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Notes



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Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel; etching by Rembrandt, 1636
(See Stiefel article)

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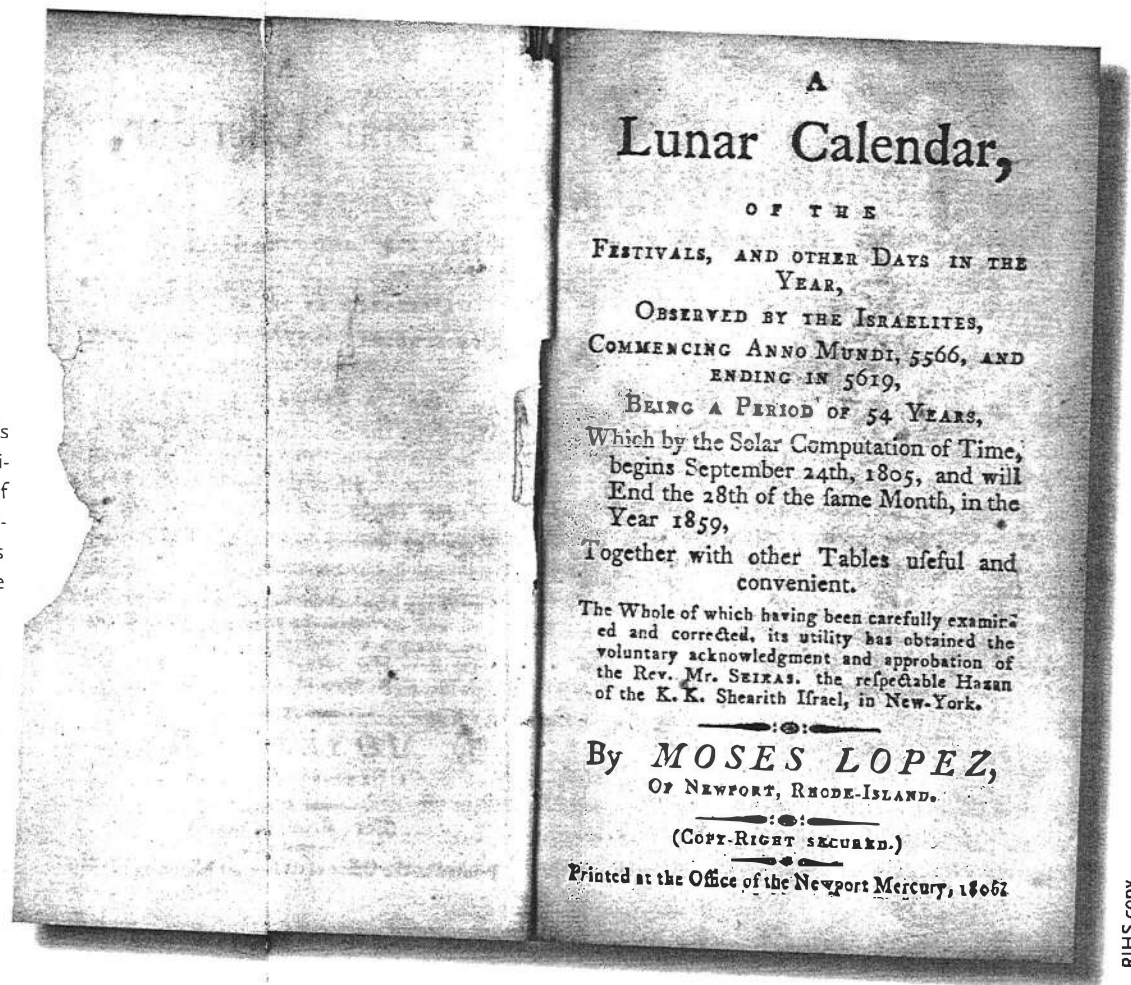


TWO COPIES OF A PRINTED EARLY AMERICAN JEWISH CALENDAR IN PROVIDENCE

MICHAEL SATLOW

The author earned his bachelor's degree at Yale in 1986 and his doctorate in ancient Judaism at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1993. Previously a faculty member at the Universities of Cincinnati, Virginia, and Indiana, he is now a professor of religious studies and Judaic studies at Brown. Dr. Satlow, who has received fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation and the American Council of Learned Societies, is coeditor of Brown's Judaic Studies series and has contributed articles to numerous scholarly journals and anthologies. Two of his recent books are: *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity* (Princeton University Press, 2001) and *Creating Judaism: History, Tradition, Practice* (Columbia University Press, 2006).

If this article is his first foray into American Jewish history, it should lead to many others. Dr. Satlow's article suggests, moreover, that many treasures of Rhode Island Jewish history remain buried in local archives and libraries.



The first book-length version of the Jewish calendar published in America was printed in Newport¹ in 1806. Authored by Moses Lopez, it is entitled: *A Lunar Calendar, of the Festivals, and Other Days in the Year, Observed by the Israelites, Commencing Anno Mundi, 5566, and Ending in 5619, being a Period of 54 Years, Which by the Solar Computation of Times, Begins September 24th 1805, and will End the 28th of the Same Month, in the Year 1859*. Several copies of the book, consisting of about 130 unnumbered pages, are extant in libraries and private collections.² The volume, well noted (although not fully treated) by scholars, is freely accessible in microform and the digitization of that microform copy.³

I am presently preparing a full scholarly treatment of this calendar, its circulation, and use. Although the first part of this article will very briefly discuss

the book itself and its authorship, the second part is devoted to the handwritten marginalia on two extant copies. Two copies are located within blocks of each other: one at the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, the other in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society. These copies open a small window onto the lives of several prominent Jewish families in nineteenth-century America.

First, a few words about the book and its author are in order. Several men named Moses Lopez lived in and around Newport during this time. Our author is not the more famous Moses Lopez, Aaron's stepbrother, who arrived in Newport in the early 1740s and held a patent on potash.⁴ It was, rather, their nephew, who was born as Edward in 1744 to Portuguese Jews who had emigrated

RIHS copy

to America. He and his two brothers were circumcised in Tiverton in 1767.⁵

Not much is known of this Moses Lopez. From his later correspondence with Stephen Gould, he appears to have been a small merchant with perhaps some additional income from renting an apartment or two. He did not appear to marry, instead living with one of his brothers until the latter's death. At that point, suffering from rheumatism, he moved to New York in 1822, and was said to have been "the last [Jew] who quited [sic] the town."⁶ He died in New York and was interred in Newport.⁷ In 1805, when he authored the calendar, he was thus 61 years old and one of the very few Jews left in Newport. He does not say anything in his preface about why he wrote it.

The calendar, which he apparently published at his own expense using the presses of *The Newport Mercury*, contains nine tables, and is prefaced with a recommendation from Gershom Mendes Seixas, then the *hazzan* (spiritual leader) of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York. The first two tables, facing each other on each folio, comprise the bulk of the book. Table I contains the dates of Jewish holidays and other days of liturgical import (e.g., Rosh Hodesh, or the New Moon, which requires some minor liturgical adjustments). Table II details which Torah readings (*parshiyot*) correspond to each Sabbath. This set of tables covers the years 1805/6 to 1858/9. The later tables give the Hebrew dates for each Jewish holiday, provide the key to the lectionary readings indicated in Table II as well as the readings for Jewish holidays; and give the hour to commence the Sabbath in the City of New York, adjusted for the time of year.⁸ There is also a brief chart of the "dominical letters," (a method used for finding the day of the week of a given calendar date) which Lopez states he found helpful for calculating the calendar.

The calendar thus appears geared primarily for synagogue use, aiding determination of the proper liturgy and readings. Secondly it would have been helpful for individuals who wanted to know when the holidays fell and other liturgical modifications were required. Whether or not this is actually how the calendar was used, we shall shortly see that it was also used to address other needs.

JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY'S COPY

This copy of Lopez's calendar has an inscription on the inside front cover: "This calendar must be kept as a memento on account of its rarity and usefulness in ascertaining [sic] back-dates in Lunar calculations. Jacob Ezekiel Cinti 2/22 '97 (see page 1812-5572)." On the page for 1812/5572, on the first table, there is a

star between June 11-28, referencing "Jacob Ezekiel" written on the bottom; the same appears, crossed out, on the next page— apparently a mistake. Ezekiel is mentioned once more in the book. At the top of Seixas's recommendation page is an inscription that reads: "By S. Morais to his old and dear friend Jacob Ezekiel June 5th/'88."

Although Morais and then Ezekiel owned this book at the end of the nineteenth century, Levy Phillips of Philadelphia was the original owner of this copy. His name is all over the book. One of the blank pages at the beginning is inscribed with his name and the date "Jan. 7th 1808." He also inscribed his name on the book's back page and on the side on the page with the table for 1809. His Hebrew name, in block script, appears on the side of the table for the previous year, 1808: Levi ben k'h [for kohen?] Yohanan z'l.

Levy Phillips was born (probably in Philadelphia) in 1754. His parents were Jonas (or Yohanan), an immigrant from Bohemia who died in 1794, and Fanny Brandley Phillips. Levy, a merchant in Philadelphia, was a member of Congregation Mikve Israel; he in fact served as the *parnass* from 1818 to 1821.⁹ He married Leah Simon on October 19, 1785 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania,¹⁰ and died on January 16, 1832 in Philadelphia.

The calendar is in good condition and does not contain any annotations; it is unclear how often and for what purpose he might have used it. At some point it appears to have passed into the hands of S. Morais, most likely Sabato Morais. Sabato was the Italian-born rabbi of congregation Mikveh Israel (from 1851 until his death in 1897) and later a founder of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.¹¹ He was also the father of Henry Samuel Morais, author of *The Jews of Philadelphia*. In that book, Henry provides a long and warm biography of Jacob Ezekiel, who is indeed noted as having been born on June 28, 1812 in Philadelphia, and was residing in Cincinnati in 1894 (at the time of the publication of *The Jews of Philadelphia*).¹² He died on May 16, 1899.¹³

According to Morais, Ezekiel was the second of four children. He was reared primarily by his uncle, who arranged two apprenticeships for him: one with a dyer and chemist, the other with a bookbinder. After these apprenticeships, when he was 20, he moved to Baltimore and then Richmond, Virginia, where he lived from 1834 to 1869, running a dry goods business with his brother-in-law. He served in the Confederate army. Ezekiel was active in the Jewish community and as an advocate for Jewish causes; in 1849 he helped rescind a law that prohibited work on Sunday, which penalized Sabbath-observant Jews. He moved to Cincinnati in 1869, and was soon elected to the board of governors

of Hebrew Union College. He might be best remembered, though, as the father of his more famous son, the sculptor Moses Jacob Ezekiel.¹⁴

It is likely that Ezekiel was familiar with Lopez's calendar well before he received his copy from Morais in 1888, which was in turn well after it ceased to be of any practical use. Ezekiel is credited in the first volume of Isaac Leiser's *Occident and American Jewish Advocate* in 1843 with contributing the column that details the commencement times for the Sabbath, which are identical to those found in Lopez's calendar.¹⁵

Ezekiel's involvement with Hebrew Union College might explain the last stage of the book's journey to the collections of the John Carter Brown Library. Ezekiel may have given or sold his copy to the young Englander, who was a 22-year-old student in Cincinnati at the time of Ezekiel's death. It also may have ended up in Englander's hands via some other association with Hebrew Union College.

Englander (1877-1951), the son of a Hebrew teacher, received his bachelor's degree at the University of Cincinnati and was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1901.¹⁶ While serving congregations in Ligonier and South Bend, Indiana, he took graduate studies in Bible and Semitics at the University of Chicago. Between 1905 and 1910, however, he resided in Providence, where he was rabbi of Congregation Sons of Israel and David (later known as Temple Beth-El). While studying for his Ph.D. at Brown University, which was conferred in 1909, he was a lecturer in biblical history and literature. Rabbi Englander resigned from Beth-El to join the faculty of his alma mater, Hebrew Union College, and to return to the city of his childhood. In 1933 Rabbi Englander, a professor of medieval Jewish exegesis, donated his copy of the calendar to the John Carter Brown Library, perhaps in part because the library at Hebrew Union College already owned a copy of Lopez's book.¹⁷

Had Professor Englander kept his copy of the calendar until his death, it may also have ended up in Providence. In 1951 Rabbi William G. Braude of Temple Beth-El arranged to purchase remnants of Professor Englander's library for the Temple's library. Indeed, Professor Englander had recommended his protégé, Rabbi Braude, to his former congregation in Providence. Perhaps in October 1932, when Professor Englander installed Rabbi Braude at Beth-El, the idea of a gift to the John Carter Brown Library occurred to him.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COPY

This copy of Lopez's calendar is far more heavily annotated and of more historical

interest. The inside cover is inscribed, "Presented to Mr. Jacob I. Cohen by Naphtali Phillips New York 11th be'Adar 5570." This corresponded to March 17, 1810.¹⁸

Naphtali Phillips (1773-1870) is well known. He was the proprietor of the *National Advocate*, a New York newspaper, and he served as president of Congregation Shearith Israel for 14 terms. Having deep historical interests, he wrote a history of Jews in New York.¹⁹ In 1797 in Newport, he had married Rachel Hannah Seixas, the daughter of Moses Mendez Seixas and the sister of Gershom Mendez Seixas. Phillips may have briefly lived in Newport before taking up permanent residence in New York in 1801.²⁰ Rachel died in 1822, and Phillips soon married Esther Seixas, Rachel's cousin, who was also from Newport.

Although the precise circumstances of Phillips's acquisition of a spare copy of Lopez's calendar must remain obscure, it is probable that Phillips did not purchase it himself. He almost certainly knew Lopez personally through his connection to Newport. Even if Lopez did not himself give Phillips the calendar, Gershom Seixas (his wife's uncle) or Shearith Israel might have had spare copies. It is somewhat curious that Naphtali Phillips, at least between 1843 and 1844, possessed a handwritten Jewish calendar.²¹

Jacob I. Cohen (1744-1823), an immigrant in 1773 from Oberdorf, Bavaria, was a successful merchant in Charleston, Richmond, and Philadelphia.²² After spending most of his career in Richmond, he moved to Philadelphia in 1806 and became the *parnas* of Congregation Mikve Israel in 1810.²³ Perhaps it was in connection to this office that Naphtali Phillips presented him with this calendar. I have been unable to find other evidence of an association between Cohen and Phillips. Cohen, on the other hand, clearly knew Levy Phillips in Philadelphia, the owner of the copy of Lopez's calendar discussed above. Cohen not only made bequests to him and his wife in his will, but also appointed him as an executor of his estate.²⁴

Curiously, it appears that an extant, handwritten Hebrew calendar, produced in Philadelphia for the year 1778-9, was inscribed by Jacob Cohen's second wife, Rachel Jacobs (Polack). It was inscribed no earlier than 1807, when they were married.²⁵ It is unclear if this handwritten calendar was in her or her family's possession prior to 1807, or if it somehow belonged to Cohen.

There are some markings in the Historical Society's copy of the book that appear to have been made prior to 1810. Table II (which indicates the lectionary readings for 1807 and 1809) contains clarifying notations. It appears that Phillips, or whoever might have owned the calendar at that time, used it within a synagogue context.

1813. TABLE I. Year 5574.

(1)	(2)	(3)
Sept. 25, 26	Tifri Roshanna	Satur. Sun.
27	Fast of Gedaliah	Mond.
Oct. 4	Kipur	Mond.
9 10	Sucot	Satur. Sun.
15	Hoshanna Raba	Frid.
24 25	Roshodes Hefvan	Sun. Mon.
Nov. 23 24	Roshodes Kisleu	Tuesf. Wed.
Dec. 18	Hanuca	Satur.
23 24	Roshodes Tebet	Thursf. Frid.
1814. Jan. 2	Fast of Tebet	Sund.
22	Roshodes Sebat	Satur.
Feb. 20 21	Roshodes Adar	Sun. Mon.
Mar. 3	Fast of Esther	Thursf.*
6 7	Purim	Sun. Mon.
22	Roshodes Nissan	Tuesf.
Apr. 5 6	Pessah	Tuesf. Wed.
20 21	Roshodes Yiar	Wed. Thurs.
May 4	Pessah Seni	Wed.
8 33	of Homer	Sund.
20	Roshodes Siyan	Frid.
25 26	Sebuot	Wed. Thurs.
Jun. 18 19	Roshodes Tamus	Satur. Sun.
July 5	Fast of Tamus	Tuesf.
18	Roshodes Ab	Mond.
26	Tishabeab	Tuesf.
Aug. 16 17	Roshodes Elul	Tuesf. Wed.

Complete Common Year,
containing 355 days.

1813. TABLE II. Year 5574.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Oct. 23	1 H. Berefit		May 7	31	
30	2		14	32	33
Nov. 6	3		21	34	
13	4		28	35	
20	5	Paras.	Jun. 4	36	
27	6		11	37	
Dec. 4	7		18	38	
11	8		25	39	
18	9	S. Hanuca	July 2	40	
1814. 25	10	S. ditto.	9	41	
Jan. 1	11		16	42	43
8	12		23	44	
15	13		30	45	Com'ts
22	14		Aug. 6	46	
29	15		13	47	
Feb. 5	16		20	48	
12	17	Com'ts.	27	49	
19	18	P. Secalim	Sept. 3	50	
26	19		10	51	
Mar. 5	20	P. Zachor	17	52	5575.
12	21	P. Para	24	0	S. Kipur
19	22	23 Ahodes	Oct. 1	53	
26	24		7	54	H. Tora
Apr. 2	25	S. Agadol			Frid. S.
9	0	S. Pessah			
16	26				
23	27	28			
30	29	30			

בין ה'תש"ד ל'תש"ה
1744

Following common practice (as we saw in Levy Phillip's copy), Cohen inscribed his name in the book several additional times. On the page containing Table I for 1825, he wrote in the margin, "Jacob I. Cohen" and then his name in Hebrew script, "Yaakov ben Yehusha kohen," followed by a Yiddish word. In the middle of the page containing the dominical letters (Table IX), he wrote "Jacob I. Cohen's Book," and then in Hebrew script, "Yaakov kohen."

While we might assume that Cohen made these inscriptions around the time he received the book, his other annotations seem to begin in 1813. At the bottom of the pages containing Tables I and II for 1813/14, Cohen scrawled a Yiddish notation. It mentions the year 1744 and that he is 70 years old, and ends with his Hebrew name.

In 1817, on Table II by the date corresponding to Adar 27, Cohen notes a death. On the next page, on the bottom, he makes a Yiddish notation in thick ink, mentioning the number 27. In Table II, Cohen carefully marked the secular date for Adar 27 for each year through 1858.²⁶ Cohen prepared to use the book to mark a *Yahrzeit*, an anniversary of a death.

Another life-cycle event appears to be noted on the inside of the second blank page at the beginning of the book, in a very light hand: "5 Hesvan 5582 at 30 minutes past 12 o'clock at Night. Nov 1 1821." It marks the death of Cohen's second wife, Rachel.²⁷ It is unclear if the writing, which is lighter than Cohen's other notations, is his.

In the left-hand margin of Table I, between the years 1830 and 1843, seven names, with their Hebrew and English dates, are written around their appropriate place in the table. The inscriptions (and years in which the tables begin) are: Mendes, 4 May/21 Yiar (1830); Katharine, 3 Oct./19 Tishri (1833); Miriam, 5 Sept./11 Elul (1834); Margaret, 20 Feb./15 Adar (1836); Bertha, 12 Apr./17 Nisan (1837); Jacob, 6 Novemb./21 Hesvan (1841); Rebecca, 25 Sep./1 Rosha (1843).

These inscriptions are the birthdates of Jacob Cohen's grandnephews and grandnieces, the children of his nephew, David I. Cohen. David Cohen was the son of Jacob's brother Israel; the family settled in Baltimore in 1808.²⁸ In his will, Jacob Cohen bequeathed to his nephew David a property in Richmond; David was also to share with his many siblings in any remaining property and personal effects not specifically assigned in the will.²⁹ Although Jacob Cohen assigned his "Hebrew and English Books" to his wife and to David's older brother (also named Jacob I. Cohen), this calendar clearly ended up in David's possession.

David I. Cohen lived from 1800 to 1847, primarily in Baltimore. He married Harriett (Rahmah) Cohen, with whom he had seven children before his

premature death.³⁰ His best-known son was probably his eldest, Mendes, who became a civil engineer and took a keen interest in history; he was involved in several historical societies, including the founding of the American Jewish Historical Society.³¹ Given Mendes's historical interests, it would seem likely that this copy of the calendar ended up in his hands. Because the accession records of the Rhode Island Historical Society are still being processed, it remains unclear at present how this copy came into the Society's possession.

AN IMPORTANT MEMENTO

These two copies of Lopez's calendar in Providence are of course interesting for their connections with many notable, nineteenth-century Jews. At the same time, they begin to tell a story in their own right. Lopez appears to have designed a calendar primarily for liturgical use, whether public or private. If Naphtali Phillips acquired a copy shortly after its publication and used it for the liturgical functions that it best served, Cohen and his family turned it into a record of life-cycle events. A little book of tables, meant primarily to be useful for determining the correct order of prayers and readings on a given day, was turned into a family heirloom or, as in Ezekiel's copy, a historical memento.

It is not too surprising that, given the need to reconcile Hebrew dates of death to the secular calendar, Lopez's calendar was used to properly observe *Yahrzeits*. More interesting is the marking of birthdates, which at that time more typically might be found in family Bibles, both Christian and Jewish. In fact, several of the other extant copies of the calendar were used precisely in this way. Jonathan Sarna has suggested to me that this might have been due in part to the relative scarcity of Jewish Bibles in the United States at that time coupled with a Jewish reluctance to use a Christian Bible.³² For Jews like David Cohen and Jacob Ezekiel, the calendar was less useful as a tool than as an important memento, a marker of an authentic religious past.

I would like to thank Dr. George M. Goodwin for bringing this calendar to my attention and encouraging me to work on it. Phoebe Simpson Bean, printed collection librarian at the Rhode Island Historical Society, Holly Snyder at the Brown University Libraries, and Kevin Proffitt at the American Jewish Archives all provided invaluable assistance. I am also grateful to Professor Jonathan D. Sarna for his many valuable suggestions and references.

ENDNOTES

1) Printed versions of the Jewish calendar did exist in the Americas prior to this work, but they usually consisted of a page or two in a more general annual almanac. For an example, see *The South-Carolina & Georgia Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1800... Also, a French and a Hebrew Calendar*, Charleston [S.C.]: Printed by Freneau & Paine, no. 47, Bay., [1799]. This work is noted as the first such calendar to be printed in the United States in Robert Singerman, *Judaica Americana: A Bibliography of Publications*

- to 1900, Vol. I (New York: Greenwood, 1990), 36, no. 0134. Just a few years earlier a similar calendar appeared in Jamaica: *The New Jamaica Almanack and Register, Calculated to the Meridian of the Island for the Year of our Lord 1796, printed by David Dickson for Thom S. Stevenson, Kingston*. This almanac is said to contain a "Kalendar of Months, Sabbaths, and Holidays, which the Hebrews or Jews observe and keep, For the Years 5556 and 5557 of the Creation." The existence and brief description of this calendar is mentioned by Sotheby's, which sold a copy at an auction, but I have been unable to locate a copy in libraries. Handwritten Jewish calendars did circulate in America. See: Jonathan D. Sarna, "An Eighteenth Century Hebrew Lu'ah from Pennsylvania," *American Jewish Archives Journal* 57 (2005), 25-7.
- 2| A copy of Lopez's calendar was recently sold for \$8,125 by Sotheby's at an auction of "Important Judaica" on December 17, 2008 in New York City. Sale No8504, lot 23.
- 3| The book is noted by Singerman, *Judaica Americana*, Vol. I, 42, no. 0163, and Sarna, "Hebrew Lu'ah," 25. It is available in microform and in digital form as part of *Early American Imprints, Second Series* (also known as Shaw & Shoemaker), nos. 10746 and 50565. (Both are of the same copy in the American Antiquarian Society.)
- 4| Morris A. Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport: Two and a Half Centuries of Judaism*, 1658-1908 (New York: Bloch, 1936), 55.
- 5| "Miscellaneous Items Relating to Jews in New York," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 27 (1920), 153.
- 6| This letter is labeled no. 14 among the cache of letters sent to Gould, and is now located in the American Jewish Archives (SC-13432). It is titled in penciled notation, "Important. Letter to Town Council by Touro family re: Synagogue."
- 7| Gutstein, 68, 185, 225, 309.
- 8| Lopez claims to have obtained his table for the commencement of the Sabbath from one prepared by Reverend Joseph Jessuran Pinto in New York in 1759. It rounds off the times to the nearest 30 minutes based on the time of year. More discussion of this table can be found at <http://agmk.blogspot.com/2008/02/how-18th-c-jewish-women-knew-when-to.html>
- 9| Henry S. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia: their history from the earliest settlements to the present time; a record of events and institutions, and of leading members of the Jewish community in every sphere of activity* (Philadelphia: The Levy Type Co., 1894), 45.
- 10| Lancaster, located about 70 miles west of Philadelphia, was the commercial center for western Pennsylvania, Maryland, and part of Virginia. It had also been the largest inland settlement in British North America. Joseph Simon established Lancaster's Jewish community in the early 1740s but it disappeared after his death in 1804. Eli Faber, *A Time for Planting*, Vol. I of *The Jewish People in America*, ed. by Henry L. Feingold (5 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 40.
- 11| See: Arthur Kiron, "'Dust and Ashes': The Funeral and Forgetting of Sabato Morais," *American Jewish History* 84:3 (1996), 155-88.
- 12| Morais, 259-62.
- 13| One obituary is published in *The Menorah: A Monthly Magazine* 26 (January to June, 1899), 397-9.
- 14| Ibid., Samson D. Oppenheim, "Moses Jacob Ezekiel," *American Jewish Year Book* 19 (1917-1918), 227-32.
- 15| *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, "Jewish Calendar for 5604," vol. 1, no. 6, September 1843. Ezekiel was credited with the times for the commencement of the Sabbath, which are identical to the

ones found in Lopez's calendar.

- 16| The following biographical information about Rabbi Henry Englander is derived from: Seebert J. Goldowsky, *A Century and a Quarter of Spiritual Leadership: The Story of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David (Temple Beth-El), Providence, Rhode Island* (Providence: the Congregation, 1989), 184, 187-8, 200, 290, 358.
- 17| The gift is recorded, with no further information, in the accession catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library. Dr. David Gilner, director of libraries at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, has informed me (private correspondence, June 23, 2009) that the library had already acquired a copy of Lopez's book at least two decades earlier.
- 18| Adar II is almost certainly meant here. The year 5570 was a leap year.
- 19| Naphtali Phillips, "Sketch of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel Written about 1855," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 21 (1913), 174-228.
- 20| Phillips, 173.
- 21| Found in the archives of the American Jewish Historical Society, Phillips Family Papers (P-17), Box 1.
- 22| For biographies, see: Jonathan D. Sarna, "Jacob I. Cohen (1744-1823)," *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, Vol. III (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2006), 345-7; Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917* (Richmond: Herbert T. Ezekiel, 1917), 17-20; Aaron Baroway, "The Cohens of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 18 (1923): 357-76, especially 359-62.
- 23| Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, 19.
- 24| Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, 332-3. In a codicil to the will, dated to 1819, Cohen appoints his nephews, now of proper age, as sole executors of his estate.
- 25| Sarna, "Hebrew Lu'ah."
- 26| Cohen was aware of the printing error in this copy. After 1827-8 (5588), Table I is as expected (1828/5589), but is facing Table II for 1826 (5587), which is identical to the earlier Table II appearing for this year. Then on the next page, Tables I and II for 1827 (5588) repeat again. Thenceforward the tables align as they should.
- 27| Baroway, 359.
- 28| Baroway, "The Cohens of Maryland II," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 19 (1924): 54-77, especially 57.
- 29| Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, 331 (item 6), 333 (item 32).
- 30| Baroway, "Cohens II," 57. David Landman, "Cohen," in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. by Isaac Landman (New York: The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, 1939-43), III, 233-6.
- 31| Richard H. Spencer, ed., *Genealogical and Memorial Encyclopedia of the State of Maryland* (New York: American Historical Society, 1919), s.v., "Mendes Cohen," 675-8. Sketches of David's other children can be found in Baroway, "Cohens II," 74-5.
- 32| These other copies will be examined in more detail in my longer study of this calendar. The suggestion from Jonathan Sarna was made to me in an e-mail of June 22, 2009. On the printing of Jewish Bibles in the United States, see: Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 81-2.