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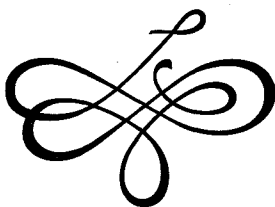
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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY:
THE COLONIAL AND EARLY
NATIONAL PERIODS, 1654-1840



Edited by Jeffrey S. Gurock

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Introduction to the Series

Jeffrey S. Gurock

Americans have been writing about the Jewish experience in this country for more than one hundred years. But, the academic examination of this minority group's saga in the United States did not really begin until the 1950s. Until that time, Jewish amateur historians were the primary chroniclers of American Jewish history. They wrote to extol Jewish achievements and to romanticize that people's affinity for the American way of life. Motivated by their desire to answer anti-Semitic critics who, beginning the 1880s, questioned the role Jews played in the rise of this country, these undaunted authors documented the antiquity of the Jewish presence on these shores and their consistent allegiance to all that was good in America. To prove their point beyond all reasonable doubt, these authors focused on the Colonial and Early National periods of American Jewish history (ca. 1654–1840) and attempted to cite all examples of Jewish presence in the thirteen colonies, every story of Jewish courage and heroism in defense of their adopted land, and each instance where Judaic teachings seemed to inform the great documents of American freedom. Sometimes, Gentile friends and neighbors helped them in their communal-directed labors. Together, these apologists did the job they set out to do. By the 1950s, no similar-size contingent of Jews had been as well chronicled as the 2,000 or so souls who made up the first Jewish communities in what became the United States.

Still, when professional, academically trained historians began to study the American Jewish experience some forty-five years ago, they recognized that for all of these amateurs' earnest efforts, work still needed to be done in the area of early American Jewish history. Their predecessors' spade work needed to be synthesized. Aspects of the Colonial experience that were intentionally ignored, like instances of Jewish loyalist allegiances, had to be examined. Issues that the discipline's founding writers overlooked, such as the problems that Jews faced in maintaining their identities in a country that accepted them, had to be scrutinized. In addressing these questions, writers since the 1950s have broadened the scope

of early American Jewish history. They have worked well in reusing the materials that were assembled early on.

However, the rewriting of the amateurs' work did not preoccupy those who upgraded this field. Rather, they have been largely concerned with describing and interpreting the other chronological periods and central historical themes that previously were accorded scant attention. For example, as late as the 1950s, only the general contours of the era of Central European migration and settlement (ca. 1840–1880) had been documented and analyzed. Much more needed to be known, for example, about the concert of forces that brought Jews to the United States from European homes and the variety of experiences that awaited the newcomers in this country. Similarly, American Jewry's earliest writers had little access to, or affinity for, the history of mass East European migration (ca. 1880–1920). They did not read the foreign languages of the new immigrants and were often insensitive to their travails and triumphs. But, since the 1950s, the story of those who came here during this period has interested more historians than any other time-frame in American Jewish history. The first generation of professionally trained historians and their students, some of whom were scions of East European Jewish stock, have examined closely why "Russian" Jews came to America, how they found homes and jobs and ultimately become entrepreneurs, consumers, and leaders in America even as they struggled to maintain their religious and ethnic identities.

In the last few decades, professional historians have also critically explored how Jews managed and matured as an American minority group after America in the early 1920s closed its gates to East European migration. Some of these amateur chroniclers lived through the so-called inter-war period. But they wrote little about their contemporary experiences. Fortunately, some of the first sociologists American Jewry produced did study the 1920s–1940s community. Academic historians built upon these ground-breaking works as they examined the processes of acculturation, identification, and the integration of second generation children of immigrants. In recent years, scholars have also begun to explore the assimilation patterns of post-war Jewry as the experience of third and fourth generation Jews—those who were born and grew to maturity between the 1950s and the 1970s—has begun to intrigue historians.

The fears of American Jewry's first historians that public discussion of anti-Semitism would injure the status of Jews in America deterred them from taking long, hard looks at the historical roots of prejudice and discrimination. Their Gentile friends and neighbors who dabbled in Jewish history also had no desire to speak about this blot on America's record. Similarly, the Jewish amateurs' apprehension that some unsympathetic Americans might misconstrue the story of Jewish

support for Zionism and accuse them of “dual loyalty” contributed to their reluctance to examine the course of the Jewish national movement in America. Today, the history of discrimination against Jews and the saga of Jewish and American interaction with Israel are but two of the more important aspects of the Jewish experience that attract professional historians anxious to compose a comprehensive picture of how they, and all other minority groups, have lived in this country. Thus, the course of Jewish inter-group relations, the instances of cooperation among minority and ethnic groups and more often, the occurrences of tensions, racism, and anti-Semitism that have separated Jews from their fellow Americans, have all been accorded significant scholarly consideration. Similarly, the role of Zionism and the State of Israel, both as a prime force in promoting Jewish identification and as a factor in American and Jewish political and diplomatic life, has also received intense scholarly scrutiny.

The history of Judaism in America, the story of how, from the seventeenth century on, different expressions of a traditional faith, transported from Europe, changed and survived under the conditions of freedom is another historical issue that has received, in recent decades, a lion’s share of scholarly attention. To be sure, American Jewry’s first chroniclers did display some interest in the story of Jewish religious life. But, their focus was narrow, limited to biographies of well-known rabbis and cantors and anecdotal histories of famous congregations. Contemporary historians look carefully both at congregational elites and lay constituents. They consider, among other themes, how congregants understood and acted upon the ideological and theological statements that their rabbis made. They also look closely at the confluence of American familial, cultural, economic and social realities that have brought Jews into, and separated them from, their synagogues and communities.

The understanding that American Jewish history is part of, and is informed by, a larger and more inclusive American social and ethnic history is implicit in all the professional work that has, since the 1950s, restructured and redefined this field. The amateur first writers of American Jewish history labored in almost complete isolation from students of other groups and from scholars of Jewish history. Today, avant-garde American Jewish historians display a keen awareness of new methodological approaches and historical perspectives that have become part of their general academic discipline. They ask the same types of questions that all other historians do and they look for comparable answers. To note just two prime examples:

Over the last twenty-five years, the use of quantification in the writing of American history has opened up additional scholarly vistas. Through the use of

census materials, business records, school registry lists, etc., it has often become possible to gain access to the lives of the poor and the inarticulate whose stories could not be documented otherwise. American Jewish historians have become attuned to these techniques and typically have used these once-unconventional sources to chart the rise of the German Jewish peddler-businessmen, to compare immigrant Jewish mobility within different turn-of-the century communities, or even to determine the socio-economic status of members of congregations who, in the nineteenth century, debated whether their synagogue should retain or reform their religious rituals.

The stories of American women have also found their proper historical place over the past several decades. American Jewish history has followed suit and, arguably, some of the best new works have retold the immigrant saga through the lens of the female experience. Equally important, studies of American Judaism increasingly have become concerned with the position of women within the synagogue and religious society, a reflection in part of contemporary developments within the late twentieth century Jewish community itself.

Finally, when American Jewish history has been written in recent years, its best authors have been sensitive to indicate how individual experiences here and group developments in this New World compare to Jewish history elsewhere in the modern world. For example, studies of American Zionism or of anti-Semitism in this country or of religious life in the United States are now carefully placed against the backdrop of modern Jewish history of which they clearly are a part.

This thirteen-volume series brings together 211 of the best articles written by professional historians over the past forty years in American Jewish history. These are among the pathbreaking, insightful studies that did the job of transforming this field from a bastion of apologetics to a respected academic discipline. Together these volumes make conveniently available the essential articles that inform all contemporary interpretations of American Jewish history.

Readers will immediately note that nine of the thirteen volumes in this series focus on but four themes and periods in American Jewish history. That is because most of the best work that has been published since the 1950s has been in the specific areas of American Judaism, the saga of East European migration and settlement and anti-Semitism—including the troubled history of America and American Jewry during the period of Nazism and the Holocaust. These are the fields where American Jewish historians have most often utilized the newest methodological approaches, shown sensitivity to what colleagues were doing in cognate fields of American immigration and ethnic history, and dealt most often with the issues that have concerned students of modern Jewish history.

The remaining four volumes include the most important articles on the Colonial and Early National periods, the era of Central European migration, American Zionism, and the economic fate and social status of inter-war and post-World War II Jewry. Here, too, new methodologies and perspectives abound as the story of the early periods has been rewritten, as the evolution of Jewish nationalism as a force in the life of Americans and Jews has been explicated, and as the history of our own contemporary era has begun to be told.

Finally, readers should be aware that even in a compendium as large as this, difficult choices had to be made about what to include. I chose those studies that told the story of American Jewry well while effectively relating its history to that of other Americans or to Jews worldwide. In addition, in organizing my 211 choices into series volumes, I decided to group articles dealing with religion, anti-Semitism, and Zionism into their own volumes, even if a particular article in these three fields dealt with a narrow chronological period. This was done in appreciation of the breadth of work being done within these major genres of American Jewish historiography.

A reader who works assiduously through these thirteen volumes, guided by this general introduction and the prefaces to each of the eight titles, will emerge with a clear understanding of the central themes, periods, and historical questions that define and inform American Jewish history today. The student will, likewise, gain a sense of the quality of the writing and the interest of the major writers who have brought coherence and an ever broadening scope to this still relatively young academic discipline.

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Preface

Jeffrey S. Gurock

The apologists and filiopietists who, until the 1950s, wrote American Jewish history bequeathed an unbalanced and myopic vision of the Colonial and Early National periods (ca. 1654–1840). They were concerned with proving the antiquity of Jewish presence in this country and with chronicling the Jews' legacy of service to the nation. Thus, they wrote extensively about colonial first settlers, were sure to document the Jewish military record on the side of the revolutionary forces, and were proud to note that this tradition of unblemished patriotism continued in all subsequent American wars. (This volume opens with a portion of Simon Wolf's encyclopedic record of Jewish patriotism to give readers an illustration of how American Jewish history was once written.) They ignored evidence of Jewish support for the British side and/or disinterest in the entire struggle for independence. More importantly, they did not explore conceptually the processes and implications of American Jewish emancipation that created an uncommon Jewish status in this country and a unique communal existence. Still, the groundbreaking labors of these early, amateur historians should not be gainsaid completely. Their documentary discoveries are of inestimable value. Indeed, contemporary scholars often rely on the sources they accumulated for essential primary information even as these modern writers have explored, among other central issues, what freedom meant to the American Jew and have delineated the fundamental familial, demographic and socio-economic patterns of early America Jewry.

Take, for example, how the War for Independence is now understood as an episode in the evolution of American Jewish life and freedom. To be sure, the second selection in this volume by British historian Cecil Roth, written at the very dawn of the professionalization of American Jewish history, was an important corrective to the long-held notion that there were no Tory sentiments harbored by Jewish colonialists. Of greater importance are works like Richard Morris' and Jonathan Sarna's. The former looks at both Tory and Whig attitudes among Colonial Jews, takes a dispassionate view of Jewish participation in the military, and looks at the role Jews played as catalysts for the improvement of rights for

themselves and other religious dissenters. The latter study documents Jewish geographical dislocation even as it points out the improvement in Jewish economic and legal status that took place during the Revolutionary period.

Stanley Chyet's article that follows looks directly at the emancipation process state by state and discerns official government attitudes towards Jews and other dissenters. Edward Eitches' work is the most comprehensive examination of an American emancipation struggle that took place in Maryland.

Of course, much of the credit for the reorientation and rewriting of Colonial Jewish history—and of American Jewish history generally—must be given to Jacob Rader Marcus. The next selection, one of his early contributions, synthesizes extant materials and uses his own discoveries to detail the history of Connecticut Jews. The three articles that follow by Marcus' student, Malcolm Stern, and by Leo Hershkowitz, an expert on sources on early New York Jewry, examine colonial legislation and utilize court records, wills, and inventories and other genealogical sources to construct a sophisticated profile of Asser Levy, arguably the most famous seventeenth-century Jew in New York, and for examining Jewish merchant life in that port city through the early nineteenth century. Doris Groshen Daniel's work effectively pulls together much previously uncovered data to forge a coherent picture of the social history of the early New York Jewish community.

Sheldon Hanft's study of a Southern private school for girls that was established and run by an innovative Jewish educator demonstrates how the story of a Jewish contribution to this country's culture and society can be cogently and dispassionately written. (Interestingly enough, some ninety years earlier, a filio-pietistic account of Mordecai's Academy had been written by the founder's grandson.) Shalom Goldman adds a modern scholarly perspective to the oft-noted role Hebrew played in the academic life of this country's first schools of higher education.

The basic contours of Jewish life in the United States from the 1790s through the first decades of the nineteenth century are examined in Ira Rosenswaike's demographic study and Malcolm Stern's descriptive overview of the community's history in the 1820s. These works are effectively complemented by Robert Swierenga's and Jacob Neusner's works which highlight the contributions of the two sub-ethnic groups, the Dutch and English Jews, that predominated in this country before the arrival of masses of Central European Jews in the 1830s and 1840s.

AMERICAN
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American Jewish History,
1654–1840

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THE AMERICAN JEW AS SOLDIER AND PATRIOT.

By HON. SIMON WOLF, *Washington, D. C.*

For some years I have been engaged in the collection of materials for the preparation of a work principally designed to show what part was taken by American Jews during the Civil War. This work is now approaching completion, and it affords me great satisfaction to be able to lay some of the results attained before this society.

Whether the task would have been undertaken had I foreseen its almost insurmountable difficulties I am not prepared to say, for the farther the work advanced the more numerous were the obstacles.

From some States I am grieved to say I was not able to get any information; from others, so little as to be really painful on account of its being so insignificant and so far below the undoubted facts. From some States the information, if not quite up to the mark, is rather gratifying. My sincere thanks are due to my friends in the Southern States for full and complete reports received.

Virginia furnished 113 men, of whom 15 were wounded and 2 died in captivity, a total loss of over 25 per cent.

The list of North Carolina gives 52 men, of whom 3 were wounded and killed, 2 captured, 8 died from wounds at Elmira, N. Y., making a loss of 33 per cent.

South Carolina furnished 177 soldiers, of whom 20 were wounded, 29 killed and 5 captured, suffering a loss of over 30 per cent.

Tennessee furnished 38 men, of whom 3 were wounded, 7 killed and 2 died in captivity, a loss of almost 32 per cent.

I have at this date 7243 men on my list; but over 1600 names cannot be properly classified as to State, regiment, and period of service.

On the 12th day of July, 1862, President Lincoln gave his approval to an act of Congress authorizing the President to cause to be prepared 2000 "medals of honor," to be presented to such non-commissioned officers and privates as shall most distinguish themselves by their gallantry in action and other soldier-like qualities during the present insurrection.

I am not prepared to say how many soldiers of the Jewish faith were honored by such medals, but I can mention seven who have come under my notice.

First, Leopold Karpeles, color-sergeant of the 57th Massachusetts Infantry, at the battle of North Anna proved his ability to defend the flag under a terrific fire from the enemy. Although seriously wounded he held the colors aloft until weakness from loss of blood forced him to give them to a comrade. Sergeant Karpeles has high testimonials from his superior officers for bravery, daring and discipline, and is at present a clerk in the General Post-office Department.

Second, Benjamin B. Levy enlisted at the age of 16 as a drummer-boy in the 1st New York Volunteers. While his regiment was stationed at Newport News he was detailed as orderly for General Mansfield. While he was carrying dispatches on board the steamer "Express" to General Wool at Fortress Monroe, the steamboat was attacked by the Confederate gunboat "Seabird"; the steamboat with all on board was in imminent danger of capture, when young Levy saved the steamer by cutting loose a water-schooner they had in tow. For his prompt action Levy was highly complimented by Generals Mansfield and Wool.

At Charles City Cross Roads he saved two of the colors of his regiment from capture, for which act he was promoted on the field by General Kearney to color-sergeant of his regiment.

At the expiration of his term he re-enlisted in the 40th New York (Mozart) regiment and was seriously wounded at

the battle of the Wilderness. He was appointed by President Lincoln to the New York Custom House.

Third, Sergeant-major and Adjutant Abraham Cohn enlisted as private in the 6th New Hampshire Infantry. For distinguished services he was promoted step by step to the post of Adjutant. He served until the close of the war.

Adjutant Cohn received the medal of honor from the Assistant Adjutant General's office, and he was subsequently the recipient of the following highly gratifying communication:

“ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON,
August 14, 1879.

3

The medal mentioned within was given for conspicuous gallantry displayed in the battle of the Wilderness, in rallying and forming, under heavy fire, disorganized troops; also for bravery and coolness in carrying orders to the advance lines under murderous fire in the battle of the Mine, July 30, 1864.

(Signed)

S. N. BENJAMIN,
Assistant Adjutant General.”

Adjutant Cohn has the most gratifying testimonials from his superior officers. Before enlisting in the 6th New Hampshire he had served in the 68th New York as private and rose gradually to be Captain. Owing to sickness he was honorably discharged, being then, in the opinion of the surgeons, unfit for further duty. Notwithstanding his discharge as Captain, when again strong and able he enlisted as private in the 6th New Hampshire and rose to the post of Adjutant.

Fourth, David Orbanski, of the 58th Ohio Infantry, received the medal of honor for distinguished bravery and coolness under heavy fire at Shiloh, Tenn., and at Vicksburg, Miss.

Fifth, Henry Heller, of Company A, 66th Ohio Infantry, earned the medal of honor for daring bravery at Chancellorsville.

Sixth, Abraham Grunwalt, of Company G, 104th Ohio Infantry, earned his medal of honor at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864, in the capture of corps headquarters' flag.

Seventh, Corporal Isaac Gans, of the 2d Ohio Cavalry, for bravery displayed on the battlefield was appointed escort to a stand of colors captured by the Third Division.

One of the most gratifying facts developed in our Civil War is the spontaneous and cheerful manner with which our citizens of Hebrew faith entered their country's service in the hour of its need. In many families all the male members able to bear arms were enrolled into the army. My list of these may not be complete, but I am able to give the names of the following families which furnished three or more men to either army:

Three brothers from Arkansas: Peter Cohen, Jack Cohen and Pool Cohen.

Six brothers from North Carolina: Aaron Cohen, Jacob H. Cohen, Julius Cohen, Edward Cohen, Gustavus A. Cohen, Henry M. Cohen.

Three brothers from Pennsylvania: Lion L. Emanuel, Louis M. Emanuel, Jonathan Emanuel.

Three brothers from New York: Abraham Feder, Henry Feder, Adolph Feder.

Three brothers from Georgia and South Carolina: Isaac A. Goldsmith, A. A. Goldsmith, M. M. Goldsmith.

Three brothers from Mississippi: Chs. H. Jonas, Julian Jonas, S. A. Jonas.

Three brothers from Ohio: Herman Koch, Moses Koch, Joseph Koch.

Three brothers from Virginia: Leopold Levy, Solomon Levy, Sampson Levy.

A father and three sons from New York: Simon Levy, Albert Levy, Ferdinand Levy, Benjamin C. Levy.

Three brothers from Louisiana: Eugene H. Levy, Julius H. Levy, Joseph C. Levy.

Five brothers from South Carolina: Percy Moses, Jr.,

Joshua L. Moses. Horace Moses. J. Harby Moses, A. Jackson Moses.

A father and three sons from Georgia: Raphael I. Moses, Raphael I. Moses, Jr., Israel N. Moses, A. L. Moses.

Three brothers from Alabama: Mordecai Moses, Henry C. Moses, Alfred Moses.

Five brothers from New York: Leopold Wenk, August Wenk, Joseph Wenk, Julius Wenk. Aaron Wenk. 51 Soldiers from 14 families.

During the progress of the Civil War our government sent part of the Confederate prisoners to Elmira, N. Y., until exchanged. There can be no doubt that there were a great many Hebrews among them, for the following names of twenty-five Confederate soldiers of the Hebrew faith occur who sleep their last sleep in the Woodlawn Cemetery at Elmira:

L. Daniels, Company B, 15th South Carolina Cavalry.

Joel Cook, Company K, 63d Tennessee Infantry.

Levi Southan, Company A, 28th North Carolina Infantry.

Edward Harris, Company G, 36th North Carolina Infantry.

James P. Altman, Company A, 21st South Carolina Infantry.

Sergeant J. Sellers, Company G, 36th North Carolina Infantry.

Elisha Harris, Company C, Cobb's Legion.

Henry Goodman, Company G, 26th North Carolina Infantry.

W. Morris, Company C, Georgia Battery.

D. Wolf, Company G, 25th South Carolina Infantry.

I. M. Pinner, Company E, 3d North Carolina Infantry.

Benjamin Davis, Company B, 6th Virginia Infantry.

Jesse Simons, Company C, 20th North Carolina Infantry.

I. Israel, Company D, 60th Alabama Infantry.

Daniel Jonas, Company D, 1st North Carolina Infantry.

Benjamin Bass, Company H, 45th North Carolina Infantry.

Joseph Harrison, Company A, 1st Alabama Infantry.

Nathan Altman, Company G, 40th North Carolina Infantry.

Henry Daniel, Company F, 10th North Carolina Infantry.
 Jacob Eberhart, Company G, 7th Georgia Cavalry.
 J. Israel, Company E, 51st North Carolina Infantry.
 Moses Simmons, Company G, 20th North Carolina Infantry.
 Joseph Newman, Company K, 20th Virginia Infantry.
 David Lewis, Company C, 22d North Carolina Infantry.
 M. Daniel, Company A, 1st Florida Infantry.

The following Jewish soldiers are interred at the Jewish burying-ground in Richmond, Virginia:

Henry Adler, 14th Virginia Infantry.
 Jacob A. Cohen, 15th Louisiana Infantry.
 Benjamin Davis, 6th Virginia Infantry.
 Corporal Gus. Eiseman, 12th Mississippi Infantry.
 F. Folz, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
 Gustavus Kann, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
 Lieutenant L. S. Lippman, 5th Louisiana Infantry.
 Moses Levy, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
 Captain M. Marcus, 15th Georgia Infantry.
 Aaron Meyer, 1st North Carolina Infantry.
 S. Oury, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
 A. Robinson, 15th Georgia Infantry.
 Jonathan Scheuer, Donaldson Artillery, Louisiana.
 Lieutenant Isaac Seldner, 6th Virginia Infantry.
 B. Wolfe, 1st North Carolina Infantry.
 Lieutenant W. M. Wolfe, 25th Virginia Infantry.
 Julius Zark, 7th Louisiana Infantry.

I will now give brief biographies of a few of the Jewish officers of the Civil War.

Brigadier General Edward S. Solomon joined the 24th Illinois Infantry as second lieutenant, participating in the battles of Frederickton and Mumfordsville, Ky. His gallantry in action and general proficiency in tactics were the cause of successive promotions, till, in 1862, Lieutenant Solomon was gazetted major of the regiment. Owing to disagreement among the officers of the command of Colonel Hecker, Major Solomon and other officers resigned and

organized another regiment under the official designation of the 82d Illinois Infantry, of which Major Solomon ultimately became colonel. As a member of the 11th Army Corps under General Howard, he participated in the campaign of which the actions at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg were salient features. He also took part in the battles around Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge; in fact, he fought throughout all the campaign in the Southwest, and was ultimately breveted to the rank of Brigadier General.

President Grant appointed General Solomon to the Governorship of Washington Territory, which position he held for four years, to the satisfaction of the citizens and to the increased industrial prosperity of the Northwest.

The following are some testimonials from superior officers:

“HEADQUARTERS 3D DIVISION, *Aug. 20, 1863.*

Major General HOWARD, *Commanding 11th Corps.*

General:—On the part taken by my division in the actions of July 2d and 3d at Gettysburg I have the honor to submit the following report:

One of the five regiments of the 1st Brigade, the 74th Pennsylvania, was left with General Ames to strengthen his right wing; the remaining four were directed towards a strip of wood on the right of the division in which the firing had become heavy, and where, according to some staff officers of the First Corps, immediate aid was needed. Two regiments, the 157th New York and the 61st Ohio, were guided by one of their officers, while the other two, the 82d Illinois and the 45th New York, were led by my Chief of Staff, Lieutenant Colonel Otto, of the 50th New York.

It had meanwhile become quite dark, the direction of the fight being indicated by nothing but the sound of musketry. The regiments had entered the woods with the greatest determination and drove the enemy from our rifle pits.

It is my pleasant duty to mention as especially deserving, the names of Lieutenant Colonel Otto, who superintended this operation with great judgment and courage, and Lieutenant Colonel Solomon, of the 82d Illinois, who displayed the highest order of coolness and determination under very trying circumstances.

I am, General, very respectfully yours,
(Signed) C. SCHURZ, *Maj. Gen. commanding Division.*"

"HEADQUARTERS 3D BRIGADE, 1ST DIVISION,
20TH ARMY CORPS,

NEAR KENESAW MOUNTAIN, GA., *June 26th, 1864.*

ALLEN FULLER, *Adjutant General, State of Illinois.*

Sir:—I have the honor to respectfully request that you issue a colonel's commission to Lieut. Colonel Edward S. Solomon, commanding the 82d Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, belonging to this brigade. I take pleasure in saying that it is my sincere belief that Lieutenant Colonel Solomon fully deserves this favor, not only by his inherent ability and merit as an officer, but more particularly by the gallantry and efficiency he has displayed during this campaign. The regiment he commands is his best recommendation, it being soldierly, gallant, and thoroughly disciplined. It will be accepted as a personal favor if you will make special effort to obtain the approval of Lieutenant Colonel Solomon's commission as colonel, and his muster as such by the War Department.

Respectfully your obdt. servant,

J. T. ROBINSON, *Colonel commanding,
3d Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Army Corps.*"

"HEADQUARTERS 1ST DIVISION, TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS,
June 25th, 1864.

Respectfully forwarded, heartily concurring in the within recommendation.

(Signed)

A. S. WILLIAMS,
Brig. Gen. Commanding Division."

HEADQUARTERS 20TH CORPS, *June 28th, 1864.*

Respectfully forwarded. I fully concur in the within recommendation. Lieut. Colonel Solomon has won the good opinion of all his comrades by his great gallantry and good conduct, and it will be but a just and grateful appreciation of his services to confer the preferment upon him.

(Signed)

JOSEPH HOOKER,
Major General Commanding."

" HEADQUARTERS 3D BRIGADE, 1ST DIVISION,

20TH ARMY CORPS, GOLDSBORO, N. C., *April 2, 1865.*

HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

Sir:—I have the honor to recommend and earnestly request the appointment of Colonel Edward S. Solomon, of the 82d Regiment Illinois Volunteers, as Brevet Brigadier General, for gallant and meritorious services.

Colonel Solomon joined this brigade with his regiment at the opening of the campaign against Atlanta in the spring of 1864. During the fighting before Resaca, Ga., on the 14th and 15th of May, this regiment behaved with great gallantry.

Again at New Hope, Ga., on the 25th of the same month, Colonel Solomon led his command with admirable coolness and courage against the enemy; after having advanced under a severe fire of musketry and artillery more than a mile, he held his line close to the entrenched position of the enemy, without a breastwork, and with a scanty supply of ammunition.

At the battle near Peach Tree Creek before Atlanta, Ga., on the 20th of July, 1864, Colonel Solomon performed a most gallant and meritorious part in repulsing the repeated onslaughts made by the enemy. In the face of a furious raking fire he held his line for four hours, when the enemy withdrew from his front with great loss.

During the siege of Atlanta Colonel Solomon was ever prominent for his energy, coolness and judgment.

In the fight near Averysboro, North Carolina, on the 16th of March, 1865, Col. Solomon, as usual, led his regiment into action with great gallantry and skill.

At the battle near Bentonville, on the 19th of March, 1865, Col. Solomon and his command drew the unqualified admiration of all who witnessed their coolness and discipline under fire, and their effectual service in repulsing several determined attacks of the enemy.

Colonel Solomon has distinguished himself in other engagements besides those which have been mentioned. At Gettysburg and Missionary Ridge his gallantry was conspicuous and challenged the highest admiration.

I consider Col. Solomon one of the most deserving officers. His regiment is his highest praise. In point of drill and discipline it is second to none in this corps. Its record will bear safe comparison with any other of the same age in the army.

Colonel Solomon has had a commission as Colonel since April, 1864, but his regiment not containing the requisite number of men, he has been unable to get mustered.

Earnestly hoping that his claims will meet your favorable attention, I remain, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

J. S. ROBINSON,

Brig. General U. S. A., Commanding 3d Brigade, 1st Division, 20th Army Corps."

"HEADQUARTERS TWENTIETH CORPS,

GOLDSBORO, April 2, 1865.

I cordially concur in the recommendation of General Robinson. The officer (Col. Solomon) has just merits. He is intelligent, gallant, brave and faithful. I have had several occasions to mark his distinguished merit. There can be no promotion more deserved.

A. S. WILLIAMS,

Brevet Maj. Gen. Commanding."

“WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *June 15, 1865.*

Sir:—You are hereby informed that the President of the United States has appointed you for distinguished gallantry and meritorious service during the war, a Brigadier General of Volunteers by Brevet, in the service of the United States, to rank as such from the 13th day of March, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five. Should the Senate at their next session advise and consent thereto, you will be commissioned accordingly.

(Signed) EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

To Brev. Brig. Gen. Edward S. Solomon, U. S. Vols.”

What was thought of General Solomon and his administration as Governor of the people of Washington Territory is best explained by quoting the following article from the *Pacific Tribune*, published at the time he resigned his office of Governor:

“*Resignation of Governor Solomon.*—The acceptance of Governor Solomon’s resignation by the President is universally regretted. He was honest, fearless and capable. He mingled freely with the people, identified himself with their interests and generously expended his time and means to bring hither population and to promote our material interests. He has established a reputation in the office which will make his administration a source of pride to his fellow-citizens, and he carries into his retirement the consolation that the good and true of all parties regard it fortunate that he should have been called to preside over our destinies. We speak the sentiment of our people when we express unfeigned regret that he felt it his duty to resign this office. His official acts are his best rewards. They have all met with the heartiest commendation of our people.

A thorough and consistent American, baptized in the fire of battle when gallantly sustaining the flag, he has always been true and steadfast to the principles of the Union, of which he is so distinguished a member. While ever ready

with purse, pen or tongue to maintain his principles, he was singularly free from partisan bigotry in the exercise of official functions. He governed the Territory. Party behests never made him swerve from official integrity or duty to the whole people. How proudly can he look to this episode of his life! He governed well. He satisfied all, for the welfare of the whole was constantly in his eye; he was true to the position he so happily filled.

But his successor is soon to come among us. We are ready to accord to the new Executive a cordial welcome. We can wish him, however, no higher or better aspiration than that he may prove worthy to be the successor of one who so faithfully and well performed all his duties as Edward S. Solomon."

Gen. Carl Schurz, speaking to the writer of Solomon, said, "He was the only soldier at Gettysburg who did not dodge when Lee's guns thundered; he stood up, smoked his cigar and faced the cannon balls with the *sang froid* of a Saladin."

Colonel Marcus M. Spiegel enlisted in the 67th Ohio Infantry; was soon promoted to 2d Lieutenant, Captain, Lieutenant Colonel, and for bravery manifested on the battlefield was appointed Colonel of the 120th Ohio Infantry. This brave officer was wounded at Jackson, Miss., and killed at the head of his regiment at Snaggy Point on the Red River. But for his untimely death Colonel Spiegel would have been promoted to Brigadier General, for which position he had been recommended by his superior officers. Colonel Spiegel was the son of a well known Rabbi of Oppenheim on the Rhine.

Captain Joseph B. Greenhut enlisted as a private at Chicago, April, 1861, in the 12th Illinois Infantry, being the second man on the enrollment list of those who enlisted at Chicago for the war. He was promoted to sergeant, August, 1861; was with the 12th Illinois through all the campaigns under General Grant in Kentucky and Tennessee up to and

including the battle of Fort Donelson, in which battle, while storming and just before the surrender of the fort, he was seriously wounded; this necessitated his retirement from the regiment shortly thereafter. When restored to health he was appointed Captain of Company K, 82d Illinois Infantry, in which regiment he passed through the various campaigns in Virginia, under Generals Burnside, Hooker and Meade, participating at the memorable battle of Gettysburg, July 1, 2 and 3, 1863; he was transferred to the staff of Brigade Commander Hecker, as Adjutant General of the brigade.

When Captain Greenhut retired from the brigade, Colonel McGroarty issued the following general order:

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“HEADQUARTERS 3D BRIGADE, 3D DIVISION,
11TH CORPS, WHITESIDES, TENN., *February 28th, 1864.*
General Order No. 9.

Captain Joseph B. Greenhut, of the 82d Regiment Illinois Volunteers, having tendered his resignation, is, in pursuance of special order No. 55, Headquarters Department of the Cumberland, Feb. 24, 1864, relieved from duty as Assistant Adjutant General of this brigade, and Lieutenant Rudolph Muller is announced as his successor. In parting with Captain Greenhut, the Colonel commanding feels it both a duty and a pleasure to bear testimony to his diligence, zeal and fidelity in the performance of his duty in the office as well as in the field, and he regrets to see so excellent and brave an officer as Captain Greenhut leave his command.

Matters of important character only could induce Captain Greenhut to leave the army in which he served three years, taking active part in all the most decisive battles East and West.

To be read on dress parade to the troops to-day.

By order of COLONEL MCGROARTY,

Commanding Brigade and Post.

RUDOLPH MULLER, *Lieut. and A. A. A. General.*”

General Greenhut is now an honored citizen of Peoria, Illinois.

General David De Leon was born in South Carolina in 1822. He was the first Surgeon General of the Confederate army. In the Mexican War he twice took the places of commanding officers who had been killed or disabled by wounds. He acted with such gallantry and ability as to twice receive the thanks of the United States Congress. In February, 1861, he resigned his rank as Surgeon and Major in the United States army and was appointed Surgeon General of the armies of the Confederacy.

14 Lieutenant Colonel Leopold C. Newman was mustered in service as Captain of Company B, 31st New York Volunteers. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His term of service expiring a few days prior to the battle of Chancellorsville, he expressed the desire to remain at the front, and during that terrible struggle his foot was shattered by a cannon-ball; he was taken to Washington, where he died shortly after. President Lincoln called upon him, bringing his promotion to the rank of Brigadier General.

During the draft riots at New York City General William Mayer did heroic service, for which he received an autograph letter from President Lincoln, thanking him for the eminent services to our country during those days of darkness, doubt and gloom. General Mayer is living in New York City, the editor of leading German newspapers.

Captain Ullman, of Company E, 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry, was noted for his bravery. He served throughout the Civil War; he was also engaged in the war with the Sioux Indians in 1876, and was one of those in the command of General Custer on that fatal day in June when the entire command was surrounded by the Indians and slaughtered.

William Durst, of the "Monitor," is one of the few survivors of that memorable fight between the Monitor and

the Merrimack. Admiral Worden once said to the writer that Durst was not only a brave, fearless and patriotic man, but eminently worthy to be recognized by some action on the part of Congress.

Brevet Major General Frederick Knefler, 79th, Indiana Regiment, attained the highest rank of any American Hebrew soldier. He enlisted as a private in the 29th Indiana Volunteers and rose step by step until he was promoted to the colonelcy of his regiment; subsequently he was Brigadier General, and then was made Brevet Major General for meritorious conduct at Chickamauga. He participated in the principal battles of the Army of the Cumberland under Generals Rosecrans, Thomas, Sherman and Grant, and took part in the engagements under Sherman in the march to the sea. General Knefler has the reputation of having been one of the most gallant of soldiers.

15

Major Alexander Wetzel, Company B, 26th Wisconsin Infantry, enlisted as a private in the 20th Wisconsin Volunteers; was promoted to Corporal, Sergeant and to Major for bravery at Chancellorsville. He was mortally wounded at Gettysburg.

Captain Daniel Mayer, of the 5th West Virginia Infantry, received the following complimentary communication:

“STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA, ADJUTANT GENERAL’S OFFICE,
WHEELING, *May 30, 1866.*

Doctor DANIEL MAYER, Charleston, West Va.

Sir:—I am directed by his Excellency, the Governor, to present to you the enclosed medal, in accordance with a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of West Virginia, adopted February 1, 1866, as a slight testimonial of the high appreciation by the State of your devotion, patriotism and services in suppressing the late rebellion.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant.

J. H. DUVAL, *Adjutant General.*”

Charles Hayman fought in the 4th Georgia Infantry, Company D. General Phil. Cook introduced comrade Charles Hayman to General Gordon at the reunion of the old brigade, with the words, "General, this was one of the bravest in my brigade."

Lieutenant Albert Luria Moses, at the age of 19, enlisted in a North Carolina regiment. He was soon appointed Lieutenant. He was killed at the battle of Seven Pines in June, 1862, while rallying his company, having seized the colors falling from the hands of the dying color-bearer. An incident of this brave officer is worth recording. At the engagement of Sewell's Point, in May, 1861, an eight-inch shell, with fuse still burning, fell into the company's gun-pit, and young Albert, without a moment's hesitation, seized it in his arms and put it in a tub of water, quenched the fuse and thus saved his own and his comrades' lives. The company, in recognition of his heroism, had the shell engraved with the history of the incident, and adding the words, "The pride of his regiment, the bravest of the brave," sent it to his parents. It now stands upon a pillar over his grave at the "Esquiline," near Columbus, Ga., as a fitting monument.

16

Lieutenant Henry Seeligson, of Galveston, Texas, was appointed 1st Lieutenant of the Galveston Cadets when the Mexican invasion of Galveston was threatened. In the Mexican War of 1846 he enlisted in Captain McLean's company, and subsequently volunteered in Captain Bell's regiment, then under orders to join the command of General Taylor, en route for Monterey. Seeligson bore so conspicuous a part in the battle that he was sent for by General Taylor and highly complimented, being offered a lieutenantancy in the 2d Dragoons.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Confederate army, joining the cavalry company commanded by Captain Woodward.

Doctor Marx E. Cohen, Jr., of Charleston, S. C., was one of the heroes of the Civil War. He enlisted at the age of twenty-one. Towards the close of the last battle of the war, at Bentonville, N. C., some shells containing explosive material were thrown into the Confederate lines from the guns of the Union forces. The captain of Hart's Battery called for volunteers to hurl them aside before they should burst and cause destruction to the command. Three men volunteered to undertake so dangerous a task, Dr. Cohen being one of the three. He and his companions were successful, but while returning to their own lines all three were shot dead by Federal bullets.

17

General Leopold Blumenberg fought in the 5th Maryland Infantry. After the attack on Fort Sumter he helped to organize the 5th Regiment Maryland Volunteers, of which he was appointed Major. He served near Hampton Roads, after which he was attached to Mansfield's Corps and participated in the Peninsular campaign, and subsequently in Maryland, where his regiment was engaged in the battle of Antietam, under his command as "Colonel." Here he was shot in the thigh and confined to his bed for many months. Being disabled for further military duty, President Lincoln appointed him Provost Marshal of the 3d Maryland District. President Johnson subsequently promoted him to the rank of Brevet Brigadier General U. S. Volunteers.

It may not prove inappropriate to mention here the remarks made by Wm. P. Wood, Esq., one of Washington's best known citizens, with reference to the late General Blumenberg, in a communication to the writer:

"I was intimate with General Leopold Blumenberg, who commanded in person the 5th Regiment Maryland Volunteers. You and others of his friends are familiar with the deserved encomiums passed upon that gallant and kind-hearted American Jew, who received the terrible wound in leading his regiment on the battlefield of Antietam, and of

which would he died after having served in several important positions in Baltimore.

Yours truly,

(Signed)

WILLIAM P. WOOD."

The following is a table, by States, of the Jewish soldiers who served in the Civil War:

	States.	Soldiers.	Wounded.	Killed.	Captured.	Died in Prison.
18	Alabama	132	9	12	2	..
	Arkansas	53	..	1	..	..
	United States Army.....	135	2	4	1	..
	Confederate States Army	9	..	..	..	..
	Connecticut	17	..	..	..	..
	California	28	..	..	..	..
	District of Columbia.....	3	..	..	..	..
	Georgia	137	11	15	4	..
	Iowa	12	1	1	..	..
	Indiana	512	7	12	2	..
	Illinois	1076	43	56	..	..
	Kansas	9	3	1	..	..
	Kentucky	22	2	..	..	..
	Louisiana	224	10	21	5	..
	Maryland	7	2	..	..	..
	Missouri	239	7	7	..	..
	Massachusetts	17	2	..	..	..
	Michigan	210	..	22	..	..
	Mississippi	156	5	12	1	..
	Maine	1	..	..	..	..
	North Carolina.....	52	4	3	8	2
	New Jersey.....	18	..	1	1	..
	New Mexico.....	2	..	1	..	..
	New York	1882	26	29	8	..
	United States Navy.....	76	2	2	..	..

States.	Soldiers.	Wounded.	Killed.	Captured.	Died in Prison.
Confederate States Navy.	11	..	..	..	..
Nevada	3	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire.....	2	1	..	..	..
Ohio	1134	16	52	..	..
Pennsylvania	528	54	19	11	..
Rhode Island.....	4	..	..	..	..
Revolutionary War.....	40	..	..	..	..
South Carolina.....	117	20	29	5	..
United States Staff.....	16	..	..	..	..
Confederate States Staff..	14	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	38	3	7	1	1
Texas	104	15	13	2	..
Vermont	1	..	..	..	..
Virginia	113	15	12	2	..
West Virginia.....	7	1	..	..	..
Wisconsin	20	3	4	..	..
Washington Territory....	1	..	..	..	..
Wyoming Territory.....	1	..	..	..	..
Soldiers					7243
Wounded					316
Killed					336
Captured					53
Died in prison.....					17

19

To this are added brief sketches of a few Hebrews who served in the earlier wars of the United States:

Major Lewis Bush became 1st Lieutenant of the 6th Pennsylvania Battalion in January, 1776, and Captain the following June. He was transferred to Colonel Thomas Hartley's additional Continental regiment January, 1777, and was commissioned Major in March, 1777. That he

proved a brave soldier his active part in a number of battles affords complete evidence. At the battle of Brandywine in September, 1777, he received wounds of so serious a character as to prove fatal a few days after.

Major Alfred Mordecai was one of the recognized authorities in the military world in the field of scientific research and in practical application of mechanical deduction to war purposes. He served in the Mexican War, and was sent by our Government to witness and report upon the operations in the Crimea. Major Mordecai was the author of "Experiments on Gunpowder" and other works.

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Commodore Uriah Phillips Levy, one of the best known American naval officers of former days, was at the time of his death the highest ranking officer in the United States Navy. He served in the war of 1812, being the master of the brig of war Argus, which ran the blockade to France, with Mr. Crawford, the American minister to that country, on board. The Argus destroyed twenty-one British merchantmen. In recognition of his valuable services to the nation the Common Council of New York City honored him with the freedom of the city. Commodore Levy vigorously opposed the application of the lash to seamen. Upon his tombstone at Cypress Hill is recorded the fact that he was "The father of the law for the abolition of the barbarous practice of corporal punishment in the Navy of the United States."

SOME JEWISH LOYALISTS IN THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

By CECIL ROTH

21

It is what might be termed a cardinal principle of American Jewish historical study that, in the decisive eighteenth-century conflict that marked the birth of the United States, the whole of the diminutive Jewish community almost without exception embraced the "patriot" cause. The assertion is to be found in virtually every treatise on American Jewish history, and was even endorsed by the committee appointed in 1913 by the American Jewish Historical Society to report on material in foreign archives. They discovered in fact, surprising though it may seem, no more than two unmistakably Jewish names in the findings of the Commission of Enquiry, appointed to go into the claims made by Loyalist sufferers at the close of the War of Independence (transcriptions of which are accessible in New York). Nor were they slow to point out the lesson which they drew from this fact. As the late Albert M. Friedenberg wrote in his Report:¹

I have not . . . the purpose of emphasizing or giving point to the special plea that the Jews of America during the Revolutionary War were almost to a man adherents of the patriot cause, although this was the indubitable fact

. . . it is fairly deducible . . . that the two names of Jewish Tories . . . comprise practically all the Jews mentioned in the American Loyalist papers. Hence these documents may be adduced as an additional and tolerably positive proof that the Jews of America during our Revolution were, quite uniformly, holders of the patriot fortunes.

¹ "Report of the Foreign Archives Committee," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (= *PAJHS*), no. 23 (1915), pp. 91-103, especially pp. 97-99.

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It seems however that this conclusion was based upon an inspection of the material which was, in both senses of the word, partial. The records copies of which are available in America comprise only, apparently, the minutes and findings of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Loyalist claims. More important and more interesting by far are the claims themselves, of which vast numbers are preserved in the Public Record Office, London. The number of Jewish names included amongst these is fairly considerable, and indeed may be supplemented to some extent from other sources. Personally, I can see no ground for regretting this fact. The Jews who supported the Loyalist cause acted according to their consciences at a cost which was sometimes no less than that paid on the opposing side. Moreover, the right at the time of the Revolution was not all on one side. There was after all a British point of view, as well as the American. While therefore at the time of the struggle there were those in the Jewish community who resented fiercely the petty tyrannies of the British rule and threw themselves wholeheartedly into the American cause, there were others who were unswerving in their loyalty to the government which had given them refuge and protection. They formed a less prominent element, indeed, since under an established administration and in an army mainly professional, opportunities for advancement and distinction were fewer.

As with the general population, so with the Jewish, political cleavage knew no ties of relationship or of interest, and cut right through families and communities. Just as Benjamin Franklin's son was a staunch Loyalist, so David Franks, the commissary for the British prisoners, and his patriotic namesake, David Salisbury Franks, the aide-de-camp of Benedict Arnold, had to blush for one another. It is difficult to draw any line of demarcation between those who adopted the revolutionary cause and those who remained loyal. It was not neces-

sarily those who came from England who remained faithful to her — witness Francis Salvador, who was converted into a keen revolutionary after less than two years of transatlantic residence, and the Franks family itself, of whom the loyalist David was born in New York, while his revolutionary namesake was not a native American. Similarly, Jonas Phillips, who laid the foundation stone of the Mikveh Israel Synagogue at Philadelphia, as leader of the secessionists, though German-born, had for some time been resident in England. Something approaching a principle of demarcation however is possibly discernible on communal lines: for the Jews of Spanish and Portuguese extraction seem to have been wholehearted in the main for the colonial cause, whereas the Ashkenazim were more evenly distributed between the two sides. Thus, after the secession from New York, it was the German, Alexander Zuntz (commissary, not officer, with the Hessian forces — a purely civilian appointment) who acted as president of the attenuated community. In Rhode Island, while most of the Sephardim — merchants like Aaron Lopez — withdrew from Newport with the colonial forces, the Hart and the Pollock families remained to work for the British cause, and were destined to suffer for it. Underlying this line of demarcation, there may perhaps be discerned economic considerations: for the Spanish and Portuguese Jews comprised precisely the wholesale merchant class whose interests had been so adversely affected by the British policy.

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This paper is not however intended as a history of the Jewish Loyalists in the War of Independence. It concerns only a few persons, most of them hitherto unknown, who claimed that they had suffered for their devotion to the British cause. Before the war ended, the English government was besieged with petitions from persons who claimed that they were faced with ruin as the result of their loyalty. At the height of war-time profusion, regular annuities to the amount of £40,000 a

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year were distributed: but the beneficiaries numbered only 315. On the conclusion of peace, it became evident that the various state legislatures were not likely to listen to the recommendation of Congress to restore the Loyalists to their estates. There was now passed "An Act for appointing Commissioners to enquire into the Losses and Services of all such persons who have suffered in their Rights, Properties and Professions during the late unhappy Dissensions in *America*, in Consequence of their Loyalty to his Majesty, and Attachment to the *British* Government." The proceedings of the commissioners dragged on slowly, with typical governmental deliberation, over a period of years. The total number of claimants was 5,702, of whom 954 either withdrew or else failed to establish their claims. Among the rest, upwards of £3,000,000 was distributed in lump sums or in annuities before the commission closed its labors in 1790.² Its accounts are still preserved in the Public Record Office, London, accompanied in some cases by the original petitions of the applicants and correspondence respecting their claims. It is from them that the greater part of the details which here follow are taken. That the persons in question are Jews is not of course explicitly stated in the official documents; but the names are in most cases sufficient indication, and in a few there is a certain amount of corroborative evidence.³

² On the relief of the Loyalist refugees, see Edward Floyd De Lancey's note in his edition of Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War* (New York, 1879), vol. II, pp. 645-53 (the text of the Act is given pp. 653-56); Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1864), vol. I, pp. 104-13. Of contemporary literature, there may be mentioned the autoapologia of John Wilmot, *An Historical View of the Commission for the Relief of the American Loyalists* (London, 1815); *The Case and Claim of the American Loyalists* (London, 1788); *The Claim of the American Loyalists reviewed and matured upon incontrovertible principles of Law and Justice* (London, 1788); *The Summary Case of the American Loyalists* (London, 1782); *A Brief State of the Case of the American Loyalists, with observations* (London, 1784).

³ On American Loyalists in general, see especially Sabine, *supra*. Other works of importance, though not so much for individual biography, are: C. H. Van Tyne, *The*

It must be admitted that, if we were restricted to the information preserved in these documents, it would not seem that the Jews played a peculiarly noble part on the British side during the war. The claims are frequently petty, and the services reported in many cases insignificant in the extreme. But it must be realized that the extent of a man's devotion to a cause is not to be measured by the degree of alacrity with which he files his claim for losses suffered on its behalf. It is significant that the Pollock family, of Newport, whose devotion and sacrifices were such that they enlisted the eloquence of Burke in their support, do not appear to be so much as mentioned in these records. Those who had made the greatest

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Loyalists in the American Revolution (New York, 1902); Egerton Ryerson, *The Loyalists of America and Their Times* (Toronto, 1880); Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The History of King's County, Nova Scotia, Heart of the Acadian Land* (Salem, Mass., 1910) (where many of the Loyalist refugees subsequently settled); Oscar Theodore Barck, *New York City during the War for Independence, with special reference to the period of British Occupation* (New York, 1931); Edward Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims* (London, 1930); Arthur Granville Bradley, *The United Empire Loyalists, Founders of British Canada* (London, 1932) — the American edition is entitled *Colonial Americans in Exile: Founders of British Canada* (New York, 1932); Arthur Johnston, *Myths and Facts of the American Revolution* (Toronto, 1908); Alexander Clarence Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution* (New York, 1901); Isaac Samuel Harrell, *Loyalism in Virginia: Chapters in the Economic History of the Revolution* (Durham, N. C., 1926), especially selected bibliography, pp. 133-91; Lewis Einstein, *Divided Loyalties: Americans in England during the War of Independence* (Boston and New York, 1933); Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the Revolution* (New York, 1941).

As far as concerns the manuscript material on the Loyalist claims preserved in the Public Record Office, London, and upon which the present study is principally based, it is divided into two series: Audit Office (= A. O.) 13 consists of the accounts of the Loyalist Commission, in registers; A. O. 80, of the relative documents, in bundles. The latter series is less complete, but for biographical purposes a good deal more valuable, as it contains many of the original petitions. Frequently, it serves to fill a lacuna in the registers, with which time has not dealt too kindly. A few numbers in either series are unfit for production.

A word of warning must be added. The claims, as will be seen, were severely cut down even in those cases where they were admitted. This does not reflect in any way upon the Jews, since, according to the official figures, only £2,613,260 was granted on claims amounting in all to upwards of £8,900,000 — less than a third! (A. O. 13/109, p. xxii).

sacrifice of all necessarily could not figure among the claims. Volunteers who fought in the British ranks did not come within the sphere of the commission. Besides this, a great number of persons, particularly those who remained in their old homes, must have preferred to save themselves the enormous trouble and expense of an application to London, and the suspicion consequent upon it. Finally, the office of the commission was not to reward Loyalist sympathizers, but to compensate those who had suffered material loss as a direct result of their attachment to the British cause. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the following notes contain little that is heroic, and a great deal that is mercenary. Wider research will be necessary before a final picture can be drawn.⁴

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THE HART FAMILY OF NEWPORT

The name Hart was common enough amongst the Jews of America in the eighteenth century; and it is curious to note that, although no connection is known between the various families bearing the name, most seem to have affected the Loyalist cause. The reason is perhaps that all were probably (like the name itself) of immediate English origin, and their sympathies tended naturally to be in favor of the mother country. Thus Aaron Hart, Seigneur of Becancourt and virtual founder of the Jewish community in Canada, was active in the British cause during the Revolutionary War. In particular, Isaac Hart, who had been among the founders of the com-

⁴ For Jewish Loyalists, cf. *PAJHS*, no. 1 (1893), p. 66; no. 3 (1895), p. 83; no. 4 (1896), pp. 89-90, 205; no. 11 (1903), p. 192; no. 19 (1910), p. 111; Barnett A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 105 ff., and his *Leaves from My Historical Scrap Book* (Charleston, S. C., 1907), 1st ser., no. 2, pp. 1-2; no. 6, p. 4. In *New York City during the American Revolution. Being a Collection of Original Papers (now first published) from the Manuscripts in the possession of The Mercantile Library Association of New York City* (New York, 1861), pp. 116 ff., there occur the names of some Jewish Loyalists in New York City. See also Carl Van Doren, *supra*, p. 172.

munity of Newport, Rhode Island, was active in his sympathy for the British cause; and his name deserves to be remembered as one of the Jewish martyrs to his opinions in the War of Independence.⁵

Of other members of his family, however, little has hitherto been known. Apparently, they were all well known in Newport, and affected the same political views. One of them, Jacob Hart, must have been born about the commencement of the century, as in 1783 he was called "the old man." Originally he was in business in Connecticut; but he gave this up later on his removal to Newport — perhaps in 1750. Here he invested his capital, about £500, in the business of his son, which proved, however, "unfortunate." The family earnings amounted nevertheless to £500 a year. Jacob himself lived in a house at the corner of Washington and Willer Streets,⁶ valued at £180, though he was forced to mortgage it for only half that amount. When the war broke out, the Newport community was disrupted. A sufficient nucleus however remained to keep the community in existence, headed by the *hazan*, Isaac Touro, who left the city only on its evacuation by the British troops.⁷ The Harts in particular embraced the

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⁵ For the Hart family, cf. *PAJHS*, no. 6 (1897), pp. 69, 76, 138; no. 27 (1920), pp. 175-220 *passim*; no. 37 (1947), pp. 165, 169. See also the index to Morris A. Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport* (New York, 1936); S. Broches, *Jews in New England; II: Jewish Merchants in Colonial Rhode Island* (New York, 1942). On the Harts in Canada, cf. Benjamin G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada* (Montreal, 1945), pp. 65-75 *passim*; and *The Jews in Canada*, edited by Arthur Daniel Hart (Toronto, 1926), pp. 20-23.

⁶ *PAJHS*, no. 27 (1920), p. 213. The other information given here, and the majority of what follows, is from A. O. 12/100, fol. 18.

⁷ In *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, vol. II (Dublin, 1906), p. 102. See his appeal for help of March 13, 1780, to Major General William Tryon, stating that he was late rector of the Synagogue of Rhode Island, had suffered every persecution and distress, had come to New York with the troops, and since then had struggled to maintain his wife and family. The appeal was certified by Lieutenant Colonel Marsh. It is known that Touro officiated in the New York synagogue during the absence of Gershom Mendes Seixas. There is an obvious lacuna in Morris A. Gutstein's

Loyalist cause: "The family were always particularly civil to the Army and Navy, which drew the resentment of the Americans upon them." Certain general officers apparently enjoyed their hospitality and were ready at a later date to give evidence on their behalf — amongst them General Campbell and Brigadier General Dundas. One wounded officer was received into their house and treated with every kindness. It is tempting to believe that he was identical with Lieutenant Montague Blackwell, who married one of Jacob Hart's daughters.

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On the evacuation of Newport by the British, the Hart family did not dare to remain exposed to the resentment of the colonists, and retired to the safer neighborhood of New York. By an act of the Assembly of Rhode Island of July 7, 1780, Isaac Hart and his relatives Samuel Hart and Samuel Hart, Junior (all described as "Merchants, late of Newport in the County of Newport") were deprived of their rights and property. Isaac Hart, with other Loyalist refugees, was given some land on Long Island. A little later, during an American attack against which the Loyalists manfully defended themselves in an improvised fort, he lost his life — "murdered at Long Island" (so the official account ran) "with the greatest brutality by the rebels for his attachment to Great Britain."⁸

Jacob Hart and his family remained in the meantime in New York, where they found refuge at 25 Water Street,⁹ intending to go on with other refugees to Nova Scotia. It was not very long before their resources ran out, and he was forced to petition for help for himself and his wife.¹⁰ Their unfortunate condition

account in his brochure, *The Touro Family in Newport* (Newport, R. I., 1935). Touro applied for assistance also to the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in London, which replied sympathetically but negatively on January 22, 1781.

⁸ See Rivington's *Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1780, where the language is even stronger: "inhumanly fired upon and bayoneted"; and Burke's speech of May 14, 1781, *infra*.

⁹ *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, vol. III (Hereford, 1907), p. 305. In the same volume, p. 288, mention is made of payments on account of billeting to Joshua Levy of New York.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. IV (Hereford, 1909), p. 195.