

# THE EARLY GERMAN JEWS OF BALTIMORE

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A little over a hundred years ago, the Jewish community of Baltimore was almost exclusively German. A handful of Sephardi, i. e., Spanish and Portuguese Jews had indeed arrived in the 18th century; but they had never been able to form a viable community of their own. An attempt to have a synagogue of their own proved abortive for lack of members.<sup>1</sup>

Before the Civil War, there may also have been a few indigent East European Jews in Baltimore,<sup>2</sup> but they, too, played a negligible role in the community. To all intents and purposes, Baltimore Jewry was a hundred percent German in language and culture.

Like Julius Caesar's Gaul, the history of the Baltimore German-Jewish community can be divided into three parts. The first, which few people know about, is the German background of the immigrants, the circumstances which induced them to leave their homeland and seek their fortune in the New World. The second is the story of their struggle to adapt themselves to the changed environment in which they had to lead their social, economic and religious life. The third part is the account of their role in the Civil War and of their Americanization during the years that followed. I propose to deal with these three major aspects of the history of the German-Jewish community in Baltimore.

Where did the German-speaking Jews of Baltimore come from? Although German was the *lingua franca* of all the educated classes in central Europe—including Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Galicia, and the greater part of Hungary and Switzerland—the immigrant Jews of Baltimore were overwhelmingly of Bavarian origin. There were good reasons for this, as we shall presently see.

At the time of the Napoleonic wars there were some 30,000 Jews in Bavaria—a very large number for those days. It was precisely because of this that the movement for Jewish emancipation made less headway in Bavaria than anywhere else in the German-speaking world. It is easier to grant freedom to a small minority than to a large, substantial group which is liable to gain more influence and power than the majority is willing to concede.

In addition, South Germany—of which Bavaria formed the largest and most important section—was always more conservative and reactionary than other parts of Germany. Even in our own time, Bavaria was the citadel of Nazism at a time when in North Germany, including Berlin, Hitler had only a handful of followers.

The story of Jewish emancipation in Bavaria was, therefore, one of constant disappointment and frustration. Under French influence, Catholic Bavaria granted equal rights to Protestants as early as 1800. No such privileges were extended to the Jewish minority, although the hope was

expressed that measures would be taken through which the Jews "would gradually be educated to become useful citizens." The condescending tone of this insulting statement, implying as it did that the Jews, unlike Christians, needed special education before they could become "useful citizens", was hardly designed to encourage Jewish hopes for civil rights. Nevertheless, the Ghetto had bred so many Jewish Uncle Toms that even such a weak declaration was welcomed by the Bavarian Jews who then proceeded to request that their hard lot be alleviated. No concessions were made by the government until after 1806 when Napoleon had crushed the Prussian army and become virtual master of the German states. The Jews were then permitted to attend government schools and serve in the army, and in return for these paltry privileges, Jewish communal autonomy was considerably restricted. Rabbinic courts which in the past had been authorized to deal with internal Jewish disputes and matters of personal status, such as marriage and divorce, were henceforth deprived of most of their functions.<sup>4</sup>

Naturally, the Jews continued to agitate for full emancipation; but when at last a new law was issued by the Bavarian government in 1813, it proved a bitter disappointment. The right of settlement in Bavaria was severely restricted to heads of families already long resident in Bavaria. This right could be inherited only by the oldest son who was thereby permitted to marry and have a family. The younger sons were not permitted to marry, unless a "vacancy" occurred through the death or emigration of established Jewish families. In exceptional cases, younger sons could purchase the right of marrying and setting up a family for the enormous sum of about a thousand *gulden*—a veritable fortune in those days.

The purpose of these inhuman regulations was openly stated:

"The number of Jewish families in any place in which they happen to reside must not, as a rule, be increased. It should rather be gradually diminished, if there are too many of them."<sup>5</sup>

In addition, the Bavarian government imposed restrictions on Jewish merchants, thus rendering free commercial activities all but impossible. As if this were not enough, the government also abolished rabbinic courts, so that even the restricted functions permitted during the years 1808-1813 were now done away with.

After Waterloo, there was a general reaction all over Germany, and in Bavaria the Jews were particularly affected by the hostile attitude of population and government alike. Nevertheless, perhaps because of their poverty and the constant harrassment to which they were subjected, the Jewish population almost doubled within one generation, and is estimated to have reached some 50,000 souls or more.

In 1831, renewed attempts were made by the Jewish communities of Bavaria to secure civil rights. There were long debates in the Bavarian parliament, and one representative, a certain Dr. Lang, spoke strongly in favor of Jewish emancipation—but only on condition that "the confessors of the Mosaic religion deny the authority of the Talmud and change their Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday."<sup>6</sup> In other words, if the Jews wanted emancipation, they had better stop being Jews. With such friends, the Bavarian Jews hardly needed enemies.

Eventually, a resolution was passed to the effect that the government would examine the legislation concerning the Jews, with a view to revising obnoxious laws in their favor. The Jews hailed this resolution as a great landmark; but the government was actually determined to postpone

indefinitely any action by putting forward all sorts of excuses to delay matters as long as possible. Commissions were appointed; "experts" were consulted; investigations were made; and Jewish communal and religious life was subjected to microscopic examination. Since the Jews were divided between Orthodox and Reform, this fact was used by the government to postpone still further any changes that may have been contemplated.<sup>7</sup>

The Jewish communities, meanwhile, sent one petition after another to the King and his ministers; but all they achieved was high praise for the good German style in which the petitions were composed. Then the papers were duly pigeonholed.

One such petition, submitted in 1837, complained bitterly about the oppressive regime under which Bavarian Jewry had to live. Many Jews, it was pointed out, were unable to endure this oppression any longer, and were therefore leaving Bavaria and emigrating to the United States.<sup>8</sup> The government was apparently not unduly impressed; for nothing whatsoever was done to alleviate the position of the Bavarian Jews. It must not be assumed that the Bavarian authorities shed any tears for the departing Jews. As far as they were concerned, it was good riddance. They did not want the Jews, and the oppressive measures were useful in reducing the growing numbers of the highly prolific Jewish community.

Even the great year of Revolutions, 1848, when so many reactionary regimes came crashing down, and most German states at last granted emancipation to their Jewish citizens—even then the petitions of the Bavarian Jewish communities achieved nothing but vague promises which were never meant to be kept. On the contrary, in the smaller towns and villages, the mobs threatened to kill the Jews, and in the end Jewish attempts to gain emancipation left them more unpopular than ever.<sup>9</sup>

During the reactionary era following the 1848 revolutions, continued appeals for civil rights were bound to remain fruitless, and in the course of the 1850's no improvements whatsoever were registered in Bavaria. Once again, large-scale emigration to America was the inevitable result of the suppression and persecution of the Jewish communities.<sup>10</sup>

It was not before 1861 that some of the worst abuses were removed; but even then the Bavarian government was unwilling to grant full equality to its Jewish citizens. Only with the unification of Germany in 1871 did the Bavarian Jews gain complete emancipation by virtue of the Federal constitution of the German Reich.

I have dwelt at some length on the situation of the Jews in Bavaria during the nineteenth century because every wave of Jewish immigration to Baltimore up to the period of the Civil War was directly due to the intolerable situation of Bavarian Jewry. Once the pressing need to emigrate had subsided, the German-Jewish—that is, primarily, the Bavarian-Jewish—immigration to Baltimore came to virtual halt.

Now, why did the immigrants choose to live in Baltimore rather than, say, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston or Savannah? To be sure, many immigrant groups went to all these places—wherever they could make a living. But those who settled in Baltimore did so partly because of the close relations that existed between Baltimore and Bremen, a major German port from which most of the German immigrants booked their passage; and partly because in effect the shipping companies induced them to come here. From the port of Baltimore two main products of contemporary Maryland—wheat and tobacco—used to be exported. Most of the wheat went to Ireland; most of the tobacco to Germany, but the shipping companies could not make a profit if the ships returned empty,

and neither Ireland nor Germany had any exports for which there was a market in Maryland. So the ships brought back *people*—poor people—at very low fares. In Germany, virtually all the tobacco wholesalers in the Rhine Valley were also travel agents for the shipping lines. If they wanted to get their share of the profitable tobacco business, they had to book passengers for America.<sup>11</sup>

Bavarian Jews, travelling north on their way to ports from which they would sail to America, would usually be approached by the shipping agents who would tempt them by offering them discount tickets for their passage. Since the emigrants were almost invariably poverty-stricken young men, they were only too pleased to accept the offer. Later on, when they had saved a little money in the Land of Opportunity, they would often come back to their home-town—not, mind you, to settle there, they were too smart for that—but to fetch a wife or a fiancée they had left behind. Since parents who might allow their sons to leave would be most reluctant to part with their unmarried daughters, there was often a desperate shortage of women, especially young women, in the New World. Bachelors who had made good would therefore pay special visits to their kith and kin, and within a few months they would return with their brides to America. Others would postpone their departure from the Old World until they were able to marry. Thus, Rabbi Benjamin Szold, one of the leading Baltimore rabbis in the nineteenth century, married his wife, to whom he had been engaged for many years, immediately prior to his emigration to America.<sup>12</sup>

This pattern was set in the early 1800's before the building of steamships when sailing vessels were used. Once German (as well as Irish) colonies had been set up in Baltimore, those who came later would naturally tend to join relatives and friends who had preceded them. It was because of these blind economic forces that so many German and especially Bavarian Jews found themselves in Baltimore. There was no particular reason for coming to this city. Given a free choice, most of the immigrants would probably have picked on larger, better-known cities, offering perhaps better opportunities. Eventually, it all turned out for the best. Baltimore had all the charm of the South with all the progressive spirit of the North. And if at times the city did not live up to its reputation, it must be borne in mind that other cities were not exactly perfect in their spiritual and moral beauty either.

It must be admitted, though, that for the new immigrants things in Baltimore were by no means easy. True, there were a couple of wealthy German-Jewish families such as the Ettings and the Cohens, who played a notable part in the civic, educational and commercial life of the city; but on the other hand, they were unwilling to identify with the new immigrants, preferring to regard themselves as aristocratic *Sephardim* (i. e., Jews of Spanish and Portuguese origin) rather than as poor *Ashkenazim* or German Jews.<sup>13</sup> For all that, they did assist their poorer co-religionists, and, what may be even more important, they played a prominent role in removing the political disabilities of the Jews in Maryland who, because of a special oath, could not be elected to any State offices. In 1826, after several abortive attempts to pass the so-called Jew Bill, the Legislature at last granted the Jews the right to be appointed to any office of trust, on condition that they "subscribe to a belief in a future state of rewards and punishments".<sup>14</sup>

All in all, there were no more than about 150 Jews in Maryland at the time, according to contemporary estimates. Nine years later, in 1835, the

Jewish population had doubled to some 300 souls. By 1840, it had risen to close to 200 families,<sup>15</sup> and since families in those days were large, the number of Jews in Maryland—primarily, of course, Baltimore—must have been at least a thousand persons.

The overwhelmingly German-speaking Jews of Baltimore, who culturally formed a substantial section of the general Germany colony in the city, lived for the most part in East Baltimore where the first synagogues of the city (including the beautiful Lloyd Street Synagogue—the oldest synagogue in Maryland and the third oldest in the United States) were located.<sup>16</sup> The new immigrants were assisted by those who had preceded them; but they were none-the-less extremely poor.<sup>17</sup> Many arrived penniless, and had to be maintained by their better-off co-religionists. Yet, they did not despair or wait for others to improve their lot. They were willing to work hard as long as they could see the prospect of a better life for themselves or their children at the end of the road. Since they had few skills, and were not cut out for hard physical labor—which in any case was not likely to lead them up the social ladder—, the only thing left for them was to become peddlers,<sup>18</sup> an occupation with which some of them were already familiar in the Old Country, in the Bavarian and Hessian villages.

In the New World, the peddler was able to play a much greater part in the progressive development of the country than in Europe. The farmers of Western Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia needed the services of the peddlers who brought them the industrial products of the city. These products were not otherwise obtainable in the small farming communities away from the urban centers near the coast. But to get to those distant places was no mean achievement. The peddler, who started out with virtually no capital, had to walk huge distances in all weathers, summer and winter, shouldering heavy packs up to 80 or even 100 lbs. He would be away from home through most of the week, returning only for the Sabbath to spend the day of rest with his family.

For many even this "luxury" was not available. They might have to spend weeks on end in the countryside, peddling, buying and selling wherever and whenever they could.

Inevitably, their religious traditions suffered in the process. It became difficult to observe the dietary laws when away from home. It often became impossible to observe the Jewish Sabbath. Economic necessity, more often than not, played havoc with the religious life of these poor, ignorant peddlers.<sup>19</sup> The Reform movement, which did away with much of traditional Judaism, was based not only on theological or philosophical evaluations but also on harsh necessity. The German-Jewish immigrants who abandoned the dietary laws and Sabbath observance did *not* do so because they had reasoned together and "discovered" that these were human customs rather than God-given laws. On the contrary, they later excused and rationalized what they had earlier abandoned because the sheer struggle for economic survival had forced them to do so.

If it is true that all-too-often it is the "wicked" who prosper while the "righteous" suffer, the German Jewish peddlers were certainly no exception. To the extent that they were willing to cast tradition to the wind and adapt themselves to new circumstances, they were able to prosper. The penniless, foot-slogging peddler gradually gave way to the horse-and-buggy salesman, and he in turn would open a small store in one of the smaller towns or larger villages. Instead of going round to the farmers, the farmers would come to him. The little store, which was, of course,

open on Saturday—and sometimes on Sunday as well—might in time become a big store. As cities grew, the big store would be transformed into something resembling the modern department store. It is no accident that the ancestors of the Hutzlers, Hochschild/Kohns, Hamburgers, Guttmans and other major department store owners were poor peddlers who were destined to revolutionize retail trading in this country.<sup>20</sup>

The German Jews of Baltimore lived together with the Christian Germans who at that time were probably the most liberal and progressive element in the country.<sup>21</sup> German Jews and Christians together organized German clubs, German societies, German Savings Banks and German building and loan associations. Fraternal orders such as the Odd Fellows had one hundred percent German lodges, the members of which were both Jews and Christians. They even kept their minutes in German.

There were German day schools, attended by Jews and Christians who could afford the fees, and the language of instruction was German. Rightly or wrongly, the German colony in Baltimore regarded German as the language of *Kultur*, while English—especially its "barbarous" American variety—was at best a useful means of getting along in America, not an instrument of culture.

Nearly all the Jewish congregational and organizational records and minutes were kept in German until well after the Civil War. The prayer books were German, and although they were gradually replaced by English prayer books during the second half of the nineteenth century, in one synagogue—the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation—the memorial prayer for the dead on the Day of Atonement is even today recited in German. Somehow, the German Jews of Baltimore and even some of their American-born descendants seem to have gained the notion that German was a sacred tongue in which solemn prayers should be uttered, even if one did not understand a word of German.

All the leading rabbis who served in Baltimore during the nineteenth century were of German or Central European origin, and they delivered their sermons in flawless German. It was considered a great innovation when, in 1882, Dr. Benjamin Szold, rabbi of the *Oheb Shalom* congregation, was asked to deliver his sermons in English *every other week*. This was a concession to the younger elements who had become Americanized.<sup>22</sup> However, hardly any of Baltimore's 19th century rabbis could speak English properly, and their English sermons were no doubt a foretaste of purgatory both for themselves and their congregations. Significantly, even the American-born Henry Schneeberger, who served as rabbi of the Chizuk Amuno Congregation from 1876 to 1916, had to go to Germany to study for a rabbinical career.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, Baltimore was fortunate in attracting some of the greatest rabbis of America whose influence has not been exhausted even today. The first ordained Rabbi in America was Abraham Rice, who came to Baltimore from Bavaria in 1840. He was the spiritual leader of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, the first Jewish congregation in this city. Rabbi Rice was a champion of strict orthodoxy, and he found it difficult to stomach the lax religious habits of his congregants. In a letter to his teacher in Germany, Rabbi Wolf Hamburger, he gives a pathetic picture of his life in the New World:

" I dwell in complete isolation without a teacher or a companion in this land whose atmosphere is not conducive to wisdom . . . The character of religious life in this country is on the lowest level. . . My mind is perplexed and I wonder whether a Jew may live in a land such as this . . . Life has

lost all meaning here on account of the irreverence and low estate of our people . . . Often I made up my mind to leave and go from here to Paris and to put my trust in the good Lord ".<sup>24</sup>

Tension between Rabbi Rice and his congregation reached such a point that he abandoned the rabbinate and became a merchant, though he later resumed his rabbinical career for a short period. Once he exclaimed in despair that "in Baltimore all is lost" (*In Baltimore ist alles verloren!*).<sup>25</sup> He nevertheless enjoys the distinction of being the originator of organized Orthodox Jewry in the United States.

The other two branches of American Judaism—Conservatism and Reform—also originated among the German Jews of Baltimore. Rabbi David Einhorn who became the spiritual leader of the Har Sinai Congregation in 1855 was one of the foremost pioneers of American Reform Judaism. He helped to shape its doctrines and left an indelible mark on its entire religious and social ideology. In his sermons and articles in the congregational magazine "Sinai"—written, incidentally, in pure German—he preached social action long before it was fashionable for ministers to engage in such activities. Above all, he was a fiery abolitionist who wrote and preached against slavery from the very beginning of his ministry in Baltimore. In language which is still vibrant with passion, he rejected the idea that the Bible sanctioned slavery. On the contrary, the entire spirit of the Bible, according to Einhorn, was opposed to slavery, even though it might tolerate it as an unavoidable evil. If one were to argue in favor of slavery because it was practiced in ancient times, one might just as well argue in favor of re-establishing polygamy or blood vengeance.<sup>26</sup> Einhorn also realized that the rights of all minorities were threatened—including those of the Jewish minority—if *any* group were deprived of its rights.<sup>27</sup>

Such advanced views were not popular in Baltimore in those days, and before long Einhorn became one of the most unpopular men in the city. As he himself wrote in the German-language magazine which he published for several years:

"Even at the very beginning of the current political movement I had a strong feeling that the atmosphere in Baltimore had become too oppressive for those men who had come to America in order to be able to speak and write freely . . . Plain truths which had anything to do with the burning problem of slavery . . . began . . . to be regarded as crimes. To touch the topic of slavery in a manner disagreeable to Southern views was regarded as unheard-of daring bordering on madness. To my deep regret I gradually found that a part of my congregation had caught this fever . . ."<sup>28</sup>

Einhorn was so determined to uphold his progressive, humanitarian principles that he resolved that—as he so eloquently put it—"in case Maryland were to secede from the Union, I would have no other choice but to resign my position in Baltimore; for even in Russia and Austria free speech is more tolerated than in a state that has seceded from the Union."<sup>29</sup> It is not surprising that Einhorn, who was a staunch Republican, was highly respected among German Liberals in Baltimore, and is often mentioned in the German language *Wecker*, the Liberal organ of the German community in Baltimore.<sup>30</sup>

As far as slavery was concerned, the Jews of Baltimore, like the Christian Germans, did not own slaves, and most of them no doubt regarded slavery with disdain. Besides, only wealthy people could afford to own slaves. A slave cost at least \$900, and the Jews of Baltimore were still for the most part small merchants and peddlers subsisting on a strictly limited income.

Last, but not least, slaves could be employed on plantations; but in urban centers they were at that time of little use.

While the German Jews of Baltimore had no particular reason to oppose abolition of slavery, they, nevertheless, favored the Democrats who were the States' Rights party. That party opposed the xenophobic and anti-immigrant "Know-Nothings",<sup>32</sup> so that the Jews had little choice but to support the Democrats, irrespective of their attitude on the slavery issue.

On April 19, 1861, large-scale rioting broke out in Baltimore. The homes of known abolitionists were set on fire, and some of their occupants beaten. A few abolitionists were murdered, and printing presses—including the one which printed Einhorn's "Sinai"—were destroyed. In Einhorn's words, "all of a sudden the city was brought under the reign of terror of a furious mob, which immediately began to murder and burn to its heart's content; to destroy unpopular houses and presses; and to get out of the way citizens suspected of love for the Union . . ."<sup>33</sup>

Einhorn decided that it would be the better part of valor to remove himself and his family to safety in Philadelphia; but he fully intended to return to Baltimore on his own within a few days. On May 12th, Einhorn's congregation invited him to return. However, because of political differences and sheer faintheartedness the leading members of the "Har Sinai" Temple urged him "that it would be highly desirable—both for your own safety's sake and in consideration of the members of your congregation—if in future there would be no comment from the pulpit on the exciting issues of the time; but we beg you to attribute this remark only to our sad circumstances".<sup>34</sup>

Einhorn, who was not in the habit of accepting restraining advice from anyone, immediately sent a letter of resignation, dated May 16, 1861, in which he thoroughly explained his reasons.<sup>35</sup> He never returned to Baltimore.

In sharp contrast to Einhorn, Rabbi Bernard Illoy, who had succeeded Rice as spiritual leader of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, did not object to slavery<sup>36</sup> and defended States' Rights, including secession from the Union, an issue on which Einhorn held passionately partisan views: "Any Jew", he vehemently declared, "who lifts his hand against the Union is, as a Jew, to be considered equal to a parricide."<sup>37</sup> It is indeed amazing how patriotic these newly arrived immigrants could be. However, on the great problems of the time Jewish clergymen and congregants, like their Christian counterparts, were deeply divided.

The most learned Baltimore rabbi of the time was Benjamin Szold, a peace-loving "middle-of-the-road" man who was, appropriately, rabbi of the *Oheb Shalom* Congregation—*Oheb Shalom* means "one who loves Peace". It was what we would today call a progressive Conservative Synagogue, preserving some of the ancient ritual, but modifying and changing it in several respects. Rabbi Szold, who is rightly regarded as one of the spiritual ancestors of American Conservatism Judaism,<sup>38</sup> was a prolific author, educator and preacher, and some of his works are still occasionally cited. When he first arrived, in 1859, incidentally, with high recommendations from the rabbinical seminary of Breslau, Silesia (including one from the German-Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz),<sup>39</sup> he was, for no ostensible reason, viciously attacked by Einhorn who generally, according to contemporary testimony, "treated every one of his colleagues like small and contemptible creatures", and was said to be "in all his controversies . . . grossly personal and unfair."<sup>40</sup> After some initial hesi-



tation, Szold retaliated in kind, writing some polemical articles against his formidable opponent. On the slavery issues, Szold tended to agree that the enslavement of human beings was wrong, and he was loyal to the Union. Indeed, he advocated the education of the freed Negroes—and was promptly dubbed "The Rabbi of Timbuktu" by his opponents.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, he passionately believed in peace, and he consistently preached reconciliation and negotiation. Within his limited sphere of influence he tried to unite the two sides. It must be borne in mind that many Jewish families were split up as a result of the Civil War, some backing the North, while their brothers went *off* to join the Confederate army.

Rabbi Szold's peaceful disposition eventually asserted itself even in his relations with Einhorn, whom, incidentally, he never met in person. Once Einhorn had left for Philadelphia, the two rabbis ceased to be competitors, and their subsequent correspondence indicates a much friendlier relationship.

The Civil War was a major landmark in the history of the German Jews in Baltimore. It effectively halted German-Jewish immigration. By the time the war was over, the general position of German Jewry had greatly improved, and complete emancipation was on the point of being achieved even in backward, reactionary Bavaria. Economically, the German Jews were on the road to prosperity, so that there was no inducement to seek one's fortune overseas, except in isolated individual cases.

On the other hand, Christian Germans, many of whom suffered from the effects of the German industrial revolution and occasional economic depression, continued to migrate to the United States, including Baltimore, where they comprised a sizeable section of the immigrant population. This was probably the reason why the second generation of the German Jews seceded from the German colony in which their fathers had been fully integrated. The new American-born, English-speaking generation was culturally different from the continuing stream of non-Jewish German immigrants. The social and cultural gap which later developed between the prosperous Americanized German Jews and the waves of poverty-stricken Russian-Jewish immigrants was also in evidence in the relations between the English-speaking American-born children of German-Jewish origin and the German-speaking colony of non-Jewish immigrants from Central Europe. Where there is no common language and culture, close social contact must inevitably be difficult, if not impossible. Of course, many of the earlier Christian immigrants from Germany also prospered and became Americanized; but they as well as the Jews moved to different neighborhoods. To the tenuous memory of linguistic and cultural links there was added the physical distance of areas of residence. That was why the so-called German solidarity, that close brotherhood of Germans of all religions and classes, did not survive much beyond the first generation.

Even those Jews who retained their orthodox religious traditions beyond the first generation did not for the most part maintain their social or cultural associations with the non-Jewish German elements. As has been aptly pointed out, "If they were orthodox, the Jewish element outweighed their German background".<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, "if they were liberal, the process of Americanization overcame the German-Jewish isolation".<sup>43</sup>

Yet, in a wider sense, the tradition of close cooperation between Jews and Gentiles established by the German immigrants was continued by their American-born descendants. They have actively participated in the political, economic and cultural life of Maryland in general and of Baltimore in particular. The number of Jews of German extraction who have played

prominent roles in the civic life of Baltimore would be too numerous to mention individually.<sup>44</sup> Suffice it to say that in the sphere of education, culture and medicine, Jews of German origin have distinguished themselves far beyond the numerical proportion of the German-Jewish community of Baltimore to the other ethnic groups of the city.<sup>45</sup>

Summing up, we may point to some of the more important achievements of Baltimore's German-Jewish community. The German-Jewish immigrants pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps from poverty to affluence. By and large, they maintained their basic religious traditions even while fully integrating in the general community. Last, but not least, while justifiably proud of the achievements of their ancestors, they have responded generously to appeals for aid, irrespective of race, creed and color.

<sup>1</sup> *Occident*, XIV, 8 (Nov. 1856), 406-8; XIV, 9 (Dec. 1856), 448 f.; Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore* (Baltimore-Washington, 1910), 16.

<sup>2</sup> Blum, *op. cit.*, 28; *Sinai*, Vol. I, July, 1856, 189; *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. II (1900-01), 269; William S. Rayner, Address containing the History of the Har Sinai Congregation, Nov. 18, 1892, 5.

<sup>3</sup> S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (Berlin 1928), VIII, 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 63 f..

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 326 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 332.

<sup>11</sup> Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton 1948), 202.

<sup>12</sup> Alexandra Lee Levin, *The Szolds of Lombard Street* (Philadelphia 1960), 22.

<sup>13</sup> Cf., e. g., *Sinai*, Vol. II, No. 2, March 1857, 445 f.

<sup>14</sup> Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore* (Baltimore-Washington 1910), 7, 57.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. Dieter Cunz, *op. cit.*, 331, suggests that in 1840 the number of German-Jewish families in Baltimore was about 100, but this seems to be an underestimate.

<sup>16</sup> Blum, *op. cit.*, 8.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* Non-Jewish German immigrants likewise rendered considerable assistance to German newcomers, though they also tried to dissuade and prevent poverty-stricken tramps and vagabonds from coming over from Germany; cf. Cunz, *op. cit.*, 202 f.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> It was apparently because of the "continual absence of many of the members of the Jewish community" that the formation of a congregation was delayed until 1830 (cf. Blum, *op. cit.*, 9), despite the fact that a congregational quorum must have been available for many years prior to 1830.

<sup>20</sup> Cunz, *op. cit.*, 331.

<sup>21</sup> Cunz, *op. cit.*, 252, 332.

<sup>22</sup> Louis F. Cahn, *The History of Oheb Shalom 1853-1953* (Baltimore 1953), 35.

<sup>23</sup> Israel M. Goldman, Henry W. Schneeberger: His Role in American Judaism, *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, LVII, No. 2 (Dec. 1967), 157 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cited from a MS. in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary by I. Tabak, Rabbi Abraham Rice of Baltimore, *Tradition*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Summer 1965), 102 f.

<sup>25</sup> Letter of Rice to Leeser, dated August 24, 1851, in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

<sup>26</sup> Bertram W. Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia 1951), 20 f.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>28</sup> *Sinai*, Vol. VI, No. 5 (June 1861), 136.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>30</sup> Cunz, *op. cit.*, 307, n. 86.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. A. Conrad & J. Meyer, *Economics of Slavery* (Chicago 1964), 51.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. M. P. Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago-Baltimore 1925), Vol. I, 776 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Sinai*, *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>36</sup> *Occident*, XVIII, No. 44, 276 f., Jan. 24, 1861.

<sup>37</sup> *Sinai*, VI, No. 7, 208, August 1861.

<sup>38</sup> Moshe Davis, *The Emergence of Conservative Judaism* (Philadelphia 1963), 360 f.

<sup>39</sup> Letter in the Archives of the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland.

<sup>40</sup> *The Israelite*, No. 34, Feb. 24, 1860, 267.

<sup>41</sup> Cunz, *op. cit.*, 331, n. 23.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 332.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> For a partial list, cf. L. Putzel, The Jew in Political Life, in Blum, *op. cit.*, 57 f..

<sup>45</sup> For a partial list, cf. W. Rosenau, The Jews in Baltimore Education, in Blum, *op. cit.*, 54 ff..