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American Jewish ARCHIVES

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In This Issue

ILLUSTRATIONS

Beginning with this issue, the *American Jewish Archives* will appear in April and October, instead of in January and June.

Published by THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
on the Cincinnati campus of the HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
NELSON GLUECK, *President*

Trail Blazers of the Trans-Mississippi West

Prologue

In 1843 Julius Stern of Philadelphia, editor of the first German-Jewish weekly in the United States, proposed a settlement of Jews in a territory lying west of the Mississippi River. Stern believed that if seventy thousand Jews settled in a specific western area, they would be entitled, under Federal law, to request admission into the Union as a state. Rabbi Isaac Leeser, publisher of *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate* (Philadelphia, 1843–1868), printed the proposal and commented that the settlement of Jews in the growing West could be achieved without the promotion of Jewish statehood in the manner suggested by Stern.

Stern's proposal was motivated by the steadily increasing numbers of Jews arriving from Germany. He advocated cooperative farming as well as a plan of colonization which may have been patterned on the cooperative colonies which had sprung up throughout the country during the early decades of the nineteenth century. The proposal failed to get beyond the stage of the original prospectus.

The westward movement, motivated by the opening up of new lands and the beckoning prospects of new opportunities, was not without its effect on the Jews. The current issue of the *American Jewish Archives* devotes its pages to this phase of Jewish migration within the United States, giving a brief history of their settlement in the states west of the Mississippi River, except California, Washington, and Oregon. Jewish source material, which has hitherto been neglected, adds much to the colorful record of the development of the West in which so many Jews participated.

Leeser, because of his ardent devotion to Judaism, maintained close contacts with Jewish pioneers in every part of the country through *The Occident*. He carried on an extensive correspondence with his coreligionists in the western towns and settlements, and frequently published accounts of their activities. Many of those pioneers would have been lost to Judaism save for the precious help which they received from Leeser's periodical and prayer books.

Some of the Philadelphians who went west maintained friendly relations with Leeser and provided him with news of the growing communities. The year 1956 marks the 150th anniversary of his birth in 1806, and it is in tribute to his memory that a number of the documents reproduced here have been selected from his correspondence and from the pages of *The Occident*. Much of this material is in the possession of The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning in Philadelphia, the city which was Leeser's home for thirty-nine years.

The Occident ceased publication shortly after Leeser's death in 1868. By that time *The American Israelite*, which was started in Cincinnati by Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise in 1854, was an influential weekly newspaper, and carried a considerable amount of local midwestern news. It is an indispensable supplement to *The Occident*. Two California newspapers also were in existence for a number of years prior to Leeser's death, and these reported Jewish news from the vantage point of the Pacific Coast. The editors of the European Jewish magazines and journals watched the fantastic growth of the expanding West with studied care and, as a result, they, too, published much relating to American Jewry.

The documents, letters, and sources dealing with the lives of individuals represent experiences typical of those of the thousands of Jews who took part in the great westward movement.

In order to study the Jewish settlements or communities, recourse to synagogal archives is essential. The details of inner life which can be gleaned from them enrich this colorful picture. The very names on the congregational membership rosters tell a story, and numerically they exceed by far the number of Jews generally believed to have been in the pioneer western settlements.

By piecing together the fragments gathered laboriously from newspapers, memoirs, congregational records, and even from tombstones, a fascinating story unfolds of the birth of a new community. It is our hope that the following pages will help the historians of the future to write the saga of the men and the women who helped build the West.

MISSOURI

Jews were established in homes and businesses in Missouri long before Congress engaged in the sectional controversy that culminated in the Missouri Compromise of 1820. One of those early Jewish settlers was Jacob Philipson, of Philadelphia, who, in 1808, opened a general store in St. Louis (*Missouri Gazette*, November 9, 1808). A few years later, Jacob was joined by his brother Joseph, and together they established the first brewery in the city, in a two-story frame building on the west side of Main Street, where Carr Street is now located. The Philipson brothers engaged also in a number of other enterprises, among which the fur trade was especially attractive (*The Aurora*, Philadelphia, January 12, 1816). In 1834 Philip Philipson, the son of Simon, another brother, returned to St. Louis from a four-year trip to the Rocky Mountains (*Missouri Republican*, October 7, 1834), made twenty years before Solomon N. Carvalho's perilous trip with Colonel John C. Frémont.

The first attempt to organize a Jewish congregation in St. Louis was made in 1836, but not until 1841 was the United Hebrew Congregation, the first synagogue west of the Mississippi River, established. The founders of the congregation included a number of pioneers who had joined the westward movement, and many newly arrived immigrants. Within a few years they were a well-organized religious group. But they had numerous problems, one of the chief of which was that many of their members remained in the city for only a short time before proceeding further west or south. That situation is mentioned in a letter to Rabbi Isaac Leeser, which he printed with comments in *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate* (Vol. II, No. 10, January, 1845). This report of Jewish religious life in St. Louis is possibly the first mention of that community to appear in print, for there was no other Jewish journal in the United States at that time.

Jews at St. Louis

We have a letter from the secretary of that congregation, in which he gives a gratifying account of their progress. The name by which they are known is "The United Hebrew Congregation of Saint Louis, Missouri," and they number at present *thirty* contributing members. On last New Year and Kippur [Day of Atonement] they had in their synagogue about one hundred and twenty-five citizens and strangers belonging to our

persuasion. They have a very fine room, which they use as a synagogue, and which can hold five hundred persons. They possess one copy of the Law [Sefer Torah], and have money enough to purchase another. They have a piece of ground for a burial-place, about one mile from the court-house. It is well fenced in, and has a building on it, as is customary with us. They have also a shohet [ritual slaughterer of cattle and fowl] regularly employed by the congregation.

The writer continues: "But I am sorry to say things do not go so well as we could wish, as a great many of our members leave here in the winter for the South, and a great many join before they are permanently settled, and after a short time leave the city." Yet he looks forward to a permanent increase of the congregation from the constant growth of the city, which will naturally invite many Israelites to make it their home. He also informs us they have raised money enough to purchase a piece of ground to build a synagogue on, and that a committee has been appointed to seek out an eligible situation [site].

Now let our readers call to mind that all the above is the work of but little more than three years, and they will certainly agree with the respected secretary of the congregation that there is ample cause for future hopes. During last summer we received a letter from a resident of South Carolina, whose business has led him twice there, wherein he says: "On my former visit to St. Louis, three years ago, I found about forty or fifty Jews, all, with four or five exceptions, men. They had no place of worship, and lived not as Jews. The holidays drawing nigh, they hired a room, in which prayers were said New Year and Kippur. At my suggestion they called a meeting after the holidays, for the purpose of organizing themselves into a society (they had previous to this a burying-ground). Nearly all attended, and Mr. H. Van Beil (now of Philadelphia) was called to the chair, who briefly explained the object of the meeting. A committee, consisting of Messrs. H. Van Beil, J. Pecare, and H. H. Cohen, was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws for the government of the society.

"The following week the members again met, the constitution and by-laws, as reported by the committee, were adopted, officers were elected, and the society organized. I soon after left for Charleston, and have since known nothing of the condition of the congregation until lately, when, on my second visit to this place, I found that the number of Jews here had increased to about sixty or seventy, nearly all men. They have a room in which divine service is held every Saturday. They also have a shohet. But alas! the state of religion is far from being as it should."

We cannot transcribe the remainder of the letter, as it refers mostly to our labours. We have shown enough, however, that though so much remains to be done to entitle the brethren of St. Louis to be considered a pious congregation, they have done a great deal to remove from them the

stigma of indifference. And we trust that with the increase of their numbers the state of religion will also improve, and that next year's report may show them to be "keeping the Sabbath by not violating it," and setting an example in their domestic relations of being part of "a people holy to the Lord."

* * * *

Another comment on the beginnings of Jewish communal life in the West by Dr. Max Lilienthal appeared in *Israels Herold* (New York, March 30, 1849, No. 1). The following extract is a translation from the German:

Ten or twelve Jews have established themselves in a distant place in the West. The worry about providing for their daily bread, unavoidable difficulties of every beginning, prevent them from adhering strictly to religious practices. Eventually one in their midst dies and the need for a Jewish burial ground arises. The necessary funds to purchase a cemetery must be raised. The holy days of the New Year and the Day of Atonement are approaching, and since they live together they wish also to worship together during these holy hours. They procure a Sefer Torah [Scroll of the Law] and worship in a small room during these holy days. These are the beginnings of a congregation, and this is the way most of the congregations in the United States came into being.

* * * *

An account of such a beginning is excerpted herewith from an article dealing with the Jews of St. Louis, entitled "Historical Sketches," by Isidor Bush, which appeared in *The Jewish Tribune* (St. Louis, November 23, 1883).

A Mr. Baumeisler [Louis Bomeisler], who had removed to the latter city [St. Louis] from Philadelphia, where he had been parnass of a small Jewish congregation, together with Eliezer S. Block and Abraham Weigel, the latter two having just commenced business in co-partnership at St. Louis, and young Nathan Abeles, succeeded, with the aid of some peddlers who were just stopping at St. Louis over the holy-days, Rosh-Hashanah (New Year) of 1836 (5596), to hold the *first* Jewish prayer-meeting (*minjan*) [minyan: quorum of ten men required for conducting public worship] in the Mississippi Valley. They had rented a room at "Max's Grocery and Restaurant," corner Second and Spruce streets, which served

as temple for these few days. Baumeisler had ordered a Sepher Thora [Scroll of the Law] from Philadelphia and *tephiloth* (prayer-books) at his own private expense. They had no rabbi, every member of the *minjan* considered himself rabbi, and those able to do so served in rotation as readers. Nathan Abeles even acted as "Shochet," gratis, whenever his services as such were requested.

Baumeisler soon moved back to Philadelphia. Three members of that first *minjan* in the then "far west" are still living! Eliezer S. Block, the oldest, is now ninety-two years; and it is both interesting and amusing to hear them relate their experiences in those early days; how they had to seek their brethren far and near to get the required number (ten) for prayer-meetings or funerals. Once, by mistake, or because they could not possibly find more than nine, they called in a non-Israelite with some biblical name (an Irishman!) to make the tenth man. He joined the prayer-meeting and ever afterwards punctually attended their divine service on all Jewish holy-days.

* * * *

More and more Jews went to St. Louis, settling in various sections of the city. As they grew in numbers, two additional congregations were formed. The first one, Congregation Emanu El, organized in the year 5607 (1847), consisted of thirty-two members. In 1849 a number of Israelites living in the southern district of the city organized Congregation B'nai B'rith, with a membership of twenty-two.

The cholera epidemic in 1849 made it necessary for the struggling young Congregation Emanu El to purchase a cemetery plot where many of its members and their families were to be buried. The discovery of gold in California in the same year caused many to leave the city in search of riches, thus further reducing the congregation's membership.

The members of the other congregation, B'nai B'rith, also had to face problems. They, too, were poor, but that did not deter them from purchasing their own cemetery plot on Gravois Road, six miles from the city, and a small lot on which to build a synagogue.

* * * *

The following letter, written by the secretary of the United Hebrew Congregation to Isaac Leeser, describes the growth of his

own congregation and mentions one of the new congregations, as well as the benevolent societies which had been organized in the city.

St. Louis, November 6th, 1849.

Reverend Isaac Leeser.

Dear Sir:

Knowing the interest you take in the welfare of your co-religionists throughout the Union, I therefore avail myself of the opportunity afforded me of communicating with you. The congregation to which I belong, and to which I have the honor of being secretary, has increased so rapidly within the last twelve months (so much beyond our most sanguine expectations) that I am sure you will participate with us in our exultations. At our last holy days our synagogue was crowded to almost suffocation, not less than from five to six hundred persons being present, when but a few years ago we could but boast of fifty or sixty, and it is still increasing.

We have been more than fortunate in securing the valuable services of the Reverend Nathan Davidson, a gentleman qualified in an eminent degree for the offices he now fills, which is rather more than ordinary arduous, being shocet as well as hazan [cantor]. Having myself been a constant attender both to the London and New York synagogues, I consider myself justified in saying that he cannot be surpassed in his style of reading, his pronounciation being most perfect and his singing clear from those additions so often made use of. You may think, my dear sir, that I have overdrawn my picture, but I am sure that had you been present and seen the satisfaction depicted upon the countenances of his hearers as they left the house of prayer after hearing the reverend gentleman, you would agree with me that I have fell far short in my criticizm.

There is also a new German synagogue started, which in a little time will become of importance. We have also two benefit societys, both florishing, and we are about organising a Benevolent Society for the relief of our less fortunate brethren, the progress of which I will inform you of at some future day.

In the mean time, dear sir, believe me to be

Your most obedient servant,

HENRY MYERS, *Secretary*
United Hebrew Congregation

* * * *

During those first years, congregations Emanu El and B'nai B'rith conducted services on Sabbaths and holidays in poorly furnished, rented quarters. Emanu El held services only on the high

holy days. Feeling that they could not continue as separate congregations, the two groups merged on October 17, 1852 (5612), and formed Congregation B'nai El. At this organizational meeting officers were elected and committees were appointed. The first meeting of the board was held on Sunday, November 7, 1852, and in January of the following year the constitution and bylaws of the new congregation were formally adopted.

By 1855 the United Hebrew Congregation was on firm ground and was able to respond to an appeal from fellow Jews in Keokuk, Iowa, for financial aid in purchasing a cemetery plot. Following the pattern of other communities, the congregation made every effort to provide religious instruction for the children of its members. In the following letter to Leeser, Henry Kuttner, hazzan of the United Hebrew Congregation, indicates that the school had at least forty-eight children who would use the four dozen Hebrew spelling books which he ordered. The last two items of the order, *The Creed* and the Ten Commandments in verse, were Leeser's publications for the Hebrew Sunday School Society, which Rebecca Gratz had founded in Philadelphia. From this letter we learn also that Leeser was planning to be in St. Louis for the cornerstone-laying ceremony of the United Hebrew Congregation's new synagogue, and that the other congregation was building a religious school.

St. Louis, June 16, 1858.

Rev. Isaac Leeser,
In Philadelphia.

Honored Sir:

I received your valued communication and was glad to learn of your well-being. I am fairly well except that I occasionally have pains in the throat. Herewith you will receive $25, and upon a receipt of it have the goodness to send me the following books:

4 doz. Hebrew spelling books, *Moreh Derech*
2 *The Road to Faith*
4 The Peixotto's *Bible Questions*
2 *The Scripture Questions*, by E. Pike, for beginners
2 *The Creed*, printed on a card
2 Ten Commandments, in verse

I have finally persuaded my trustees that religious teaching should be done in the English language.

The other members of the congregation told me that you, Mr. Leeser, will come here for the laying of the corner stone. That is why I delayed the

sending of the money. I can collect nothing from the outstanding debts except [from] Friede and Friebourg who, however, are not present here.

Do not be surprised that *The Occident* is not being read; *The Israelite* [published by Isaac Mayer Wise in Cincinnati, since 1854] does not fare any better. There are many here who are fellow-countrymen of Dr. Wise and most of them take him without reading him. Also, the *Sinai* [published in German by David Einhorn in Baltimore, since 1856] is not taken up except by Lattim and myself. Culture here is rather backward, and it will be a long time before it will take an upward swing.

The fact that the other congregation is building its school is due to the fact that those members who came to my services have often been taken to task by me on this account.

I am expecting you here soon and then we shall go over our accounts. Please bring your accounts along. I also beg of you, most urgently, for six mesusoth [mezuza: a parchment bearing the passages Deut. VI, 4–9; XI, 13–21 rolled into a wooden or metal case and attached to the doorpost] or even twelve, which you can add to the other package, but if they are too expensive, send only two.

I send you most friendly greetings, and have the honor to sign,

Yours devotedly,
H. KUTTNER

ARKANSAS

Captain Abraham Block (1780–1857) emigrated to this country from Bohemia at the age of twelve and settled in Virginia. According to *The Occident*, which carried his obituary, he moved west in 1823, and was one of the first Jewish pioneers in the Upper Red River country. He settled in the village of Washington, Arkansas Territory, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Although Block was far removed from any established Jewish community, he maintained his religious contacts through the publications of another Jewish pioneer, Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia. Some data on the lives of Block and his descendants may be found in Goodspeed's *History of Hempstead County, Arkansas* (1889). Extracts from the obituary in *The Occident* (Vol. XV, No. 1, April, 1857) follow.

Obituary

Died in New Orleans, on Tuesday, the 17th day of March, 1857, Captain Abraham Block of Washington, Arkansas, in the 77th year of his age . . . .

I wish to offer this humble tribute upon the honored grave of the departed, and select as a medium for that purpose *The Occident*, both because I recognize in you an old friend of the deceased, and because your magazine has a wide-spread circulation and may carry the sad tidings to old friends of the departed, who may not receive them through any other source, and because it preserves in a durable form the record of Judaism in this country, and as such, should spread upon its pages a remembrance of one of the oldest of the house of Israel in America.

Captain Block was born in Bohemia, but emigrated to this country more than fifty-five years ago. He married in Virginia, and his estimable lady survives him, to mourn over the disrupture of the sacred tie which has associated them together in joy and happiness, in grief and sadness, in weal and wo, for over forty-five years.

Captain Block removed from Virginia to Arkansas in 1823, and was one of the pioneers of the Upper Red River country, then almost a wilderness. He settled in the village of Washington, where he has since resided, loved and esteemed by all who knew him, and among the commercial community of New Orleans and the planters of Red River and southern Arkansas he was almost universally known.

Though many winters, with their varied fortunes, snowed upon his head, they brought nothing but honor and the respect and esteem of his fellowmen as incidents of their progress.

Sons and daughters grew up around him, whose many virtues caused the paternal heart to thrill with pride, and they rewarded him by their love and reverence, reaching almost to idolatry, for the many cares and privations which he had experienced on their behalf during his residence in the wilderness. And not only did he have the happiness of seeing his children grow to maturity, but his children's children gathered around his knees, till he became a patriarch indeed, and the father of a numerous family.

Though it was allotted to him to pass the years of threescore and ten, named by the Psalmist as the boundary of the age of man, yet did God grant to his old age vigorous, ruddy health, an upright though venerable form, and a happy, genial, elastic spirit, unsoured by time, unclouded by age, and which always looked at the bright and cheerful side of human life . . . .

He died as the good die: with him a moment of preparation was sufficient. He sleeps according to his cherished wish among his people, in the Portuguese Cemetery, on the Metarie Ridge, in this city [New Orleans]. His remains were followed to the grave by his sorrowing relatives and numbers of his oldest and most valued friends. His dearly loved wife and affectionate children are bowed beneath a weight of grief which time alone can alleviate. They feel that the change is for the better, that the eternal happiness of the loved one is secured, but, alas, 'tis hard to part

from those we love, and for a long time the word of consolation falls idly on the ear.

B.

* * * *

More and more Jews settled in Arkansas (admitted to the Union in 1836) and in the scattered villages of the old Southwest. On September 13, 1846, Julius Freiberg, the president of Cincinnati's pioneer congregation, Bene Israel, authorized Mr. I. Ehrman, of Helena, Arkansas, to borrow a Sefer Torah to be used at the forthcoming holy day services in that city. By the time of Block's death in 1857, the Jewish population of the state was sufficient to require the services of Jewish religious functionaries. One of these was the itinerant, horseback-riding *mohel* or circumciser, the Reverend L. G. Sternheimer, of Columbus, Georgia, who traveled throughout the Southwest. Although in no way associated with the song, Sternheimer could very well be called the Jewish "Arkansas Traveler." The following item recommending him to his coreligionists appeared in *The Occident Advertiser* (Vol. XVII, No. 13, June, 1859).

Congregational Advertisements

THE REV. L. G. STERNHEIMER

Of Columbus, Georgia, may be safely recommended to our fellow-Israelites residing in his vicinity, in Alabama and Georgia, as a competent *mohel*. He has officiated in that capacity at Memphis (Tenn.), Georgia, Mississippi, and Arkansas, and can, therefore, bring satisfactory reference to those who may require it. Letters should be addressed as above.

* * * *

In another town in the state of Arkansas, in the village of Pine Bluff, the cornerstone of the first synagogue was laid on October 23, 1866. Gabe Meyer, a charter member of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Arkansas, Free and Accepted Masons, joined with his Masonic brothers in laying the cornerstone. He was a member of the congregation. The Gabe Meyer School in Pine Bluff was named in his honor.

* * * *

A new phase of Jewish immigration into the United States began after the Civil War. To prevent the concentration of a vast number of those new immigrants in the metropolitan centers of the East, attempts were made to move them into the growing West and Southwest. One such attempt was made by Salomon Franklin of Pine Bluff, who offered to cooperate with the Alliance Emigration Society by making his lands available for cultivation by his fellow Jews from Eastern Europe. *Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* disputed his scheme of settlement on economic grounds. Franklin's plan was not completely successful, and neither were similar attempts made later by other Jewish communal organizations. His letter outlining the plan of settlement, and the comment by the editors of *Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, appeared in its issue of October 22, 1872. A translation of both from the German is reprinted here.

New York, Sept. *The Jewish Times* [New York] published a letter from a certain gentleman, Salomon Franklin, who, for a quarter of a century has been successfully running a farm consisting, it is said, of 1,500 acres. In his letter he outlines a plan to settle 200 of his co-religionists from Eastern Europe. The letter, addressed to Mr. M. Fluegel in Quincy [Ill.], reads as follows:

"Pine Bluff, Jefferson County, Arkansas.

"I have already had occasion to share with you my thoughts about the emigration of our unfortunate brethren in Europe to this country. Today I must inform you of the conditions I consider necessary for the realization of such a plan.

"1) The Alliance Emigration Society [Alliance Israélite Universelle?] will have to bear all costs of emigration here.

"2) The emigrants must be not less than eighteen, nor more than thirty-five years old.

"3) They must be of good health and strong constitution.

"4) The families of the emigrants will also be admitted, provided that at least one half of the members of each will be persons able to work the soil or to do jobs required on the land here.

"On my part I am offering to contribute to the realization of this plan through the following facilities:

"I shall furnish cleared land, houses, leaseholds; in short, everything required for the organization of a settlement. All this I shall furnish free, except for food and clothing, which expenses for each individual I shall discuss below. The settlers will receive one half of the produce,

consisting mainly of grain and hemp. Should they prefer to work for monthly wages, if they sign up for at least three years, I offer them fifty francs [dollars?] per month, in addition to lodging, food, water, and medical care.

"It would be best for them to arrive in New Orleans about October 1. They would then arrive in time for the sowing of hemp and thus would be able, with the help of God, to have a harvest next year. I am making these propositions out of the desire to contribute morally and materially to the welfare of my coreligionists. I hope you will help in stimulating an emigration which would be as advantageous for the agricultural interests of this country as for the physical and moral development of the persecuted of Israel . . . .

Salomon Franklin."

(*The Jewish Times* adds: "This is more than theory." They are correct. Nevertheless, there is in the above letter a point about which we have some misgivings. Only those who enter into his personal service, will Mr. Franklin provide with food, water, etc., in addition to a monthly pay of fifty dollars. But all those who want to farm on their own will receive only land and housing. They will have to provide for their own food and clothing. Thus, they will be responsible for living expenses for themselves and their families until the next harvest. But will the first harvest, of which they must deliver one half to Mr. Franklin, be such as to suffice for a whole year? This seems to us to be a point worthy of consideration by the poor emigrants and their sponsors. Almost all of them would have to enter the personal service of Mr. Franklin for three years.

The Editors of the A. Z. d. J.)

TEXAS

The history of the Jews of Texas is as varied and exciting as the history of the state itself. Among its Jewish pioneers were soldiers, adventurers, physicians, and colonizers, old Americans and recent immigrants. They played a stirring part in many of the major events which led to the founding of the Republic of Texas in 1836 and to its admission into the Union nine years later.

Within a few years after Solomon Parr settled in Bolivar in 1832 he was followed by a procession of Jews coming from the old South and East. Parr opened a general merchandise store, and the Massina brothers, coming from New Orleans, entered the same business. The Dyers of Baltimore, and the Ostermans, Gottschalks, Seelig-

sons, De Youngs, Polocks, and De Cordovas of Philadelphia belong to the pioneer history of the state.

Leon Dyer fought for Texas, and many years later another member of the Dyer family, J. O. Dyer, became a historian of Galveston. The Ostermans and the De Youngs were involved in the civic, political, and religious life of the city. A Seeligson became mayor of Galveston, a Polock tasted all the adventure of the frontier, and a De Cordova helped colonize the state.

Jacob De Cordova (1808–1868) had come as a boy from Jamaica to Philadelphia with his father and his brother Phineas. In the early 1830's the two brothers moved to Galveston, and opened a small shop where they sold tobacco, stationery, and liquors. With the real ardor of a Texan, Jacob described his first days in the Republic: "I was a witness of her struggle for independence, when her streams ran red with the blood of her patriots. . . . I was one of her citizens when she was a sovereign and independent nation; when the Lone Star of Texas waved proudly over that infant republic, whose course with giant steps was onward."

The efforts of a French Jew, Henry Castro (1786–1861?), paralleled those of De Cordova and enabled many Europeans to make Texas their first American home. In the following letter to Anson Jones, Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas, Castro discusses certain aspects of the problems involved in fulfilling his contract to bring immigrants to Texas. The letter is reprinted here through the courtesy of the Texas State Library.

Paris, October the 15th, 1842.

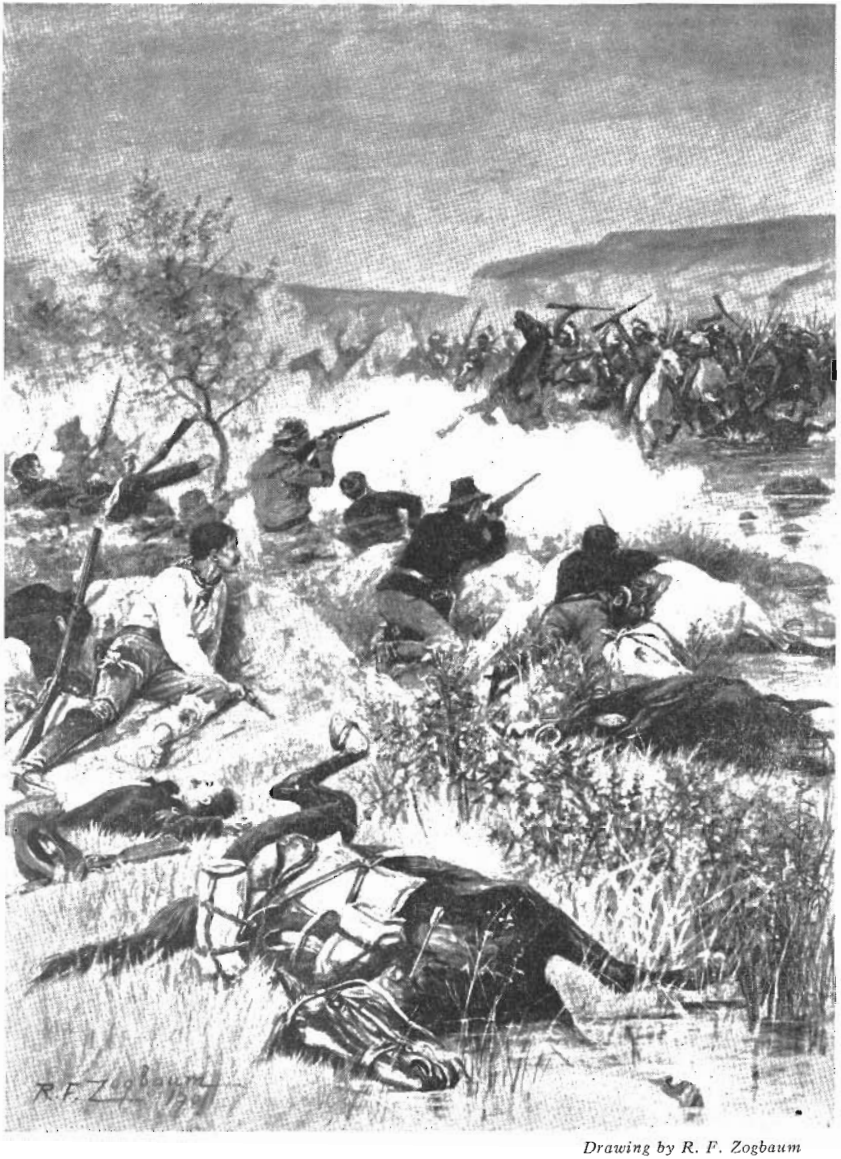
Anson Jones,
Secretary of States.

Sir:

I had the honour of adressing you the duplicate of my dispatch at the date of the 15th of September. I continue to be without any answer to the severals letters that I have been writen since the month of May last. I think this way an unworthy manner from you towards me.

Perhaps you will answer to this? It has for object to give you notice that I send two first rate ship for Texas loaded with passengers to go to occupy the land given to me by the governement, according my contract, in the county of St. Antonio de Bexar.

The first is the fine ship, "Ebso," Capt. Perry, of 500 tons, [bound] for Galveston, sailing from Havre of the 1st of November. The 2th is [the] fast sailing ship, "Curieul," of 300 tons, sailing from Dunkerque the



Drawing by R. F. Zogbaum

THE BATTLE OF BEECHER'S ISLAND, COLORADO, 1868
In which Sigmund Shlesinger Participated

(see p. 86)

30th of November. I calculate to continue my expeditions from month to month.

All my settlers are cultivators, intelligents, well provided of every thing, with a complete material, together with money. The director will be the bearer of the personal states [status papers?], and will also carry my dispatch to your adress.

You may see yourself my actions, and no words which have no value. This is the way I revenge myself from my enemys. They have stabbed me in the dark; no one would otherwise dare to do it in my face.

I beg you to obtain for me from Congress a prolongation of a year to fulfill the engagements of my contract. It is more than necessary I should have it, on account of certain rumors of war between Mexico and Texas, which renders emigration difficult. I hope you will, together with Mr. Smith, do your best as to encourage this act of justice.

From the protection that the governement shall give to the first settlers, from that will depend *entirely* a large and a successful emigration to Texas. The relations and parents of my settlers are waiting to know the result of the reception made to them in the young republic, to give notice to their friends to come to associate themselves all together.

I comprehend the protection I ask for my emigrants in the way of good associates procured to them for the begining of their settlement.

With sentiment of esteem,

Yours,
HENRY CASTRO

Castro did not realize all his emigration schemes. The war with Mexico and the War Between the States interrupted his promising plans. Only the city of Castroville, whose present population is scarcely one thousand, came into being as the result of his efforts. In northwest Texas, Castro County was named for him.

The Jews of Philadelphia and Baltimore who arrived by ship at the island city of Galveston chose it as their permanent home. The Dyers, John and Leon, brought to their new home an ample religious and communal experience which they had acquired in organizing the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in 1830, then known as Nitgy Israel (*Nidche Yisrael*: The Dispersed of Israel), and the United Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1834. Their associate in the founding of these religious and charity societies, Joseph Osterman, married Rosanna, sister of the Dyer brothers, and the newly married couple set out for Texas. They at once became a part of the city's life but maintained their eastern connections.

The Seeligsons, Dyers, and Ostermans were meticulously ob-

servant in traditional religious practice. They did not consider it a deterrent to their absorption into the civic and political activity of the bustling port city. They formed the religious nucleus which created the first Jewish communal organization in the state, the Galveston Jewish cemetery (*The Occident*, Vol. X, No. 7, October, 1852). Reacting to this event, *The Galveston News* of August 31, 1852, with an eye to the future, wrote: "But we anticipate the organization of a Jewish congregation and the addition of a synagogue to the number of our places of public worship, at no very distant day."

Meanwhile, Michael Seeligson had built up a reputation which elevated him to the post of mayor of Galveston. In acknowledging a congratulatory letter from his friend Isaac Leeser in Philadelphia, he hinted at the social position of the Jews of Galveston.

Galveston, 19 June, 1853.

Reverend Isaac Leeser,
Philadelphia.

Dear Sir:

Your kind notice in your last *Occident* of my elevation to the Mayoralty of this city has gratified me in one sense, as I never was inclined to ride into public notoriety.

I accepted the office not for the sake of lucre, but merely to thwart the designs of a certain clique who, by the by, were preaching publicly the crusades against our nation [the Jews]. This is certainly an evidence, if our people would only sustain their rights and priviledges in this republican country, and demean themselves accordingly, they can be elevated to any office they aspire.

Truly your friend,
M. SEELIGSON

Mrs. S. sends her respects to you.

It may have been while Leeser was preparing copy on the news of Seeligson's election for publication in *The Occident* that an unknown Jewish correspondent, Isaac Jalonick, addressed him. Expressing a desire for cultural contacts, he ordered copies of Leeser's translation of the prayer book. He also commented with elation on the news of Leeser's planned translation of the Bible into English, the first to be published in the United States from the Masoretic texts.

Belton, Bell County, Texas, May 28th, 1853.

Mr. Isaac Leeser.

Dear Sir:

It will surprise you, sir, to hear from such remoot part on the frontier of Texas. But it is as it shuld be, the prophicing most be full fild. [The prophecy of the scattering of the Jews must be fulfilled.]

I am surry to say that I am a poor scolar. I cane not express my feeling with the pen, when I accidently came in posestion of such valuible inphomation as containing in your valuble *Occident*. May the leeving God spair you that you may accomplish which you have undertakin to do. I am surry to say that I was igronent what was going on, all though I am in this contiry fifteen years. But nearly all that time was spent heur and in Mexcico and Califonia.

I am happy, wery happy indeeth, to see that our fine riligion has a poblick advocate. I cane not find words to express my feelings. You cane put me on your list of sobscribers. I would like to send you the pay in advance, but hear we cane not obtain paiper muny when we please, and I live a long wais from the coust. As soon as I cane obtain paiper muny I will rimit it to you.

I find in *The Occident* that you are a bougt [about] to transilait the Bible. I will all so send for one of them, and if you have the transilation of the *machser* [High Holyday prayer book], I would be wery glad to get it all so. The expence is not in my way.

I hop you will ansure this, and belive me to be a true Jew and a frend to our cous [cause].

ISAAC JALONICK

Address: Isaac Jalonick,
Belton, Bell County, Texas.

Isaac Jalonick was only one of the many individual Jews scattered throughout a number of Texas cities and outposts prior to the War Between the States. It is believed that a substantial settlement of Jews was in existence in Victoria in 1850, but little is known of it. The Jewish population of Houston, second to that of Galveston, was sufficient at this time for religious and communal organization. In March, 1855, the Hebrew Benevolent Association of Houston was incorporated (*The Occident*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, July, 1855). By the summer of 1859 the number of Jews who settled in the city was great enough to organize Congregation Beth Israel. Its synagogue was dedicated on August 26, 1859 (*The Occident*, Vol. XVII, No. 24, September, 1859).

Meanwhile, Jacob De Cordova went east to propagandize the virtues of Texas, "the Garden State of the Union." In a series of lectures on its resources and possibilities, he did not fail to emphasize his own pro-slavery views drawn from his Jamaican background, saying that: "By a wise provision of our State Constitution, the institution of slavery has been guaranteed to Texas. Such being the case, Texians are proverbially jealous of this right, and will not allow any intermeddling with the subject, directly or indirectly" (J. De Cordova, *Lecture on Texas*, Philadelphia, 1858, pp. 24–25).

Whatever De Cordova advocated or justified in the slave system, the War Between the States refuted his views and interrupted his plans for future colonization. Galveston was soon blockaded and appeared to be doomed because of its insular position. Many of the exigencies of the War were met by the humane efforts of Rosanna Dyer Osterman. The ample stores of the Osterman family were placed without reservation at the disposal of the Confederate and Union armies for the care of the sick and wounded. "The famished hospitals were largely supplied by her liberality. Her presence and her care gave hope and encouragement to the convalescent, or afforded the last consolation to those who were passing from the turmoils of time to the rest of eternity." She herself, throughout the blockade, unable to obtain kosher food, abstained from everything ritually forbidden.

At the end of the War this generous woman visited her relatives in Philadelphia and on her return met with a tragic death. On the morning of February 2, 1866, the steamer "W. R. Carter" exploded not far from Vicksburg on the Mississippi. There were few survivors; the body of Mrs. Osterman was recovered for Jewish interment.

Some twenty-five institutions benefited by the provisions of her will, which was drawn up in the midst of the War. The will provided that the city of Galveston organize a "Widows' and Orphans' Home" for the support of widows and orphans of all denominations. This particular bequest had a value in excess of $100,000. In addition there was a special gift of $1,000 for the Galveston Sailors' Home "whenever one is organized and incorporated" (*The Occident*, Vol. XXIII, No. 12, March, 1866; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, June, 1866; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 11, Feb., 1867).

The Jewish population of Texas increased rapidly after the War. Dallas in 1865 is described in the *Archives Israélites* for that year; the Jews of Brownsville and Marshall date their formal communal

beginnings back to 1868; Brenham to 1871; Austin, Dennison, and Palestine to 1872; and Bryan, Hallettsville, and Hemstead to 1873. By the turn of the century Texas had a thriving Jewish community.

Jews settled in Texas at an earlier period than in some of the other western states. Numerous items on the beginnings of Jewish history in Texas have appeared in American and European periodicals. However, many of these have not previously been accessible to historians. A sampling of the available material is herewith published for the first time. These contemporary sources, covering twenty Texas cities, comprise a nucleus of the extant data relating to the history of American Jewry in Texas. Included in the list are sources from Hebrew publications, such as *Hazefirah*, *Hamagid*, *Hameliz*, and *Hayehudi*, which have rarely been used by the American historian.

Amarillo. Congregation Emanuel is organized. (*Hebrew Standard*, April 19, 1918)

Austin. There are fifteen Jewish families and twenty-five young men. A cemetery has been acquired, and a Hebrew Benevolent Association was founded in 1872. (*American Israelite*, July 11, 1873)

——— Bnai Shalom Congregation was organized on February 8, 1874. (*American Israelite*, February 20, 1874)

——— There is a settlement of eighty adults. They have no formal organization, but conduct holyday services. (*American Israelite*, November 26, 1875)

——— Editorial comment on the lack of a synagogue in Austin. (*Daily Statesman*, September 24, 1876)

——— Rabbi Nathan A. Lubin, who was graduated from the Jewish Theological Seminary last June (1906), has been appointed minister of the newly established synagogue in Austin. Rabbi Lubin will enter upon his ministry in September. (*Reform Advocate*, August 11, 1906)

Brenham. A Hebrew Benevolent Society was established and a cemetery was acquired in 1871. (*American Israelite*, May 16, 1873)

Brownsville. The Jews residing in Brownsville and Matamoras organized a Benevolent Society on April 26, 1868. (*The Occident*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, June, 1868; *American Israelite*, July 28, 1876)

——— The Jews of Brownsville and Matamoras have acquired a cemetery. (*American Israelite*, July 28, 1876)

——— The community organized its first Sabbath School. (*American Israelite*, May 14, 1880)

Bryan. Eight Jewish families and nine single men are residing in Bryan. They organized a Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1870. (*American Israelite*, November 21, 1873)

——— Temple Freda was dedicated on May 20, 1913. (*American Israelite*, May 29, 1913)

Calvert. There are twenty Jewish families in the town. They have a Sunday school, hold occasional services, but have not organized a congregation. (*American Israelite*, December 10, 1880)

Corpus Christi. There are forty-five Jews in the town, comprising eleven families. On June 27, 1875, they organized a Hebrew Benevolent Society. (*American Israelite*, July 16, 1875)

——— A congregation has been organized. (*Hebrew Standard*, July 25, 1913)

Dallas. Article on the Jews in the South, with special reference to Dallas. (*Archives Israélites*, 1865, p. 277)

——— A new synagogue is dedicated (A. Suhler, minister). (*American Israelite*, June 16, 1876)

——— A congregation is organized. (*American Israelite*, October 15, 1875; *ibid.*, September 6, 1878)

——— Henry Schuhl, hazzan in Cincinnati, was elected minister. (*American Israelite*, August 26, 1881)

Dennison. The city was founded in 1872. The following year, in 1873, the thirty Jewish residents held Yom Kippur services. (*American Israelite*, October 17, 1873)

Fort Worth. A Sunday school has been organized. (*American Israelite*, March 7, 1879)

——— A cemetery, donated by a Christian, was dedicated in 1878. Services during the high holydays have been held since 1880, and in 1888 Congregation Ahavath Sholom was organized. The Reform Congregation Beth El was organized in 1902. (Sketch of Jewish Institutions in Fort Worth, *The Jewish Monitor*, February 22, 1918)

Galveston. A cemetery was dedicated on August 29, 1852. (*The Occident*, Vol. X, No. 7, October, 1852; *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 8, November, 1852)

——— The Jews of Galveston dedicate a cemetery prior to forming a congregation. (*Archives Israélites*, 1853, p. 298)

——— Obituary of Mrs. Rosanna Osterman. Comments on her humanitarian efforts in providing for the sick and wounded of the Union and Confederate armies. (*The Occident*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, June, 1866)

——— Many Jews settled in Galveston after the close of the Civil War. "They have a sort of organization, a shochet and hazzan, but no regular synagogue as yet." (*The Occident*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, June, 1867)

——— A congregation has been organized by forty of the hundred and twenty-five Jews living in Galveston. (*American Israelite*, August 28, 1868)

——— Jewish congregations have been organized in Galveston and in Yorkville. (*Archives Israélites*, 1868, p. 1055)

——— The city has a Jewish population of from three to four hundred. Mr. Alexander Rosenspits is their minister, and they worship in a rented hall. (*American Israelite*, December 31, 1869)

——— Land has been purchased for a synagogue in Galveston. (*Archives Israélites*, 1870, p. 350)

——— A congregational anniversary is celebrated. (*American Israelite*, June 9, 1921)

——— A new congregation, Hebrat Zecharias Frankel, has been organized. (*Hazefirah*, 1875, p. 245)

——— "The Galveston Immigration Movement," by Henry Cohen. (*American Israelite*, April 2, 1908)

——— An article on Galveston by Israel Zangwill. (*Wochenschrift*, 1910, pp. 138–39)

Hallettsville. Plans for the establishment of a congregation have been made by the nine Jewish families and seven single men residing in the town. (*American Israelite*, June 13, 1873)

Hemstead. The seventy-two Jews residing in the city assemble for occasional services. The Rev. Schwarz, recently arrived from Germany, is their minister. (*American Israelite*, June 20, 1873)

——— A Hebrew Benevolent Society, with a membership of thirty-one, has been organized. (*American Israelite*, October 17, 1873)

Houston. The Hebrew Benevolent Association of Houston, the first Jewish organization in the state of Texas, was incorporated in March, 1855. (*The Occident*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, July, 1855)

Houston. Congregation Beth Israel, the pioneer congregation of Texas, dedicated its synagogue on August 26, 1859. (*The Occident*, Vol. XVII, No. 24, September, 1859)
——— Beth Israel advertises for a religious functionary at $1,000 per year. (*The Occident Advertiser*, Vol. XVII, No. 29, October, 1859)
——— Mr. Z. Emmich, the first minister of the congregation, was elected in 1860 to serve as hazzan, shochet, and *mohel*. (*The Occident*, Vol. XVII, No. 51, March, 1860)
——— Dr. De Levante [probably R. De Cordova Lewin] of Kingston, Jamaica, was called, in 1868, by Beth Israel to serve as its minister. (*American Israelite*, October 9, 1868)
Marshall. The Hebrew Benevolent Society of Marshall was founded in 1868. (*American Israelite*, June 11, 1869)
Palestine. In 1872 there were only two Jewish families in the town; the following year they were joined by five more. They conduct holyday services and plan to organize a Hebrew club. (*American Israelite*, April 11, 1873)
San Antonio. Efforts are being made to obtain a building for a synagogue. (*The Occident*, Vol. XVII, No. 40, December, 1859)
——— Dedication of Congregation Beth El in San Antonio. (*Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1875, p. 731)
——— The arrival of Russian refugees. (*Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1881, p. 848)
——— The arrival of immigrants in San Antonio. (*Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1882, p. 111)
——— Report concerning a sect of "Adoptive Jews" from San Antonio. (*Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1884, p. 769)
Sherman. William Levy, attacked as a "Dutch Jew," was elected by a large majority to the post of alderman. (*American Israelite*, August 29 and September 5, 1873)
——— Congregation Adath Israel was organized with a membership of thirty. (*American Israelite*, October 24, 1879; *ibid.*, March 12, 1880)
Victoria. A Jewish settlement has been in existence since 1850, and although the group has its own cemetery, its members have not organized a congregation or provided for a house of worship. (*American Israelite*, December 1, 1871)
Waco. There are a Benevolent Association and a B'nai B'rith Lodge, but no congregation. (*American Israelite*, January 2, 1874)
Texas. Hurricane. (*Hazefirah*, 1880, p. 263; *ibid.*, 1891, p. 1)
——— Increase in the number of Texas Jews. (*Die Neuzeit*, 1874, pp. 23, 187)
——— Immigration. (*Die Wahrheit*, 1907, pp. 5, 8)
——— Immigration aided by the Jewish Territorial Organization. (*Wochenschrift*, 1907, p. 11)
——— Immigration. (*Wochenschrift*, 1908, p. 10; *ibid.*, 1909, p. 360; *ibid.*, 1913, p. 319)
——— Immigration to Galveston. (*Wochenschrift*, 1908, p. 84)
——— Immigration — the larger Jewish settlement. (*Wochenschrift*, 1910, pp. 281–82)
——— Immigration. Land is purchased for Rumanian Jews. (*Wochenschrift*, 1913, p. 476)
——— Texas Jewry totalling 22,000. (*Hayehudi*, 1910, No. 26, p. 12)
——— Jews in Texas. (*Hameliz*, 1890, No. 109, p. 3)
——— Four Texas rabbis meet to discuss school books, liturgy, children's services, and traveling preachers, and to adopt the Minhag America. (*Israelitische Wochenschrift*, 1881, No. 6, p. 55)
——— Texas rabbis appeal to their congregants to observe the Sabbath. (*Israelitische Wochenschrift*, 1881, No. 8, p. 75)

IOWA

Jews were living in the Territory of Iowa at least a decade before Nathan Louis and Solomon Fine peddled their wares in Fort Madison (*Fort Madison Courier*, October 30, 1841). Later both men settled in Keokuk, in the southeast corner of the state, on the banks of the Mississippi River. Geographically, Keokuk was a convenient point from which peddlers could branch out into the surrounding countryside.

Another peddler, William Krause (Kraus) of Des Moines, met with considerably more success than his predecessors. He tramped and wagoned through the entire prairie as it blossomed into well-kept farms and a flourishing state. In 1848 he opened a store in Racoon Forks (later Des Moines), which was then a deserted village. Active in the civic affairs of the community, he was one of the leaders who, in 1851, petitioned for the incorporation of the city of Des Moines. The following excerpt from *The History of Polk County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1880), indicates the results of this petition:

> In 1851 manifest destiny pointed to Fort Des Moines as a place of future importance, and her people were tinctured with "great expectations." Accordingly, September 6, "William Kraus and fifty-two other citizens of Fort Des Moines," so runs the record, petitioned to the Hon. F. B. Burbridge, County Judge, praying that the inhabitants of said town may become incorporated, according to chapter 42, title 9, of the Code of 1850, which was granted, and an election was ordered to be held at the court-house on Monday, the 22d of September, 1851, for the purpose of voting for or against incorporation. Charles C. Van, Thomas McMullin, and J. E. Jewett, were appointed judges of election, and William T. Marvin and Lamp. P. Sherman, clerks. The election resulted as follows:
>
> For incorporation..... 42
> Against incorporation..... 1

* * * *

Between 1845 and 1855 Iowa grew rapidly. Farms, towns, places of business, schools, and churches were being established throughout the state. Jews were to be found in the towns of Davenport, Dubuque, McGregor, Muscatine, and Keokuk. The first cooperative endeavor of the small but flourishing Jewish community in Keokuk was to purchase a burial ground. However, they needed

help in meeting their financial obligations, and on June 27, 1855, petitioned the United Hebrew Congregation of St. Louis to assist them in paying for their recently acquired cemetery plot. It was in Keokuk that Rabbi Joshua Falk Cohen, pioneer author of rabbinic literature in America, died in 1864.

The following obituary of this distinguished Hebraist appeared in *The Occident*, Vol. XXII, No. 11, February, 1865.

On the 17th of Heshvan, died at Keokuk, Iowa, in his sixty-eighth year, at the residence of his married daughter, Rabbi Joshua Falk Cohen, famous as a Talmudist and author of the Hebrew tract *Abne Jehoshua*, which was printed in America. He was a native of Kornick, in the grand duchy of Posen, and had resided for a long time, till about eight months, in New York, where he pursued, with much solicitude, his Talmudical studies in the Beth Hamidrash Shaaray Torah.

Besides being familiar with Talmud and *Possekim* [later legal authorities], he was well versed in the philosophical writings of Maimonides (*Moreh Nebuchim*), and Arama (*Akedah*). The expositions which he gave concerning Bible and *Agadah* [talmudic lore] were mostly based on these books. Among many manuscripts left by him has been found a small work on the Pentateuch written in this spirit, which his heirs intend printing.

As the deceased had expressed the wish to be buried in New York, the heirs deemed it their sacred duty, although he had been interred in Keokuk, to take up the coffin again, after obtaining the opinions of several learned men, and to transport it to New York, to have it deposited in the cemetery of the Beth Hamidrash Shaaray Torah. The heavy expenses attendant on this removal were cheerfully borne by his sons-in-law and son. And when the corpse arrived in New York on the 6th of Tebith, it was carried to the front of the Beth Hamidrash in Chatham Street, whence the numerously attended funeral took place. At the grave suitable addresses, expatiating on the merits of the departed, were held by Rev. Dr. [Jonas] Bondi, Mr. Meyer Modod, and Rabbi Moses Aaronsohn.

J.

NEW MEXICO

Solomon Spiegelberg completed his ox-train journey over the Santa Fe trail and arrived in Santa Fe in ample time to join Colonel Alexander William Doniphan's expedition to Chihuahua, Mexico, as a sutler. (*New Mexico Historical Review*, January, 1928; *El Palacio*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 83, 86.) Doniphan's troops left Santa Fe in October, 1846. In 1850, two years after Mexico was defeated, New Mexico became a territory of the United States.

Spiegelberg's experience as a sutler to the American troops was his first step in the direction of a successful mercantile career. Eventually his four brothers joined him in business in Santa Fe, and a number of immigrant newcomers found employment in his establishment. Among these men was Nathan Bibo. On his arrival in Santa Fe in July, 1867, he entered the firm of Spiegelberg Brothers, which at that time was supplying the military garrisons throughout New Mexico. Bibo and Willi Spiegelberg were sent to the new military post at Fort Wingate, where they supplied the U. S. Cavalry with provisions. His contacts with the Indians at Fort Wingate gave Bibo an intimate knowledge of their social and economic conditions. In 1876 he suffered great personal losses at the hands of the Navajo Indians. These losses were considered for compensation by the Senate on June 10, 1912. The bill, referred to the Committee on Claims, is reprinted here. However, there is nothing to indicate that the bill was ever acted upon.

62D CONGRESS,
2D SESSION. S. 7081.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JUNE 10, 1912.

MR. CATRON introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Claims.

A BILL

For the relief of Nathan Bibo, senior.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to Nathan Bibo, senior, of Valencia County, State of New Mexico, the sum of one thousand five hundred and eighty dollars, in full compensation for loss of property sustained at the hands of the Navajo Indians on or about the twenty-fifth day of March, eighteen hundred and seventy-six, in Valencia County, New Mexico, lapse of time to the contrary notwithstanding.

Nathan Bibo's son, Solomon, was charged with defrauding the Indians of grazing land (*Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, 1884–85, Bibo Lease of Acoma Lands). However, the following letter, written many years later by Clara D. True, Associate Secretary of the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, indicates that his relations with the Indians were friendly, and that he did a great deal to improve their living conditions.

February 5, 1925.

Dear Mr. Bibo:

Your letter was a great pleasure to read. It was almost like a visit home. Your clear ideas were very clearly expressed and will be used to great advantage, I have no doubt, by this organization.

I am glad you suggested my going home to the people here. I hope I can go soon. I am very, very tired of the East.

The Association, like all others of the character, is short of funds. A sum is needed for field work where careful investigation is necessary. Men like you should be paid to go about gathering facts and *presenting* them by proper publicity, including personal visits to authorities. A good *business* basis for effective work is needed. Why can't we get together and make a business of Indian business until it is cleared up right? I get my salary from the Rockefellers now. I was a volunteer, unpaid, for a long time, and even now I have spent about $400 over the amount I should have spent had I considered my own interest — which I did not.

This organization has the right type of men at the head of it. It has everything it needs but money, which it needs for publicity and other means of getting action.

I spoke to the President [Herbert Welsh] and to Mr. [Matthew K.] Sniffen [Secretary], of your long career of successful business and suggested you as the right man to help present the need of funds to many who would be glad to give if they realized the need and the results. A man of your sane ideas and ability ought to come to Washington in person to drive *facts* home to the high officials.

I don't need any salary which I don't already possess; hence am not making a plea for any selfish reason. I realize the need of more means for this organization.

If your Jewish friends in many parts of the world knew the good you could do, *properly supported*, for Indian work, I am sure the proverbial Jewish generosity would quickly be shown and Indian progress given a great impetus. You could have more influence on independent thinking people than anybody I can think of, if your writings and sensible talks could be "put across."

What do you think of presenting the matter to Jewish citizens? They are among our most progressive today in the world.

My best wishes hastily conveyed.

CLARA D. TRUE

* * * *

Another pioneer merchant who moved to the West, around 1856, was Joseph Rosenwald. (*The Daily Optic*, Las Vegas, New Mexico, May 22, 1888.) He freighted to Pikes Peak, Colo., and to the remote and hidden settlements of the West, and in 1864 established himself permanently in Las Vegas, New Mexico.

The Southwest was developing rapidly; it took only three and a half days to travel from Denver to Santa Fe by stagecoach. A telegraph line connecting the two cities began to operate on July 8, 1868, and the *Daily New Mexican* made its appearance in Santa Fe the next day. The following announcement by Spiegelberg Brothers, by that time one of the largest general stores in the area, appeared in the first issue.

Spiegelberg Brothers, Importers, and Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods — Clothing, Boots, Shoes, Hardware, Queensware, Liquors, Groceries, etc. . . . Merchants will find it to their advantage to call on us before going East, as we keep on hand an assortment of goods especially adapted to this market and of the adjoining territories. Two of our firm are permanently in the New York market, purchasing goods. Those who deal with us can rely upon our stock being of the best quality and at the lowest prices.

* * * *

From an economic standpoint the Jewish settlers in New Mexico made great progress, but in matters of religion, their growth was slow. Small groups of Jews were scattered throughout the Territory, but never enough in any one place to insure a formal organization for religious purposes. They maintained their contacts with fellow Jews in the East, however, and purchased prayer books, Bibles, and other needed religious objects and utensils. Through their business connections in New York and Philadelphia, their interests in Jewish affairs were kept alive.

The first synagogue in New Mexico, Congregation Montefiore of Las Vegas, was organized in 1884, nearly forty years after the first important Jewish settler made his appearance in the territory. It had forty-two charter members. It is interesting to note that the agreement drawn up for the erection of a synagogue building in 1886 was erroneously dated 1866. Below is an extract of the agreement.

Articles of Agreement made and entered into this fifth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six by and between Thomas Treverton and Wallace Hesselden, co-partners and doing business in Las Vegas, County of San Miguel, Territory of New Mexico, under the style and firm name of Treverton and Hesselden, parties of the first part, and S. L. Leon, Isidor Stern, Charles Ilfeld, M. Barash, and J. H. Teitlebaum, the building committee for the Congregation Montifore of Las Vegas, County of San Miguel, Territory of New Mexico . . . .

That they, the said parties of the first part, their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns shall and will, for the consideration hereinafter mentioned, on or before the tenth day of September in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty six, will well and sufficiently erect, finish, and deliver in a true, perfect, and thourghly workmanlike manner, a church building for the parties of the second part on ground situated on lots eleven and twelve, block five, "Las Vegas New Town," in the Town of Las Vegas, County of San Miguel, and Territory of New Mexico . . . .

In witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

Parties of the first part	Witness
Thos. Treverton	S. O. Wood
Wallace Hesselden	S. O. Wood

Parties of the second part	Witness
S. L. Leon	S. Neustadt
Isidor Stern	S. Neustadt
Chas. Ilfeld	S. O. Wood
M. Barash	R. S. Griffith
John H. Teitlebaum	D. W. Marshall

In order to pay for the cost of erecting a suitable house of worship, the congregation issued a printed appeal for funds, which is reproduced below. In addition to its religious content, this item is of bibliographical interest as a New Mexico territorial imprint.

HEAR, OH ISRAEL! THE LORD, OUR GOD, IS ONE GOD.

Our Appeal

Congregation Montefiore having determined to build a temple, we respectfully ask your aid in order to enable us to complete the same. There being none in this Territory, therefore, the congregation has taken the task upon themselves to build a suitable place for worship. All that may favor us with their donations, their names will be placed on our Roll of Honor, which will be deposited in the archives of the temple. We hope our efforts will be crowned with success, and our temple, when finished, will be an honor to ourselves and in the future an acceptable inheritance to the children of Israel, whose aim it will forever be to perpetuate the principals and precepts of Judaism.

By order of the congregation, the following named firms and persons are hereby authorized to receive donations and receipt for the same.

Joseph Rosenwald & Co.
Simon Lewis' Sons
N. L. Rosenthall & Sons
Barash & Block
Graaf & Thorp
H. Levey & Bro.
S. L. Leon & Co.
Myer Friedman & Bro.
Chas. Ilfeld
P. L. Strauss
Isidor Stern
David Winternitz
Jake Block
Phil. Holzman
Hon. L. Sulzbacher
Emil Hersch, Esq.

Congregation Montefiore,
Las Vegas, New Mexico.
1886.
(Organized, 1884)

COLORADO

The discovery of gold in Colorado in the late 1850's, and subsequent discoveries of silver, lead, and copper, brought a heterogeneous group of men to the area. These discoveries were responsible for the permanent settlement and development of the state, although today the state is better known for its farming industries than for its natural resources.

In 1853, Solomon Nunes Carvalho passed through the rocky wilderness of the territory with Colonel John C. Frémont on the latter's fifth and last trip to the West. The Pikes Peak Gold Rush in 1858 attracted a vast number of prospectors and settlers to the

region, and led to the founding of communities which eventually became towns and cities. Thousands upon thousands journeyed to Colorado in search of gold. By 1861, on the eve of the War Between the States, enough people had settled there for Congress to authorize the organization of Colorado as a territory of the United States.

The close of the War brought great economic changes. The railroads had penetrated the mountainous regions, new mines were opened and, with improved transportation, the general as well as the Jewish population increased. At least two years before Colorado became a territory, the Jews in the tiny Pikes Peak area settlements organized for their first religious services. However, it was not until 1874 that Congregation Emanuel of Denver was in a position to erect its first temple. Congregation Aaron of Trinidad was organized in 1875. Denver had the largest Jewish population in the state, with 260 Jews in 1877–78. Jews in smaller numbers, in addition to those in Trinidad, were to be found in Greeley, De Note, San Luis, Boulder, Central City, and Black Hawk.

Meanwhile, back east in Philadelphia, a young immigrant Jew from Switzerland was beginning his business career by pack-peddling. Meyer Guggenheim, who was to become closely associated with the history of the state of Colorado, was facing the perils of that peculiar trade, peddling, which led men from door to door, from farm to camp, and from town to village. His industry and ingenuity brought him a large measure of success in typical Horatio Alger fashion, enabling him to expand his business in many directions.

Documentary records left behind by men who met with success are often greater than those left behind by men who met with failure. This is true of Meyer Guggenheim, the former pack-peddler of Philadelphia. Having acquired enough capital to enable him further to expand his business interests, he invested in a partnership in a Colorado mine reported to be flooded with water. Doubtful of the wisdom of his investment, he decided to go west and investigate. He arrived in Leadville in 1881, and was amazed by the unbelievable activity in the small, bustling town. Leadville had become an important center where fortunes were made overnight. Those were the days when a worked-out gold mine suddenly became rich in lead and silver deposits.

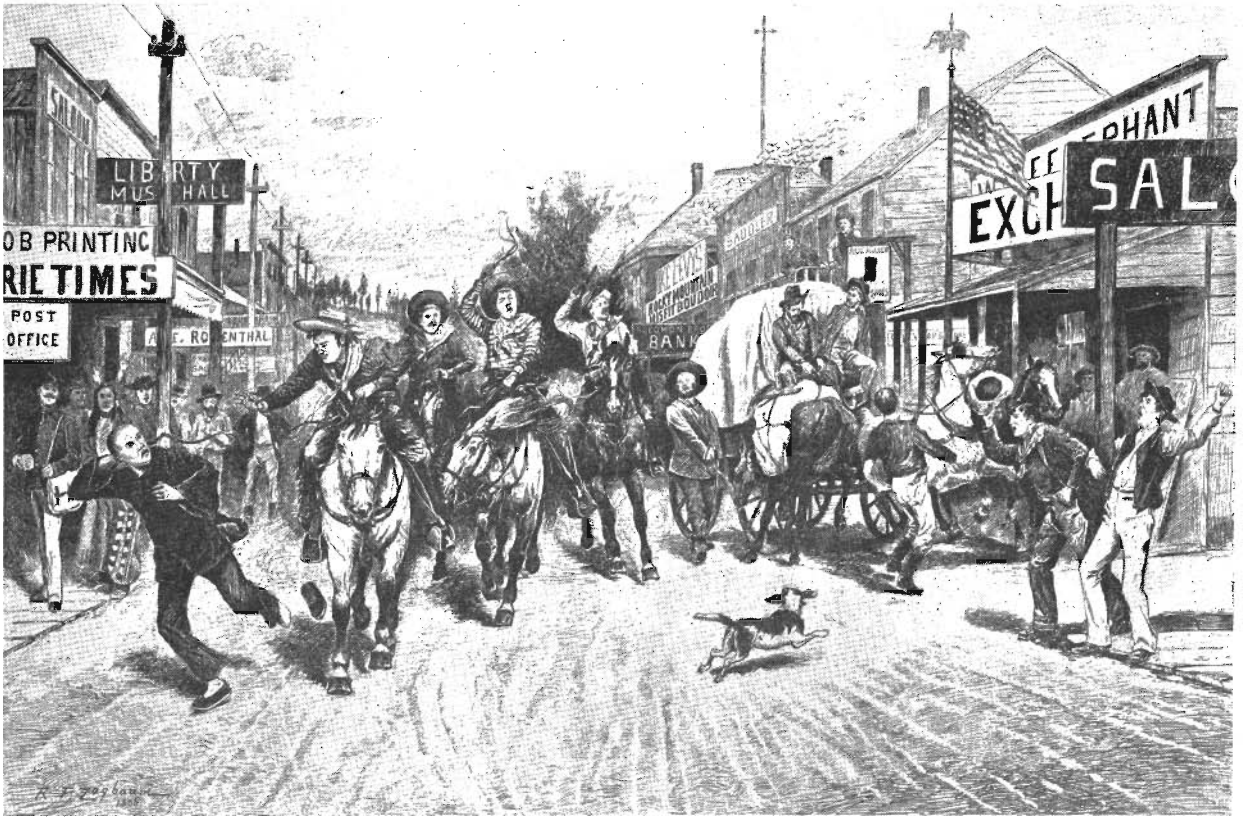
Guggenheim's venture in the field of mining proved to be a tremendous success. Before long he realized that most of the profits in mining went to the smelters. He bought $80,000 worth of stock

in the Globe smelters and had one of his sons learn the business. In 1888 he and one of the Globe partners formed the Philadelphia Smelting and Refining Company and built a smelter at Pueblo at the cost of $1,250,000. His interests in the mining and refining industry expanded rapidly, and the Guggenheim dynasty became a reality as one by one his seven sons joined him in his numerous enterprises and carried on the work begun by their father.

The discoveries of new mineral wealth in abandoned gold mines brought about a repetition of a former pattern. Again miners, speculators, adventurers, tradesmen, shopkeepers, and pack-peddlers hastened to the new centers of hope and wealth. As once the German Jews of the preceding generation had traveled the roads of New England, the South, and the Southwest peddling their wares, so now the new Jewish immigrants from Russia sought the boom towns as markets for the many necessities of daily living which they carried in the heavy packs on their backs. Some, like Guggenheim, achieved success; others failed dismally.

The peddler introduced new standards into American trade by carrying his shop on his back. His route often took him into little traveled and unknown areas, frequently at the peril of his life. Murder was an occupational hazard of this pioneering trade, and an air of mystery surrounds many incidents in the unwritten history of the Jewish peddler. Two such instances, involving unsolved crimes, are the murders of Nathan Adler in Venice, N. Y., on November 6, 1849, and of Max Samuels in Bradford, Pa., on March 16, 1892.

In July, 1892, in the Rocky Mountain region, still another murder occurred. Sam Bernstein, a peddler, was killed, and his partner, Israel Engel, was accused of having committed the crime. The Jews of Leadville and Aspen, convinced that Engel was not guilty, organized a committee to assist him in securing his acquittal. To raise the necessary money, appeals for funds were sent to all the lodges of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith in the South and Southwest. This Jewish fraternal order had member lodges in nearly every town and village in the United States, and, as part of its benevolent activities, undertook to see that justice was done in the case of Engel. Reprinted here for the first time are two of the several letters sent out by the committee to the Ezora Lodge, No. 236, of Huntsville, Ala.

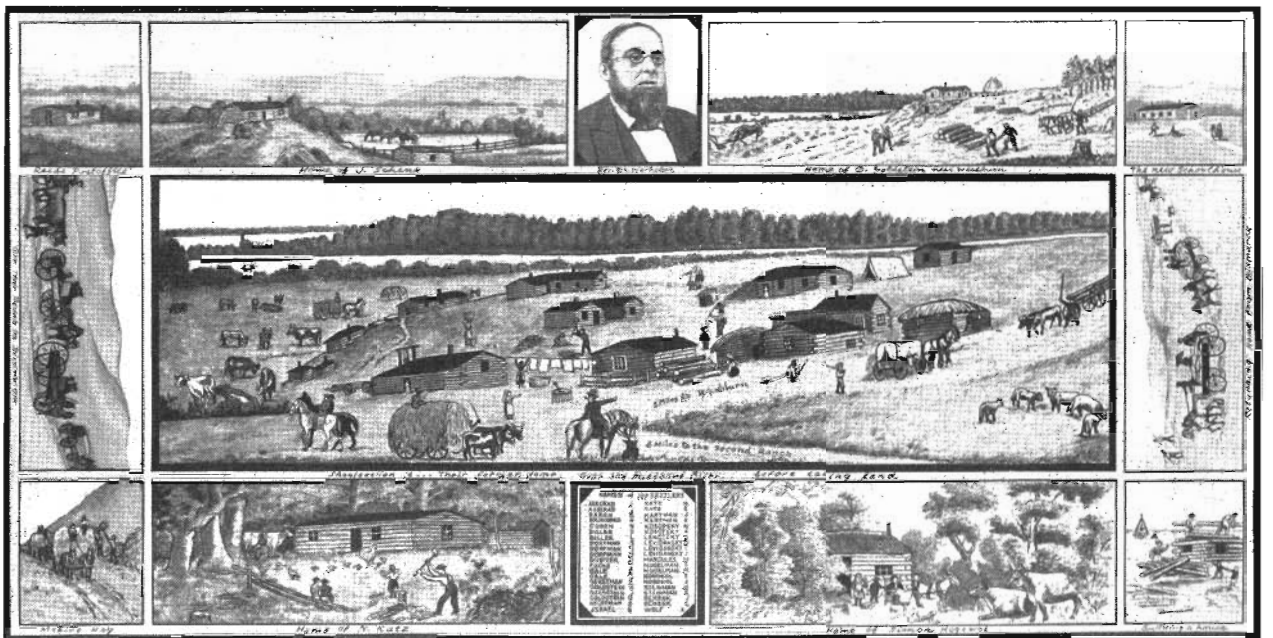


Drawing by R. F. Zogbaum for "Harper's Weekly," October 16, 1886 *Kean Archives, Philadelphia*

"PAINTING THE TOWN RED"

Note the Rosenthals, Levys, Solomons, and Laubenheims

(see p. 97)



DRAWN FROM NATURE BY S. LEVY

רש רוסס־ש ידישש שארמער קאלאנע וועקסלער אין דאקאטא

THE RUSSIAN JEWISH FARMER SETTLEMENT WECHSLER

BURLEIGH COUNTY DAKOTA TERRITORY.

(see p. 106)

ENGEL FUND

LEADVILLE, COLO., September 6, 1892.

As chairman of the committee appointed for that purpose by the Jewish community of Leadville, I beg leave to submit the following:

On or about July eighth, last, the body of a murdered man named Sam. Bernstein, a peddler, was found in Routt County, this State, a wild and comparatively uninhabited country. One Israel Engel, who had been engaged in the peddling business with Bernstein, was, a few days thereafter, arrested on the charge of having committed the murder, and is now in jail awaiting trial.

Engel is a man of family (a wife and six children); he is a perfect stranger in this section of the country, and without means — having arrived in the State only three weeks prior to his arrest. He formerly — for eleven years — resided in St. Louis, where his family still live. The Israelites of Leadville and Aspen have taken it upon themselves to investigate as to the probable guilt or innocence of Engel.

Upon a thorough investigation by competent parties we are led to the belief that, while certain circumstances may tend to show that he (Engel) might be guilty, we are forced to the conclusion that the circumstances are capable of such explanation as convince us of his innocence.

The labor of looking up the evidence for the defendant and preparing for a trial, which will probably come speedily, will be arduous and expensive; the country through which such evidence must be sought being one of the roughest, wildest, and most sparsely settled of the Rocky Mountain country.

To defend, and defend properly, this, as we believe, innocent man, it will be necessary to send an attorney from here to go over the ground personally and see and examine all persons in that section of the country who may know anything of the case. Some four hundred miles of that country will have to be traversed by private conveyance.

You will readily perceive that to cover the costs of so enormous a work, together with paying able counsel to defend the accused, a very large amount of ready money will be needed, and, as we here and in Aspen have comparatively few who can afford much, we are compelled to appeal to charitably inclined coreligionists all over the United States for subscriptions in this behalf.

Should this man be innocent, as we believe him to be, would it not be a most crying wrong to allow him to be convicted and hung when, with a little effort and the exercise of our time-honored Jewish charity, his life might be saved?

We, therefore, appeal to you, in the strongest sentiment that an earnest

heart can dictate, to help us along in this good work by sending as large a subscription as you possibly can.

Subscriptions may be sent to the undersigned, who will acknowledge same.

ISAAC BAER,
of Baer Bros.,
Leadville, Colorado.

or E. KATZ,
Secretary of the Engel Fund,
Leadville, Colorado.

ENGEL FUND

Leadville, Colo., March 1st, 1893.

We beg leave to call your attention to the enclosed circular which we issued on September 6th last. Since that time we have succeeded on behalf of Engel in procuring, firstly, a change of venue to another county, in which the residents are less prejudiced against him. We next went to trial only, however, to procure a continuance to the following term of court.

In the meantime we have succeeded, as we believe, in tearing down many items of the prosecution's strongest points of evidence, such, for instance, as disproving the assertion that the bloodstains found on Engel's effects are human blood — as the prosecution claims it to be.

You will readily understand that to carry on so vigorous a defense, together with procuring expert testimony, scientific analysis, etc., etc., entails considerable expense, to say nothing of increased counsel fees, traveling expenses, etc.

The next, and, as we trust it will be, the final trial, is called for next month, and our fund is exhausted. You know the rest: We must have more money to help end this case in a way we think we can, viz.: to prove to the court that this man is innocent.

We feel you cannot and will not refuse to aid us in so worthy a cause, when success seems so near. Be good enough to place this matter rightly before your lodge, and talk it up in a manner such as the importance of saving an innocent man's life would dictate.

Awaiting a prompt and favorable reply, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
E. KATZ, Secretary.

* * * *

The rich natural resources of Colorado were not the only attractions bringing people to the area. Its climate was found to be

extremely beneficial to the unfortunate sufferers from the dread disease of tuberculosis. Many went there in search of a cure. Those without sufficient funds settled along the river bottoms, creating slums, and inhaling the stifling smoke from the smelters. To alleviate those deplorable conditions, the Jews of Denver organized and launched a hospital program. However, the efforts of a handful of well-meaning Jews were inadequate. The B'nai B'rith stepped in on this occasion, acting on a broad communal scale, as it did later in the individual case of Engel. The first hospital was built in 1889, when Denver was still an infant city. Under the guidance of the B'nai B'rith, The National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives expanded its facilities rapidly. In 1942 it became a national medical center, embracing treatment and rehabilitation of patients, clinical and experimental research, and medical education. From its very beginnings the hospital has been operated on a non-sectarian basis, and its motto, inscribed on the entrance, has been "None may enter who can pay — none can pay who enter."

* * * *

Not all of the Russian Jewish immigrants who went to Colorado were peddlers. Many of them were brought in as farmers. In 1882, Emanuel H. Saltiel, a local mine operator, was instrumental in establishing an agricultural colony, consisting of sixty-three Russian Jews, in Cotopaxi. (*The Denver Tribune*, February 7, 1883, cited in the *Colorado Magazine*, 1941, Vol. XVIII, p. 125.) Of the 1,780 acres of available land, only a few hundred acres were suitable for cultivation. That scheme failed, as did the many other Jewish agricultural colonies, because of poor planning. In order to support themselves, some of the settlers went to work in the neighboring mines, and others took jobs with the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.

Their economic plight gave the colonists little satisfaction, but they found comfort in the fact that the railroad officials permitted them to observe the Sabbath and to worship freely. They settled in the town of Gotham, purchased a Scroll of the Law, and built and dedicated a synagogue. Those immigrant Jews, knowing little English, derived great comfort from the knowledge that the Law of Moses given to the ancient Israelites on Mount Sinai could and did bring them spiritual satisfaction in their new surroundings in the heart of the Rockies.

Jewish religious communal life in Colorado, which had its beginnings in the 1850's, grew, by the end of the century, to approximately twenty well-organized congregations, most of them located in the heart of the state.

KANSAS

It was not the natural resources that brought settlers to Kansas, but the sectional rivalry between the North and the South. Settlement was stimulated in 1854 when the Kansas-Nebraska Act, repealing the Missouri Compromise, was passed by Congress. Emigrants from other states entered Kansas, and bitter hostilities developed among them. Squatters and free-soilers, abolitionists and pro-slavery forces led by fiery John Brown, contended with each other for their rights. August Bondi, the Wiener brothers, Theodore and Herman, and Jacob Benjamin joined John Brown in the struggle against the pro-slavery "Border Ruffians."

From his early youth, Bondi had been a fighter for the cause of freedom, having participated, at the age of fifteen, in the Austro-Hungarian revolution led by Louis Kossuth. It was the failure of European liberalism that brought Bondi, together with tens of thousands of other Europeans, to the United States, and it was this yearning for freedom that inspired Bondi to take part in the anti-slavery fight in Kansas. He described those experiences in a number of letters written to the Honorable G. W. Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society in Topeka, and in one of them (August 13, 1905) he states that no formal "Abolition Society existed in Kansas *to my knowledge.*"

In contrast, Theodore Wiener, Bondi's business partner who had lived in Texas and Louisiana, was a "rank pro-slavery man." When Wiener went to Kansas he refused to join the pro-slavery group, but continued to do business with them. It was only after an unsuccessful attempt on his life by a brother of the notorious Dutch Henry that he openly joined forces with the anti-slavery faction (August Bondi, in *Memoirs of American Jews 1775–1865*, Vol. 2).

* * * *

Among those who came to Kansas in search of "greener pastures," and who did not take part in the political strife, were Samuel and Hester Rosenberg, who left Kentucky in a covered wagon and arrived at Leavenworth in the 1850's. There they opened a furniture store, and close by another newcomer, Bernard Korman, operated a tin shop. Philip Rothschild, who within a few years had built up a thriving business, had the distinction of owning the first brick building in the city, but later he was better known for his efforts in organizing the B'nai B'rith lodge at Leavenworth in 1866. He was the first secretary of the lodge, and was active in the benevolent work of the organization. Religious services with a *minyan* (a quorum of ten men) were held as early as 1855. Congregation B'nai Jeshurun was formally organized four years later, in 1859, and a charter was applied for in 1864. In order to raise funds for the new congregation, a ball was held on January 2, 1859, to which all the citizens of Leavenworth were invited. The congregation was made up of German and Polish Jews, creating the usual problem as to the mode of worship. The issue was finally compromised, Orthodox services being conducted on Sabbath mornings and, after a short recess, Reform services according to Isaac Mayer Wise's *Minhag America* (*Archives Israélites*, 1868, p. 1146).

Congregations and other communal Jewish organizations were instituted in a number of Kansas towns, such as Topeka, Wichita, Kansas City, Hutchinson, Atchison, and Fort Scott. A literary society was formed in Leavenworth through the efforts of the Rothschild family in 1883. It was known as the Montefiore Literary Society, and it filled many social needs. Although it was meant to be a secular group, it was, unofficially, an adjunct of the local congregation.

August Bondi, in addition to his association with John Brown, took an active part in the Civil War, held the position of postmaster in Salina, and was the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor during Ulysses S. Grant's administration. Rosedale, Wichita, and Dodge City elected Jewish mayors, Samuel Classen, Solomon H. Kohn, and Adolph Gluck, respectively. Gluck served five terms. Prior to his election as mayor, he served on the city council, and while in this office he appointed Wyatt Earp, the now famous frontier marshal, to police Dodge City, at a time when a quick eye, a gun, and the accurate spin of a lariat were the only laws that were understood.

ARIZONA

Herman Ehrenberg, one of the first Jewish settlers in Arizona, was shot to death by an unknown assassin on his return to the territory from an assaying trip to California. Ehrenberg had been keenly interested in the scientific aspects of mining since his arrival in Arizona in 1854. He placed his knowledge of geology and metallurgy to practical use in developing and exploiting the mineral resources of the region before it became a territory of the United States in 1863.

To supplement the irregular returns derived from pioneer mining, Ehrenberg operated a general store in partnership with Michael Goldwasser, later changed to Goldwater, an immigrant from Russian Poland. After Ehrenberg was killed, his partner renamed the town in which the store was located, calling it Ehrenberg, thus perpetuating the memory of his business associate.

Goldwater continued in business, and the store became a center of commercial and civic activity. It thrived as long as the town of Ehrenberg thrived. But when the mines yielded less and less gold, the once booming town languished, and today, almost a century later, it is not remembered even as a ghost town. A highway inspection station is the only indication of the former existence of the town.

The Goldwaters moved on to other parts of Arizona and became closely identified with the business and political life of La Paz, Phoenix, and the entire territory. The first Goldwaters, like many successful immigrants, helped their fellow immigrants to obtain a foothold in the business world. One of these new arrivals, Solomon Barth, came to La Paz in 1862 and went to work for the Goldwaters. Barth, however, was restless and enterprising, and did not stay long with the Goldwaters. He engaged in freighting, and later, in partnership with Ben Block, transported the mail between Prescott and Albuquerque. Barth acted also as a sutler and as guide for some of the first surveying parties in the territory. Desert marches and Indian encounters became a part of the day's work. His tireless efforts brought him success, and before long he was joined by several of his relatives. Within a short time the business, now a family venture, prospered. It was a newsworthy item when *The Prescott Miner* of October 15, 1877, reported Sol Barth's coming into town.

Sol Barth, of St. Johns, Little Colorado, came in this morning with 90,000 lbs. of barley for C. P. Herd & Co. This barley is raised at Stinson's

ranch (Snowflake), and is said to be an excellent quality. Sol and his brothers are in the stock and freighting business and on the Little Colorado, where they have been for several years. Sol was a merchant in Prescott and Wickenburg in 1864 in company with Aaron Barnett.

* * * *

Ross Brown's popular book on Arizona, *Adventures in Apache Country*, convinced Samuel H. Drachman to leave Philadelphia in 1867 to try his luck in the West. His destination was Tucson. He went by steamer to San Francisco and then on to Los Angeles which, according to Drachman, was at that time an insignificant Mexican town. From Los Angeles he went to San Bernardino, the terminus for the stage coach to Tucson. The persistent Indian raids in the surrounding countryside, however, prevented him from continuing his scheduled journey. He finally started out on the last lap of the hazardous trip and, after many hardships, arrived in Arizona City, now known as Yuma. There he found that he would be delayed again for several days.

To pass the time during his forced stay in Yuma, he took in the sights of the city and made a number of acquaintances. One of these new found friends informed him that a clerk was needed to record the proceedings of an important trial which was about to take place. Drachman got the job. His own account of the incident, in "Arizona's Pioneers and the Apaches," is taken from a manuscript read at a meeting of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, on May 4, 1885.

> Just think! But one day in Arizona, and allready occupying such an exalted position as clerk of a justice's court! I soon reached the court and was duly installed. Proceedings comenced and lasted several hours. Prisoner was found guilty and a fine of $100 was imposed, and he was ordered to jail until the amount was paid. There being no jail in the place, he was chained to a log and kept for half a day, when a committee of citizens, taking pity on the poor fellow, called in a body on his honor [the judge] to interceede in his behalf, and succeeded in having the prisoner released, after paying the judge ten dollars, on the condition that the judge treat all hands, to which he agreed. All hands took a drink, and thus ended the greatest trial on record. As regards my pay for services rendered, I am sorry to say I have never received any thing, and doubt if I ever will.

Drachman remained in Yuma eight days. He obtained transportation, withstood the rigors of the rough journey, and arrived safely

in Tucson on September 16, 1867. His first impression of the "ancient and honorable Pueblo" was not a very favorable one. However, he gave a detailed picture of the economic life of the community.

I was more than surprised at the style of the buildings and the manner of conducting business. Every thing seemed so much in contrast with eastern styles and customs. I found but few stores, with limited stock, and with prices for provisions and articles of apparel rather high. Flour was selling at $14.00 per 100 pounds; sugar cube, 75¢ to $1.00 per pound; sugar, brown, 60 to 75¢; tea, $1.00 to $2.00; soap, the cheapest article, and which is now being sold from 20 to 24 bars for $1.00, was worth 50¢ per bar; candles were 60 to 75¢ per pound; bacon, 60 to 75¢; potatoes, such as were brought from Santa Cruz, Mexico, 6 to 10¢ per pound; California potatoes, 20 to 25¢, and scarce at that; calicoes, 3 yards for $1.00. A better article can be had now at 20 yards for one dollar. The price of clothing and all other articles of wear was in proportion. All classes of goods were scarce and, consequently, comanded high prices.

Another cause I found for the existence of these high prices was that merchants mostly dealt in San Francisco and their obligations had to be met in gold coin, while they received currency in payment for their goods, which would realize in San Francisco 75 to 85¢ on the dollar. The great delay in transporting the goods also had an effect. I have known of goods being on the road from four to six months; hence many were the articles of food and wear that the place would be deprived of, which could not be had at any price, and the lucky merchant who would be the possessor of the short articles would reap a rich harvest. As an instance, coal oil was in the hands of a certain party . . . . Soon he found that he was the only one in the place who had coal oil. He raised the price from five to eight dollars per gallon.

* * * *

While Drachman was engaged in building up his business, Dr. H. Bendell of Albany, New York, was being considered by the United States Senate for the post of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Arizona. It is likely that Drachman and other newcomers, unless they read the *American Israelite*, which reported the controversial news in its issue of February 3, 1871, were unaware that the appointment was vehemently protested against in Boston. *The Boston Pilot* opposed Bendell on the ground that he was a Jew, but in spite of this local opposition the appointment was confirmed.

About this time, an eighteen-year-old immigrant, who later

settled in Arizona, arrived in the United States. Posen-born Isador Elkan Solomon tried his hand at a variety of jobs and then, in 1872, returned to Germany for a brief visit. There he married and, with his bride, he returned to Philadelphia. He, too, was lured by the opportunities of the West, and in 1876 the Solomons, now a family of five, moved to Pueblo Viejo, in the Gila Valley, where they opened a small store. Isador and his wife worked hard, adapted themselves to the difficulties of pioneer life, and the little business which was the source of their livelihood became the official trading post of the area. It supplied the needs of a handful of white families, the Mexican residents, and the Indians. Solomon's popularity grew because of the friendly methods which he employed in conducting his business which, like so many other trading posts, became a center of communication. As a result, it was the logical choice for the first post office in Pueblo Viejo. The name of the town was changed to Solomonsville, and Isador Elkan Solomon became its first postmaster. From postmaster Solomon rose to the position of treasurer of Graham County, and the town which bore his name became the county seat.

When Solomon was not devoting his time to the civic affairs in which he was interested, he made frequent trips through the danger-infested Gila Valley. Any traveler who was fortunate enough to escape an Apache attack, or to elude the hidden dangers of the road, ran the risk of facing stagecoach bandits also. Solomon was a victim of a stagecoach holdup, and the bandits who could not be outrun on the road were outwitted at the scene of the crime.

After the bandits had relieved their victims of all their cash and valuables, Solomon sensed an opportunity for conversation and thanked the bandits for their obvious desire to avoid physical harm to the travelers. This seemed to please the robbers and, thus encouraged, Solomon asked to have his watch returned because it was an heirloom which he prized highly. To his surprise, they granted the request. Sensing an equal opportunity, Solomon's two companions asked to have their watches returned also, one of them offering to send $100 anywhere the bandits designated. After some hesitation they complied without asking for any reward. Mustering additional courage, Solomon then asked for enough money to pay for food and drink for the now penniless victims. To their utter amazement, this request was granted, and in this way a difficult situation came to an amicable end.

The arrival of new white settlers brought prosperity to the Solomons. Their business grew, and they acquired considerable farmland and livestock. Their one-room home was expanded to meet the needs of the growing family. (They had six children.) Weary travelers were always assured of a warm welcome and cheery hospitality in the Solomon home, which before long became a two-story adobe hotel.

The Solomon family had little contact with Jewish communal life, but Solomon wanted his children to grow up in a Jewish atmosphere. For that reason, and because the educational facilities in Solomonsville were inadequate, he sent them to New York for schooling as soon as they were old enough to travel through the dangerous territory. All six of the Solomon children gratified their father's hopes by adhering to their religious teachings.

* * * *

While the development of Jewish communal and religious life followed the pattern of the rest of the country, it was much slower in Arizona. Not until the turn of the century did formal organization take place. One of the earliest congregations organized in Arizona was in Douglas, in the late spring of 1907 (*The American Israelite*, June 13, 1907).

UTAH

Dr. Leon L. Watters, a descendant of a pioneer Utah family, has the distinction of being the only historian to record the story of the Jewish settlement in any Western state (*The Pioneer Jews of Utah*, New York, 1952). Most of the Jews who settled in Salt Lake City had tried their fortunes in other parts of the West, and had used their previous experiences in communal organization to good advantage. This was true of the Watters brothers who, before they made their permanent home in Utah, had participated actively in religious functions in California, and of the Ransohoff family, who appear in the records of Montana just a year or two prior to their settlement in Salt Lake City in 1854.

In 1853 Solomon Nunes Carvalho paused in Salt Lake City with John C. Frémont's expedition, to rest and recuperate from the

arduous journey over the Rocky Mountains. Similarly, many Jews, traveling from the East to the Pacific Coast, stopped in the city to refresh themselves before going on. Some were ill and without funds to continue their journey, and, naturally, they turned to the Jewish residents of the city for aid. The Jews of the city responded, in the manner of the age-old practice of extending a helping hand to the wayfaring stranger. At first the collection of funds for those transients was undertaken by individual residents, but before long the practical need for a formal organization became evident. Accordingly, in 1866, the Hebrew Benevolent Society was established for the primary purpose of aiding the needy and providing a burial ground.

In the same year (1866) Brigham Young donated a piece of land to the Jewish community for a cemetery. However, the burden of taking care of its own people as well as the many travelers passing through the city drained the resources of the struggling community, which was unable to provide the necessary funds for the upkeep of the cemetery. The community's appeal for financial help assumed a national character when it appeared in *The Occident* (Vol. XXIII, No. 12, March, 1866). It is reprinted below.

Rev. Isaac Leeser.

DEAR SIR:

At a meeting of the first Hebrew Benevolent Society of this city, an organization composed of all the Israelites, for the purpose of promoting the interest and observe our ancient faith, and more especially to provide and assist all afflicted and helpless of our people, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, This society has reasons to feel gratified at the interest manifested by its members and likewise to feel proud at the liberality with which all contributed towards defraying the expenses of purchasing a Sepher Torah, Shophar, books, &c., for the proper observance of our religion, and the readiness with which appeals for charity have been promptly met; and

Whereas, A piece of ground has been donated to the society aforesaid for a Jewish cemetery; therefore be it

Resolved, That Mr. J. M. Ellis, of Messrs. Ellis Brothers, Joseph Siegel, of Messrs. Siegel & Co., Theodore Auerbach, of Messrs. T. Auerbach & Brothers, and F. F. Hilp, Esq., be and are hereby appointed a committee to solicit such pecuniary aid of Jewish congregations and individuals outside of the territory, for the purpose of raising means to build a wall and

other improvements so much needed and required to the present bare cemetery, relying that their appeal for so laudable a purpose will be cheerfully responded to by all who have the welfare of Israel at heart.

In view of the above, the committee respectfully represent that the society they have the honor to make this appeal for, being for the common good of our scattered people, would decline to ask for assistance, if it were in the power of its few members to further their purpose. The expense of the society, owing to its being so remote, has been more than great; indeed, every member has donated more than the extent of his means. It is not only needed but essential on this, the thoroughfare of the great West, to have a resting-place for those who may be called to that long journey, and, as we stated, it is more than we can undertake, as the estimated expense of fitting up the cemetery is $800 to $1,000. We respectfully make this appeal through you to your generosity and that of your congregation and members, hoping you will approve of our enterprise and sufficiently interest yourself to see that we are pecuniarily assisted in this matter, at as early a date as possible. Any assistance will be gratefully received and properly acknowledged by the undersigned officers. We would advise your sending a check or certificate of deposit with any of your banks.

Very respectfully yours,

THEODORE AUERBACH,
JOSEPH SIEGEL,
JAMES M. ELLIS,
F. F. HILP.

Salt Lake City, January 22, 1866.

There is nothing in the records to indicate that the Aaron family was among the supporters of the newly formed Hebrew Benevolent Society. In the same year in which it was organized, the first Jewish male child was born in Salt Lake City. That child was Sam Aaron, who became one of the band of picturesque characters whose vagaries have enriched the history of the Far West. The elder Aaron was a restless frontiersman, who went from place to place seeking his fortune in many ventures. Before he was five years old, young Sam had made a number of perilous trips with his father through Indian lands. When he was eleven he had the thrilling experience of meeting Buffalo Bill in Nebraska. He was somewhat disappointed in the famous scout's mode of dress, and describes him in the following words:

I always pictured him in a buckskin coat with fringes. He was attired in black moleskin trousers with a white shirt and black tie, and a black

five-gallon hat. Out of his watch pocket hung a charm — a twenty dollar gold piece. Believe me, he was picturesque. To me he looked like a giant — with his black curly hair hanging down to his shoulders, black goatee, and moustache, a very sharp nose and piercing eyes.

In his unpublished autobiography, Sam Aaron recalls another exciting experience in Ogden, Utah, on July 4, 1877, where he witnessed a Fourth of July parade. Compared with parades which he had seen on a visit to New York, the one in Ogden seemed like a toy and provided him with a "good laugh." The Aarons left Ogden by stagecoach the next day. They passed the hill on which General George A. Custer had made his last stand only a few months previously. It took the stagecoach twenty-three days to make the journey from Ogden to Butte, Montana.

For a number of years the Aarons went from state to state, without taking root in any one place. In the course of their wanderings Sam found employment in various fields. He was a professional gambler, a saloonkeeper, a smelter, a United States deputy marshal, and an expert marksman with a six-shooter. Passing through Tombstone, Arizona, in 1883, he witnessed a holdup, western style, of one of the Goldwater enterprises:

> A store owned by a man by the name of Goldwater was held up one day about 4:30 in the afternoon by four riders who came into town. Two of them entered the store, while the other two stood on guard, back to back — with two six-shooters in their hands, and kept on shooting to keep the people away. They killed three people. The two men in the store choked Goldwater and took away his money. The four backed out of town, shooting, and escaped into Mexico, about twenty miles. Three months later they were captured in Mexico and brought back to Tombstone.

* * * *

The Religious and Educational Association of Salt Lake City, the existing communal organization, was reorganized in 1881 under the name of B'nai Israel Congregation. Articles of Incorporation, under the laws of the Territory of Utah, were filed on March 28, 1881, and in July of that year the congregation purchased a lot on which a synagogue was to be built. After many financial and administrative setbacks, the synagogue was dedicated on September 30, 1883.

MINNESOTA

The beginnings of religious life among the Jews of Minnesota were described by Isaac Mayer Wise in *The Israelite* on July 4, 1856. Wise expressed the same avid interest in those beginnings as his Philadelphia colleague, Isaac Leeser, did in *The Occident.*

The first general attempt at religious organization in the territory was some time in 1844, when Methodists penetrated into the area. A contemporary writer states that only one sermon was known to have been preached during a five-month period in the entire countryside surrounding St. Paul. Progress was slow. Resolutions to observe the Sabbath and maintain some form of worship were not always successful. The Baptist Home Mission Board labored with similar zeal to organize missions and carry on its work. Finally, in 1849, the Baptists attained their goal. "The First Baptist Church of St. Paul, composed of twelve members, was publicly recognized in a new and unplastered school-house, where its services were held through the ensuing year." However, it was not until August, 1856, one month after Wise had reported Jewish religious activity, that the Baptists began to organize in earnest (H. E. Bishop, *Floral Homes; or, First Years of Minnesota*, 1857).

The Jews of Minnesota, coming from other sections of the West and South, were acquainted with the needs and problems of frontier life. They settled first in St. Paul and later in Minneapolis and Duluth. The first recorded minutes of the St. Paul congregation are dated May 17, 1857, almost a year after the first organizational meeting was held. It adopted the name of Mount Sinai Hebrew Association (now known as Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation), secured the services of a hazzan from Cleveland, and conducted services in its rented quarters. Internal dissension, a subtle frontier which was as difficult to conquer as was the battle to earn a livelihood, split the tiny congregation. Differences of opinion based on a disagreement in the mode of worship brought about a secession within the Jewish ranks. A second congregation was soon formed.

The mode of worship was one reason for dissension. Another centered around the burial ground purchased by the members who formed the Mount Sinai Hebrew Association. Prior to this purchase, a number of Jews had been buried in the public cemetery. Their families now wanted them reinterred in hallowed ground, according

to Jewish law and practice. The minutes of the first congregational meetings give details of some of the basic problems concerning the cemetery.

Intermarriage added to the complexities of the inner life of the community. Those who married non-Jews and wished to maintain their status in the congregation presented the chief problem. Since this new congregation had no rabbi to solve such problems in accordance with Jewish law, its officers communicated them in the form of *she'elot* (questions involving rabbinic law) to two leading American rabbis, Morris J. Raphall of New York and Isaac Mayer Wise of Cincinnati. The *teshubot* (responsa) of these two rabbis on burial problems and intermarriage were received and incorporated into the minutes, but it is not known what action was taken.

Jewish life in Minneapolis, across the Mississippi River from St. Paul, developed independently. The first organization was a burial society, established in 1876, then in rapid succession a B'nai B'rith lodge in 1877 and Congregation Shaari Tov, now Temple Israel, in 1878.

Duluth underwent a quiet transition from an Indian trading post in 1860 to a chartered city in 1870. Bernard Silberstein, a native of Hungary, arrived in the city that year; he is believed to have been the first permanent Jewish resident of the city. The first congregation, unlike those of the Twin Cities, was organized on Reform principles in 1891. By that time large numbers of immigrants, having fled Russian persecutions, reached the West, and a rapid increase in congregational organization was soon well on its way in Minnesota.

NEVADA

Carson City, Nevada Territory, was settled in 1858. It was just sixteen miles from Virginia City, the notorious frontier mining community which came into existence in 1859.

In 1862 C. H. Meyer, who is otherwise unidentified, wrote a letter to Isaac Leeser, describing life in the Territory. Both cities had grown considerably in population; Virginia City boasted of 3,000 inhabitants.

Little is known about Jewish life in the area apart from what Meyer's revealing letter tells us. The War Between the States was

in full force, and the only Jewish society in Carson City donated all the money in its treasury, consisting of $157.50, to the Sanitary Fund for the care of sick and wounded Union soldiers. Leeser, through correspondence and *The Occident*, penetrated every nook and corner of the expanding country. The following letter, throwing light on life in the raw West, is typical of the many which Leeser received.

Carson City, N. T. [Nevada Territory]
November 13, [18]62.

Reverend Isaac Leeser,

Dear Friend:

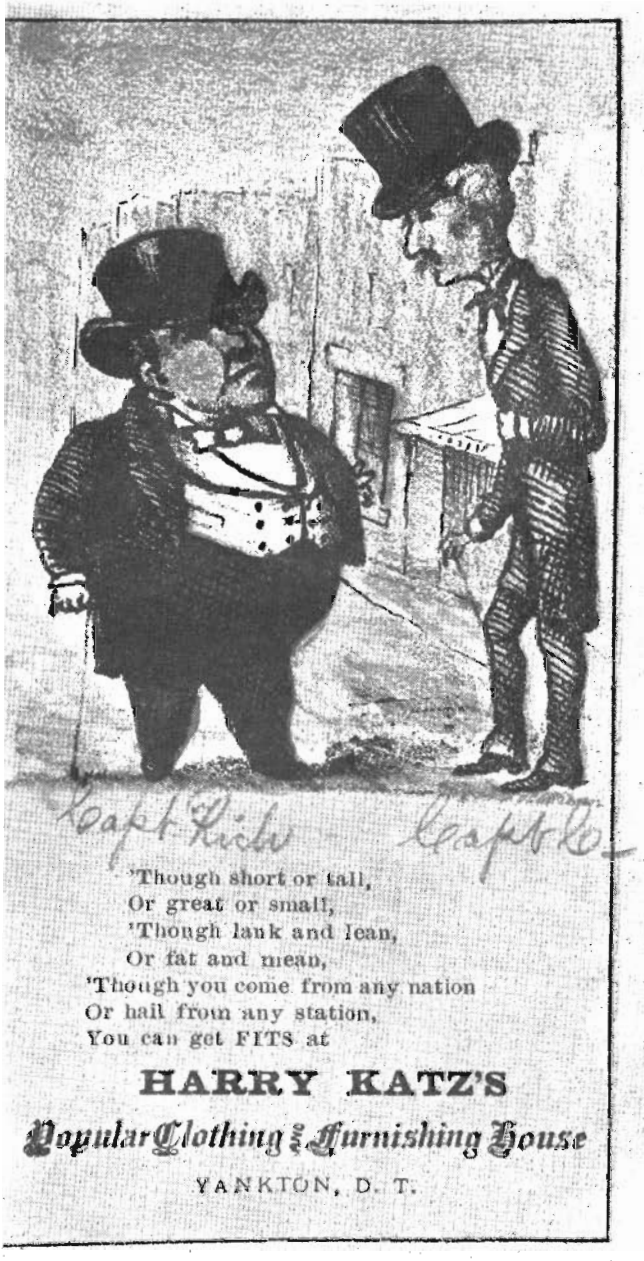
I beg to send enclosed two drafts on Drexel and Co. of your city in your favor. One draft, for $27.75, is for payment of your account against me for *Occidents*, etc., account of which you rendered in your favor of July 7th last, the other enclosed draft, for $25.83, being for proceeds of two Bibles (after deducting the freight of Wells Fargo and Co. Express), one of which Bibles I had ordered for Mr. Falkenstein and the other Bible you had sent along extra.

You are no doubt unaware that this place (Carson City) is now my place of residence. I have lived here since the first part of Sept. last. I am engaged here in the mercantile business, associated with Mr. A. Fleishacker, and together are doing business under the firm name Fleishacker & Meyer.

I am pleased to state that my new enterprise has thus far has been attended by success.

Only a very small number of our persuasion reside in this city. Aside from a Jewish benevolent association, no other Jewish society exists here. This benevolent association had $157.50, funds which they entirely donated to the Committee of the Sanitary Fund, to be applied to the sick and wounded soldiers who fought for the preservation of this Union.

Virginia City, situated sixteen miles from this place, has already a larger population of Israelites. On the approach of Yom Kippur [Day of Atonement] last they formed a congregation to observe that holy day and the succeeding festive days. Thus, you will see that although silver mine speculation and thoughts to win fortunes in this new country almost exclusively fill the human mind, still Israelites forget not, in this distant country, on their God or on their duties as the descendant[s] of their forefathers. This last-mentioned place, Virginia City, is surrounded by silver mines. It is the most important place in the whole territory. Some of those mines are very rich and yield immense fortunes to their lucky owners. To give you an idea of the value of some of those mines, I will state, as instance, a few prices:



JEWS WERE IN THE DAKOTA TERRITORY FROM THE VERY EARLIEST DAYS

(see p. 107)

The Ophir mine	$2,500.00	pr.	foot
The Gould & Curry mine	2,100.00	"	"
The Central mine	1,600.00	"	"
The California mine	1,100.00	"	"
The Cholar mine	325.00	"	"
The Sierra Nevada mine	90.00	"	"

And so do the mines, in accordance with their riches and prospects etc., rate down to $5 per foot.

I hardly expect that you would find much interest in affairs of this country aside from religious affairs. I think, however, the time is not distant when the growth of our Jewish population will require the organizing of congregations and other religious institutions. There exists too much wealth in the silver mines of the territory to deny the expectation of a very rapid increase of our population, for it is a known fact that our people are found to reside where "money can be made."

That you may be in the enjoyment of best health, and that your noble efforts in the holy cause in which you are engaged be crowned with due success and honor is the fervent wish of

Yours respectfully,
C. H. MEYER

P. S. Shall be much pleased to receive an early answer.

THE DAKOTAS

Mr. I. Katz opened his general store in the isolated city of Yankton, Dakota Territory (now South Dakota), shortly after the first legislative assembly convened there in 1862. The Black Hills Gold Rush (1875–76) brought some 15,000 miners and adventurers to Dead Wood Gulch, a picturesque and flourishing gold camp, located on the western border of present-day South Dakota. Jewish peddlers and traders were among them, but it was not until the arrival of the immigrants from Russia that any permanent Jewish settlements were attempted.

The first Jewish settlement organized in the territory was an agricultural colony. Herman Rosenthal, a Russian Jewish immigrant, who had failed in his attempt to establish a colony in Louisiana, decided to try out his colonizing ideas in the Dakotas. The free lands in the colder climate of the Northwest, made available by the government for settlement, seemed more attractive than the semi-tropical climate of Louisiana.

The colony was started in the summer of 1882, and was located on the dividing line between Davison and Aurora counties, about twenty miles from Mitchell (S. Dak.). It was named in honor of Adolphe Crémieux, one of the founders of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. The first fifty settlers were joined within a short time by a hundred and fifty more. The experiment, however, lasted only three years. Many factors entered into the failure of this project, chief among which were a lack of experience and foresight, climatic conditions, and floods. What happened in Dakota was merely a repetition of what had happened in similar colonies previously established in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Colorado.

One of the agricultural colonies in Dakota was founded by Dr. Judah Wechsler, who in 1865 served as a part-time rabbi in an Indianapolis congregation. In the spring of 1883, in a letter to *The Jewish Messenger* (New York), Wechsler described the settlement as a flourishing community. Although the exact site of the colony cannot be found in contemporary atlases, it was located, according to this letter, in what is now North Dakota, about ten miles from Painted Woods, in Burleigh County, not far from Bismarck. There are no statistical references to the Jews of North Dakota in the first issue of the *American Jewish Year Book* (1899), nor is there any mention of Wechsler's venture in any standard biographical accounts of him.

To call attention to his colony, Wechsler invited a Jewish artist, S. Levy, to make a sketch of the settlement at its best. The drawing, as well as the letter to *The Jewish Messenger* (May 25, 1883), both of which are reproduced here, depicted the colony in glowing terms. The list of names in the picture identifies the people who took part in this venture.

The contemporary periodical press abounds in references to the Wechsler colony, as well as to the other agricultural endeavors which were undertaken at that time. However, that enterprise was no more successful than many of the other similar attempts, begun with so much hope, but doomed to failure because of insufficient funds and improper planning.

AMONG THE DAKOTA EMIGRANTS.

To the Editor:

I have just returned from a trip to the Wechsler colony at Painted Woods, Dakota, and am more than pleased. A most favorable location

has been secured. Arriving at Bismarck, which is one of the most flourishing towns of the territory, I found a majority of the colonists assembled to welcome me. In the evening, until twelve, I had a consultation with them regarding their present and future wants, and resolved to visit the colony in person. All returned home, that is, walked the long distance, about thirty miles, starting at night time, and arrived before me. I started the next day early in the morning, obtaining a buggy and a good span of horses.

The road leading to our colony is very hilly. It was, however, a very pleasant day; the air was mild and the sun was shining brightly. I examined the land at different points, and although I profess to be no judge, it was, however, my opinion, which the man in my company, who was a practical farmer, confirmed, that no better soil could be found in any part of our country. About ten miles from our colony, the Painted Woods are visible at a distance. I inquired of those who know of the origin of this name, "Painted Woods." I was informed that the Indians who formerly inhabited these regions had painted many trees of the woods in all kinds of colors, and on examining the same I found this statement correct, as these colors still remain to a large extent.

Arriving at the colony, I received a most hearty welcome. At the school section [the area reserved by the government for the support of the local schools], where we had purchased the houses already erected when we settled these refugees and where there was already some cultivated land, I found a number of new houses built, so that it had the appearance of a little village. I went into the houses and found them all clean, which was a very agreeable surprise to me, as our refugees here in our city might be more cleanly. Some of the land looked splendid. Wheat had been sown during the past month which looked green and quite promising, potatoes had been planted, and in fact a great many acres had been cultivated with a variety of seed. Besides this school section, which the settlers occupy, each has obtained from the government one hundred and sixty acres of land, upon which houses are also erected, and these lands are now separately occupied. The lands owned thus cover a distance of more than three miles; and, besides, three of them have been fortunate to obtain splendid timber land of 160 acres each, upon which there is a variety of timber for building purposes and wood enough for all for many years to come.

I visited every section, and was satisfied that with the proper industry and energy splendid farms can be made here in a few years. Adjoining the land of our colonists, there is already established a post office, called Reed, and in a very short time a school will be established, which is much needed for the education of the many children belonging to our settlers. We have now nearly one hundred of our refugees settled in this colony. It is to be regretted, however, that a few had to be returned, as they were not

adapted for agricultural pursuits, but we have replaced them with four new families which we settled from here.

We have also received some unwelcome visitors from Cleveland and Peoria, who arrive without any means, to become a burden upon us, for it requires a large sum of money to locate a family on land. There would be room enough left for hundreds, and land for all, if we had only the means; but as it requires at least six hundred dollars to settle a family, it can be easily seen that I cannot accomplish more than I have in the past. I procured at that time more cattle, wagons, plows and other implements, and having supplied the settlers for [with] four months' provisions at an outlay of fully $2,000, the means at my disposal were exhausted. We have expended more than $4,000 up to this date for the colony, which is, however, promising the best results; for when in the fall our settlers are rewarded with a good harvest they will be fully self-sustaining, and next year they will be well to do. If the season will be as good as last year's, our settlers can harvest in a few months from four hundred to five hundred [bushels of] wheat and four or five thousand bushels of potatoes. Last year the yield was from two hundred to two hundred and fifty bushels of potatoes to one acre. They will also have vegetables of all kinds. If our settlers had the proper machinery and four good horses, they could obtain one thousand tons of good hay. The whole section upon which the first colony is located has grass in abundance. If I could now only obtain the sum of $2,000 to furnish our settlers with more small live stock, as sheep, etc., it would be a most profitable investment.

Can there not be some generous, liberal men to furnish this amount, in order to make our colony a full success? There has been so much money expended for other purposes that our coreligionists of this country should now assist me in my appeal. The New York Emigrant Aid Society has nobly assisted me in my enterprise; but otherwise all the money which so far has been expended, and I think with the most promising results, has been received from the noble societies of Europe. Without this assistance, my colony could not have been established. It is my intention to locate yet eight families who I think will succeed in agricultural pursuits, but I must rely upon further assistance to accomplish this. I am sure it will be gratifying to every Israelite to learn that these refugees can become agriculturists. It will elevate their manhood and womanhood; it will make them independent and change their character entirely.

I spent a most happy day among the settlers and gave them some wholesome advice, which they promised to obey. When I left I received a most hearty blessing, every man, woman, and child being present to assure me that my labor in their behalf shall never be forgotten, and that all who contributed to make the colony a success shall ever be gratefully remembered. I promised to pay another visit to the colony in a few months,

which, if God grants me health, will be carried out. Should, in the meantime, or on any other occasion, any of your readers come to Dakota and near Bismarck, let them pay a personal visit to our colony at Painted Woods. The country is rapidly settling up, and if Bismarck, as it seems to be now, will become the capital of Dakota, our colony will be still more valuable.

May God grant us his blessing, so that we may succeed fully in our enterprise.

REV. DR. WECHSLER
St. Paul, Minn., May 15th, 1883.

MONTANA

The discovery of gold in Alder Gulch and Bannock, in Montana Territory, in 1863, attracted many prospectors from other regions, in the hope that the new finds would yield better results. Isadore Strasburger was one of a group of men who abandoned their diggings in Colorado with these high hopes. (Later he opened a store in Virginia City.) Strasburger kept an account of his journey from Denver to Bannack and of subsequent events. Those notes, entered in a blank book of a harness and bridle company, are reproduced here through the courtesy of the Historical Society of Montana.

Left Denver early in April, [18]63, together with the Kiscadden train. Travelled by [via] Fort Bridger and Soda Springs. Assisted in building the first ferryboat across Snake River. Thousands of buffaloes crossed our road. Arrived at Bannock July 4th, [18]63. Went with the excitement to Alder Gulch. Lived in a tent till fall.

Had some experience with George Ives [the bandit]. It was on a Sunday. He came on horseback. Drank in front of my store in Va [Virginia] City [and] demanded a pair of gloves. Not having any, I could not comply with his request. He then drew a six-shooter, leveled it at me, and with a S. of a B. and other wild exclamations, coaxed me for gloves. Being afraid to advance or retreat, I tried to assure him of his waywardness, and with a few more invectives he took an axe that I had as a show [display], and to my utter astonishment, left me unharmed and departed.

A few months later he and others went where the other good Injuns go, to the happy hunting ground, by way of the rope. There were considerable hanging bees in the early times, but as I had witnessed such trifles in [18]59 and [18]60 at Denver, it did not amuse me any more in Va City, and therefore paid no attention to them but left all the fun for Col. Sanders. [Wilbur Fisk Sanders was the scourge of the Montana outlaws.]

I remember the first news we received of President Lincoln's assassination. (It was about four weeks after it happened.) The excitement was great. Missourians (I mean Copperhead Missourians [Southern sympathizers]) predominated. They were going to celebrate, but the few Union men were determined that no celebration should take place, and it didn't.

* * * *

Other Jews who settled in the territory were the Cohens, the Sichels, the Marxes, and the Ransohoffs, and they were well established there by the time the Rev. Thomas J. Dimsdale's *The Vigilantes of Montana* appeared in 1866 (*Montana Post*, July 27, 1867). Dimsdale's book contained a graphic description of the popular code of justice which was so typical of the West.

Another old-timer, Mose Solomon, was to the pioneer history of Montana what Daniel Boone was to that of Kentucky. Born in Poland in 1828, he came to New York as a young man, and from there he went to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama. He went from mining camp to mining camp in search of gold, until he finally reached Alder Gulch. Solomon was a mountaineer and a plainsman, and was described as a man who never showed "the pallid flag of fear" (*The Kendall Mines*, August 31, 1906). In December, 1868, while on a mission to salvage the remains of the wreck of a vessel which had foundered in the Missouri River, Solomon and his companions were attacked by a band of Sioux Indians. The following account of the incident appeared in the *Helena Weekly Herald*, January 7, 1869.

Geo. McGregor, killed by Indians, Dec., 1868, in Dawson County . . . . I now send you an account of a reported Indian fracas . . . . Mr. Reed, Indian agent, and Mr. George Boyd, arrived today from Milk River and report that the former, with a party of seven men, on their way to the wreck of the "Amelia Poe," between Forts Peck and Copelin, were attacked by 300 Sioux Indians, resulting in the death of four men (Tabor, Thomas, . . . Steve [known as the Stutterer], McGregor), and the wounding of Moses Solomon of Ft. Benton, in the arm and ankle. Mr. Reed and Mr. Campbell, with the wounded man and another, made their escape to Ft. Peck. Five Indians were killed and a number wounded.

* * * *

Scattered groups of Jews were to be found in a number of towns that were springing up in Montana Territory. According to some of the early pioneers, the city of Helena was named in honor of a Montana Jewess. On December 3, 1866, the Hebrew Benevolent Association was organized to "relieve the distressed and support the afflicted, attend the sick and bury the dead." The Association had sixty-four charter members. It was the first attempt of a communal nature on the part of Montana Jews, and the constitution of the Association was one of the first items printed in the city of Helena.

The membership of the First Hebrew Benevolent Association was made up of German and Polish Jews, many of whom were the pioneer settlers of the area. Although no formal provision was made for a house of worship, services were conducted on the various holidays (Constitution of the First Hebrew Benevolent Association of Helena, Montana, revised, December 5, 1867). On June 13, 1873, *The Israelite* reported on the progress of the city and observed that there were twelve Jewish families and some single men among the 3,500 residents of Helena. In 1880 the estimated Jewish population of Helena was 112, and in 1899, when Montana was admitted to statehood, the same was estimated, by David Sulzberger of Philadelphia, at 2,500 (*American Jewish Year Book*, 1899).

NEBRASKA

In September of 1863, nine months after he had clicked out the Emancipation Proclamation from the Washington military telegraph office, Edward Rosewater (1841–1906) was on his way to Omaha, Nebraska Territory. His new duties in the West, however, took him far from the goal which he had set for himself.

During his journey west, Rosewater addressed a number of letters to the editors of the *Daily Cleveland Herald*. These letters were written in the style of an overland narrative, describing the country through which he was traveling and the early beginnings of Omaha City. Some of the letters, which were printed in the columns of the *Daily Cleveland Herald*, are reprinted here. These letters are of particular interest in view of the fact that they were written by a man who had been in this country only nine years. Rosewater emigrated from Bohemia in 1854, at the age of thirteen.

Daily Cleveland Herald, September 30, 1863.
Nebraska Correspondence

Trip to Nebraska, and Notes by the Way
Omaha City, N.[ebraska] T.[erritory], September [1863]

Editors, *Herald:* — Those of your readers who are willing for a moment to lose sight of the all-absorbing topics of war and politics, may find it interesting to take a peep at the Far West. Great as the changes may be which war produces, the arts of peace and civilization produce changes still more startling. Where but few years ago the canoe of the Indian or the boat of the trapper or trader glided along, now snorts the huge steamboat; where ten years ago but few white men dared to pass, now darts along the locomotive with its freight and passengers, driving away savage life. Villages spring up as if by magic, and in a few years more the great empire of the West threatens to rival the East in cities, railways, commerce, and manufactures.

Taking the well-managed road to Cincinnati, passing a country so well known to your readers, I took my course towards the Mississippi, over the Ohio and Mississippi Railway. Not having passed over this road for nearly five years, I was pleased to note the progress of the country through Indiana and Illinois. On my former trip, I passed places along the prairie, from ten to thirty miles in extent, where but few block houses could be seen; now farms line the road by the hundreds, and miles of corn fields with a fine crop cover the prairie. Many fine villages have also grown up at important points of that road.

At the swampy village of East St. Louis the train stopped and the omnibus took passengers on the ferry boat. A few puffs, and the "buss," again in motion, went whirling through the streets of St. Louis and discharged this passenger into Barnum's Hotel. This is a good hotel, but was so crowded that travellers are lodged in rooms by the dozen. This evil will soon be remedied, as the great Lindell Hotel is to be open by the first of October. The travelling public will find its accommodations second to none in the Union.

A stroll through the streets of St. Louis convinced me that the war and blockade of the Mississippi have not verified the predictions of the Rebels that grass would grow in the streets of these western cities. The streets of Philadelphia and New York are not more lively, swarming with the busy movement of commerce. The enterprising population, with its powerful element, the Germans, are working lively, erecting splendid private and public buildings and grading and paving streets, some of which are paved with cast iron. But the novel mode of paving with wood and

gravel cemented with some resinous substance has been tried and threatens to supercede all other pavements. In evenness and neatness it has no equal.

Among the public buildings finished since my former visit, the Court House deserves special notice. It is a fine building, principally built of sand stone, fronting four of the principal streets. The dome, 165 feet from the base, resembles that of the Capitol at Washington. An ascension by iron stairway is well worth the trouble. A view of the city and surrounding country is such as can be had but in few cities from any one point. Inside, the dome is frescoed by Becker with some fine paintings, among which is the Goddess of Liberty, Justice, Mercury, DeSoto discovering the Mississippi, and a number of Indian scenes.

The Court House being the headquarters of the excellent Fire Alarm Telegraph of the city, I visited it, and the gentlemanly chief operator, Mr. Charles Hammond, took much trouble to explain the system. The city is divided into five districts; each district contains nine stations from which the alarm can be given. Each station has an iron box 15 inches long, 6 inches wide, enclosing an electromagnet, which is in connection with the office at the Court House. A ratchet wheel inside the box has certain letters of the Morse alphabet (which form the signal for that point) cast on its ends, and on being turned by any person opens and closes the circuit of the wire, producing the signal for that station at the central office. The operator at that point, on receiving the signal, connects the wires to a powerful galvanic battery, which is connected with the bells of the engine houses and thus rings the bells of the city, indicating the station near the fire by the number of taps on the bell. This fire alarm costs the city about $3,500 per annum. It can also be used for police telegraphing, if necessary.

The next building of note, and perhaps the finest in St. Louis, is the Lindell Hotel, the largest hotel in the world. It is a magnificent structure of freestone, resembling very much in shape and size the General Post Office at Washington. When opened it will revolutionize hotel keeping in St. Louis.

Taking a street car, I was soon at the Arsenal, which lies on the bank of the river, some three miles from the central part of the city. It covers some twenty acres of ground, surrounded by solid walls of stone some ten feet high. The grounds are nicely laid out, part covered with timber, and the boys and girls employed here have fine playgrounds when not at work. The various buildings are used: some as workshops, repairing arms; others, factories, where some 200 boys and girls are busy making cartridges. Others serve for store-rooms for infantry and cavalry arms, which are on hand in great variety, and shipped to different parts in the southwest. The grounds also present to view shells and balls of all sizes. The manufacture of minnie balls, which are cast here by the thousand, is also interesting. The greatest object of interest just now is a number of cannon

captured from the Rebels lately at Vicksburg and other points southwest. I noticed two Whitworth gens [guns] manufactured in Manchester, England, 1861, fine rifled ordnance; two French guns, with inscriptions of 2d and 3d year of the French Republic; several Austrian guns; and one Spanish, made in Barcelona in 1768; also one twisted iron, peculiar make, Natchez, Mississippi, 1861.

A visit to the levee showed some hundred or more steamboats of all sizes, some coming, others going up and down the river, while many were loading and unloading merchandize of all descriptions. A crowd had gathered near a new and peculiar craft on these waters. It was the "Ozark," a monitor from the river fleet, just ready to make a trial trip. She differs somewhat from the ocean monitors. She is about 120 feet long, iron plated, standing about four feet and a half out of the water. A cabin on deck for officers, not plated. The turret is about the same size as [that of] the ocean monitor. The pilot house is a new feature — a small stationary turret in the centre of the revolving turret, about three feet higher than the revolving turret, with a number of loop-holes for sharpshooters. It looks as if this will prove a success, as the pilot will be doubly encased in iron. This much for St. Louis.

The distance to St. Joe by rail being 306 miles (by river 550 miles), I took the railway. Any one traveling over the North Missouri and Hannibal and St. Joseph R. R. from St. Louis to St. Joseph, Mo., must feel surprised and gratified at the aspect of Missouri. Although guerrillas occasionally make a raid upon some offensive Union man's property, none of the Western States present a more peaceable and healthy appearance. Not a fence destroyed, farms all along the route worked as if there never had been war, the people cheerful, and the corn fields show such crops as I believe even Ohio cannot boast of. Some of the corn and tobacco has been injured by the frost lately, which was severe in this region. Altogether no state in the Union has better agricultural prospects, and the people generally admit [that] with Emancipation a new era dawns upon the prospects of Missouri. Some of the principal bridges along the road are still guarded by State militia, mostly mounted, but their services might as well be dispensed with.

St. Joseph is a city of some four to five thousand inhabitants now; before the war it had some ten to twelve thousand. On this account many houses are locked up empty. Two hotels of the size of the Weddell House — the Patie and Pacific House — are doing good business, as the travel through the city, up the Missouri, and to the Pacific States, is very heavy. Three daily papers are issued here and are doing pretty well, I understand. St. Joseph has good prospects of becoming a large city soon, as emigration will be heavy in this direction. The Hannibal and St. Joseph R. R. Co. is running steamboats from this point three times a week, in connection with their trains, up the Missouri, as far as Omaha and Sioux City. The

Overland Mail also starts from here daily, via Fort Laramie and Salt Lake, for California.

The Missouri is very low this season, lower, I am told, than it has been for many years. The steamer "Emilie," loaded with passengers and freight, left St. Joseph Sunday morning, the 20th inst., for Omaha City, expecting to make the trip in three days, which is double the time it takes when the river is high; but we have grounded so many times on sand banks and run against snags, that today (Tuesday) we shall hardly be able to reach Nebraska City, seventy-five miles from Omaha. I shall therefore give you [a] description of our trip in my next letter.

E. R.

Daily Cleveland Herald, October 6, 1863.
Nebraska Correspondence

Omaha City, N. T., September 28, 1863.

Editors, *Herald:* — My last letter left off with a look at St. Joseph. The Missouri River has been lower this season than any previously known to oldest inhabitants. It derives its strength principally from the snows of the mountains and the tributaries, some 3,000 miles above. The Platte River, one of its principal tributaries, navigable several hundred miles, is entirely dried up some 200 miles between Denver and Plattsmouth, where it falls into the Missouri. So little water is on the plains and about Denver that hundreds of cattle are dying in want of water. The country between St. Joe and this place is very rich soil, generally rolling prairie. Along the river, settlements are plenty, and villages, numbering from 500 to 3,000 inhabitants, line the banks.

Brownsville, Neb., is the first town of note between St. Joseph and Omaha, has about 2,000 inhabitants, doing considerable trade, has a daily paper, and several weeklies.

Nebraska City, on the right bank of the Missouri, the next town of importance, has a population of some three to four thousand and is growing rapidly. Some of the newcomers are not very desirable, coming from those parts where the late order of [Union] Gen. [John M.] Schofield places them in a position where none but loyal can remain. They are to be watched, and the old settlers look at their arrival with much suspicion. Nebraska City has two papers, one daily. Much trading is done here to Denver and Pike's Peak, where emigrants are flocking by the hundred. Should the proposed railroad connection strike this point connecting east, the city will become an important position.

The boat having broken a rudder, I took the overland mail coach from this place to Omaha, about fifty miles. Before saying anything else, I must

testify that boats on the Upper Missouri are very pleasant to live in, their fare being nothing behind living at the Astor House, New York, or Burnet House, Cincinnati, but the sand banks make it tiresome for the traveller. The stage coaches through Nebraska are every way worthy an imitation in more densely settled localities. They are well built, drawn by fine horses (and here let me remark that horses and cattle here have a finer appearance than in Ohio), and change horses every fifteen miles. The roads are beautiful; in fact it takes little effort in this level country to make a good road.

The country we passed through, mostly level or slight hills with little woods, was settled, and every farm, many of them well built of stone, had the land fenced in. The corn here has suffered some from late frosts. The sorghum stands the frost much better and presents a fine appearance. Many of the farmers are from Ohio, principally from the southern portion. As far as I could learn they are doing much better than could be expected in new settlements. Plattsmouth, at the mouth of the Platte River, is a flourishing little town of some fifteen hundred inhabitants. Many parties going up the Platte River towards Colorado fit out at this place.

From Plattsburg to Omaha, the country is more thickly settled than below, and has a more hilly and rolling appearance. Cattle and corn are the principal stock of the farmer. A species of tall grass growing wild on prairie land is said to make as good hay as timothy. Hunting is a favorite amusement out here: small game such as prairie chickens, wild geese, turkeys, cranes, etc. I saw some pelicans on the Missouri. Occasionally an elk can be shot.

Omaha City, the largest place west of St. Joseph, perhaps west of St. Louis, on the Missouri, has a population from 6,000 to 8,000, and is quite a thriving business place. Grown up within the last seven years, it is a monument of western progress and enterprise. The streets are all the same width, about one hundred feet, cross each other at right angles, and the buildings are generally creditable to the place. Many blocks as fine as any on Superior Street [Cleveland], occupied by wholesale merchants, banks, etc. The Herndon House, a fine hotel the size of the Angier House [Cleveland], is the largest but not best kept hotel here. There are two or three other large hotels. Two dailies, the *Nebraskian* and *Republican* representing the Democratic and Republican parties, and several weeklies published here. The majority here I think is Republican. Steamers are running up and down the Missouri from here daily, and the great Salt Lake overland mail coaches start from here daily. This is also the principal trading post east, in gold dust, which is brought here from Denver and Pike's Peak. Recruiting in the cavalry service is going on briskly, and I think more successfully, than in eastern cities of the same size.

More anon,

E. R.

Daily Cleveland Herald, November 3, 1863.
Nebraska Correspondence

Omaha City, N. T., October 26, 1863.

Editors, *Herald:* — Since the late election, all excitement and political talk has given way to common business affairs, and nothing of importance has lately occurred to stir up the public mind from its usual routine. Our election went off quietly, the greatest interest being felt in the Ohio and other elections east. People here are about equally divided, and our Copperheads [Northerners who sympathized with the South] do not differ much from those in Ohio. On the evening of the election I heard a very prominent one say: "If [Clement Laird] Vallandigham* is defeated, his last hope in this country is gone." Since the receipt of Val's [Vallandigham's] election [decision?] (to watch and wait) I have not had the pleasure of either seeing or hearing any of the reptiles [Copperheads]. But perhaps it's too cold just now, and they prefer warm climates.

The weather has been changeable for the last week or so, but we have had no snow yet. Our county fair, held about two weeks ago, was a rather small show in everything except horses. Our horse show would, I believe, compare well with anything of the kind east. Indeed, people here seem to take particular pride in their horses. Almost any fine day our streets present the appearance of a riding school. Everybody is riding: boys from five years upwards, gentlemanly gamblers, young ladies and their beaux. Even the newsboys deliver their papers every morning on horseback, thinking it too common to walk.

In another week steamboat navigation on the Missouri, between St. Joseph, St. Louis, and this city, will be at an end, and people and merchandise will have to fall back on the good old stage line. At present we have Mr. Peter A. Day, Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific R. R. here, to superintend the survey of the Platte Valley. A party of engineers are now at work between here and Fort Kearney, and another party starts this week from Salt Lake City towards the mountains, sent out by Brigham Young. The terminus of this great road, once decided upon and located here, will make a great change in the future prospects of this city. A large party of miners from Colorado arrived here yesterday, and are in a fair way exchanging their gold dust for Old Rye.

E. R.

*Leader of the Peace Democrats or "Copperheads" in the Northwest. Although Vallandigham was banished to the Confederacy by Lincoln, the Peace Democrats of Ohio made him their candidate for governor in 1863. He was defeated.

Daily Cleveland Herald, February 3, 1864.
Nebraska Correspondence

Omaha City, January 24, 1864.

Editors, *Herald*: — It is pretty hard to write anything of general interest from a place isolated like this from railways and steamboats. Since my last letter winter has set in in good earnest. On the 31st of December the thermometer stood 20 to 24 below zero, considered extraordinary cold here, but the same day and several days succeeding the thermometer at Fort Laramie stood below the freezing point of mercury, thirty-nine below zero. Almost every stage driver along the Overland Mail route had ears, hands, or his face frostbitten. The snow through Missouri and Iowa was so deep as to stop all our communication with the East, and we were 20 days without a mail. Fortunately lightning never freezes, consequently we were kept pretty well posted by the telegraph. For a few days past the weather has been extremely mild, and the snow has entirely disappeared in this place.

Our territorial legislature has been in session here for two weeks past, and has been very active, with but little speech-making, something rather unusual for such bodies. They have passed resolutions unanimously, asking for an early admission for Nebraska as a state. I think the song, "Nebraska is going to be a state in a few days," will now be verified.

Every preparation is being made here to receive the heavy influx of emigration which is confidently expected to set in next spring. Much of it, of course, will pass through on the way to Bannock [gold] mines [in Montana] and to the different territories west of us. The Land Office here has been closed to give the Union Pacific Railway a chance to select the land over which they intend to pass. The governor in his late message recommends an appropriation for the geological survey of this territory, which he expects will result in discoveries of valuable saline and coal lands. His recommendation, I believe, has been adopted. Notwithstanding the great inducement of the mines, recruiting has been going on pretty briskly. A company of cavalry has been recruited here in a very short time. A National Bank has been organized here, and will go into operation in a few days.

Wood is about the only thing which has been selling at exorbitant prices here. It has been sold at from ten to twenty dollars per cord here. This is not on account of the scarcity of the article, but from a lack of enterprise. While we were paying these high prices, wood sold at from three to five dollars per cord on the Iowa side of the river, but no one had the enterprise to open a wood yard and have wood brought across the river, which was frozen and passable for teams. We have plenty of coal within

forty miles of us, and only want the railroad to introduce it here. Wood then will be at a discount.

We have no great sanitary fairs [for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers] here, but have a way by which we contribute to the soldiers' aid and at the same time have an agreeable entertainment. The young folks (and some older ones) meet once every week at the house of some prominent citizen where they have a social chat, music, etc., by paying from ten to twenty-five cents each to contribute to the soldiers' aid. As we have no Italian opera, or masquerade balls, these meetings are generally well attended. If I have anything more that I know of I must reserve it till next letter. Material for writing is rather scarce.

E. R.

The letters reprinted here were but a beginning in Rosewater's career in journalism, which made him an influential personage in the West. He became active in the growth of the city of Omaha. His interest in the educational system of the state prompted him to issue a small paper called *Punchinello*, which he distributed free of charge. In this publication he outlined his views on the school system, exposing two local newspapers which were hampering educational progress.

To meet the demands created by the political situation in Nebraska, Rosewater gave up telegraphy to devote his full time to the publication of his newspaper, which he renamed the *Omaha Bee*. This newspaper was destined to be a powerful factor in western life for almost fifty years.

Rosewater's political life was stormy, and his publishing career was controversial, but these interests did not deter him from taking part in the Jewish religious life of the community. He was active in Temple Israel, the first Reform congregation in Omaha, and a co-founder of the Isaac M. Wise Memorial Hospital. Shortly before his death he joined the newly organized American Jewish Committee, and lived long enough to participate in the 250th anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States.

* * * *

Another young pioneer, Julius Meyer, of Germany, arrived in the frontier town of Omaha on January 2, 1866, where he joined his three older brothers and began trading with the Indians. His brothers supplied him with trinkets and cigars which he exchanged

for furs, beads, moccasins, wampum pouches, and other articles from the Indians. The hazards of this trade almost cost him his life, and only through the intervention of Pawnee Chief Standing Bear was he saved from being scalped. This led to a lifelong friendship with Standing Bear and his Indians. He learned to speak at least six of their dialects and served as government interpreter. The Pawnee tribe adopted him and named him "Box-ka-re-sha-hash-ta-ka," which means "Curly-haired white chief with one tongue." A man with "one-tongue" cannot talk with a double tongue, and therefore is considered trustworthy.

Meyer opened a curio shop in Omaha, known as the "Indian Wigwam," which became the headquarters for his Indian friends. After the completion of the Union Pacific Railway in 1869, it assumed the character of a local museum, attracting wide tourist attention.

Interested in culture as well as in trade, Meyer organized the Omaha Musical Union in 1871. Together with Rosewater, he was instrumental in bringing Adelina Patti, the famous opera star, to Omaha for a concert. (Letters between Rosewater and Patti are found in the American Jewish Archives.) In 1885 Julius and his brother Max established the first opera house in Omaha.

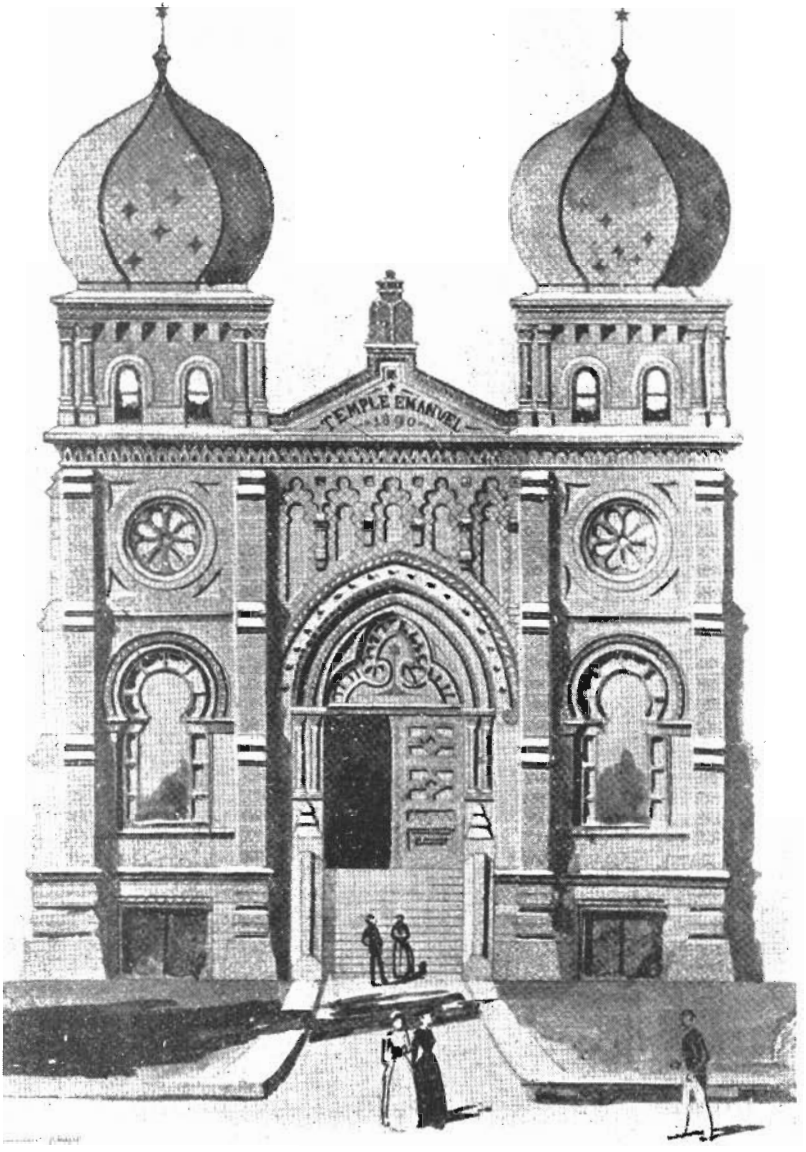
Meyer was active also in Jewish circles as a member of Temple Israel of Omaha and as one of the organizers of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. The first social club in Omaha, of which he was one of the founders, was originally non-sectarian. It eventually became the Metropolitan Club with a completely Jewish membership.

* * * *

Reproduced below is the only extant copy of the English version of a bilingual (Yiddish-English) political circular issued in Omaha in 1900. It is an interesting commentary on the attempt on the part of some Jews to control the "Jewish" vote. It is also interesting to note the jobs held by some of the Jewish residents in the city's administration.

OMAHA, NEBRASKA, March 5th, 1900.

DEAR SIR. — Every good American citizen regardless of political affiliations is now studying over the position he should take tomorrow at the ballot box. By too hasty a stroke of the pencil in the election booth he



L. H. Jorud, Photographer, Helena

TEMPLE EMANU-EL, Helena, Montana
Founded in 1887
This Temple was built in 1890

(see p. 110)

Courtesy of Nebraska State Historical Society

JULIUS MEYER OF OMAHA
And Some of His Indian Friends

(see p. 120)

might make a blunder and vote for a man who is entirely unfit to become our representative for the next three years.

In order to cope with the great problem of municipal ownership of the waterworks, which means a great deal of saving to the taxpayers, we have to be very careful in our selection and try to elect a municipal ticket composed of good, honest and clean men. Especially must we deliberate, whom we should support by our vote and influence for mayor. Now we have before us two candidates, who are aspiring for the office of municipal executive. One is Frank E. Moores who was re-nominated by the republican party, and the other is William S. Poppleton, the fusion candidate for the same office. The question arises, which one of them is worthy of our confidence, vote and support. While some of us may not be property owners, and therefore lack the interest of others in regard to the municipal ownership of the water works, but as loyal American citizens we all desire to have a man for mayor whose heart beats in sympathy with his fellow men and who treats all citizens alike without partiality.

From the experience we had of Frank E. Moores as mayor, we fail to see why we should support him again. You all remember the promises he made us three years ago, how good and generous he would be to the Jewish people, if they would only tender him their support for election. Has he adhered to his pledges and fulfilled his promises? What has he done for any of us to entitle him to our vote and influence for re-election? Whenever we came to him asking a favor for some unfortunate one among us, he gave us a deaf ear. We had S. L. Morris, a bright and honorable young man, on the police force and Mayor Moores had him discharged without any cause. We had H. Brown, an unfortunate poor man of a large family, who was trying to gain a livelihood for himself and starving children by getting a position on the city force as a street sweeper, then he was fired.

If the Jewish people are so low in the estimation of Mayor Moores as not to entitle them even to the honor of handling a broom on the public streets under his administration, why, then, not drop the party lines and support W. S. Poppleton, who is a good, clean and honest business man.

Mr. Poppleton has always been a friend of the Jewish people and if elected for mayor will show his appreciation by giving us a good and clean municipal administration. Let us all use our united efforts and help to elect him.

Yours respectfully,

H. RUBIN,
JOHN SIMON,
SOL. PRINCE,
J. D. NATHANSON.

OKLAHOMA

Some time in the year 1870, the Apache Indians captured Adolph Kohn, a peddler or Indian trader, while he was traveling through the Southwest en route to Indian Territory. For some unknown reason, his captors spared his life and traded him to the Comanches, the fiercest tribe of the region, with whom he rode the war path for almost three years. Finally, in November, 1872, he was released, but little is known of his subsequent activities.

Other Indian traders were more fortunate. Long before the historic "run" which occurred when the Indian lands of western Oklahoma were opened to white settlers on the hectic day of April 22, 1889, a number of Jews had settled in the area and had received the required licenses to trade with the Creek nation. Among those pioneer traders were Julius Haas and his brother-in-law Sam Sondheimer of Atoka and Muskogee, Ike Levy of Guthrie, the Laupheimers of Muskogee, Joseph Meyer of Tulsa, Korney Friedman of Wagoner, and the firm of Byers and Levin of Checotah. The traders made a handsome profit by selling the raw materials which they received from the Indians to eastern merchants.

Julius Haas obviously conducted a lucrative business, with all the glamor of the Indian frontier. O. W. Blanche, a field clerk in the U. S. Indian Service at Hugo, described the man and his wealth in a statement to Grant Foreman, the distinguished historian of the state of Oklahoma:

> Haas was a fur, hide, and snake root dealer at Atoka. I don't know why he cashed the checks for them [his customers], but he did. Maybe he charged a per cent[age fee], but anyway he had a room with a fenced-off place, and behind that fence he had tables with sacks of gold coins, and gold coins poured out of them, mostly twenty dollar coins. Men with guns guarded that gold. And a man to cash the checks was behind the fence, at a window.

This statement is typical of several made about Haas, whose enterprises extended to all parts of the Indian Territory. Norma E. Smiser, one of the pioneers interviewed by Foreman, particularly remembers Haas "for his generous dealings — especially among the Indians."

The first member of the Sondheimer family to enter the fur and hide business was Joseph, Sam's uncle, who had married a Cherokee

woman. The Sondheimer business, like that of the other traders, was essential to the growth of Muskogee's Indian economy. The marketing of buffalo hides, which brought from one to three dollars a piece, reached its peak in 1883, by which time an estimated thirteen million buffalo had been killed. From the "hide house" of the flourishing Sondheimer business, located at the southeast corner of 2nd and Okmulgee, the hides were shipped to St. Louis, where they were prepared for the eastern market. (Notes and Interviews: *Indian-Pioneer History, Grant Foreman Collection*, III, 27; IX, 447; XV, 12 and 320. Oklahoma Historical Society.)

Proof of amicable relations between the Indians and the traders is found in the correspondence of Elias and Henry Laupheimer, who maintained offices in Sedalia, Missouri, and in Muskogee, Indian Territory. They dealt in hides, wool, pelts, furs, tallow, and feathers, and the success of their enterprises depended on the prowess, skill, and daring of the Indian hunter. The following appeal by the Laupheimer brothers to the chief of the Creek Nation indicates that it was not quite so easy as it would seem to make ends meet in that precarious business.

Muskogee, I. T. [Indian Territory],
April 8, 1882.

Honorable S. Checota,
Chief of the Creeck Nation, I. T.

Your Light Horse, Captain R. S. Hockins, came to see us in regard tax. We usal paid $100 in warants and now the demand is $200 and warants at market price. It is reely unjust to tax us that amount. Our business does not pay to draw such a tax out of it. We never complain, but it is impossible to stand such a tax, and then refuse to take your national papers at par. We are paying cash and only buy the products of the country and leave the money here, and during the summer time we do not make expense. So take it in consideration. We have here $200 warrant, and we are willing to pay some favors at par valu[a]tion. We take for our profits in business during summer time $200. We are law abiding man and only want what is just and right. We can't stand such a tax and wish your good judgmant on same and advise your captain to take it at par.

In our business $100 tax would be a large tax. Consider the summer business.

Hopping to hear from you soon,

Yours truly,
LAUPHEIMER BROS.

It is not known whether Chief Checota used good judgment in granting the appeal for the reduction of the tax. He certainly understood the directness of the Laupheimer request and, recognizing the practical needs of the situation, made the following notation in his own simple English on the bottom of the letter: "Instruct L[ight] H[orse] Captain to collect $100 cash. Ack[now]l[edge] recipt and notify." On February 15, 1884, the Laupheimers requested a renewal of their license from the Department of the Interior, and four days later the Creek Delegates in Washington gave their official consent (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society).

* * * *

The first major settlements in Oklahoma were not inspired by the fur trade. The sudden growth in population was due to an act of Congress and a proclamation by the President of the United States. At noon, on April 22, 1889, the first of the so-called "Oklahoma runs" brought thousands to the region in a frantic rush. Within a few hours approximately two million acres of land were settled. Isaac Levy and Isaac Jacobs, who participated in the "run," were elected to the Territorial Legislature in 1890. Another Jew, S. E. Levi, was one of the compilers of the *Directory of Oklahoma City* (1889), in which he is described as an "ad solicitor."

Jewish communal growth in Oklahoma was extremely slow. Small groups of Jews were to be found in a number of towns and cities, namely, Oklahoma City, Ardmore, Muskogee, Tulsa, Shawnee, Enid, Okmulgee, and McAlester. Informal religious services were conducted and measures were taken for the education of the children, but the small and scattered Jewish population prevented more ambitious attempts at religious organization. In 1900 the Jewish population of the Territory of Oklahoma numbered only 500. For a ten-year period, between 1906 and 1916, Rabbi Joseph Blatt, of Temple B'nai Israel of Oklahoma City, was the only full-time rabbi in the entire state.

WYOMING

Permanent settlements in the Territory of Wyoming were not established until many years after Marcus Whitman passed through the region on the famous Oregon Trail in 1836. As in other sections

of the West, the search for gold was the primary incentive that brought the people to the area. The population of Wyoming, scattered over a wide area, was never large, and it began to increase only after 1870, when the hostile Indians had either been defeated or removed to reservations. Railroad lines and improved communications aided greatly in the settlement and development of the state.

In 1878 there were forty Jews known to be residing in the city of Cheyenne. This number was proportionately large compared to the entire population of the territory. Published records indicate that in 1900 there were approximately a thousand Jews scattered throughout the state, although there is little evidence of organized religious life. However, the activities of some of the outstanding Jews in the area throw light on the pursuits of their coreligionists.

One of these men was Henry Altman, who traveled the overland route to Cheyenne at the time when the Arapahoe and Shoshone Indians were still menacing the countryside. He began his career as a pack-peddler, bringing necessities and trinkets to the men working on the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1875 he put aside his pack for the newer and more exciting industry for which Wyoming is now famous, that of cattle raising, in partnership with Joseph Wasserman, a Scotch Jew. They specialized in raising prize bulls. Altman was one of the founders of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, and as late as 1926 his ranch was one of the largest in the state.

Altman's activities were not limited to cattle raising. He entered politics, became a member of the Territorial Assembly, and was one of the signers of the petition to have Wyoming admitted to the Union in 1890. He served in both houses of the Wyoming legislature.

Altman took an active interest also in Jewish communal affairs. He aided the immigrants who came in the 1880's and 1890's to adapt themselves to life in Cheyenne. He was one of the founders of the local B'nai B'rith lodge, and one of the leaders in the administration of the Orthodox congregation which was the only congregation in the city at that time. Jewish communal life in Cheyenne revolved around Altman for more than a half century.

Mrs. William Myers is reported to have been the first Jewish woman to settle in Wyoming. She arrived in Cheyenne in 1875, organized a Sunday school, and was president of the Cheyenne Jewish Circle, the first Jewish woman's group in the city. By 1915 the members of the Orthodox Mount Sinai Congregation, of which

Altman was an active leader, had sufficient means to build a synagogue, at a cost of $12,000. The Jewish education of the children, as in other communities, was of primary importance, and in order to fill the need, a Talmud Torah (a part-time Hebrew school) and a Sabbath school were established. The other towns in Wyoming in which congregations were organized are: Rock Springs, Casper, Laramie, Green River, Sheridan, and Rawlins.

After the turn of the century a slight increase in the Jewish population of the state was apparent. Through the aid of the Jewish Agricultural Society, government claims in and around Laramie County were being taken up by Jewish settlers. By 1907 there were approximately 125 Jewish farmers. But this agricultural venture was doomed to the same failure as were previous attempts in the West.

A notable Wyoming figure was Abraham Goldstein. He was among the tens of thousands of Jews who fled from the persecutions in Russia and found a haven in the United States. After a brief stay in the East, this young refugee went to Chicago. There he began his journalistic career as a cub reporter on the *Chicago Evening Post*. His untiring efforts in search of news were responsible for the many "scoops" that Goldstein got from Mark Hanna of Cleveland, manager of William McKinley's campaign for the presidency of the United States. Those "inside tips" gave the *Post* a great deal of prestige among the Chicago newspapers.

Life in the city, however, lost its attractions for Goldstein, and he decided to try his luck in the West. He went to Denver and for a while continued his journalistic work, but the desire to see more of the West urged him to continue his migrations. He packed his saddlebags, mounted his horse, and without any specific destination in mind, arrived in Cheyenne two days later. He did not stay long in Cheyenne. He journeyed on, going from place to place, throughout the Rocky Mountain region, looking for a place to settle. Finally he filed a claim on a homestead near Steamboat Springs, Colorado, but did not stay there long either. Within a few years he was back in Cheyenne, this time to stay.

He turned to journalism again and began to publish the *Wyoming Jewish Press*. To gather material for this publication, he visited every county of the state. His travels throughout the state convinced him that Jews had had a prominent part in its development. He decided to make use of the material which he had gathered, and undertook

the compilation of *A History and Biography of the Jews in Wyoming*. Although it was scheduled for publication to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of Wyoming's admission to statehood, it apparently never appeared in print.

Imitating the styles of the pioneers of an earlier generation, the men of the West — cowboys, cattle traders, and cattle rustlers — developed a taste in clothes that was peculiarly their own. The broadbrimmed hat, known as the ten-gallon hat, is as much a garb of the West today as it was then. Its origin is credited to Max J. Meyer, a transplanted New Yorker, who moved to Cheyenne in 1884, and remained there until his death in 1945. He was one of the organizers of Cheyenne's Frontier Days celebration, a gala affair in which the Jews of the region were active participants.

IDAHO

The Jews of Idaho have cause to be proud of the fact that their state was the first to elect a foreign-born Jew as their governor. Because of his health, Moses Alexander moved from Missouri to Boise in 1891. He opened a clothing store, and was actively interested in local politics. Twice he was elected mayor of the city, and in the fall of 1914 became governor, serving two terms, from 1915 to 1919. Just after his election, Governor Alexander wrote the following letter to his old friends and former employers in Chillicothe, Missouri, expressing a deep nostalgia for the past.

Boise, Idaho, November 10th, 1914.

Mr. A. Wollbrunn and Family,
Chillicothe, Mo.

Dear Friends:

I received your letter and I am more than pleased to hear from you. In the contest I was engaged in for governor of the State of Idaho, I had many a time and opportunity to reflect back on my early days when I worked for you under the style and name and firm of "Jacob Berg & Co." at Chillicothe, Mo., for $10.00 per month and board, and I think those two and one-half years were probably the best educators that I ever received, and my struggle through life with its ups and downs thereof are not yet forgotten.

I have now reached the point where I have nothing more to gain in the way of honor and perferment. The people of my state have now given me

all that I could ask for and that I could have gotten, and when my two years are over, I want to retire as a private citizen, carrying with me the fondest recollections of having performed my duties well, and again take up my work as of old.

I shall always look back to the days of my early struggles, and I believe they will be better than any other in serving the people of my state. I certainly feel proud of the honor conferred upon me and all of the people who have helped me accomplish it. I certainly feel proud of Chillicothe, Mo., where I started out in life and where I had the first political honor given me, and when you meet some of the old-timers who voted for me as councilman and mayor [in Chillicothe], tell them I am proud to have started from Chillicothe, Mo.

Very truly yours,
M. ALEXANDER

* * * *

The Jewish population of the state of Idaho, never large, was less than a thousand at the time of Alexander's election as governor. In 1876 the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, in cooperation with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, gathered statistical information on the Jews in the United States and its territories. Questionnaires were sent to every town and village, and where there were no congregations, societies, or lodges, individual citizens were approached. The report of the Board of Delegates, entitled *Statistics of the Jews of the United States*, published in 1880, does not contain the names of the organizations or individuals who furnished the data for Idaho. However, the manuscript version of the *Statistics* does list the names of the persons supplying the information, as follows:

Place	*Estimated Jewish Population*	*Name of Secretary*
Maquoketa	9	Louis Cohn
Boise City	34	George Spiegel
Malad City	14	Meyers Cohn
Silver City	6	S. Heidelberger
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Washington	3	

* * * *

A more descriptive account of life in Silver City in 1876 was given by an unidentified Jew in a letter to the *American Israelite*. The writer of the letter, in addition to describing the business and communal activities of the Jews living in the city, mentions also the climate, and the civic, communal, and industrial facilities. He also cites the fact that there were fifteen Jewish residents in Silver City at that time, which figure does not agree with the report of the Board of Delegates of the same year. The letter, reprinted below, appeared in *The American Israelite*, June 30, 1876.

Silver City, Idaho.
June 5, 1876.

To the Editor of the American Israelite:

I do not remember ever having seen a communication in your journal from this place, and the only reason I can assign for it is that the *Jehudim* [Jews] here care little whether their co-religionists learn who they are and what they are doing.

Silver City is the county seat of Owyhee County, where the richest and best developed quartz mines in Idaho are located. It has about 1,200 inhabitants, and is 60 miles from Boise City, the capital of the Territory, and 210 miles from Winnemucca, its nearest and chief shipping point on the Central Pacific Railroad.

Correctly speaking we have only two seasons — summer and winter — of six months each. In summer the weather is delightfully clear and pleasant; in winter snow falls to a depth of five or six feet, and violent storms prevail. The houses are mostly constructed of wood, although there are a number of fine granite buildings in some portions of the town. We have a well-attended public school, two lodges of Masons, one each of Odd Fellows, Good Templars and Red Cross. We have a lively daily paper, which is well patronized by our merchants, most of whom are — at least the principal ones — our co-religionists.

There are about fifteen Jews here. Only a few months since one of our number, a Mr. Henry Seligman, died while on a business trip in San Francisco. He was our worthy county treasurer, only twenty-eight years of age, and left a young wife to mourn his loss.

E. Lobenstein is an old pioneer of this camp, an honest, upright man, well liked by everybody, and an uncle of your former New Orleans correspondent. Mr. A. Lebrecht, though only twenty-four years of age, he is nevertheless one of the leading business men in this Territory. He started his business here with a few hundred dollars, a few years ago, and today he is the "solid man" of the camp. Take it altogether, the Jews here are respected by all the citizens.

The adjacent mountains in summer and the foot-hills and valleys in winter afford a magnificent stock range. Stock raising is becoming one of the most important branches of industry in the country.

The climate is exceedingly healthy, and the people of Silver City and vicinity are among the most generous hearted and sociable in the world. Business is prosperous, and taken altogether it is a good place to call "home."

M.

American Jewish Periodical Center

The American Jewish Periodical Center was established in the spring of 1956 through a special grant from the Jacob R. Schiff Fund. It is located on the Cincinnati campus of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion. Dr. Jacob R. Marcus is the Director.

The object of the Center is to microfilm every Jewish periodical published in the United States from 1823 to 1925. After that date a selected list of periodicals will be chosen for microfilming on the basis of a continuing project. Estimates indicate that there are approximately twelve hundred Jewish periodicals within the range of this program. The larger part of these are in English, about four hundred in Yiddish, one hundred in Hebrew, and the remainder in Ladino, German, Polish, Hungarian and Serbo-Croatian (Yugoslav).

The Center is eager to receive information concerning complete sets of uncommon Jewish periodicals, as well as single numbers of rare or unusual issues. A brochure listing the periodicals on microfilm available at the American Jewish Periodical Center will be published in the winter of 1956. This catalogue may be had on request. All microfilms listed will be available to scholars and institutions on interlibrary loan.

Inquiries may be addressed to the American Jewish Periodical Center, 3101 Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati 20, Ohio.

Copies of family genealogies, genealogical charts, family history materials taken from the pages of family Bibles and other sources are sought by the Archives. All such records sent to the Archives for copying will be handled carefully and promptly returned. The copy of such materials in the Archives is the best assurance to a family that the family record will be preserved and made available to competent historians.

Selma Stern-Taeubler

Archivist Retires

When the American Jewish Archives was called into being in 1947, Dr. Selma Stern-Taeubler was invited to become its archivist. She retired in June, 1956.

Prior to her arrival in the United States in 1941 she enjoyed a career of distinction in pre-Hitlerian Germany as one of the noted historians of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German Jewry. Since 1910 she was a fellow of the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums, and it was under its aegis that she produced her monumental works on Prussian Jewry.

Selma Stern-Taeubler is a woman of *Geist*, of spirit and insight. She reveals this in all her writings, but particularly in her fine biography of Jud Süss Oppenheimer (1929) and in her historical novel, *The Spirit Returneth* (1946). The same fine understanding of the importance of social, economic, and cultural backgrounds, which is displayed in all her books, she brought also to her work at the Archives. Many scholars have spirit and insight, but not all have a deep-seated respect for accuracy; nor are they all devoted to the truth insofar as it is given to them to recognize it and to acknowledge it. Selma Stern-Taeubler is, with all her other gifts, a profoundly conscientious scholar.

We of the Archives are deeply grateful to her for her sacrificial labors. Students who use her lists of acquisitions in the *American Jewish Archives* will appreciate the magnificent job she has done. It is only with reluctance that we have acquiesced in her leaving, that she may find the time to finish a number of monographs on the Jews of Germany, and bring to completion a magisterial work on the life of the notable Jewish leader, Josel von Rosheim.

The staff of the American Jewish Archives extends to Dr. Taeubler its best wishes for continued success in her scientific and historic studies, and looks forward to her frequent visits. An open door and a friendly welcome await her at the Archives which, in large measure, is "the work of her hands."

J. R. M.

M. Myer Singer

1895-1956

In Memoriam

M. Myer Singer, who died on July 13th, was a friend of the American Jewish Archives. Without any thought of compensation he spent many hours seeing the various publications of the Archives through the press. This was a particularly notable act of grace, for "Max" was a very sick man, rising each day with little assurance that it would not be a day of physical pain and anguish. But no one ever heard him complain during the long illness which he bore with incredible patience and grim resignation.

Men wander along strange paths before they come home. Max studied law but never practiced the profession. Through some accidental circumstance, he became associated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and was put in charge of its book production. Undoubtedly it was the creative artistic instinct in him which prompted him to take up that work. He loved beautiful things. And he was determined that the books, the pamphlets, the very letterheads that he brought forth should be beautiful. With utter devotion he mastered every important process that went into the art of printing, and he became a master of this art because he never compromised with beauty. Meticulosity, care, accuracy; infinite, infinite pains in production, these were the characteristics of the man who loved his work and spent his life cherishing that love. Max Singer and his work were inseparable. The artist was the man, and if the artist would not compromise with his standards of what was right and proper, neither would the man.

Sententious philosophers tell us that no man is irreplaceable. Who knows? But this we do know: Max Singer will long be remembered as a fine craftsman, as a person of unflinching integrity, as a loyal friend. Is that not glory enough for any one human being?

J. R. M.

Reviews of Books

THE BETH EL STORY — WITH A HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN MICHIGAN BEFORE 1850. By Irving I. Katz. *Detroit: Wayne University Press.* 1955. xvii, 238 pp.

Those who have already benefited at first hand from the executive skill and the historical proficiency of Irving I. Katz are not surprised to discover that his story of Beth El Temple, of Detroit, the oldest congregation in the state of Michigan, is the model *par excellence* for all future chronicles of American synagogues. He has distilled the essence of Beth El's achievements and reasons for renown for 104 years, and has embroidered this account with illustrations which make of every page a vital document. The ebb and flow of the changing trends in Liberal Judaism are here reflected, and at all times we find this pioneer congregation fulfilling its historic role as a leader on the national scene as well as a pace-setter for the Jewry of Michigan. The text is simple and unpretentious, for the facts speak with a greater eloquence than even the pen of Irving I. Katz can muster.

The volume is fittingly placed in the frame of reference of American Jewish history, for certainly no congregation is an island unto itself. It is appropriate that Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, to whom Katz pays the highest and most deserved tribute as his mentor, should paint the setting in his own inimitable manner, tracing the origins and growth of the American Jewish community and concluding with a peroration which could well grace any pulpit in the country. The complete account of the settlement of Jews in Michigan before 1850 provides an excellent background to the moving narrative of Beth El, and here Katz rises to his full stature as a historian. Not only did the slowly perishing Warsaw Ghetto require its Noach Levinson; even the teeming metropolis and the thriving smaller communities of the state of Michigan would have become silent symbols of Jewish historical continuity if Irving I. Katz had not assumed the self-imposed task of collecting data and pictorial information. There is not a single congregation in our state that has not called upon his prodigious labor and resourcefulness to document its place in Jewish history. Our own congrega-

tion, Temple Emanuel, of Grand Rapids, the second oldest Reform group in the state, is much beholden to him, for with his help we suddenly discovered one day that in 1957 we would be celebrating our centennial, about fourteen years earlier than we had intended.

From Rabbi Richard C. Hertz's introductory preview of the historical kaleidoscope to an appendix chockful with illustrations of original documents, programs, newspaper accounts, up to and including an index of names and a list of illustrations, the book breathes a professional air as well as the aesthete's love. The typography of the volume is remarkably excellent: the print is clear, the pictures are without blemish, everything is set with good taste and with grace and charm. When one recalls the dull and tedious congregational histories which have crossed our desk, with their dwelling on petty details and their lack of historical perspective, and with their sloppy physical appearance, one heaves a sigh of relief that at last a prototype has appeared. A new level in congregational historiography has been reached, and it will never be quite the same again.

It has not been possible, in this brief review, to dwell at length on many items of interest and intriguing details. The entire book must be swallowed at one gulp to be fully appreciated. It but remains to be recorded that for many years a busy executive has been painstakingly accumulating, bit by bit, unheralded and unsung, the small stones which have fashioned this mosaic. This in itself is unprecedented. But that a congregation should invest so much energy and money in immortalizing a work of art is even more astounding. It indicates that the story of Beth El was well worth the effort involved.

Grand Rapids, Mich. HARRY ESSRIG

FASCINATING FACTS ABOUT AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY. By Charles M. Segal. *New York: Twayne Publishers.* 1955. 159 pp. $2.75

In the preface to his *Fascinating Facts about American Jewish History*, Charles M. Segal states that he prepared this book primarily for two reasons. First, he anticipated the many questions that would be asked during the tercentenary year about American Jewish life, and second, he hoped to stimulate an interest in American Jewish

history. These are two commendable reasons for publication at this time, and they may well be imitated by historians and non-professionals alike. Some time during the observance, those intimately connected with the tercentenary were asked many of the questions which Charles M. Segal poses in his "highlights of the fascinating and inspiring saga of American Jews." At the same time, there is a growing interest in American Jewish history. New and popular means in many forms have helped to stimulate that interest, and they are certainly welcomed. If the publication of this book has helped in either situation or in both, then it is an aid and comfort to those deeply interested in the future of American Jewish historiography.

The author did not attempt to prepare a book based on his own scientific research or one encompassing all of American Jewish history. In eighteen chronologically arranged chapters, the titles of which range from the "Discovery of the New World" to "In Our Time," he uses a question-and-answer form; he seeks to answer "instructively and entertainingly" questions pertaining to limited phases of American Jewish life. Four additional chapters deal with the Jewish labor movement, Judaism, and general facts. It would be almost impossible to enumerate the many fields of interest with which the author did not concern himself. Within its limited scope, however, the book has the advantage of presenting the "highlights" in an easy-flowing manner of language, with clarity, and in a form attractive to many readers. The index is excellent.

This book will probably find less acceptance among scholars and those interested in a more traditional approach to the study of American Jewish history. It is not encyclopedic, and it is not a book of source material. Facts were culled from the studies of others; thus the few interpretations become less meaningful. Regrettably, in a book of such small scope there is bound to be an underestimation of historical situations. In question after question and chapter upon chapter, the fascinating story that the author begins to tell is left unfinished. Such half-told answers would never satisfy an inquiring individual or audience in the tercentenary year (1954) or at any time. More important, perhaps, is the fact that oftentimes the author's questions or answers fail to bring out the larger significance of the particular situation. Thus, in the chapter "Westward Ho!" the author fails to ask and answer the truly significant question of why and how Jews migrated westward from the coastal region.

The same underestimation is true, for example, in the handling of the formation of the Zionist movement in America and the Yiddish literary movement. The reader may question seriously the value of publishing a work so limited in scope.

A few of the author's facts are not so fascinating because of error or misunderstanding. The reader finds it difficult to understand how Abraham Goldfaden founded the Yiddish theatre in the United States in 1882 when the great writer came to these shores in 1887 (p. 98). The story of Isaac Leeser (p. 126) is badly mutilated. Leeser, the patriarch of traditional Judaism, served as *hazzan* of Congregation Mikveh Israel, of Philadelphia, from 1829 to 1850, and in 1857 he became *hazzan* of Congregation Beth El-Emeth, also in Philadelphia. The author gives Leeser undeserved credit for thirty-nine years of continuous service at Congregation Mikveh Israel.

The reader is confronted with another misunderstanding in the author's investigation of the American immigration law of 1924 (pp. 101–2). The story, in the main, is taken from the article on "Migrations" in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (Vol. VII, p. 550), a publication not mentioned in the attached bibliography. The result of the law, according to the author, was that 80 per cent of the immigrants came from northern and western European countries, while only 20 per cent came from eastern and southern Europe. Where the author obtained these statistics is a complete mystery. A more thorough study of the immigration law and its results would bring a sharp revision of those figures. In the field of Jewish immigration, also, the author fails to call attention to Arnold Wiznitzer's important statement that the twenty-three Jews who came to New Amsterdam in 1654 arrived on the "Sainte Catherine," not the "Saint Charles" (*Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. XLIV, December, 1954, p. 88).*

Finally, in one case the author fails to answer his own question about the stand taken by President Harry S. Truman, the Congress, and the nation's political parties towards the creation of the new state of Israel (p. 112). The answer would supply a most interesting and significant phase not only of American Jewish life, but also of American foreign policy and domestic politics. Inevitably, typo-

*According to the most recent information, the "Sainte Catherine" is the accepted ship on which the twenty-three Jews arrived. It is hoped that future investigation will finally establish whether it was the "Sainte Catherine" or the "Saint Charles."

graphical errors creep into a publication, but the reviewer was able to find only two in a book that is bound simply but in good taste.

Perhaps the publication of this book will stimulate scholars into expanding upon the many "fascinating facts" that are found in American Jewish history.

Milwaukee, Wis. ALFRED D. SUMBERG

JEWISH ADVENTURES IN AMERICA. By Elma Ehrlich Levinger. *New York: Bloch Publishing Co.* 1954. 243 pp. $3.50

As a historical novelist, as a popular biographer, and as an author of textbooks for the Jewish religious school, Elma Ehrlich Levinger has, over a period of years, established a truly enviable reputation. For many years Jewish children have enjoyed her stories with their vivid Jewish historical backgrounds, and have thereby deepened their appreciation of Jewish history. Countless children and young people have participated in her holiday plays or those based upon Jewish ideals.

In the light of this record, therefore, one finds the present book somewhat disappointing, although on its own merits it is probably an adequate enough book. For one thing, the reviewer was hard put to it to decide just what the book purports to be. If it is meant for children or even for young people in high school, then much of its vocabulary is too difficult for the average reading-level of most of the pupils in our schools. Furthermore, the content itself and the manner of its presentation are too prosaic to capture the imagination and interest of most children. On the other hand, for adults there is a suggestion of oversimplification, if not of actual condescension.

Then again, is it meant to be used as a textbook? Or as supplementary reading for a course in American Jewish history? Or for leisure-time reading? If it is supposed to be a textbook, then it has a number of serious defects. For instance, there are no chapter divisions. The book is divided into three large parts: "We Come to America"; "We Grow with America"; "We Pay Our Debt to America." The subheadings within these parts vary greatly in size, scope, and function. There are none of the provocative questions, or suggestions for activities, or references to supplementary readings which we have come to expect in our textbooks. There are no "helps" for teachers. And, as a matter of fact, it is rather difficult

to imagine (or perhaps not so difficult to imagine, but rather horrible to think of!) how the average teacher would use the book in the classroom.

From a scholarly standpoint, the facts in the book are probably accurate enough, though elementary and sketchy. Sometimes, however, the author boldly fictionizes, as, for instance, right at the beginning of the book, when she describes in full detail the scene in the harbor of New Amsterdam, as the "Saint Charles" brings the first twenty-three Jews to these shores. And she tells us precisely what Jacob Barsimson said and thought. At other times she keeps rigidly to the skeletal information which one finds in most of the textbooks on the subject, and which bores our pupils with them all. One must admire the skill with which Mrs. Levinger occasionally weaves source material into her narrative. But one wishes that she had done so much more frequently. And some of the material which she does insert should have been edited more carefully, or perhaps rewritten entirely, for the sake of simplicity and intelligibility. On the other hand, every once in a while, the author slips into an annoying "cuteness," as, for example, when she reports that Judah Monis, teaching Hebrew at Harvard College, opened up a shop where he sold hardware and tobacco, and then she adds that his students probably "preferred his tobacco to his Hebrew."

Incidentally, in view of her repeated insistence that Monis, as a convert to Christianity, should hardly be called a Jew at all, one wonders that she gives so much space to him, to the Pinto Brothers, and to several others. But then one might question the sense of proportion in the book altogether. Thus, "Emperor Norton I" (Joshua Norton of San Francisco) is certainly a colorful character. But one wonders if he deserves more than five pages in a fairly small book which purports to be dealing with serious history. Even more disturbing is the relative amount of space given to the three large parts into which the book is divided. Are we to believe that, from a historical standpoint, the complexities of the life of millions of American Jews in the modern period can be comprehended in fewer pages than the formless beginnings of a few thousand of our co-religionists in the Revolutionary period or even in Civil War days? The book also suffers from the lack of an index.

For that matter, the basic conception of the book, history taught through biographies, is really not one which makes for any proper understanding of historical relationships, movements, and trends —

unless, perhaps, the biographies are far more detailed than any of those in this book. It gives entirely too superficial a view of history. And it also lends itself far too easily to the type of apologetic approach which has characterized most of the books on American Jewish history produced so far, and which is evident throughout this book, as typified by the banal title of the third section: "We Pay Our Debt to America."

If, on the other hand, this book is meant for supplementary reading in a course on American Jewish history, then most of the above strictures still hold. But, more importantly, it does not sufficiently *supplement* any of the existing textbooks; that is to say, it adds little or nothing which they do not already contain.

In the opinion of this reviewer, the book may have some value for an adult or for an intelligent college student who knows nothing at all about the history of the Jews in the United States, but who is curious and would find this a brief and extremely easy introduction.

Baltimore, Md. SAMUEL GLASNER

JEWS IN AMERICAN WARS. By J. George Fredman and Louis A. Falk. *Washington, D. C.: The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America.* 1954. ix, 276 pp. $2.50

The aims of the stories recounted in *Jews In American Wars* are to reveal that men of Jewish faith have been neither more nor less heroic than other American soldiers, airmen, sailors, or marines; that they fought as Americans; that they showed themselves to be loyal comrades at guns, brave fighters, proud, free men and patriotic Americans. It estimates that in all conflicts, through the last fighting war in Korea, over 1,000,000 Jews have served their country in arms. The stories are told, and the statistics given, in sequence from the American Revolution through the Korean conflict, to make Jews proudly aware of their contribution to American life and to foster respect and esteem in all Americans for the outstanding contributions which men and women of the Jewish faith have made to the defense and security of the United States. This book is well arranged and written. Its contents can be followed with ease and with interest, so that it can accomplish its aims through its literary structure. The authors plead extenuation for any possible shortcomings of brevity or omission on the ground of limitation of space.

Any suggestions or additions that follow are a matter of taste and personal knowledge.

The Jewish reader, if not others, would probably like to have sources cited, so that he could possibly read more where briefly mentioned events are stated. Four lines are insufficient to include the records of Chaplain Louis Werfel and Chaplain Irving Tepper. All the chaplains who met their death in the armed forces deserve respect. Chaplains Tepper and Werfel were as heroic as were the men who went down with the "Dorchester." Chaplain Tepper was with the Ninth Division, first in North Africa and then in Europe. He was greatly beloved because he constantly moved around in order to bring services to the Jewish men wherever the deployment of the division spread them. His death came shortly after the invasion of southern France. The story which I heard related was that he was killed by a German shell which exploded in his path as he was traveling from one medical aid station to look in on another.

Chaplain Werfel was killed in an airplane crash, as he was pushing to get from one place to another for Chanukah services. His death came in December, 1943. He and I were stationed in Algiers; he was assigned to the Air Force and had made commitments to be with men in Constantine, Algiers, and Oran for the observance of Chanukah. He had gone to Oran first and conducted the services, and was to participate in the services which we arranged at Algiers . . . then fly to Constantine for a service which he had promised the men there. In Oran, weather had cancelled all scheduled MATS flights. In order to meet his engagements, Chaplain Werfel joined a flyer who was pushing through to get to Algiers for Christmas. With limited visibility because of the weather, the plane crashed into a hill shortly after it took off from Oran. A story of the chaplains, however brief, should carry mention of Chaplain Coleman A. Zwitman, who died of an illness which he contracted in the line of duty. When he returned from duty in the Pacific, he underwent an operation, from which an internist discovered that his life expectancy was very short. Coleman A. Zwitman was probably aware of the diagnosis, but in spite of it he carried on a very active ministry until his death in 1950.

A Jewish story should carry an account not only of Jewish physicians, but also of two Jewish hospitals that were organized. The Michael Reese Hospital of Chicago provided the staff for the Twenty-first Evacuation Hospital, and the Mount Sinai Hospital

the staff for the Third General Hospital. The research of Dr. Harry Plotz, of the Mount Sinai staff, who passed away while serving as a member of the staff of the United States Army Medical Center, could be linked with the work of Walter Reed.

In "The Home Front" chapter there should be mention of Harry Diamond, one of the inventors of the radio proximity fuse. In the same chapter there should be a reference to the award of the Presidential Medal of Merit to Frank L. Weil, who served as president of the National Jewish Welfare Board during the World War II years and after, and who was chairman of a committee of laymen appointed by President Truman to make a study of morale and welfare in the armed forces. The work of Harry Cutler in World War I should also be included. Mention should be made of his chairmanship of the Selective Service Board, No. 5, in 1917 and 1918, and of his appointment, in 1917, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Jewish Welfare Board, which position he held until his death in 1920. In June, 1919, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for "especially meritorious and conspicuous service."

The picture of Governor Herbert H. Lehman, of New York State, and his daughter which appears in the book must have been taken when he first arrived in Algiers on a visit in 1944. When I saw him there, he was in an Army hospital, his leg in traction; he had injured a knee in tripping. Two days later I was told that he had gone out with a bandaged leg, against the advice of doctors; he was determined to make visits in the theatre without delay.

A young man who recently passed away at Fort Ord should be included in future editions as an exemplification of a soldier who in peace died for his country. Joseph Chariton, of Tarzana, Calif., was eighteen when he finished high school. He was not yet required by his community to enter the army, but felt it a sense of duty to volunteer his services. He served for only twenty-one days and died of an illness which had developed in the course of his duty. In those twenty-one days his conscientious devotion to duty won him the admiration and respect of his officers and comrades. Not all the heroes are those who are decorated or who die in time of war. There are many who serve faithfully in time of peace, even giving their lives. The authors, we may assume, omit examples of these because their service is taken for granted as the regular duty of any soldier.

Monterey, Calif. CHAPLAIN HENRY TAVEL

SYNAGOGUE ARCHITECTURE IN THE UNITED STATES — HISTORY AND INTERPRETATION. By Rachel Wischnitzer. *Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.* 1955. xv, 204 pp. $6.00

When, as a refugee from Nazi persecution, I came to Cincinnati in 1939, I was often asked to deliver lectures in other cities. Thus I had the opportunity of seeing numerous synagogues. It struck me that none of these buildings was in the contemporary style which, in Europe, and, above all, in Germany, had already taken firm root. Appointed Consultant for Synagogue Architecture by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, I urged the introduction of this new style, and Rabbi Jacob D. Schwarz, the Union's Director of the Commission on Synagogue Activities, lent this suggestion a ready ear. With his characteristic energy and flair for organization, he issued, in 1946, a pamphlet entitled *Synagogue Building Plans.* This was followed, in 1947, by two very successful synagogue building conferences, held in New York and in Chicago, respectively, at which questions concerning modern synagogue building were discussed by architects, artists, and congregational leaders.

Less than ten years have passed since these events, and today there are synagogues from coast to coast which, in material and style, bear all the marks of the present day: the use of concrete and glass, concealed lighting, and pre-eminence of function at the expense of ornamentation.

At this high point of achievement it was natural that a desire should be felt to trace the history of American synagogue architecture from its beginnings in the eighteenth century to the present day. No one was better suited to fulfill this desire than Mrs. Rachel Wischnitzer. She, too, was a recent arrival, already enjoying great prestige as one of the outstanding connoisseurs of Jewish art. Her training in architecture qualified her particularly to deal with this branch of art. She brought to her self-imposed task her gift for research and her enthusiasm for work, and today, as a result of her labors, there lies before us a book which can only be described as perfect.

Nor was her task, at least as far as the nineteenth century is concerned, a gratifying one. The past century was one of high achievement in painting; one need only think of the works of Manet, Renoir, Liebermann, Cézanne, and van Gogh. But the architecture of that period was weak: it looked backward instead of forward.

It copied now this, now that style from the past, and thereby lost contact with contemporary life, which inspires all creative impulse in art.

Mrs. Wischnitzer acknowledges this fact. In special sections she deals with the revivals of Greek, Romanesque, Gothic, and Moorish styles, and with that New Classicism which arose from a knowledge of Palestinian synagogue ruins. Nor did the author fail to cite other features, such as the introduction of the central plan — which gave rise to the distinguished synagogues by Charles R. Greco — or the twin towers on the façade — a nonsensical addition because the synagogue, lacking bells, needs no towers. Now and again individual artists receive special mention, like the associates Louis Sullivan and Dankmar Adler, the latter the son of a rabbi. The historic and economic conditions behind the erection of synagogues are also treated in an enlightening manner. The author exerted special talent in making a difficult subject palatable through ever new schematizations and observations.

The volume is profusely highlighted with photographs and other illustrations of synagogues, past and present. An enthusiastic admirer of present-day architecture, the author devotes the latter part of the book to the contemporary synagogue, making it a rich source of inspiration and stimulation both to architects and to congregations contemplating the erection of a synagogue.

Finally, as far as these architects are concerned, it affords us special satisfaction that they almost all belong to our faith, whereas the synagogues of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries were built, in many instances, by non-Jews. And among these contemporary architects are gifted artists like Percival Goodman, Fritz Nathan, and Eric Mendelsohn — the last, unfortunately, no longer living.

Paper, typeface, reproductions, and binding, all these are handled with consummate care.

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion FRANZ LANDSBERGER

THE CITY OF HOPE. By Samuel H. Golter. *New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.* 1954. xii, 177 pp. $3.50

In the *City of Hope* Samuel H. Golter has attempted a difficult literary task: against the background of the Jewish question, to

integrate an autobiography with a description of the institution that he guided to eminence. The technique used is that of interweaving, sometimes in the same paragraph, elements of his personal history and philosophy with episodes in the development of a medical center in Duarte, California.

The hospital, whose name provides the title of the book, began in 1913 as two tents in the desert for the care of tuberculous patients. It grew, with the support of the Jewish Consumptive Relief Association, to a cluster of frame cottages in 1926, when the author became its superintendent. In the twenty-nine years of his administration the institution expanded from a small tuberculosis sanitarium to a chronic disease research hospital of 293 beds, with full accreditation and with American Medical Association approval for medical resident training. Throughout its development it preserved its principles of being nonsectarian and of maintaining at all costs the dignity of the patient. These two guiding principles justify the autobiographical core of the book.

Written in the form of letters to the seventeen-year-old daughter of the author, the volume begins and ends with the problem of prejudice and humiliation. Even after achieving national recognition in his own inspiring work and acquiring sufficient confidence in himself to give up what he repeatedly stresses as his "confirmed bachelorhood," the author is deeply hurt by the remark of a casual couple who notice his newborn child behind the glass in the premature nursery and say: "That must be a Jew baby." These words, whether spoken in ignorance or in derogation, apparently struck a cruel blow to Golter's ecstatic hopes for a better world for this, his few-hours-old baby. The phrase symbolized for him all the insults and persecution directed at the Jew since pre-Mosaic days, and brought back to him the miseries of his own childhood. The incident, he writes, "added a sense of mission to my life-work. On that day I rededicated myself to the purpose of making good will toward men more real by magnifying the humanitarian values fostered and practiced at the City of Hope and by developing apostles to give these values a wide circulation."

In this worthwhile purpose he succeeded because the hospital is a good example of modern, effective, dignified, nonsectarian philanthropy. But philosophers may dispute the ethical value of resentment as a valid force for either charity or achievement. Probably both the magnificent work of the City of Hope and its unusual atmosphere of spiritual brotherhood in practice would have

come about anyway as a result of Golter's demonstrated intelligent energy and his keen emotional sensitivity. The remark was actually only a coincidence. But by keeping alive and quivering a seventeen-year-old (or 4,000-year-old) bruise, the author leaves the reader with an unintended impression, namely, that the patients in the hospital might quote Second Isaiah: "With his stripes we are healed."

Cincinnati, Ohio ARTHUR G. KING, M.D.

The Old Book Shelf

Reviews of the Literature of the Past

From time to time, the *American Jewish Archives* will carry reviews of outstanding books that appeared years ago. These publications, we believe, will prove of interest and value to the present-day historian. The review of *Prejudice Against the Jew* is the second in this series.

The reviewer, Robert E. Segal, is Executive Director of the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston, and has served as consultant, lecturer, and writer in the field of human relations since 1940. He is a member of the Board of Governors of the Boston University Human Relations Center, a member of the Executive Board of the Boston Mayor's Committee, and a past Chairman of the Boston Intergroup Relations Council. He was also one of the founders of Temple Shalom, of Newton, Mass., and its first president.

PREJUDICE AGAINST THE JEW — ITS NATURE, ITS CAUSES AND REMEDIES, A Symposium by Foremost Christians, Published in *The American Hebrew*, April 4, 1890. With a Foreword by Philip Cowen. *New York: Philip Cowen.* 1928. 158 pp.

On February 11, 1890, Philip Cowen, the publisher and managing editor of *The American Hebrew*, of New York, dispatched to a number of highly-placed and highly-regarded educators, clergymen, editors, political figures, and persons prominent in the field of arts and letters an inquiry based in part on attitudes of antipathy harbored against Jews, "particularly during the summer season." He mentioned specifically the exclusion of Jews from summer resorts (the New York banker Joseph Seligman and his family had been refused admission at the Grand Union Hotel, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., in the summer of 1877), school discrimination, and the blackballing of Jews from social clubs. Cowen posed these questions:

1. Can you, of your own personal experience, find any justification whatever for the entertainment of prejudice towards individuals solely because they are Jews?

2. Is not this prejudice due largely to the religious instruction which is given by the church and Sunday school — for instance, the teachings that the Jews crucified Jesus; that they rejected him and can secure salvation only by means of belief in him; and similar matters which are calculated to excite in the impressionable mind of the child an aversion, if not a loathing, for members of "the despised race"?

3. Have you observed, in the social or business life of the Jew, so far as your personal experience has gone, any different standard of conduct from that which prevails among Christians of the same social status?

4. Can you suggest what should be done to dispel the existing prejudice?

Cowen received a generous response, largely gratifying, incisive, candid, and stimulating.

A few of the great American spirits of the day faced up to their honest convictions that teachings about the crucifixion were at the heart of anti-Jewish attitudes and actions. Others found the explanation in ostentation, boorishness, overaggressiveness, and clannishness. Many acknowledged that Cowen's disarming questions had sent them scurrying to their deepest religious strengths for honest answers. A few, as might be expected, either sidestepped the issue or handled the inquiry gingerly, making haste to get the intruding and offensive questionnaire off a neat desk.

Cowen himself concluded that "prejudice is innately religious; unconsciously so as a general thing." He was joined in this conclusion by George W. Curtis, Dr. Titus M. Coan, and Zebulon B. Vance. In order to bring influential testimony to his findings, he directed attention to the comprehensive reply which Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes had sent him. This spirited response, published by Holmes in *Over The Teacups*, recalled a hymn:

> See what a living stone
> The builders did refuse!
> Yet God has built his church thereon,
> In spite of envious Jews.

And Holmes borrowed, in turn, from Emerson, who had hailed and thrown a religious cordon sanitaire around the central figure of Christianity thus:

This was Jehovah come down out of heaven. I will kill you if you say he was a man.

If these lines from "the Wisest American" startle us, let us all the more keep them in mind when this age of mass communication and oversimplification throws on the screen a cross larger than cinerama itself, underscoring the unique crime of deicide.

The kindly and impish Dr. Holmes closed his reply to Cowen by quoting in full his poem, "At the Pantomime." Therein he related the change in his attitude from one of repugnance towards Jews (black-bearded, swarthy, beaked, unbelieving) who crowded him one hot August day in a non-air-conditioned room to a sense of appreciation for the precursors of these people who had, after all, given the world "the Maiden's Boy of Bethlehem."

In addition to Dr. Holmes, other illustrious men and women peer up from Cowen's intriguing inquiry of sixty-five years ago. Theodore Roosevelt is there with that granddaddy of bromidic disclaimers: "Some of my most valued friends are Hebrews." In Cowen's book, one learns, Washington Gladden observed, long before Dorothy Thompson did, that "the Jew . . . is very much like the average American, only a little more so." Eloquent and unbelieving Robert G. Ingersoll speaks his mind about the crucifixion blame: "There is no chapter in history as cruel, as relentless, as the chapter in which is told the manner in which Christians — those who love their enemies — have treated the Jewish people." A discerning Carl Schurz observes that those "who most loudly insist upon judging men by their religion or national origin rather than by their character, have themselves not much character to be proud of." And a voice from the grave: a letter from George Eliot to Harriet Beecher Stowe (October 29, 1876), explaining why the British novelist treated Jews with such understanding in *Daniel Deronda* and complaining about some who, ignorant of Christ's Jewish origin, "make small jokes about eating ham."

Here is a direct route into the heart of this symposium: the kind hearts and gentle people approached by Cowen, by and large, saw anti-Jewishness in 1890 as a problem of manners. Great humans like Edward Everett Hale and Phillips Brooks appeared completely innocent of talk of such a problem. Victoria was on her throne; God was in His heaven; and where was the Jewish gaucherie that a mild course in etiquette could not cure? It was such a simple matter for these dear souls. For Dr. Robert S. McArthur, for example, the law of politeness flowing from the Golden Rule was sufficient.

The Rev. Charles F. Deems could think of "no people who suffer so much on account of . . . vulgar Jews as high minded, cultivated,

refined Hebrew ladies and gentlemen." And in the judgment of the famed Washington Gladden: "If among the Jews there is an over-development of mercantilism, then there must be among them an under-development of the amenities and the humanities by which our social life is brightened and sweetened."

Some spoke right up about "Christian envy of big Jewish diamonds," flashy dress, gold and jewels, boors, loud manners, and "the common Jew and his host of noisy children" at the best watering places. Professor C. H. Toy at Harvard reminded Editor Cowen that Jews had bodily habits that were not good.

That old devil, clannishness, came in for considerable mention, as one might expect. It was the view of the Rev. William H. P. Faunce that this huddling together amounted to an indifference to popular opinion, indeed, almost to open defiance and to "a lack of genuine patriotism." Some, seeking to prescribe for this ill, reckoned that Germans and Swedes managed to Americanize; so why shouldn't Jews? A more pointed rendition of the same theme came from those who suggested, as did Elliott F. Shepard, that all Jews be brought "into fellowship with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ."

Dr. Charles W. Eliot had a proposal with an interesting twist. He recommended the careful education of women so that Jewish ladies might be "inevitably recognized as attractive and cultivated women in any society." And let the young Jewish men take part in "manly sports and in the militia organizations."

From Bishop H. C. Potter of New York came a "build-a-better-mousetrap" suggestion. He wanted to see Hebrew capital put up Hebrew hotels, clubhouses, and private schools, soon to be found crowded with all the Christians whom they were willing to admit inasmuch as excellence is the passport to recognition. In similar vein, William Dean Howells saw a need to "Christianize the Christians," and the famed editor of the Boston *Pilot*, John Boyle O'Reilly, would have dispelled anti-Jewish prejudice by expressing his respect, honor, and affection for "the greatest race that ever existed."

Some had obviously given painstaking thought to Cowen's letter. Even before the insights of Freud and Dewey had revealed the truths of frustration-aggression behavior in the pincers of a sluggish and materialistic society, a few of the respondents recognized the Jew in the role of scapegoat and demurred from offering the too cruel, too facile solution: the forfeit of religious and cultural distinctiveness.

These are the spiritual and intellectual kin of a modern Gordon Allport, who has found that our highly competitive society, putting a premium on material success, offers an environment in which socially approved prejudices flourish, an Allport who reasons that a prejudiced attitude is not like a cinder in the eye which can be extracted without disturbing the integrity of the organism as a whole.

"Defeated intellectually," says Allport, "prejudice lingers emotionally." And so it has been shown to the enlightened sons and daughters of those fine respondents of Cowen. For prejudice against Jews failed to disappear despite the assurance which the Brooklyn *Times* gave to that effect in 1890, in commenting on the provocative study. Instead, the years that followed produced burgeoning nationalism, battening in part on political anti-Semitism. The twentieth century brought to America the pseudoscientific racism of Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. Ugly chauvinisms and intellectual claptrap, in turn, soon were being hawked and popularized by every means of mass communication. The demagogue of the machine age then seized his cue. He rode to power by the sly use of divisive appeals to prejudice. And he was not alone. The insatiable American urge to get ahead led thousands of otherwise reasonable persons to indulge in discriminatory practices, not just at the summer resorts which were Cowen's point of departure, but in colleges, in office buildings, in factories, in hospitals, and in the newly-minted American suburbs.

So it is that we must realize that the sons and daughters of Cowen's well-meaning collaborators will need more than spiritual sweetness to make adequate answer to prejudice. They must undercut the jungle in which prejudice flourishes; they must provide housing, health aids, recreation, jobs, status, recognition, counsel for their fellow Americans. They must demolish the arenas in which hostilities are free to flourish. They must labor to get the unintentioned down off the fence and into the camp of the fellowship of the concerned. They must strive in classrooms, in neighborhood centers, on the playing fields, in health clinics, in every avenue of commerce, in legislative halls, in pulpit, in Sunday schools, and in the control towers of mass communication, to unlock tensions so that talents may flourish in an untrammeled society rooted not in prejudice, but in mutual respect.

Boston, Mass. ROBERT E. SEGAL

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