

SOUTHERN JEWISH HISTORY

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COVER PICTURE: *Max and Trude Heller announcing Max's candidacy for mayor of Greenville, South Carolina, 1971. Heller's life and career are documented in the article by Andrew Harrison Baker in this issue. (Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Furman University.)*

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Maryland's Jews, Military Service, and the American Revolutionary Era: The Case of Elias Pollock

by

Owen Lourie*

On a late August day in 1818, a sixty-three-year-old veteran, slowed by age and his wartime injuries, stood in a Baltimore City courtroom and told his story. To secure a pension from the federal government as a Revolutionary War veteran, the man gave a sworn statement detailing his three years as a private in the Third Maryland Regiment forty years before.¹

The man, Elias Pollock, had been about twenty-three years old when he enlisted in early June 1778, a precarious time for the revolution. The Continental Army had scored a major victory the previous fall at Saratoga, but the British had now occupied the capital city of Philadelphia. Standing in court, Pollock recounted the names of the battles in which he fought, the officers under whom he served, and the hardships he endured, his narrative typical of Revolutionary War veterans testifying in support of their pension applications. Many thousands of veterans flooded courthouses across America during 1818, after Congress authorized a system to provide them with financial support, and Pollock's appearance was largely routine. Still, a few elements of the day's proceedings stood out sufficiently to merit the court's notice.²

First, Pollock had enlisted under the alias Joseph Smith. To help overcome this discrepancy, Pollock secured a deposition from an old army comrade, John Williams. Williams related that "he knew Elias Pollock, . . . who then passed by the name of Joseph Smith, to have been in Captain Joseph Marbury's Company, 3rd Maryland Regiment." According to

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Williams, Smith “has ever since been known by the name of ‘Elias Pollock,’” although Williams did not explain how he knew this. A soldier enlisting under an assumed name may not have been common, but the court readily accepted the explanation provided by Pollock and Williams.³

One further element of Pollock’s appearance in court merited a notation by the court clerk. Typically, people took an “oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God” before giving court testimony. Pollock, however, swore on “the five books of Moses, he being a Jew.” This was so unusual that the clerk had to add it as an interlineation after the fact.⁴ On several occasions over the previous two decades, Pollock recorded land deeds with his signature in Hebrew. Only through a special arrangement was this possible, and when Pollock submitted his pension application, he again signed his name in Hebrew.

Pollock’s life offers insights into Jewish participation in the military during the American Revolution. Whereas most Jews in the South supported independence from England, at least in Maryland few joined the regular revolutionary army. Pollock is the only known Jewish infantry private from the state. Whereas there may have been other common soldiers like him, there could not have been many Jews, given the state’s small Jewish population.

In terms of his postwar experiences, historians of American Jewry routinely refer to Jewish ethnic and family networks as a major reason for economic success.⁵ However, for Pollock, his network also contributed to economic disaster since he became responsible for his son-in-law’s debts. This forced him to rely on public funds in the form of a veteran’s pension. Thus his case also sheds light on the lesser told circumstance of Jewish poverty and downward mobility. This essay, then, expands on previous studies concerning Pollock, on Jews in the military during the Revolution, and on economic history.⁶

People like Elias Pollock lived lives less fully documented than highly successful and public figures like the Ettings and Cohens, well-known Jewish families in Maryland. Nonetheless, these lesser known individuals are far more representative of Baltimore’s early Jewish population. With fortunes sensitive to the ups and downs of the economy of the early republic, they moved frequently, traveling along the East Coast seeking fresh starts or better opportunities. Pollock lived in Baltimore and Philadelphia, besides conducting business throughout

Pennsylvania and possibly New York. Such mobility served as a hallmark of the Jewish experience in the decades around the American Revolution. Exploring the lives of Baltimore's early Jews requires tracking individuals through multiple places over an uncertain timeline and, in at least a few cases, with changing names. Elkin Solomon, for example, worked as a merchant in Baltimore in the 1780s after having traded around Boston as Abraham Solomon before legal and financial problems induced him to change his name and move south.⁷

At the time of Pollock's pension request, only a few dozen Jewish families called Baltimore home, and the city's days as a large Jewish population center lay in the future. However, many of those families had lived in the city for some time and were well integrated into local society. Pollock, for example, had lived in the city for close to thirty-five years. Although Baltimore's population had grown astronomically in the decades after the Revolution, for long-time residents (of a certain social class, at least), the city likely retained a certain small-town feel, giving them a passing familiarity with each other.⁸

Elias Pollock pension award, 1818.
(National Archives and Records
Administration, via fold3.com.)

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The small Jewish world of early Baltimore had little unifying structure, but everyone's role was nevertheless significant. High Holiday services were conducted sporadically beginning in the 1780s. Pollock possibly helped form the city's *minyan* since he repeatedly demonstrated his Jewish identity by signing legal documents in Hebrew.⁹

*Pollock's pension application showing his signature in Hebrew.
(National Archives and Records Administration, via fold3.)*

Pollock's use of an alias in 1778, and the court's ready acceptance of that fact four decades later, reflects something about the place Jews occupied in Baltimore at the turn of the nineteenth century. Pollock possibly enlisted under the generic name Joseph Smith because he believed that his religious or ethnic identity needed to be disguised to escape discrimination, but that is not the most likely explanation. Instead, Elias Pollock may have needed to disappear for a while, just as Abraham Solomon had. If Pollock was a convict servant, as some historians have theorized, or an indentured apprentice, he would have been unable to enlist without his master's consent. A fake name allowed Pollock to evade that restriction and flee from servitude. Whatever the reason, Pollock's standing in the city by the time of his application ensured that the court accepted his use of an assumed name without question.¹⁰

Elias Pollock: Soldier and Citizen

Upon enlistment in Baltimore in 1778, Pollock was issued a pair of uniform shirts and received an enlistment bonus of forty dollars with the promise of a fifty-acre parcel of land if he completed his term. The British withdrew from Philadelphia a few weeks after Pollock enlisted and before he and his company marched there later that summer, and he recalled spending the rest of the year in that city.¹¹

Pollock spent 1778 and 1779 around Philadelphia, New Jersey, and New York, patrolling and constructing fortifications along the Hudson River. Evidently a skilled soldier, he belonged to the elite Corps of Light Infantry and “was in . . . the taking of Stoney Point” in July 1779, a daring, nighttime bayonet raid that captured a British fort on the Hudson. In 1780, his regiment joined the American army that General Horatio Gates led from Valley Forge to the Carolinas, where the British had opened a new front in the hopes of shifting the war’s focus away from New York.¹²

Many men fell ill during the arduous thousand-mile march undertaken in the spring and summer with inadequate preparations for food and supplies. By the time the army arrived in North Carolina two months into the journey, the troops “were very much distressed for want of provisions.”¹³ One soldier from Delaware, whose unit travelled with Pollock’s, wrote of going

fourteen days and [receiving] but one pound of flour. Sometimes we [received] half a pound of beef per man, and that so miserably poor that scarce any mortal could make use of it—living chiefly on green apples and peaches, which rendered our situation truly miserable, being in a weak and sickly condition, and surrounded on all sides by our enemies the Tories.¹⁴

In August 1780, Americans badly lost the Battle of Camden, South Carolina, not long after arriving in the state. Pollock called it the battle “where Gates was defeated,” echoing many of his Maryland comrades in blaming the unprepared American commander who failed to hold his army together or direct an orderly retreat. As other men fled in panic, the Maryland troops attempted to hold the line, consequently taking heavy casualties. Pollock’s regiment suffered more than any other Maryland unit, losing 113 of its 307 troops. In total, the Maryland Line lost some six hundred men killed, wounded, or missing, about one-third of its strength.

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Alonzo Chappel, engraving depicting the death of General Johann de Kalb at the Battle of Camden, South Carolina, 1858. De Kalb commanded the Maryland troops at the battle. (New York Public Library Digital Collections.)

Pollock was among them, wounded in the side by a bayonet and taken prisoner. The British held him first in Charleston, South Carolina, then St. Augustine, Florida, and finally in Halifax, Nova Scotia. By August 1781, he had been released in a prisoner exchange and made his way back to Annapolis, where he received his official discharge. His three years had ended earlier that summer, likely while he remained in British captivity.¹⁵

After his discharge in 1781, Pollock's wounds continued to trouble him as he struggled to get his footing economically. It remains unknown when he arrived in Maryland or how well established he was before he joined the army. Disability benefits he received from the state under a program established to provide support for injured soldiers partly aided him. Any soldier who was so "disabled in the service of the United States of America, as to render him incapable of getting a livelihood" would receive a pension equal to half the pay of his rank. Men discharged as invalids but who were "not totally disabled from getting a livelihood,"

were paid amounts commensurate with their disabilities. The county registrars of wills, who tended to approve payments reluctantly, administered the system. Pollock received a paltry two pounds, ten shillings per month under the name Joseph Smith from March 1784 until April 1785. He may have received payments before or after that time, but record-keeping was inconsistent. Curiously, when acknowledging his payments, he only made his mark, rather than signing as Smith.¹⁶

Whether Pollock stayed in Maryland throughout the 1780s is not certain. Many Maryland Jews migrated back and forth to Philadelphia and other cities, just as Americans of all stripes traveled to improve their situations during this era. Still, Pollock likely remained in Maryland for most, if not the entire decade. Although he may have conducted business in New York during the 1780s, he resided in Baltimore by 1786, where he received a peddler's license in 1792.¹⁷

Within a few years, Pollock demonstrated economic mobility. He operated primarily as a merchant and manufacturer, "on an industrial scale" as he later boasted, of blackball (used for polishing shoes), as well as other wax-based products like heelball (similar to blackball) and washball (a type of soap).¹⁸

Working in a lucrative trade, Pollock thrived near the upper end of the middle class. In 1796, he bought a house on Front Street, just east of the Jones Falls in the Old Town section of the city. The Pollocks owned expensive furniture and silver plate. In 1803, he also bought a tavern near the southern end of Baltimore on the road to Washington, D.C., where he and his family lived for several years. He sold it within five years at a substantial profit. With the exception of that period, the family's main residence remained on Front Street, alongside Pollock's workshop in a lot that contained "a one story Frame [house] . . . and a back building of brick, 2 stories high."¹⁹

In his home, Pollock employed at least one servant, an African American woman identified only as Kate. In January 1804, Kate fled Pollock's service. He published advertisements in local newspapers declaring her to be a runaway, a common practice at the time. Less common was Kate's response. She took out ads, as "a duty I owe to myself . . . to contradict [Pollock]" and defend her rights and freedom: "Some years since, Mr. Pollock purchased me for eight years, which time expired with the preceding year [i.e. the end of 1803]. During the period of my servitude, I served him

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*Charles Varle, Warner & Hanna's
Plan of the City and Environs
of Baltimore, 1801 (detail).
Detail shows the Old Town area
where Elias Pollock lived.
(Courtesy of the George Peabody
Library, The Sheridan Libraries,
Johns Hopkins University.)*

*E. Sachse & Co., Bird's-eye
view of the city of Baltimore,
1869 (detail). Pollock lived
on the right side of Front
Street, close to the curve.
The street had not changed
much since his time there.
(Library of Congress.)*

honestly and diligently." If Pollock produced evidence that Kate's term of indenture extended beyond eight years, she promised, "I will return to his service, but not otherwise." Two residents of Old Town, near Pollock's Front Street house, testified in support of her claim. Although nothing else is known about Kate's identity, her advertisement indicates that she was a term servant, not an individual enslaved by Pollock.²⁰

Jewish Soldiers in the Revolutionary War

Pollock's story of military service opens the door to broader questions concerning the participation of Jews and other ethnic groups during the American Revolution. To the occasional consternation of American commanders, the Continental Army proved to be an extraordinarily diverse institution, as historians Charles Royster, Edward C. Papenfuss and Gregory Stiverson, and Charles Patrick Neimeyer, among others, have documented.²¹ General Charles Lee, for example, appraised a batch of recruits in 1776 by writing, "the Men are good, some Irish Rascals excepted." The summer that Pollock enlisted, the Continental Army included a small but significant contingent of African American soldiers. The First Maryland Brigade, which included Pollock's regiment, had sixty African Americans serving in integrated units, about 3.5 percent of its total strength. The Irish and Scots Irish comprised between one-third and one-half of the men from mid-Atlantic regiments.²²

To a large degree, America's Jews lived alongside the gentile population, and being Jewish generally did not impact one's support or opposition of the Revolution. High-profile Jews appeared among proponents of American independence as well as among loyalists. Philadelphia, for example, was home to Haym Salomon, a key financier of the Continental Army, and to David Franks, who aligned with the British colonial government. Whichever side they supported, Jews in America were not protected from antisemitism, issuing mostly from pro-Revolutionary factions. Some historians have argued that at times Jews remained loyal to the Crown because they feared religious persecution by intolerant revolutionaries, as may have occurred in Newport, Rhode Island, for example. Similarly, in Philadelphia, the revolutionary government displayed antisemitic tendencies and resented its reliance on Haym Salomon's purse to prop up the military and its commanders. Salomon was berated on the streets with antisemitic insults. David Franks, the city's most prominent

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Jew, was singled out and eventually banished from the city for his disloyalty to the new country. For the revolutionaries in the city eager to make an example of a loyalist, a Jew provided an ideal victim. Nevertheless, such fears of antisemitism did not uniformly push Jews into the loyalist camp.²³

Estimates generally put the Jewish population of the United States at around 1,500 to 2,000 during the American Revolution. Scarce records mean that many of these people cannot be identified, and as historian Jacob Rader Marcus concludes, the true extent of the Jewish presence in the army during the Revolution can never be known. Their service is undeniable, however, even if only outlines of it can be seen.²⁴

Several historians have produced compilations of Jewish soldiers and other supporters of the war effort, beginning with Simon Wolf's *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen* (1895) and including Jacob Rader Marcus's better-researched survey, *United States Jewry, 1776-1985*.²⁵ Samuel Reznick provides a more comprehensive and documented treatment identifying about one hundred Jews in military service on the American side. This number includes fifteen commissioned officers and perhaps a dozen regulars, professional soldiers in the Continental Army. Militia soldiers, whose service was usually more episodic and limited in scope and duties, comprised the rest. The militia members included the so-called "Jew Company" of Charleston, South Carolina. In truth, *Jew Company* is a misnomer: the company comprised between twenty-six and thirty-four Jewish soldiers, less than half its strength when it mustered in 1779-80 during the British siege of the city. Nonetheless, the unit probably boasted the largest concentration of Jewish soldiers in the war and included Jacob I. Cohen. Cohen and his family later became influential in Baltimore.²⁶

Many of the soldiers whom Marcus, Reznick, and Wolf identified came from Pennsylvania, Georgia, and South Carolina, places with well-established Jewish communities. This speaks to the size of the Jewish populations in these areas and to the degree to which these communities' histories and structures make it easier to identify individuals' religions through synagogue and other communal records. Maryland's situation is reversed since the Jewish community was small and lacked institutions and institutional records that could help identify the religion of soldiers. Service records from Maryland include several dozen soldiers whose

names suggest Jewish heritage—Levy and Moses Aaron, David and Jacob Levy, Jacob Moses, and others with the surnames Solomons, Lyons, and the like. Yet none can be identified as Jewish with certainty. Ira Rosenwaiké's research on Baltimore's Jews and Malcolm H. Stern's genealogies of American Jewish families fail to list them. Neither a synagogue nor any burial or other community records in which these individuals could be listed existed in Baltimore or Maryland until the late 1820s. Such a reliance on names is a perilous exercise. Although detractors of Israel Israel, a Philadelphia politician during the era of the Revolution, assumed he was Jewish and assailed him with antisemitic slanders, he was Anglican. Yet the possibility that some of these Maryland soldiers might have been Jewish highlights the ways that many Jews in Baltimore—and the rest of Maryland—could remain unidentified, especially if they were poor or working class.²⁷

A few Jewish soldiers have been studied as individuals. Benjamin Nones provides a key example. A Sephardic Jew who emigrated from France during the American Revolution, Nones served in Pulaski's Legion, a glamorous unit led by Casimir Pulaski, a legendary freedom-fighter in his native Poland. Nones became a high-profile Republican Party leader in Philadelphia after the war and may well have been acquainted with Pollock: both were later affiliated with Mikveh Israel, the city's synagogue. Scholars have viewed Nones's life as a case study about Jews' involvement in politics and community relations in the early national era and have documented the antisemitic attacks he was subjected to and explored his antislavery activism. His military service, however, has largely been ignored or characterized merely as prologue to his political career.²⁸

Generally, the best-known Jewish supporters of the American Revolution were men like Haym Salomon and other Philadelphia merchants who lent money to Congress and sold supplies to the army. Most of the soldiers identified as Jewish served in local militia units. Militia soldiers typically served for short periods at a time, usually close to home, and their ranks drew from a large portion of the male population. Enlisting as a regular, full-time, professional soldier provided a decidedly different type of service. It often entailed being absent from home for several years at a time, and fewer people chose to make this greater commitment. The disparity between the number of Jewish militia troops and regular soldiers

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suggests that Jews were willing to support the war effort at home, but few were eager, able, or perhaps welcome to serve in the Continental Army. Consequently, Elias Pollock's life and those like him becomes even more important to study as exceptions.²⁹

Two other Jewish soldiers from Maryland have been identified along with Pollock. In 1781 Nathan (or Nathaniel) Levy rode as a member of the Baltimore Light Dragoons, a cavalry troop composed of wealthy Baltimoreans raised by twenty-five-year-old Captain Nicholas Ruxton Moore between 1780 and 1781. The members of this unit spent much of their time in uniform parading in Baltimore, although they served in Virginia during summer 1781, travelling with the Marquis de Lafayette for a few months during the early phases of the Yorktown campaign, perhaps seeing some combat during that time.³⁰

The service of Reuben Etting, the third Jewish soldier from Maryland, is less well-documented. The oldest version of Etting's story, published in 1894, seems to be drawn from distant family memories and recounts that as a nineteen-year-old clerk, he

hastened northward to join the patriots. He was taken prisoner at Charlestown, and when the British learned that he was not only a rebel but a Jew, they gave him for food only pork, which he refused to eat. . . . Weakened by confinement and privation, he died of consumption soon after his release.³¹

Many historians have retold this account, sometimes reporting that Etting survived the war and was the same Reuben Etting who rose to prominence in early national Maryland (a different person with the same name). If Etting did serve in the Revolutionary War, documentation is absent. While a few accounts from prisoners held by the British mention rations that included meager amounts of pork, in general the Americans received so little food that it is hard to imagine the veracity of this element of the story. One author reports that Etting was a member of John Sterrett's Baltimore militia company and served while the unit deployed to the Eastern Shore of Maryland during winter 1776-77 to suppress the restive loyalist population of the region. This correctly represents where Sterrett's company served, although no muster rolls survive to confirm Etting's role.³²

Levy's military experience and any possible service by Etting appears paltry compared to Pollock, who was an infantryman, one of the

soldiers who comprise the backbone of any army. As members of ad hoc units and not a formal part of the army, Levy and Etting served on their terms without being locked into the three-year enlistment Pollock undertook. Militia units, like the one Etting may have served in, often only came into being when called into service, while their members otherwise lived as civilians—which may account for why no contemporary record of Etting’s service can be located.

Although Levy’s and Etting’s service may do little to bolster the military prowess of Maryland’s Jews, it testifies to their social integration. With their ornate uniforms and swashbuckling reputations, cavalry units in the Revolutionary War were the province of the wealthy and well-connected. The unit Levy belonged to included many prominent Baltimore residents. Lafayette described its soldiers as “men of fortune who make great [financial] sacrifices to serve this country” and directed that they be spared “the common camp duties.” Levy’s family had resided in Baltimore for decades, and his ability to join the dragoons shows that he was on a relatively equal footing with other young sons of the gentry. The same is true of Philadelphia’s Benjamin Nones, who also served in a high social status unit.³³

Thus only Pollock can be identified as a Jewish Baltimorean with service in a regular army unit. Although the city had a small Jewish population, this finding raises questions about Jewish commitment to the military effort.

Pollock’s Postwar Life

Pollock probably married his first wife (whose name is unknown) during the 1780s. This woman died in August 1802, while their children Hester (or Esther) and Charlotte Amanda were still young, and he remarried within a few years. His second wife, Polly Pollock, died in February 1806 at forty-one years old and was buried in the city’s Jewish cemetery.³⁴

The Jews’ Burying Ground was in use by 1786, making it the oldest established fixture of Jewish life in Baltimore. Not until the 1820s and 1830s, after Pollock’s departure, did the Jewish population begin to stabilize and grow. Consequently, during Pollock’s time, Baltimore had few institutions or services necessary for religious life. Presumably, Jews in Baltimore handled these needs out of town, improvised at home, or simply went without, as members of minority communities typically do.

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Founding a cemetery as a first communal institution was somewhat typical. One might not live as a Jew but would want to be buried as one. The elite Ettings and Cohens maintained family plots, as did many upper-class non-Jewish families. Some members of the wealthy Levy family were buried in St. Paul's Episcopal Church cemetery, alongside prominent members of Baltimore society.³⁵

Well-heeled Solomon Etting trained as a *shochet* in Pennsylvania before settling in Baltimore, but he did not pursue that profession in Baltimore, and neither a *shochet* nor a *mohel* may have operated in the city on a long-term basis until about 1815. With no Jewish congregation formally established until 1829, individuals organized worship services on their own. Whether they could routinely muster a *minyán* during Pollock's time in the city is doubtful, but High Holiday services were sporadically organized privately by the late 1780s.³⁶

Jewish Baltimoreans who wished to marry within the faith had limited local options, and many sought spouses from other towns, as did Pollock and his children. Others intermarried with non-Jews, although in at least some of those cases they remained Jewish. With no permanent Jewish clergy available, marriages were performed elsewhere or by religious leaders from out of town. When Pollock's daughter Hester married in Baltimore in 1809, both the officiant, a Rabbi Wolf, and her husband, merchant Isaac Jacob Levy, came from Philadelphia. Civil marriage did not exist in Maryland, and at least a few of Baltimore's Jews were married by Christian ministers, possibly when they were unable to arrange for a Jewish official in time or because they married non-Jews.³⁷

No identifiable Jewish neighborhood existed while Pollock lived in the city. A few prominent families lived around the city's center, and, beginning in the 1820s after Pollock departed, some newly arrived Jewish families settled in the Fells Point area of the city. In Pollock's day, his neighborhood in the Old Town section included a small cluster of Jewish households. In addition to Pollock, his daughter Charlotte and her husband, Isaac Cook, who married in 1810, lived on Front Street, as did peripatetic merchant Wolf N. Pollock who resided there temporarily. Just a block or two away lived Mordecai M. Mordecai, and later his son, Isaac.³⁸

Pollock could do little to signal his faith in the absence of a congregation or other Jewish organization to join. However, Pollock took great

*Mortgage, Elias Pollock to Isaac Henry, 1803.
(Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives.)*

pains to ensure that his religion was no secret: every time he finalized a property deed or mortgage, he signed his name in Hebrew. He signed as “Elias,” spelled phonetically in Hebrew characters, rather than Eliyahu, the Hebrew equivalent of the name. He did not do this because he was illiterate in English, as one historian suggests. His 1820 pension form was likely written by him in English.³⁹

The Hebrew appears not on the original deed, filled out on loose paper by the parties to the sale, but in the official copy, transcribed by the clerk into the bound volume of land records. Pollock may have signed the record book, or one of the clerks working at the courthouse may have copied Pollock’s Hebrew characters. Regardless of who did the writing, its occurrence remained highly unusual. Clerks did not try to replicate English signatures, although many contemporaries had elegant and elaborate ones. The signatures on Pollock’s deeds generally appear in different inks and in a different hand than the rest of the recorded deeds in which they appear, and few of them resemble the handwriting on Pollock’s pension application. In one instance, “Elias” is spelled two different ways in the same deed, suggesting that a clerk did the writing at least in that case.⁴⁰

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In 1778 another Maryland Jew, Henry Lazarus, also signed his will, a legal document, in Hebrew. The original document bears Lazarus's signature in Hebrew (as Hirsh, rather than the Anglicized equivalent), next to which is written "English: Henry Lazarus." The recorded version, transcribed into the wills record book, simply reads "Henry Lazarus," the clerk in the Register of Wills' office evidently being uninterested in inserting foreign characters into the records.⁴¹

*Will of Henry Lazarus, 1778 (detail), showing signature in Hebrew.
(Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives.)*

The actions of Lazarus and Pollock demonstrate that they did not attempt to hide their religion in the years after the Revolution at a time when being Jewish was something of an oddity. Rather their Hebrew signatures on public records symbolized their sense of identity and willingness to stand out as distinctive. The number of people who saw the Hebrew signatures was never large, so the effort suggests the involvement of principle on Pollock's behalf. By contrast, when he and his neighbors petitioned the city government for repairs to Front Street—a more public act—he signed his name in English.⁴²

Elias Pollock did not leave behind a lengthy record of political advocacy. If ideology drove him to enlist in the Continental Army, it apparently did not spur him to be involved in any of the day's causes or parties. Although the patchy poll records fail to include his name, in 1803 he joined many citizens of Baltimore in signing a petition to the Maryland General Assembly calling for reforms to democratize the city's government. Still, in the first years of the 1800s, when Pollock signed most of these deeds, proclaiming himself to be Jewish was not simply a matter of

personal pride or affirmation: it was an act with political overtones. Locked out of public office by the state's constitution, members of Maryland's Jewish community had begun to petition the legislature for redress.⁴³

Although there were few Jews in Maryland to be excluded from public office, some began to advocate for their rights beginning in 1797 with a petition presented to the Maryland General Assembly by Solomon Etting and Bernard Gratz—wealthy and prominent members of Baltimore society—“and others.” The House of Delegates, the lower chamber and the one more receptive to democratic reform, duly considered the request and agreed “that the prayer of the petition is reasonable.” Nonetheless, the House felt that it was impossible to take up the issue “at this advanced stage of the [legislative] session,” although the session was not yet half-way completed.⁴⁴

In 1802, six months before Pollock signed his first deed in Hebrew, the House of Delegates again took up a petition against the test oath from “sundry inhabitants of the city of Baltimore, praying that a law may pass enabling the sect of people called Jews to hold and enjoy any office.” Coincidentally, it was read in the House the same day as the petition Pollock signed about Baltimore City's government. The House eventually produced a bill that year to allow Jews to hold office but voted it down thirty to seventeen. Both of Baltimore's delegates voted in favor. The petition submitted in 1803 met with the same lack of success.⁴⁵

Not until 1826, after several acrimonious years of debate, was the “declaration of a belief in the Christian religion” abolished. In its place, the constitution required officeholders to swear they believed in “a future state of rewards and punishments.” The figure often associated with the legislation, referred to as the “Jew Bill,” is Thomas Kennedy, a delegate from Western Maryland, who sponsored the bill repeatedly during the 1820s despite not knowing any Jews personally. However, it was the protracted lobbying and growing economic and political clout of Baltimore's Jews that ultimately led to the law's passage. By the time Pollock departed the city, part of that power flowed from him, even if he is not listed among the advocates in the historical record.⁴⁶

Jacob I. Cohen and Solomon Etting, perhaps the most prominent Jewish citizens in Baltimore, were both elected to the city council immediately after the religious component of the oath was dropped. There are no

signs that Pollock harbored political ambitions, and the change in the law would not have materially altered his life. Still, the extension of full citizenship to Jews likely would have resonated with Pollock, the man who took such pains to sign his name in Hebrew.

Elias Pollock's Family and Downfall

During the years when Pollock signed his deeds in Hebrew and Baltimore's Jews advocated for their political rights, Pollock's two older daughters grew up, and his first two wives passed away. Six months after his second wife, Polly, died, Pollock married for a third time, wedding Rebecca Hart of Philadelphia in August 1806. Rebecca was in her late thirties, a dozen years younger than her husband. They had two daughters together: Rachel, born around 1809, and Matilda, born two years later. The Harts were a well-off family, suggesting that Pollock had a strong and stable position in Baltimore, one, however, that failed to last.⁴⁷

Charlotte's husband, Isaac Cook, brought about Elias Pollock's downfall. Within a few years of their wedding in 1810, Isaac and Charlotte moved into a rented house on Front Street close to Pollock. Isaac prepared and sold quills used as pens. He and Charlotte evidently lived well, since they were assessed as possessing fifty-five ounces of silver plate in 1813, a substantial amount.⁴⁸

Isaac incurred significant debts with several grocers and dry goods dealers, including \$3,709 to one firm alone, and in 1816 he abandoned his family and disappeared. The first court cases to collect his debts were filed in fall 1816 after Cook's departure. Pollock became legally responsible for his son-in-law's debts, presumably because he cosigned Cook's promissory notes. As the court record noted, the papers were "Laid in the hands of Elias Pollock."⁴⁹

Only sparse records survive from Baltimore's courts of this era, primarily docket books that provide a skeletal outline of the cases' progress. Consequently, they do not elaborate on Cook's activities, and it is possible that not all of the lawsuits were related to the debts he owed. Indeed, Elias Pollock was engaged in his own ongoing legal battle at the time, having been sued by Levi Myers to resolve an unspecified dispute. That case was never resolved. Myers left town in the middle, and Pollock obtained a judgment against him for his legal fees. Nonetheless Myers gave testimony in one of the cases against Pollock and Cook.⁵⁰

In June 1821, after several years of litigation to resolve the suits, the family's house, Pollock's workshop, and their "Household and Kitchen Furniture" were seized and sold at auction to settle Cook's debts. Pollock declared insolvency almost immediately, and within two years the family moved to Philadelphia, where they could find a community to help support them. Among the Jews of Baltimore, returning to Philadelphia was a common event in bad times since the more established Jewish community offered refuge.⁵¹

At this point Pollock's tale again becomes a soldier's story, or rather a veteran's story. Pollock may have been unusual as a Jewish veteran of the Revolutionary War, or because of the exact reasons for his financial ruin, but he was hardly the only contemporary to fail financially. Many veterans and nonveterans experienced difficulty navigating the rocky economy of the early republic. Fortunately for Pollock and his family, he was eligible for a pension from the federal government thanks to a relatively new law.

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Formally titled *An Act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval service of the United States, in the Revolutionary War*, Congress passed the pension bill on March 15, 1818. Stories of penniless veterans of the Revolution, who were seemingly spurned by the country they had helped to free, motivated Congress's action. Under the law, all veterans with at least nine months of service (and their widows) could receive quarterly payments based on their rank for the rest of their lives. The pension system witnessed a surge of aging veteran applicants who had not thrived in the young country. In fact, the response exceeded expectations, and two years later Congress tightened eligibility and made recipients reapply. Pollock first applied in summer 1818, as the court cases against him loomed ahead. Even though he had fought under a different name, his application was accepted without difficulty, and in fall 1819 he began receiving ninety-six dollars per year, half a private's annual pay.⁵²

In June 1821, Pollock reapplied to satisfy the new requirement that applicants demonstrate financial necessity, something Pollock had no difficulty verifying. He appeared in court to swear out his application less than two weeks after his house was sold at auction and described his circumstances:

My property consists of Two common Tables, One old Desk, Some chairs, some trifling articles of Crockery ware and kitchen furniture, the whole worth . . . say \$20.00.

My family consists of a wife named Rebecca, aged about fifty three years, now nearly helpless, two daughters under twelve years of age, And there are also with me and have heretofore been dependant on me for support, a daughter [Charlotte] and her two infant children who were deserted by the husband and father. . . .

I formerly manufactured Black Balls on an industrial Scale, by which and other small trade had supported myself & family with a comfortable home; but in consequence of becoming Bondsman for another have had my House, Furniture, and property of every kind seized and sold . . . leaving me in such a State of penury as to be absolutely unable to support myself or family without the benefit of my Revolutionary pension. . . .

I labor under severe affliction from a Rupture [hernia] Occasioned by hardships experienced while in the army of the U.S. and from a Bayonet wound received at the battle [of Camden].⁵³

The bitterness Pollock felt over his fate is evident, and his complaint of having become “Bondsman for another” is stinging, commensurate with the fall that he had taken. Whereas the family now owned personal property valued at twenty dollars total, they once had owned chairs worth more than that. Pollock’s chance at the American dream had evaporated. Although eight dollars a month would not restore it, the pension provided a source of income when few others were available to him.⁵⁴

Yet Pollock had additional prospects. Through his children and his wife Rebecca, he had strong connections to several prominent Jewish families in Philadelphia. Rebecca’s family, the Harts, were merchants who had helped found Easton, Pennsylvania, before moving to Philadelphia. Pollock had worked with his in-laws in the past, getting power of attorney from Rebecca’s brother Samuel in 1810 to sell some of his land. In addition, Pollock’s two younger daughters later married men from Philadelphia. Hester and her husband, Isaac Jacob Levy, lived there, and in 1833 Rachel married Joseph Levy, who came from a family of prominent merchants (the two Levy men were distant cousins).⁵⁵ Pollock possibly turned to some of these relatives during the 1820s after he and Rebecca settled in Philadelphia permanently.

After about a decade in the city, Elias Pollock died on May 10, 1832, at age seventy-seven. Rebecca died of dropsy (edema) on December 21, 1836, when she was about sixty-eight. Both were buried in the Spruce Street cemetery of Mikveh Israel, where members of Philadelphia’s Jewish community had been interred for decades.⁵⁶

Conclusion

This essay broaches important questions for additional study. What number and percentage of Jews in other states enlisted in the Continental Army? If these numbers and percentages were as sparse as in Baltimore, does this suggest a lack of allegiance to the revolutionary cause or reflect the community’s political sentiment or insecurity about their social position? Did the ways that Jews experienced the American Revolution politically, socially, or economically lead them away from joining the army? Or does the paucity of Jewish community records simply make it too great a challenge to draw any conclusions about the Jewish presence in the army? How typical or unusual was bankruptcy or business failure during the early republic and thereafter resulting from problems with

family networks? Historians should also consider a balance between the experiences of individuals and families who remained relatively rooted in one location and those who meandered from location to location. What were the varied reasons for both behaviors?

Elias Pollock's life can easily be viewed through the lens of difference. As a Jew, he was part of a tiny minority in Baltimore and in the United States. In the Continental Army, he was part of an even smaller group of Jews. Yet his religion was clearly an important part of his public identity, as he demonstrated by signing his name in Hebrew to legal documents for decades. Whether or not a leader among the Jews in Baltimore, Pollock was a member of the community.

Pollock was at once an outlier, as any Jew was in Maryland by virtue of their religion, as well as an ordinary, integrated member of society. Despite the otherness that necessarily surrounded Jewish residents of Baltimore during the early nineteenth century, Pollock's service in the Continental Army gave him much in common with thousands of other Marylanders and other Americans. Pollock's fate reflected that of many other Revolutionary War veterans. His health was at times impacted by the injuries he sustained in combat. Many Americans in the first decades of the new republic, veterans or not, left their homes in search of a new start or a better economic footing, as Pollock did. Some headed west in the hopes of buying farms, and others migrated toward cities. Such fortune seekers flocked to Baltimore in the decades after the Revolution, helping its population grow exponentially. Pollock ventured to Baltimore to improve his fortunes, and he made a good life for himself and his family there, although he ultimately found refuge elsewhere.

Thus Pollock's life represents not only the story of the exceptional—the Jewish private in the Continental Army—but also a story typical of thousands of veterans, including many whose fates remain unrecorded. The legacy and memory of his military service lasted long after the war, and ultimately his time in the army provided him a measure of financial salvation. As a Jewish resident of Baltimore in the first decades after the American Revolution, Pollock was part of a nascent community of Jews that was just beginning to coalesce. Over time, Baltimore's Jews built an array of vibrant institutions and accumulated enough clout to secure full civil rights under the state's constitution. Although Pollock had already left the state, he was a part of the community as it built to those

accomplishments. Pollock was a man proud enough of his heritage to sign his name to legal documents in Hebrew, though his role within the city's Jewish community is unrecorded, just as the names and deeds of many other Jews in early America are unknown. Indeed, if he had not penned his signature in Hebrew, the fact that Pollock was Jewish may have been lost to history. Pollock wanted his Jewish identity to be remembered, and through his actions he succeeded. Pollock's memory was kept alive in another way as well: two of his daughters named sons Elias P., after their grandfather.⁵⁷

NOTES

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¹ Pension of Joseph Smith [Elias Pollock], National Archives, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land-Warrant Application Files, NARA M804, S 40279.

² Mark Andrew Tacyn, "'To the End:' The First Maryland Regiment and the American Revolution" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland-College Park, 1999), 271-72.

³ Pollock pension. On the difficulties applicants (particularly African Americans) faced in obtaining pensions, see Judith L. Van Buskirk, *Standing in Their Own Light: African American Patriots in the American Revolution* (Norman, OK, 2017), 193-97. Consider the case of John Deaver, an officer in Pollock's regiment. Deaver's service was partially documented by a letter from his commander who inadvertently wrote the wrong year, which caused Deaver's survivors years of difficulties in collecting the pension to which he was entitled. See Pension of John Deaver, National Archives, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land-Warrant Application Files, NARA M804, R 2822.

⁴ Pollock pension.

⁵ See, for example, "Special Issue on Jews and the American Economy," *American Jewish History* 103 (October 2019).

⁶ Pollock's life was addressed briefly in Jacob Rader Marcus, *United States Jewry, 1776-1985*, vol. 1 (Detroit, 1989), 85; Jacob Rader Marcus, ed., "The Jew and the American Revolution: A Bicentennial Documentary," *American Jewish Archives* 27 (1975): 108, 144-46; Samuel Reznick, *Unrecognized Patriots: The Jews in the American Revolution* (Westport, CT, 1975), 52-53; 201-203; Ira Rosenwaike, "The Jews of Baltimore to 1810," *American Jewish Historical*

Quarterly 64 (1975): 292–95 (on population), 299–300 (on Pollock); Eric L. Goldstein and Deborah R. Weiner, *On Middle Ground: A History of the Jews of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 2018), 22–25; Isaac M. Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920* (Philadelphia, 1971), 41.

⁷ Rosenwaike, “Jews of Baltimore to 1810,” 298–99, 303–304; Goldstein and Weiner, *On Middle Ground*, 17–18.

⁸ Rosenwaike, “Jews of Baltimore to 1810,” 291–95; Pollock pension.

⁹ Goldstein and Weiner, *On Middle Ground*, 32.

¹⁰ Eric L. Goldstein, *Traders and Transporters: The Jews of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1993), 55; Marcus, “Jew and the American Revolution,” 144–46. On motivations for enlistment, see, for example, John A. Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence: Youth and Military Service in the Revolutionary War* (Charlottesville, 2014), 17–45, and Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775–1783* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 373–78.

¹¹ Pollock pension; Muster Rolls and Other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution, vol. 18, p. 165, Maryland State Archives, Archives of Maryland Online, accessed March 15, 2019, <https://msa.maryland.gov> (hereafter cited as MSA); Arthur J. Alexander, “How Maryland Tried to Raise her Continental Quotas,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 42 (1947): 188; Maryland General Assembly, Session Laws, October 1777, vol. 203, ch. 8, sect. 4, p. 182, MSA; Account of Cloathing Delivered to the 3rd Regiment, April–July 1778, Maryland State Papers, Revolutionary Papers, box 3, no. 5/9, MdHR 19970-3-5/9, S997-3-61, MSA.

¹² Pollock pension.

¹³ Joseph Brown Turner, ed., “The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood,” part I, *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware* 56 (1910): 9–11; William Seymour, “Journal of the Southern Expedition, 1780–1783, by William Seymour, Sergeant-Major of the Delaware Regiment,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 7 (1883): 286–87. The Delaware Regiment fought alongside the Maryland troops throughout the southern campaign.

¹⁴ Seymour, “Journal,” 286–87.

¹⁵ Pollock pension; Tacyn, “‘To the End,’” 216–25; Discharge, Joseph Smith, August 18, 1781, Anne Arundel County Register of Wills, Military Discharges, C44-1-47, vol. 18, p. 165, MSA.

¹⁶ Maryland General Assembly, Session Laws, March 1779, vol. 203, ch. 14, p. 199, MSA; Tacyn, “‘To the End,’” 262–63; Anne Arundel County Register of Wills, Invalid Pay Receipts, Joseph Smith, C87-1-47, MSA; Anne Arundel County Register of Wills, Orphans Court Proceedings, 1777–1784, C125-1, pp. 8, 17, 23, 26, 32, MSA; Orphans Court Proceedings, 1782–1784, C125-2, pp. 14, 18, 21, 22, 25, MSA.

¹⁷ Baltimore County Court, Minutes, 1792–1797, C386-7, p. 37, MSA; Rosenwaike, “Jews of Baltimore to 1810,” 300; Pollock pension; Goldstein and Weiner, *On Middle Ground*, 26. Court records show an Elias Pollock and Solomon Jacobs, likely of Philadelphia, being sued by a prominent New York merchant in 1785–86, but not enough details from the case survive to elaborate. Samuel Oppenheim Collection, box 11, P-255, American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History.

¹⁸ Deed, James Long to Elias Pollock, 1796, Baltimore County Court, Land Records, CE66-98, WG XX, p. 328, MSA; Pollock pension; Federal Direct Tax, 1798, Baltimore City, Tax List, Archives of Maryland Online, vol. 729, p. 5970, MSA; William Thompson and James L. Walker, *Baltimore Town and Fells Point Directory* (Baltimore, 1796), 62; *Democratic Republican & Commercial Daily Advertiser* (Baltimore), June 29, 1802.

¹⁹ Deed, Isaac Henry to Elias Pollock, 1803, Baltimore County Court, Land Records, CE66-126, WG 76, p. 187, MSA; Elias Pollock to Gotlieb Buster, 1808, Baltimore County Court, Land Records, CE66-149, WG 99, p. 307, MSA; *Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, October 13, 1806; Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax, Assessment Record, C277-7, Baltimore City, Ward 6, 1813, p. 97, MSA; Account of Sales, Household Furniture, Dewitt and Strikes, April–June 1803, Baltimore City Archives, BRG41-1-2-1-11, MSA (hereafter BCA); “Sheriff’s Sale,” *Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, June 8, 1821.

²⁰ “Five Dollars Reward,” *Telegraphe and Daily Advertiser* (Baltimore), January 16, 1804; “To the Public,” *Telegraphe and Daily Advertiser*, January 17, 1804. No record of indentures to Pollock can be located because Baltimore County indenture records are indexed by servant, not master, for most of this period. See Baltimore County Court, Indentures, MSA C337, MSA. The 1820 Census of Manufacturers does not list Pollock. National Archives microfilm M279, reel 16. This omission may indicate that the business had closed by that time or just left out Pollock for another reason.

²¹ Royster, *Revolutionary People at War*; Edward C. Papenfuss and Gregory A. Stiverson, “General Smallwood’s Recruits: The Peacetime Career of the Revolutionary War Private,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 (January, 1973): 117–32; Charles Patrick Neimeyer, *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army* (New York, 1996), 30–34, 37–43.

²² Charles Lee to George Washington, May 10, 1776, National Archives, Founders Online, accessed December 21, 2021, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-04-02-0207>; Alexander Scammel, “Return of the Negroes in the Army,” August 24, 1778, George Washington Papers, Series 4, General Correspondence, Library of Congress, accessed May 5, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mgw451463>; Charles H. Lesser, ed., *The Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, 1976), 80–81.

²³ Donald F. Johnson, *Occupied America: British Military Rule and the Experience of Revolution* (Philadelphia, 2020), 26. For other examples of loyalist Jews, see Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty’s Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York, 2011), 255–56, and Johnson, *Occupied America*, 150. On antisemitism in the Revolutionary and early National eras, see for example, Heather S. Nathans, “A Much Maligned People: Jews On and Off the Stage in the Early American Republic,” *Early American Studies* 2 (2004): 310–42; William Pencak, *Jews and Gentiles in Early America, 1654–1800* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2005); William Pencak, “Jews and Anti-Semitism in Early Pennsylvania,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 126 (2002): 365–408, especially 376–77, 388 on the intersection of antisemitism and support for American independence.

²⁴ Marcus, “Jew and the American Revolution,” 103, 108; Marcus, *United States Jewry*.

²⁵ Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen* (Philadelphia, 1895), 44–52; Marcus, “Jew and the American Revolution,” 104–108.

²⁶ Rezneck, *Unrecognized Patriots*, 24, 54–65, 199–205, 238. On Jews in Hessian units, see Jonathan D. Sarna, “The Impact of the American Revolution on American Jews,” *Modern*

Judaism 1 (1981), 150; Marcus, "Jew and the American Revolution," 108–109; James William Hagy, *This Happy Land: The Jews of Colonial and Antebellum Charleston* (Tuscaloosa, 1993); Jacob I. Cohen, "An enumeration of the names of Israelites who served in one company at Charleston SC, 1779," *JMM* 1988.145.2, Jewish Museum of Maryland.

²⁷ Rosenwaike, "Jews of Baltimore to 1810," 294–95; Ira Rosenwaike, "The Jews of Baltimore: 1810–1820," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 67 (1977): 103, 123; Malcolm H. Stern, *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies, 1654–1988* (Baltimore, 1991). For listings of Maryland soldiers, see Muster Rolls and Other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution, vol. 18, MSA; and S. Eugene Clements and F. Edward Wright, *The Maryland Militia in the Revolutionary War* (Silver Spring, MD, 1987). None of the individuals identified by Rosenwaike as residents of Baltimore are listed in Maryland service records except for Pollock and Nathan Levy. A Jewish cemetery existed in Baltimore, but only three burials can be identified (including one of Elias Pollock's wives), all listed in *Memoirs of the Dead and Tomb's Remembrancer* (Baltimore, 1806), 100–101, 141.

²⁸ Bennett Muraskin, "Benjamin Nones: Profile of a Jewish Jeffersonian," *American Jewish History* 83 (1995): 381.

²⁹ Rosenwaike, "Jews of Baltimore to 1810," 297–98; Goldstein and Weiner, *On Middle Ground*, 25. For longer compendiums of Jewish Revolutionary War soldiers from the United States, see Marcus, "Jew and the American Revolution," 103–258, and Reznick, *Unrecognized Patriots*, 46–66.

³⁰ Wolf, *American Jew as Patriot*, 50; Rosenwaike, "Jews of Baltimore to 1810," 295–98; Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, 154; J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), 414; Journal and Correspondence of the State Council, 1781 Archives of Maryland Online, vol. 47, p. 313, MSA. On the formation and activities of the dragoons, see Archives of Maryland Online, vol. 47, 183, 307, 312–14, MSA; *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), June 12, 1781; June 19, 1781; June 26, 1781; July 17, 1781; July 24, 1781; August 7, 1781; and September 11, 1781.

³¹ Solomon Solis-Cohen, "Note Concerning David Hays and Esther Etting his Wife," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 2 (1894): 66.

³² Wolf, *American Jew as Patriot*, 48; Goldstein, *Traders and Transports*, 54; Rosenwaike, "Jews of Baltimore to 1810," 301–302; John W. Jordan, *Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania*, vol. 3 (New York, 1911), 1243; Goldstein and Weiner, *On Middle Ground*, 25. Jordan (cited by Goldstein and Weiner) gives a correct account of where Sterrett's company served in 1776–77. See Clements and Wright, *Maryland Militia*, 23–24; William Smallwood to John Sterrett, March 14, 1777, Maryland Society of the Sons of the American Revolution Smallwood Collection, SC6205-1-1, MSA; Edwin G. Burrows, *Forgotten Patriots: The Untold Story of American Prisoners During the Revolutionary War* (New York, 2008), 19–21, 24–25, 58. Many thanks to Micah Connor and David Armenti at the Maryland Center for History and Culture for their assistance searching for records of Sterrett's Company in their archives.

³³ Rosenwaike, "Jews of Baltimore to 1810," 295–98. Marquis de Lafayette to Daniel Morgan, July 16, 1781, in Stanley J. Idzerda, ed., *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected Letters and Papers, 1776–1790*, vol. 4 (Ithaca, NY, 1981), 251.

³⁴ "Died," *Democratic Republican & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1802; *Memoirs of the Dead*, 141; Rosenwaike, "Jews of Baltimore to 1810," 300; Rosenwaike, "Jews of Baltimore:

1810–1820,” 119; “Married,” *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), February 16, 1809; *Baltimore Federal Republican*, December 31, 1810. Rosenwaiké also reports a son, Samuel Pollock, who was listed as a head of household in the 1820 census, but there are no sources for this assertion. Rosenwaiké, “Jews of Baltimore: 1810–1820,” 102, 123.

³⁵ Goldstein and Weiner, *On Middle Ground*, 32–33; *Memoirs of the Dead*, 100–101, 141.

³⁶ Fein, *Making of an American Jewish Community*, 18–21, 40–42; Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore: An Historical Summary of Their Progress and Status as Citizens of Baltimore from Early Days to the Year Nineteen Hundred and Ten* (Baltimore, 1910), 7–9; Goldstein and Weiner, *On Middle Ground*, 32–33, 51; Rosenwaiké, “Jews of Baltimore to 1810,” 313.

³⁷ Goldstein and Weiner, *On Middle Ground*, 32–33; “Married,” *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, February 16, 1809.

³⁸ Rosenwaiké, “Jews of Baltimore to 1810,” 298–99; Baltimore County Court, City Civil Docket, 1817, September Term, Originals, C301-2, no. 226, MSA; *Baltimore Federal Republican*, December 31, 1810. Jewish settlement patterns in the 1800s and 1810s come from the names listed in Rosenwaiké, “Jews of Baltimore to 1810,” 294–95 and addresses published in John Mullin, *The Baltimore Directory for 1799* (Baltimore, 1799); Cornelius Williams, *The Baltimore Directory for 1803* (Baltimore, 1803); William Fry, *The Baltimore Directory for 1810* (Baltimore, 1810). No evidence has been discovered indicating that Elias Pollock was related to Wolf or any of the other Pollocks in town, including Samuel Pollock or Benjamin F. Pollock.

³⁹ Rosenwaiké, “Jews of Baltimore: 1810–1820,” 101; Marcus, *United States Jewry*, 85; Marcus, “Jew and the American Revolution,” 144. Pollock signed five land records in Hebrew: Deed, Isaac Henry to Elias Pollock, 1803, WG 76, p. 187; Mortgage, Elias Pollock to Isaac Henry, 1803, WG 76, p. 189; Mortgage, Elias Pollock to Philip German, 1807, WG 93, p. 54, Baltimore County Court, Land Records, CE66-143, MSA; Deed, Elias Pollock to Gotlieb Huster, 1808, WG 99, p. 307; Release, Elias Pollock to Gotlieb Huster, 1809, WG 104, p. 304, Baltimore County Court, Land Records, CE66-154, MSA.

⁴⁰ “Elias” is misspelled in WG 104, p. 304, Baltimore County Court, Land Records, CE66-154, MSA. Many thanks to retired Archivist of Maryland Edward C. Papenfuse for his insights into the signatures and how the clerk’s office handled its business.

⁴¹ Original will of Henry Lazarus, 1779, Frederick County Register of Wills, Wills, Original, C900-8, box 8, folder 4, MSA; Will of Henry Lazarus, 1779, Frederick County Register of Wills, Wills, C898-2, vol. GM 1, p. 112–13, MSA; Goldstein, *Traders and Transports*, 42n12. Frederick County in Western Maryland had a large ethnic German population (including some Jews), and wills recorded entirely in German exist from this time period.

⁴² Baltimore City Commissioners, Administrative Files, Application to alter grade of part of Front Street, 1803, BRG3-1-5-20-2, HRS no. 111, BCA.

⁴³ Baltimore City Mayor’s Office, Mayor’s Correspondence, Petition from sundry inhabitants of Baltimore for amendments to the city charter, 1803, BRG9-2-2-6-2, HRS no. 196, BCA; Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution, 1763–1812* (Chicago, 1984), 201–202. Only the title of the petition Pollock signed is known, but the text is likely the same as the petitions described by Steffen.

⁴⁴ *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, 1797, 69, 71–72.

⁴⁵ *Votes and Proceedings*, 1802, 32, 46, 63, 87; *Votes and Proceedings*, 1803, 27.

⁴⁶ Carl N. Everstine, *The General Assembly of Maryland, 1776–1850* (Charlottesville, 1982), 351–59.

⁴⁷ “Married,” *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, August 21, 1806; Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, 103, 166, 171; Pollock pension; Alan D. Corré and Malcolm H. Stern, “The Record Book of the Reverend Jacob Raphael Cohen,” *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 59 (1969), 72n146.

⁴⁸ William Fry, *Fry’s Baltimore Directory for the Year 1812* (Baltimore, 1812); James Lakin, *The Baltimore Directory and Register for 1814–15* (Baltimore, 1814); Edward Matchett, *The Baltimore Directory and Register for the Year 1816* (Baltimore, 1816). Isaac and Amanda lived at 59 Front Street, and Elias lived at 72 Front Street, but houses on Front Street (and likely much of Baltimore City) were only vaguely sequential, so it is unclear exactly where Elias’s daughter and son-in-law lived. Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax, Assessment Record, Baltimore City, Ward 6, 1813, C277-7, p. 99, MSA.

⁴⁹ Quote from Baltimore County Court, Civil Docket, 1816, September Term, Originals, C324-49, no. 957-958, MSA.

⁵⁰ All cases were filed in Baltimore County Court. For Levi Myers v. Elias Pollock, see City Civil Docket, 1817, September Term, Originals, C301-2, no. 875, MSA; 1818, Imparances, C301-4, p. 308, MSA; 1819, Imparances, MSA C301-4, p. 99, MSA; 1820, March Term, Judicials, C301-5, no. 162, MSA; and Baltimore City Superior Court, City Judicials, 1820, March Term, T574-2, no. 162, MSA.

Three cases stood against Pollock and Cook. The first was Philip Reigart, use of Charles Diffenduffer v. Elias Pollock, garnishee of Isaac Cook, originally filed in 1817. See City Civil Docket, 1817, March Term, Originals 317-318 and September Term, Originals, C301-2, no. 378-79, MSA; 1818, Imparances, C301-3, no. 194, MSA; 1819, Imparances, C301-4, no. 150, MSA; 1820, Imparances, C301-5, no. 150, MSA; 1821, County Civil Docket, City Judicials, C311-4, no. 16; Judicial Record, WG 7, p. 117-18. This is the case for which Pollock’s house was seized and sold at auction to resolve the dispute.

The second case was Gershom Lambert, William Jones, and Aaron Lambert v. Elias Pollock, garnishee of Isaac Cook, originally filed in 1816; see Civil Docket, 1816, September Term, Originals, no. 957-958 [C324-49], MSA; City Civil Docket, 1818, Imparances, p. 87 [C301-3], MSA; 1819, Imparances, p. 38 [C301-4], MSA. No resolution for this case is recorded.

The third case was John G. Worthington v. Elias Pollock, garnishee of Isaac Cook, originally filed in 1817. See City Civil Docket, 1817, March Term, Originals, No. 330-33 and September Term, Originals, C301-2, no. 300-301, MSA; 1818, Imparances, C301-3, p. 271, MSA; 1819, Imparances, C301-4, p.88, MSA; 1820, Imparances, C301-5, p. 38, MSA. No resolution for this case is recorded.

⁵¹ “Sheriff’s Sale,” *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, June 8, 1821; Baltimore City Commissioners of Insolvent Debtors, Insolvency Docket, 1821, C339-2, no. 217, MSA; Rosenwaike, “Jews of Baltimore: 1810-1820,” 119; Pollock pension; Goldstein and Weiner, *On Middle Ground*, 26-29.

⁵² John Resch, *Suffering Soldiers: Revolutionary War Veterans, Moral Sentiment, and Political Culture in the Early Republic* (Amherst, 1999), 118, 146-48; Pollock pension.

⁵³ Pollock pension, emphasis in original.

⁵⁴ Pollock pension; Account of Sales, Household Furniture, 1803.

⁵⁵ Edwin Wolf II and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1975), 87, 417n69; Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, 103, 166; Jacob Levy, *Levy Family Genealogy*, Levy Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as HSP); Power of Attorney, Samuel D. Hart to Elias Pollock, June 2, 1810, Levy Papers, HSP.

⁵⁶ Pollock pension; Corr  and Stern, "Cohen Record Book," 57, 59, 72n146.

⁵⁷ Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, 166, 171; *Levy Family Genealogy*, Levy Papers, HSP.