town after the Revolution. Isaac offered furniture and metal ware for sale in his "ironmongery store" in a Baltimore advertisement in 1782. The first two Baltimore directories for 1796 and 1798 show Isaac and Levy as proprietors of a hardware store located at 112 Baltimore Street. Evidently the business was quite successful, for when Isaac died in 1798 his estate came to more than \$18,000. According to his obituary he died in his 56th year, "an upright merchant and an honest citizen." Levy, variously described as an ironmonger or hardware merchant, carried on the family business. He died intestate in 1827; his administrator, Solomon Etting, found an inventory amounting to \$15,834.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> J. Rainsford to Reuben Etting, Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1783, Ms., Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>33</sup> District of Maryland, Office of Inspection, Baltimore Town, Nov. 23, 1791, Ms., Alfred Mordecai Papers, vol. I, Library of Congress.

<sup>34</sup> Leach, *op. cit.*

<sup>35</sup> Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 4; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 12, 1798; Registry of Administrations, Baltimore, vol. 2, p. 269; vol. 8, p. 22.

At the 1790 census Isaac Solomon appears as head of a family of three males and four females. It seems quite probable that the females in the household were the daughters of Isaac's sister, Shinah, and that the third male was his nephew Reuben Etting. This assumption would explain why no Etting appears as a household head in Baltimore in the 1790 enumeration. A plausible theory why only four rather than six Etting females (Mrs. Etting had five daughters) were counted might be that two of the women — perhaps Shinah and her youngest daughter — were temporarily staying in Lancaster to assist Solomon Etting who had earlier in the year 1790, at twenty-five, become a widower responsible for the upbringing of three small children.

Solomon (1764–1847), the younger brother of Reuben had remained in Lancaster when the rest of his family moved to Baltimore; he seems to have been taken into Joseph Simon's business, first as an apprentice, then as an associate. In 1781 he was listed as a member of Lancaster's congregation; the following year he was certified as "shohet," a slaughterer of kosher meat, in the household of Joseph Simon. In 1783, still under twenty years of age, he married Joseph Simon's daughter. After her death he married Rachel Gratz, the only surviving daughter of Barnard Gratz. Following a short stay in Philadelphia the couple moved to Baltimore in 1791.<sup>36</sup> A letter Rachel wrote to her father immediately after her arrival, once again evinces the close relationship between Baltimore and Quaker City families. Rachel reports she was "favored with a visit from Mrs. Levy, who was very pressing in her invitations to me," and that "Mrs. Etting and family beg their best respects to you, as does Mrs. Salomons." A note sent to her father by her husband mentions estranged relations with his uncles Isaac and Levy Solomon.<sup>37</sup> Subsequently a leading citizen of his adopted city, Solomon Etting's career has been described in detail by Baroway.<sup>38</sup>

Shinah Etting's two sons married Pennsylvania Jews but of the five daughters who accompanied her to Baltimore three never married and two wed Maryland Christians. Both Robert Taylor who was married to Fanny in 1793 (and died prematurely ten years later) and Robert Mickle, who became Elizabeth (Betsy) Etting's husband in 1795, were Baltimore merchants.<sup>39</sup>

Intermarriage does not seem to have sundered the Etting's close

<sup>36</sup> Leach, *op. cit.*; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 416.

<sup>37</sup> Jacob R. Marcus, ed., *American Jewry: Documents, Eighteenth Century* (Cincinnati: 1959), pp. 55–57.

<sup>38</sup> See Baroway, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–20.

<sup>39</sup> Cited in *Baltimore Daily Repository*, March 9, 1793 and *Telegraphe* (Baltimore), Dec. 25, 1795, Hayward File, Maryland Historical Society; Leach, *op. cit.*

family ties. Rebecca Gratz, whose letters have provided a chronicle of their domestic life, was visiting in Baltimore in 1803 shortly after Fanny Taylor was widowed and wrote a sister:

Mrs. Taylor came up in the Afternoon — her composure astonishes me — I never looked at her without the most sorrowful emotions — her situation is most forlorn — three poor little orphans depend on her exertions and her widowed heart must shrink from the anticipation of a fourth — yet she is composed. . . . Hetty Etting stays with her constantly she is the most benevolent woman in the world. . . .<sup>40</sup>

The bonds linking the Ettings and Taylors continued into the next generation. Fanny Taylor's son-in-law, John H. Poor, was a partner with Solomon Etting's son, Samuel, in the firm of Etting & Poor, auctioneers.<sup>41</sup>

Isaac Abrahams (1737-1832) apparently acted as religious leader of the minuscule Jewish community in Baltimore in 1782, when he informed Congregation Mikveh Israel of the transgressions of a fellow Jew. On the basis of records concerning his family assembled by Malcolm Stern, it appears Abrahams had recently moved from Philadelphia, where he had married Rachel Nathan in 1778, and where in 1781 his son Jacob was born. Isaac's next two children, Samuel and Joseph, were born in Baltimore in 1784 and 1786 respectively. In July of the latter year persons desiring "Freight or Passage" on board the schooner *Nancy*, bound for New York, were advised to apply to "ISAAC ABRAHAMS, in Market-Street." The following year Abrahams' name appears on the register of New York's Shearith Israel. A native of Germany, he evidently remained in New York until his death in 1832 at the very advanced age of 95 years.<sup>42</sup>

As in the case of Isaac Abrahams, records of the births of his children turn out to be a means of tracing the early residence of Philip Moses Russell (1747-1830) in Baltimore. Russell, a native of Portsmouth, England, who had served in the Revolutionary War as surgeon's mate, married Esther (1757-1846) a daughter of Mordecai M. Mordecai in 1780. Between 1781 and 1785 three of their

<sup>40</sup> Rebecca Gratz to Richea Hays, Baltimore, July 6, 1803, Ms., Alfred Mordecai Papers, vol. I, Library of Congress.

<sup>41</sup> Cited in *Baltimore American*, Aug. 9, 1815 and Feb. 3, 1819, Hayward File.

<sup>42</sup> Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 416; Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent*, p. 4; *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, July 7, 1786; Lyons Collection, vol. 2, *PAJHS*, XXVII (1920), 41; Register of Deaths, vol. 8, Municipal Archives and Record Center, New York. Unfortunately, this Isaac Abrahams has been endlessly confused with another, a son of Abraham Isaac Abrahams, who was an early graduate of King's (later Columbia) College. Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Pool, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-289.

children were born in Baltimore. In 1785 Russell was granted a retail liquor license by a Baltimore court and the following year he was involved in a suit against Eleazer Lyons. He apparently moved to Virginia soon after; his son Isaac was born in Norfolk in 1787. He appears to have returned to Baltimore about 1800, not long after his father-in-law also moved back from Virginia. Although his name is missing from the federal census taken that year, he is listed in the 1800 directory as a "dealer" at 39 High Street. Perhaps at this time he was still in the process of re-establishing himself in local business in advance of moving his large family to a new residence (and temporarily residing with his father-in-law?). In any case his stay in Baltimore this time was a long-term one. He remained in the city until at least 1817 (his last mention in the city directory) before ultimately returning to Philadelphia, his earlier home, where he died in 1830.<sup>43</sup>

Another contingent of former Lancaster residents in Baltimore comprised various members of the Jacobs family. The lengthy story of Barnard Jacobs, head of the clan, who served as mohel (ritual circumciser) in Pennsylvania as early as 1757 has been documented by Stern. By 1790 there were in Baltimore three separate households headed respectively by Barnard, his son Joseph, and Moses Jacobs — possibly a son but certainly close kin. No record of Barnard's death has survived, but Stern has surmised he died in Baltimore in the early 1790's.<sup>44</sup>

Joseph Jacobs appeared regularly in Baltimore city directories from 1796 to 1808, first as "hack carriage keeper" then as "capt. of the city watch." Not long after his last listing he evidently moved to Richmond where overwhelming tragedy struck. On December 26, 1811, fire broke out while hundreds of the city's residents were watching a theatre performance. A contemporary newspaper recorded:

the unhappy fate of the family, who sustained the *greatest loss* in the fatal conflagration . . . Mr. Joseph Jacobs — his lovely daughter Miss Eliza Jacobs (about 17 years of age) his granddaughter Adeline Bausman (a sweet prattler of 4 years old) — and his two nieces, Mrs. Marks and Charlotte Raphael — all perished together in the devouring flames. . . . Mr. Joseph Jacobs was a man of strict honor . . . he has left a disconsolate widow & an only daughter — the latter narrowly escaped the horrors of death. . . .<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent*, p. 184; *BCCM 1782-1786*, p. 293; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Stern, "Two Jewish Functionaries . . .," p. 39.

<sup>44</sup> Stern, *ibid.*, pp. 29-35.

<sup>45</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Jan. 4, 1812.



A notice in the same paper stated "In consequence of the melancholy death of Joseph Jacobs, the firm of S. & J. Jacobs is dissolved." "S. Jacobs," listed as the "surviving partner" was Solomon Jacobs (1777-1827), the youngest son of Barnard Jacobs. He had moved to Richmond from Baltimore as a youth, perhaps after his father's death.<sup>46</sup>

Whether Moses Jacobs (1749-1802) preceded Joseph Jacobs in Baltimore is uncertain. He is recorded as attending a meeting of Philadelphia's Mikveh Israel as late as 1785. In September 1788 a newspaper notice concerning the sloop *Polly*, shortly to sail for Jamaica, indicated that Moses Jacobs in Market Street was its agent. Moses, listed in contemporary directories as a merchant, died on January 13, 1802, and was buried in Baltimore's original Jewish cemetery, leaving a widow and eight children. Joseph Jacobs appears as one of the securities when the letters of administration were granted to Moses' widow, Esther, a few days later. One son, Jacob, was apprenticed to "Richard Sweeney to learn the trade of a Windsor chair maker to be taught to Read write and arithmetic as far as the Rule of three" on July 10, 1803. A few months later on November 5, 1803 the Orphans Court appointed William Cochran guardian of the remaining seven children: Rachel, John, Sarah, Michael, Benjamin, Charlotte and Juliet. Michael is known to have died at the age of twelve on September 22, 1804, and was buried near his father.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to Solomon Etting, two other former Lancaster congregants settled in Baltimore in the 1790's: Myer Solomon and Levy Andrew Levy. Myer Solomon (1740-1800), the eldest Solomon brother, was born in London shortly before his parents emigrated to America. He still maintained his residence in Lancaster at the time of the 1790 enumeration, although very likely he visited Baltimore for business as well as family reasons. He moved permanently to Baltimore some time after, perhaps in 1793, as stated in a (not

<sup>46</sup> Stern, "Two Jewish Functionaries . . .," p. 50; Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917* (Richmond: 1917), pp. 41-43.

<sup>47</sup> Marcus, *American Jewry: Documents . . .*, p. 139; *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 30, 1788; Cochran, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Registry of Administrations, Baltimore, vol. 3, p. 127; Proceedings of the Orphans Court of Baltimore County, Maryland Hall of Records, book WB, no. 4, p. 266; book WB, no. 5, p. 37. Some time after John Jacobs attained the age of 21 years he argued that Cochran had not paid the sum of \$600 due him. A verdict in Baltimore County Court was taken to the Court of Appeals of Maryland where the case was heard in June 1819. See *Report of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Appeals of Maryland in 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818 & 1819* (Annapolis: 1827), pp. 506-07.

family shop. Susan evidently became a devout Christian and it was perhaps due to her urging that her nongenerian father was baptized in 1827 not long before his death. In 1830 she married a widower, one of Baltimore's most prominent citizens, Dr. Solomon Birkhead.<sup>51</sup>

In the 1780's and early 1790's, in addition to the flock from Lancaster, Baltimore attracted a number of Philadelphians on the move. Some, such as Solomon Raphael, were apparently 'birds of passage' who stayed briefly and then generally departed for Virginia. A few made Baltimore their permanent home.

One of those who made a brief appearance in Baltimore in 1782 (perhaps only a business visit) was Ezekiel Levy, a dry goods merchant, the son of Philadelphia's Polish-born Hebrew teacher and *shohet* Abraham Levy. The complaint made by Isaac Abrahams that Levy shaved on the Sabbath found its way back to Mikveh Israel whose minute books provided future historians with the details of the incident. Levy ultimately moved to Richmond County, Virginia where he died in 1812 after joining the Episcopal church.<sup>52</sup>

Two other short-term residents were "MICHAEL and ISAAC LEVY, CLOCK and WATCHMAKERS, Late from LONDON" who advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* of Baltimore on September 30, 1785 that they "Have for sale a large assortment of the most elegant and fashionable CLOCKS and WATCHES." Isaac Levy apparently had been in Philadelphia in 1780 where he was described as "lately from London" in an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for November 1. Michael Levy, probably his brother, was back in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 to be married to Rachel Phillips. A letter written by Benjamin Rush, that city's noted physician, has provided a description of the wedding ceremony; it records that Levy was "from Virginia." Michael Levy, whose son was the illustrious Commodore Uriah Phillips Levy, worked in Philadelphia for a number of years and last appears in the 1816 directory as a clock and watchmaker.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> St. Paul's Register, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 431, 498, 538, 588, 612, 632; Baltimore County Will Book, vol. 8, p. 133; vol. 31, p. 83; *Baltimore American*, July 28, 1803; Ira Rosenwaik, "Simon M. Levy: West Point Graduate," *AJHQ*, LXI, 1 (Sept., 1971), 71-73.

<sup>52</sup> Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 125; Marcus, *American Jewry: Documents . . .*, pp. 105, 126-27; *Virginia Herald* (Fredericksburg), Dec. 23, 1812. His marriage to Frances Sydnor took place in Virginia in 1787. George H. S. King, *Marriages of Richmond County, Virginia 1668 to 1853* (Frederickburg: 1964), p. 117.

<sup>53</sup> J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths, 1715-1830* (Baltimore: 1930), p. 155; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99.

Lyon Nathan's earliest recorded appearance in Baltimore seems to have been in 1786 when he and Isaac Abrahams appear together in two suits in county court. However, he may have already been a resident for a few years since his twin daughters were married to Isaac Abrahams and Jacob Hart who were, as has been noted, residents of Baltimore in the early 1780's. He is known to have lived in Pennsylvania as early as 1758, when he shows up in Reading. Lyon Nathan evidently was the "Mr. Nathan" enumerated in Baltimore in the 1790 census. No record has been found of his death; it seems possible this may have occurred in Baltimore some time before the 1800 census.<sup>54</sup>

Solomon Raphael, a Yiddish-speaking immigrant who married Barnard Jacobs' daughter in Philadelphia in 1788, had a brief stay in Baltimore in the 1790's. He is listed in the 1796 directory as an innkeeper. By 1798, however, he had moved on to Richmond where he was granted a license to operate "The Old City Tavern" and where he resided until his death.<sup>55</sup>

Benjamin Wolfe relinquished his allegiance to the Emperor of Germany and was naturalized in Baltimore on June 6, 1798. He is probably identical with the "Benj Wolf" who in Philadelphia on September 27, 1795 married Betsy Hart, although as Stern warns "the name was a common one in early American Jewish history, so that it is difficult to identify this one." Shortly thereafter on November 10, 1795, his name appears on a Baltimore court list of "Retailers licenses granted by George Gouldsmith Presbury Esq." The following year, and again in 1797, Presbury included Wolf on his lists of those who had been granted tavern licenses. "B. Wolf" was among the Masons of Baltimore Lodge No. 22 which was in existence from 1796 to 1800. He was "reported by the Maryland Grand Lodge to the Virginia Grand Lodge as suspended in 1800," which lends support to the possibility that his next home was in Norfolk, where in 1800 one "Benjamin Wolfe" was a member of Naphtali Lodge No. 56.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *BCCM 1782-1786*, pp. 441, 444; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 396; Pool, *op. cit.*, p. 401; Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent*, p. 164.

<sup>55</sup> Stern, "Two Jewish Functionaries . . .," pp. 34-35; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-85; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 78. His death must have occurred in the early 1820's, based on a statement in a will written by Solomon Jacobs on November 9, 1822. The testator describes "the circumstance of having paid, many years ago . . . a foreign German House somewhere about \$1500 . . . as bail for the prison bounds of Mr. S. Raphael my late brother in law." Baltimore County Will Book, vol. 13, p. 362.

<sup>56</sup> Naturalization Records, U. S. District Court, Maryland, book 1, p. 23; Corr e and Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 50; *BCCM 1792-1797*, pp. 230, 350, 366; Edward T. Schultz,

By the late 1790's when the Jewish community in Richmond had climbed to congregation size some of the more mobile began to move North, and again Baltimore often became the first if not the final destination. Among these were four immigrants, John Tobias, Simon Block, Jacob Block and Hyman Samuels. About Tobias almost nothing is known except that he was a member of Richmond's Congregation Beth Shalome in 1791 and turns up as a Mason in Baltimore in the late 1790's.<sup>57</sup>

Simon Block and Jacob Block seem to have belonged to an extensive family which made its way to the United States from Bohemia in the early federal period. Simon Block's stay in Baltimore must have been short; he never was mentioned in the city directory and the sole evidence of his appearance is his name on a list of retailers granted licenses in 1797. In 1804 he was among the signers of a petition in Richmond, while in 1810 court records indicate he was in Williamsburg, Va.<sup>58</sup> Like Simon, Jacob Block lived for a time in Williamsburg where his son Eliezer, one of the first Jewish students enrolled at the College of William and Mary, was born in 1797. Jacob gave notice in the (Baltimore) *Telegraphe and Daily Advertiser* on January 15, 1799 "that the partnership between Jacob Block and Peter Bakeoven is this day dissolved." Jacob appears in the Baltimore directory only from 1799, when he was listed as an innkeeper at 27 Alissana Street, Fells Point, to 1803 when he was a grocer at the same address. Presumably he then moved to Richmond, where he served at one time as president of Congregation Beth Shalome and where he died in 1835.<sup>59</sup>

Hyman Samuel, who had formerly lived in London, was a silversmith and watch and clock maker who resided in Petersburg, Va.

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*History of Freemasonry in Maryland* (Baltimore: 1884), vol. 1, p. 238; Samuel Oppenheim, "The Jews and Masonry in the United States Before 1810," *PAJHS*, XIX (1910), 57, 63. In 1801 the Norfolk directory listed "Wolf, Benj, slop shop" and the 1806 directory described him as "merchant taylor." If this is the former Baltimore resident then he evidently changed his occupation.

<sup>57</sup> Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>58</sup> *BCCM 1792-1797*, p. 353; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 129. Following his death in Cincinnati in 1832 he was described by a Jewish community leader as a "venerable gentleman . . . the oldest amongst us, we considered him as the father of the congregation." Morris U. Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States 1654-1875* (New York: 1971), p. 229. Along with Tobias and Wolfe, an S. Block was among the Masons of Baltimore Lodge No. 22 around 1797. Schultz, *op. cit.*, vol 1, p. 238; Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>59</sup> Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 284; New Orleans Hebrew Cemetery Inscriptions (card file), Louisiana State Museum Library; *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, series 1, XXV (1917), 238; Henrico County Court, Will Book, no. 9, p. 153.

in the early 1790's and in Richmond by 1796. His residence in Baltimore was not lengthy; he appears in the records of the Masons in 1798 and again in 1799, and in only one city directory, that of 1799, where his name evidently was reversed to Samuel Hyman. After his departure from Baltimore he returned to Virginia where he opened a watch and clock repair shop in Norfolk in 1803. He is then known to have operated a similar shop in Charleston, S. C. from 1806 to 1809.<sup>60</sup>

The immediate origin of all Jewish newcomers is not known. Thus we only know that in October 1785 the treasurer of the Baltimore court entered in the record the names of the four men granted pedlars licenses during the preceding year. These were: "Samuel Lazerus, Boaz Benjamin, Moses Lazerus, Noah Lazerus." Samuel and Moses Lazarus show up in New York as members of Shearith Israel by 1787; what became of their kinsmen is not recorded.<sup>61</sup>

An indistinct line makes separation of 'visitors' in Baltimore from presumably permanent residents rather difficult. Barnard Gratz probably should fall into the former category although he undoubtedly spent a longer time in the city than some classed with the latter group. The father-in-law of Solomon Etting, a man long prominently associated with the Jewish community in Pennsylvania, appears to have come to Baltimore in the late 1790's. He writes of his sorrow at missing the bar mitzvah of his nephew Simon's son in a letter sent from Baltimore dated March 7, 1798. A letter sent from Philadelphia by Simon Gratz and his brother Hyman to a European relative dated September 15, 1799 explains:

At present our uncle, Barnard Gratz, is at the city of Baltimore, distant about 110 English miles South of this city, on a visit to his daughter Rachel, who is married to a gentleman residing there . . . He has not been home for near one year, as he is old he generally makes long visits when he leaves home.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Marcus, *American Jewry: Documents . . .*, p. 51; Schultz, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 269, 279; George Barton Cutten, *The Silversmiths of Virginia from 1694 to 1850* (Richmond: 1952), p. 165.

<sup>61</sup> *BCCM 1782-1786*, p. 226; Lyons Collection, vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Samuel Lazarus, who died in New York in 1798 after serving as *shamas* to Shearith Israel, was the great grandfather of poetess Emma Lazarus. Lyons Collection, vol. I, *PAJHS*, XXI (1913), 159, 169; Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent*, p. 107. Moses Lazarus seems to have resided in New York City prior to the Revolutionary War; he was Shearith Israel's *shohet* in 1771. Lyons Collection, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 112. Boaz Benjamin is known to have obtained a license to marry Indah Herrin in Baltimore on August 10, 1785. Baltimore marriage license card file, Maryland Hall of Records.

<sup>62</sup> Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 457; Byars, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Blau and Baron, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 780.

Gratz died in Baltimore on April 20, 1801, and was buried in the Etting cemetery.<sup>63</sup> In life too, he appears to have been part of the Etting household. Since the Gratz name is absent from the 1800 census it can be assumed he and his wife were the two adults over 45 years of age at that enumeration in the Solomon Etting menage. (Both Mr. and Mrs. Solomon Etting were 36 years old at this date.)

### THE 1790 AND 1800 CENSUSES

At the first census of the new federal government, that of 1790, Baltimore ranked fifth among the nation's cities. The bustling Maryland port had now entered its era of greatest proportionate growth: from 13,503 residents in 1790 the number very nearly doubled to 26,514 in 1800. By this date the burgeoning commercial center was exceeded in size only by Philadelphia and New York. The miniscule Jewish population of Baltimore, as ascertained from the manuscript listings of heads of households enumerated in the decennial censuses, barely kept pace with the general growth.

From six — possibly seven — Jewish households in 1790 the tally climbed to thirteen in 1800.<sup>64</sup> In 1790 it is conceivable that the number of white persons counted as in households headed by Jewish individuals approximated the total number of Jewish residents but this was not true in succeeding enumerations. In 1800, for example, no fewer than three family heads (Mrs. Etting, Hetty Levy, and Andrew Levy) were boarding house proprietors. The 32 adult males in these households with perhaps two or three exceptions were (non-Jewish) boarders.

Baltimore's city directories provide the means to view the occupational distribution of the community's breadwinners at points in time close to each enumeration except that of 1790. Occupations are given in the city directory of 1800 (or in the immediately subsequent years) for 12 of the 13 Jewish household heads enumerated in the 1800 census. (Catherine Solomon's husband was still alive when the 1800 directory was prepared.) The two women listed were boarding house keepers. The 10 men included 3 merchants, a blackball maker, an ironmonger, a distillery owner, a grocer, a boarding house keeper, a tobacco manufacturer, and a captain of the watch. Occupations of Jews who were not listed as household heads included a broker, a dealer, and a tobacconist.<sup>65</sup> Thus the

<sup>63</sup> Baroway, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>64</sup> Six are shown in Table 2 for 1790 but the figure becomes seven if Elias Pollock's household, which is inexplicably missing, is counted. In 1800, as discussed above, Philip Moses Russell's name is not found.

<sup>65</sup> Occupations of Jacob F. Levy, Philip M. Russell and Samuel Mordecai, respectively.

Jews of Baltimore were engaged in quite varied aspects of the city's life.

In summarizing the background of the thirteen Jewish families in Baltimore in 1800 two facts stand out: the community was an Americanized one comprised almost entirely of those who had lived in the new nation at least two decades (Jacob Block was the only exception); the Jewish population was a closely knit one, tied by blood or through long years of acquaintance. All the families (again except for Jacob Block and possibly Elias Pollock) had resided in Pennsylvania at some time prior to 1780. Thus the community in 1800 might well be considered an adjunct to Pennsylvania history — nearly all were of the same background as the Jewish community then resident in Philadelphia and many retained friends and relatives in that city.

Why had no Jewish congregation been organized in Baltimore by this date even though more than enough males old enough to participate in a *minyan* were present? The answer, of course, cannot be stated with certainty, but it is possible to make an educated guess. It would seem the community simply was not large enough to undertake the support of such an institution. Furthermore, there did not seem to be any acute need because the services for religious life provided by congregations elsewhere were being performed on an individual basis. The principle services — worship, burial, *Kashruth*, religious ceremonials such as marriage — were not being neglected.

*Minyanim* at private homes enabled worship in a Jewish setting. As early as 1789, when Zalma Rehine stopped in Baltimore en route to Richmond, he found he could welcome the New Year at a private *minyan* with the Solomons. A Jewish place of burial is reported to have been in existence as early as 1786 on property belonging to Charles Carroll, which eventually (in 1801) was purchased by Solomon Etting and Levy Solomon. In addition, Etting used part of his own property for a private family cemetery. Solomon Etting was skilled in *shehita* (ritual slaughtering of kosher meat); in 1782, when working for Joseph Simon he was granted the first "license" given a native American.<sup>66</sup> At weddings lay *hazanim* officiated. Mordecai M. Mordecai, for example, married his granddaughter Judith Russell to Isaiah Nathans of Philadelphia in 1807.<sup>67</sup>

But Mordecai M. Mordecai who came to Baltimore by way of

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Mordecai, unmarried, was a son of Mordecai M. Mordecai and Levy, unmarried, a brother of Hetty Levy.

<sup>66</sup> Fein, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20, 42; Wolf and Whiteman, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>67</sup> Stern, "Two Jewish Functionaries . . .," p. 48.

Lancaster, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Richmond also typifies the restlessness of many of the early people. A lack of local roots may have been another reason for the failure of a formal organization to develop. Perhaps a feeling of permanence in a new setting was a prerequisite for the building of a congregation.

#### JEWISH SETTLERS IN THE 1800'S

Although the size of the Jewish community in Baltimore changed very little in the first decade of the nineteenth century, the population mix altered appreciably. Such patriarchs as Mordecai M. Mordecai and Benjamin Levy disappeared from the scene, as did Moses Jacobs, another former Philadelphian. The families of Reuben Etting and Catherine Solomon moved to Philadelphia; those of Joseph Jacobs and Jacob Block went south to Richmond. Mordecai M. Mordecai's son Samuel moved to Savannah (his mother's birthplace) as did Philip M. Russell's sons Isaac and Samuel. In their stead came two families of pre-1790 American background, the Cohens and the Derkheims, and a smattering of new immigrants.

The Cohens, who arrived in Baltimore in 1808, were ultimately to become one of the distinguished families of Baltimore and their story has been discussed at great length elsewhere.<sup>68</sup> Head of the family was Jacob I. Cohen (1789-1869), the son of a German immigrant who had been one of the early settlers of Richmond. With him were five brothers and a sister, as well as a widowed mother, Judith Cohen (1766-1837), a native of England. Jacob's first trade in Baltimore seems to have been as a grocer (according to the 1810 directory) but he and his brothers soon became agents in the lottery and exchange system and ultimately bankers and civic leaders.

Myer Derkheim, who appears among the attendees of a meeting held at Philadelphia's Mikveh Israel in 1785, died in that city in 1818, at the age of seventy. During the intervening years, however, he seems to have made his home in quite a number of other locations. In Richmond in 1788 Derkheim had a shop where he sold mould candles and turpentine soap; later he lived in Petersburg and in Charleston. Derkheim is listed as a clothier in the Baltimore directory for 1810. Less is known of Derkheim's son, Moses,

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Aaron Baroway, "The Cohens of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII (1923), 357-75; W. Ray Luce, "The Cohen Brothers of Baltimore: from Lotteries to Banking," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXVIII, 3 (Fall, 1973), 288-308.



who had a separate Baltimore household at the 1810 census. Moses, according to circumcision records, was born February 22, 1774, at an unstated place. He is not mentioned in the will of his mother, Sarah Derkheim, which was probated in Philadelphia in September 1828.<sup>69</sup>

Of unknown nativity and perhaps of uncertain character, Goodman Mordecai left some record of his stay in Baltimore as well as in a number of other localities. Entries in Levi Sheftall's rich diary of comings and goings in Savannah relate that on October 21, 1801, "Goodman Mordecai and his wife arrived here from Philadelphia to live . . ." and that two years afterward, after getting goods on credit, "he turned a quantity into money and ran away. This was sometime in Dec. 1803." Subsequently Mordecai appears as proprietor of a dry goods shop in the Norfolk directory for 1806. He seems to have been present in Baltimore a year later when John and Wright Southgate filed suit against him on November 11, 1807.<sup>70</sup>

A group of new immigrants began to find their way to Baltimore shortly before 1810, attracted by the opportunity of its enlarging economy. Available evidence indicates they originated primarily from Holland and at least a few spent some time in Philadelphia or New York before moving below the Mason and Dixon Line. Possibly the earliest record relating to these immigrants is a suit by "Lion Levy & Mary his wife, F.[ells] P.[oint]" against Abraham Schoyer, instituted November 18, 1807.<sup>71</sup> No further information is available concerning Lion Levy but Schoyer seems to have been involved in much litigation over the next several years. In January 1808 Schoyer and Abraham Brummer were listed as co-defendants in a complaint filed by John S. Gillmeyer while in June 1808 Schoyer and his wife filed suit against Abraham Brummer. Schoyer first appears in the Baltimore directory in 1810 as a pedlar. (He is listed as Shyer, Abm, pedlar, 44 W. Fleet st., F. P.) By 1812 he had become a grocer at 123 Bond Street, and both the 1819 and 1822 listings show him as a merchant at Caroline near Fleet Street. Schoyer shows up as a member of Rodeph Shalom in Philadelphia between the years 1815-18. Records of Shearith Israel indicate "Abm S. Schoyer, a native of Amsterdam" died in New York on

<sup>69</sup> Marcus, *American Jewry: Documents . . .*, p. 139; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34; Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent*, p. 43; Register of Wills, County of Philadelphia, will no. 137 (1828).

<sup>70</sup> Malcolm H. Stern, "The Sheftall Diaries: Vital Records of Savannah Jewry (1733-1808)," *AJHQ*, LIV, 3 (March, 1965), 270, 272; Baltimore County Court Dockets, March term 1808, Maryland Hall of Records.

<sup>71</sup> Baltimore County Court Dockets, March term 1808.

January 31, 1823. His burial record indicates he was then 50 years old.<sup>72</sup>

Solomon Benjamin is probably the best known of the new arrivals since his was the only will recorded. At his death in 1818 he requested "my Houses and lots be equally divided among my 3 children now known by the names of Samuel Benjamin, Esther Benjamin and Hannah Benjamin and that if my wife who is now pregnant should have a male child he is to be called Solomon Benjamin and share an Equal proportion. . . ." He further requested his wife — his executrix — "if in her power to make a small annual donation to my Father, he being poor and residing in Amsterdam" and that "my children agreeable to my wish to be brought up in the Jewish religion." Benjamin evidently made remarkable progress between the time of his listing in the 1810 city directory as a pedlar at 41 W. Wilk St. and his 1817 appearance as proprietor of a jeweller's shop at 43 W. Wilk St., for records of his estate indicate an inventory of almost four thousand dollars.<sup>73</sup>

One of the witnesses to Benjamin's will was Hart Levi, who appears in the census records for the Fells Point district for 1810. His first entry in the Baltimore directory, however, did not occur until 1816, as "Levi, Heart, fancy cutlery store, 121 Bond St., F. P." Presumably he was the "Hart, Levy, trader, 1 W. Fleet, F. P." in the 1817 directory as well as the "Levy, Hart, pedlar, 159 Bond, F. P." of the 1819 directory. Whether or not he is identical with Hart Levi who was a member of Philadelphia's Rodeph Shalom from 1815 to 1820 cannot yet be ascertained.<sup>74</sup>

Jacob Moses' early career in Baltimore almost paralleled that of Solomon Benjamin; he also first shows up as a pedlar in the 1810 directory and by 1817 also was listed as a jeweller on West Wilk Street. The two men may at one time have been partners. On October 4, 1809, Jacob David instituted suit against Jacob Moses and Solomon Benjamin. A few months later, on December 30, 1809, Jacob Moses presented a case in Baltimore County court

<sup>72</sup> Baltimore County Court Dockets, March term 1808, October term 1808; Edward Davis, *The History of Rodeph Shalom Congregation, Philadelphia 1802-1926* (Philadelphia: 1926), p. 142; Lyons Collection, vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 313; New York death records, vol. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Baltimore County Will Book, vol. 10, p. 469. Benjamin's marriage license to Catharine Lence was issued July 25, 1809. Catharine survived her husband by little over a year, dying in October, 1819. Pleasants and Sill, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Baltimore County Will Book, vol. 11, p. 53.

<sup>74</sup> Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-43. One of a number of persons named Hart Levi (or Levi) died in Cincinnati in 1825 aged 58, while another, a native of Amsterdam, died in New York aged 84, in 1866. David Philipson, "The Pioneer Jews of the Ohio Valley," *PAJHS*, VIII (1900), 55; Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent*, p. 130.

against Solomon Benjamin.<sup>76</sup> As with Hart Levy, economic reversals appear to have reduced Moses to a pedlar again in 1819. One researcher has concluded Baltimore's Jacob Moses "may well be identical with the Philadelphia jeweller of this name who had a shop there in 1820 and 1822."<sup>76</sup> The Philadelphia Jacob Moses was among the members of Congregation Rodeph Shalom in 1820.<sup>77</sup>

Like Abraham Schoyer, Solomon Benjamin and Jacob Moses, Andrew Levy made his first appearance in the 1810 Baltimore directory as a pedlar in Fells Point (Argyle-alley). However, he does not seem to have been as upwardly mobile, for the 1819 directory showed him still a pedlar, at 120 Bond St., F. P. Levy eventually moved to Philadelphia where he appeared on Rodeph Shalom's membership roster for several years prior to his death on September 24, 1834, at age 55, a victim of that year's cholera epidemic.<sup>78</sup>

Alexander Wertheim was probably the most distinguished of the Dutch Jews who came to Baltimore in the first decade of the nineteenth century. He is found in the 1810 directory as "Werthyem, doctor, Alex., 102 Bond St., F. P." Baltimore, however, was not his first residence in America for he is mentioned in Shearith Israel of New York records as early as 1808. Wertheim soon departed for Philadelphia where he became clerk to the Board of Health. He died in that city on April 11, 1830, in his 55th year.<sup>79</sup>

The immigrant who was to have the longest association with Baltimore was not Dutch, but a lone Bohemian named Levi Collmus (whose name was also listed in city directories as Calimous, Colmas, Colmes, and Callimus). Collmus arrived at the port of Baltimore in September 1806, according to a declaration for naturalization he made in U. S. Circuit Court on October 21, 1822, when he also gave his birthplace as Prague, and his age as forty years.<sup>80</sup> The earliest contemporary record of his life in Baltimore is that of his marriage to Frances Williams, a Quaker, on May 19, 1812. Directories of the 1820's indicate he was a dry goods dealer.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Baltimore County Court Dockets, March term 1810.

<sup>76</sup> Pleasants and Sill, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>77</sup> Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>78</sup> Philadelphia Board of Health, burial records, City Hall; Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-46.

<sup>79</sup> Lyons Collection, vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Henry J. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: 1894), p. 407; *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), April 14, 1830.

<sup>80</sup> Declarations of Aliens, 1816 to 1828, U. S. Circuit Court, Maryland, no. 825 (Washington National Records Center). One writer (Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 4) reported that Collmus arrived in Baltimore in 1798 as a lad of fifteen — presumably based on family legend. Another (Fein, *op. cit.*, p. 73) has given the date as 1800.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73, Baltimore marriage license card file, Maryland Hall of Records.

Perhaps the highlight of his life was his role in the Battle of North Point when Baltimore came under attack during the War of 1812. When he applied to the U. S. House of Representatives for a pension years later, Collmus stated he

was engaged in the battle near Baltimore which took place on the 12th day of September, 1814 . . . in defence of the city of Baltimore against the British army, which had advanced within a very short distance of the city. During said engagement, the exertions of the said Colmas, in the discharge of his duty as an artillerist, were extremely arduous and violent. . . . within three or four days thereafter, the disability, which has continued upon him ever since, made its appearance. . . ."<sup>82</sup>

Even though he had intermarried, Collmus was one of the electors of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in 1831 and he was treasurer of the United Hebrew Benevolent Society when that organization was formed in 1834. Collmus died in Baltimore March 30, 1856; according to an obituary his age was seventy-one years.<sup>83</sup>

#### THE 1810 CENSUS

By 1810 Baltimore's population had climbed to 46,555 (including the two "precincts" which were not formally annexed until 1816), approximately half the size of New York and Philadelphia.<sup>84</sup> The Jewish population, as ascertained by the census schedules, seems to have consisted of fifteen households, a very modest gain from the thirteen enumerated a decade earlier.

An interesting dichotomy very likely began to develop in the tiny Jewish community shortly before 1810, one that would ultimately prove to be of great significance. Despite its very small aggregate size the population appeared to be distinctly split between those of early American stock (pre-1790 origin) and the group of very recent immigrant origin. The division was not only along social and economic lines, but geographic as well. Table 2 shows that at the 1810 census the five new immigrant families all resided in Ward 7 (Fells Point) while none of the ten households containing "early Americans" lived in this ward.

Fells Point, which had developed independently of Baltimore,

<sup>82</sup> Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, 26th Congress, 2nd Session, 1840-41 (Washington), Report No. 77.

<sup>83</sup> Baltimore Land Records, book WG no. 216, folio 507; Fein, *op. cit.*, p. 73; *The Sun* (Baltimore), March 31, 1856. Collmus was buried in Greenmount Cemetery, a nonsectarian ground. His wife, who died in 1835, was reinterred there. Greenmount Cemetery Records.

<sup>84</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 381; J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States* (Washington: 1854), p. 192.

TABLE II  
 JEWISH HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN BALTIMORE:  
 CENSUSES OF 1790, 1800, AND 1810

Head of Household and Census Year	Number of Persons				
	White			Black	
	Total	Male	Female	Free	Slave
<i>1790 Census</i>					
Barnard Jacobs	5	2	3	-	-
Joseph Jacobs	3	1	2	-	-
Moses Jacobs	7	3	4	-	1
Benjamin Levy	3	1	2	-	1
Mr. Nathans	4	1	3	-	-
Isaac Solomon	7	3	4	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>
<i>1800 Census</i>					
Jacob Block	5	2	3	-	-
Mrs. Etting	17	12	5	1	2
Ruben Etting	6	4	2	3	-
Solomon Etting	13	5	8	-	3
Joseph Jacobs	7	4	3	1	-
Moses Jacobs	9	4	5	1	1
And <sup>w</sup> Levy	12	7	5	1	2
Hetty Levy	16	13	3	3	2
Isaac Mordica	5	2	3	1	-
Mordica Mordica	5	4	1	-	-
Elias Polock	9	3	6	-	1
Catherine Solomon	9	4	5	-	-
Levy Solomon	2	1	1	1	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>
<i>1810 Census</i>					
<i>Wards 1-6</i>					
J. I. Cohen	8	6	2	-	1
Meyer Dirkum	4	2	2	-	-
Moses Dirkum	3	1	2	-	1
Mrs. Etting	12	8	4	2	3
Solomon Etting	16	6	10	2	3
L. A. Levy	8	2	6	1	-
Mr. Levy	5	4	1	-	-
Elias Pollock	6	3	3	1	-
Philip Russell	13	7	6	-	1
L. Solomon	3	1	2	1	-
<i>Ward 7</i>					
Solomon Benjamin	3	2	1	-	-
Andrew Levi	4	2	2	-	-
Hart Levi	3	2	1	-	1
Jacob Moses	3	1	2	-	-
A. Schaer	7	5	2	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>

still retained its own character. William Dunlop, perhaps the most distinguished of America's early dramatists, who visited Baltimore in 1806 observed:

Fells Point is the place where the shipping lie and are built, and is of course the rendezvous of sailors and those that live by their vices. Though it is regularly laid out, it is with the exception of a few houses, a mass of wretchedness and infamy; yet through this medium flows the commercial wealth of Maryland and part of Virginia.<sup>85</sup>

Economic differentials are revealed in a crude way by the presence or absence of slaves or free blacks in the household. Among the Ward 7 households, in four out of the five no slaves or free blacks were present. On the other hand, slave or free black men and women lived in the homes of eight of the ten "early American" families. Occupation data, from the 1810 city directory, indicate a similar contrast. The four Fells Point residents with a calling specified were all pedlars. In the remainder of the city were merchants (two), a broker, a black ball manufacturer, a clothier, and proprietors of an iron store, a grocery, and a boarding house.

In effect then, there were two "communities": a largely native-born, propertied, well-assimilated group of owners of small to moderate size businesses; and a group of new immigrants, without capital, perhaps just above the poverty level, clustered in Fells Point. Apparently there was no common meeting ground for such disparate classes representing sharply different life styles. Only when one of these "communities" was both relatively numerous and sufficiently prosperous was a formally organized society of worship to come into being. This was not to take place for another two decades.

Although many had already moved on or passed away, by 1810 more than forty Jewish men had made their presence known in Baltimore (as shown in Table 1). Yet it would not be until more than double that figure had registered their presence that the first steps would be taken in the establishment of a congregation. Ironically, only one person among those chronicled here would be among the organizers.

<sup>85</sup> "Diary of William Dunlap," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1830*, LXIII (1930), 374-75.