

The Jews of the Union

Introduction by BERTRAM W. KORN

[In this issue, the *American Jewish Archives* takes pleasure in presenting a number of documents relating to the Jews of the Union. The last issue, published in April, 1961, dealt with material relating to the Jews of the Confederacy. — Editor.]

This collection of Jewish documents dealing with the Union aspect of the Civil War, illuminating as it is in its own right, gains even greater meaning when contrasted with the data reflecting Jewish life in the Confederacy published in the previous issue of the *American Jewish Archives*. Among the many salient differences that obtained between the Jews of the two sections, perhaps the most notable involved the striking unanimity of rabbinical opinion in the South as against sharp disagreements over the crucial questions of slavery and secession voiced by the rabbis of the North. A wide spectrum of opinion can be discerned in the sermons and editorial pronouncements of outstanding Northern religious leaders like Isaac Mayer Wise, Morris J. Raphall, Samuel M. Isaacs, Isaac Leeser, David Einhorn, and Bernhard Felsenthal. Although these rabbis, in view of the nonhierarchical organization of the American synagogue, spoke only for themselves, there can be no doubt that each represented the views of various segments of the Jewish community in the North. Such public discussion regarding the moral elements of the slavery question and the justification of military force to preserve the Union was virtually unthinkable in the South. If David Einhorn found it necessary to leave Baltimore because his congregants hesitated to bear responsibility for his outspoken Abolitionist sentiments, what would have been his fate had he dared to verbalize those same convictions in Richmond? When he came to Philadelphia, he was at least

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accorded a warm welcome by the members of the Keneseth Israel Congregation, but even there he found only a small measure of support for his radical antislavery position. Nevertheless, he continued to exercise the freedom to preach and to publish sentiments with which many of his people disagreed. Einhorn's experience, however, typifies not so much a difference in the attitudes of the *Jewish* communities North and South, as it typifies a difference in the mood of the *citizenry* of the two sections. Jews in Richmond and other Southern cities tended to act and think like the non-Jews among whom they lived, just as Jews in Philadelphia and Cincinnati commonly adopted the views of their neighbors.

This is not to suggest that there was no feeling of comradeship which united the Jews of the North and of the South. Despite the war, the Jews of one section took a keen interest in the experiences of their coreligionists across the battlelines, and when relationships were possible, as in the prisoner-of-war camps, acts of friendship were often performed. When Union soldiers of the Jewish faith entered captured Confederate areas, they were certain to seek out fellow Jews; sometimes they were welcomed, sometimes scorned. But despite the ancestral faith which they shared in common, political convictions separated them. My favorite story of Civil War times concerns Myer Levy, a Union soldier from Philadelphia. Walking down the street of a newly seized Virginia town at Passover time, Levy noticed a little boy, sitting on the steps of a house and eating *matzah*. When he asked the boy for a piece of the unleavened bread, the child fled indoors, shouting at the top of his voice: "Mother! There's a 'damnyankee' Jew outside, and he wants my *matzah*." That boy is probably as good an example as any of the Confederate proclivities of Southern Jews; and most Northern Jews were equally vehement in their attachment to the Union.

The identification of Jews in each section with the dominant political philosophy of their fellow citizens was due, in large measure, to the prevailing climate of freedom in both sections which encouraged Jews to think of themselves as first-class citizens, not as a special group segregated from the majority. By and large, Jews felt that they were accorded equal opportunity

in America, particularly when they compared their present status with the experience which they had endured in Europe whence most of them stemmed — for in 1861 at least two thirds of all American Jews were recent immigrants. Still, this feeling of equality notwithstanding, the Civil War provoked a more serious expression of anti-Jewish sentiment than had ever before appeared in American life. The Judeophobia which reached a high-water mark in General Ulysses S. Grant's notorious Orders Number Eleven — described in detail in these pages — was a shock to all Jews who had thought of themselves as indistinguishable from their neighbors except in religious faith. Although the spread of anti-Semitic prejudice does not rank high in the total story of the passions, hatreds, and frustrations which flamed throughout the war-torn land, it was a terribly serious matter for the Jews themselves.

More important, perhaps, than the prejudice itself was the reaction which it produced among Northern Jews. They did not meet it with sullen resentment or hopeless apathy; they did not throw up their hands in despair or surrender and assume that America was like all other countries. They met it with determined courage. Men like Rabbi Wise, of Cincinnati, and Cesar Kaskel, of Paducah, Kentucky, were confident that, even in the midst of war, Jewish rights to equal treatment before the law could be defended and upheld. It was, therefore, with supreme trust in the American promise that Kaskel and his fellow exiles from Kentucky telegraphed to the President, and that a delegation of distinguished Jewish leaders from the Midwest journeyed to Washington to interview Mr. Lincoln. And when the President, through the offices of General Henry W. Halleck, instructed the offending Grant to revoke the order, the delegation and Jews throughout the North did not feel that a favor had been granted to them; Lincoln's abrogation of the discriminatory edict was, they believed, only just and fair. America was to them a land of equality — and they would be satisfied with nothing less.

Such a mood of assurance characterized not only the defense against anti-Semitism which Jews developed, but also their insistence on affirmative measures which recognized their equal participation in the war effort. The question of Jewish chaplains

for the armed forces had hardly been mentioned prior to the spring of 1861 — the number of Jews serving in previous wars or in the regular Army would not have warranted such discussion — but once Jews began to volunteer in large numbers, it was urgent that this matter of religious equality be settled. A vigorous campaign was initiated and prosecuted throughout the North — in rabbis' sermons, in the weekly Jewish press, in the councils of the only representative Jewish body of the time (the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, with its headquarters in New York City), in communities like Bangor, Maine, where only three Jews had their residence, but where 200 non-Jews were willing to sign a petition in favor of the appointment of Jewish chaplains, and, finally, in the nation's capital, where Rabbi Arnold Fischel served as lobbyist and civilian chaplain. It was no small achievement, this first formal recognition by the American government that Judaism was an American faith fully equal to the two branches of Christianity — and it marked an extension of democratic rights as meaningful in its way as anything which has ever been accomplished by the Jews of America. More than 7,000 American Jews served in the armed forces of the Union; the appointment of Jewish chaplains constituted official recognition that these soldiers served no less *as Jews* than as Americans.

Such broad-scale, far-reaching experiences — the winning of the struggle for religious ministrations to Jews in the armed forces by Jewish chaplains, the repudiation of anti-Jewish prejudice by the Lincoln administration, and the self-assured representation of Jewish interests on the national level — had no counterpart in the Confederacy, where the experiences of Jews were more personal and consequently less significant in terms of the long-range unfolding of the American Jewish community. The life of the Jews — as a group — in the Confederacy was a bypass; the broad highway of the development of American Judaism lay in the North. Not that Jewish life in the Confederacy was less pious or vivid or meaningful — but it had neither the inventive vigor nor the dynamic potential of its Northern counterpart. Just as American life as a whole would far outstrip the South, so Jewish life in the years following the Civil War was to be

centered in the North. American Judaism entered one of its most vigorous periods of growth in the years after the war, a growth in which the communities of the South played a far less important role than they had in the ante-bellum period.

Many factors contributed to Northern Jewry's post-war vigor: economic prosperity for Jewish merchants and manufacturers who had learned much from war-time needs and opportunities; the natural return to religion which followed a terribly bloody conflict; and the passion for building and coordinating which swept through the entire North. There were, in addition, two further influences which stemmed directly from the Jewish group's identification with the Northern cause. We may count first the increase in Jewish self-respect which grew out of the victories for Jewish equality won during the war. Secondly, we must add the indefinable maturity as Americans attained by so many young Jewish immigrants who had fought in the armed forces and had emerged from the crucible of the battlefield as Americans in an experiential sense.

Another result of the Civil War experience for American Jewry was the direct contribution of men like David Einhorn and Bernhard Felsenthal. Their unrelenting espousal of justice for the Negro slave injected a new element into the nature of American Judaism. Prior to their time the Prophetic teaching of social justice had been all but insignificant in the message of the synagogue. Theirs was the first compelling demand that American Judaism accept responsibility for the moral character of the social order. To be sure, all American Jews were not at once converted to their view; but more and more voices were raised in subsequent decades, voices which energetically applied the teachings of Amos and Hosea and Jeremiah to the problems of America's industrial society. Even today there are disagreements about the precise meaning of social justice; but the tables are now turned about — only a handful of Jews today would wish to keep silent about the racial issue, the direct continuation of the slavery problem which was the root of the war pictured so vividly in these pages.

A DIVIDED NORTH

Even after the cannons roared at Sumter, anti-Secessionist sentiments were to be found in the South, while pro-Secessionist sympathizers — the “Copperheads” — persisted in the North. The Jews were as divided — even within each section — as the rest of the country.

Rabbis like Isaac Mayer Wise, of Cincinnati, and Isaac Leeser, of Philadelphia, were not active Copperheads, but they would much have preferred a peaceful divorce between North and South to a national unification cemented by force. In the newspapers which they edited — Wise, The Israelite; Leeser, The Occident — they adopted postures of almost adamant neutrality.

Rabbi Samuel Myer Isaacs, of New York, also edited a newspaper, The Jewish Messenger. Although before the war Isaacs had avoided political discussion, the attack on Sumter made him as militantly pro-Union as Wise and Leeser were neutralist. To their pacifism he now opposed a robust nationalism. Isaacs was by no means the only rabbi to advocate the cause of the Union. In April, 1861, Max Lienthal, of Cincinnati, David Einhorn, of Baltimore, Sabato Morais, of Philadelphia, and Liebmann Adler and Bernhard Felsenthal, of Chicago, were all outspoken in the Union's defense, but only Isaacs among them had a weekly urnal at his disposal as the fighting began.

The two selections found in these pages epitomize the “house divided” that was Northern Jewry in 1861.

An interesting reaction to Isaacs' views on the part of a Southern Jewish community is found in the American Jewish Archives, XIII, 33-34.

STAND BY THE FLAG

It is almost a work of supererogation for us to call upon our readers to be loyal to the Union, which protects them. It is needless for us to say anything to induce them to proclaim their devotion to

the land in which they live. But we desire our voice, too, to be heard at this time, joining in the hearty and spontaneous shout ascending from the whole American people, to stand by the stars and stripes!

Already we hear of many of our young friends taking up arms in defence of their country, pledging themselves to assist in maintaining inviolate its integrity, and ready to respond, if need be, with their lives, to the call of the constituted authorities, in the cause of law and order.

The time is past for forbearance and temporizing. We are now to *act*, and sure we are that those whom these words may reach will not be backward in realizing the duty that is incumbent upon them — to rally as one man for the *Union* and the *Constitution*. The Union — which binds together, by so many sacred ties, millions of freemen — which extends its hearty invitation to the oppressed of all nations to come and be sheltered beneath its protecting wings — shall it be severed, destroyed, or even impaired? Shall those whom we once called our brethren be permitted to overthrow the fabric reared by the noble patriots of the Revolution, and cemented with their blood?

And the Constitution — guaranteeing to all the free exercise of their religious opinions — extending to all liberty, justice, and equality — the pride of Americans, the admiration of the world — shall that Constitution be subverted, and anarchy usurp the place of a sound, safe, and stable government, deriving its authority from the consent of the American people?

The voice of millions yet unborn cries out, "Forbid it, Heaven!" The voice of the American people declares, in tones not to be misunderstood, "It shall not be!"

Then stand by the flag! What death can be so glorious as that of the patriot, surrendering up life in defense of his country — pouring forth his blood on the battlefield — to live for ever in the hearts of a grateful people? Stand by the flag! Whether native or foreign born, Christian or Israelite, stand by it, and you are doing your duty, and acting well your part on the side of liberty and justice!

We know full well that our young men, who have left their homes to respond to the call of their country, will, on their return, render a

good account of themselves. We have no fears for their bravery and patriotism. Our prayers are with them. God speed them on the work which they have volunteered to perform!

And if they fall — if, fighting in defence of that flag, they meet a glorious and honorable death, their last moments will be cheered by the consciousness that they have done their duty, and grateful America will not forget her sons, who have yielded up their spirit in her behalf.

And as for us, who do not accompany them on their noble journey, our duty, too, is plain. We are to pray to Heaven that He may restore them soon again to our midst, after having assisted in vindicating the honor and integrity of the flag they have sworn to defend; and we are to pledge ourselves to assume for them, should they fall in their country's cause, the obligation of supporting those whom their departure leaves unprotected. Such is our duty. Let them, and all of us, renew our solemn oath that, whatever may betide, we will be true to the Union and the Constitution, and

STAND BY THE FLAG!

[*The Jewish Messenger*, April 26, 1861]

SILENCE, OUR POLICY

The excitement runs high, very high, wherever we turn our eyes. They say civil war is commenced. We are the servant of peace, not of war. Hitherto we sometimes thought fit to say something on public affairs, and it was our ardent hope to assist those who wished to prevent civil war; but we wasted our words. What can we say now? Shall we lament and weep like Jeremiah over a state of things too sad and too threatening to be looked upon with indifference? We would only be laughed at in this state of excitement and passionate agitation, or probably abused for discouraging the sentiment. Or should we choose side with one of the parties? We can not, not only because we abhor the idea of war, but also we have dear friends and near relations, beloved brethren and kinsmen, in

either section of the country, that our heart bleeds on thinking of their distress, of the misery that might befall [*sic*] them.

Therefore silence must henceforth be our policy, silence on all the questions of the day, until a spirit of conciliation shall move the hearts of the millions to a better understanding of the blessings of peace, freedom, and union. Till then we might stop publishing *The Israelite* if our friends say so, or continue as usual, if we are patronized as heretofore. But we shall be obliged to abstain entirely from all and every commentary on the odd occurrences of the day.

In writing these lines we feel as sorrowful and disheartened as we only once before felt — on leaving our native country. The land of our choice and adoption thus in a destructive commotion is much more than common misery to us. Still, the will of our God be done!

[*The Israelite*, April 19, 1861]

THE JEW IS A MAN

Before the period of stress ushered in by the Civil War anti-Jewish prejudice had never assumed very notable proportions in America. But the crisis of the war aroused Judeophobic passions in both the North and the South, and American Jewry found itself under attack in many quarters — notably the press. The Judeophobia that was manifested in the strife-ridden country resulted from the political, social, and economic distress of the time — and was as such all but inevitable.

Characteristic of the ugly anti-Jewish sentiments called up in the North by the war was an editorial in the celebrated Boston Transcript at the outset of the conflict. The Transcript's venom found convenient objects in Southern Jews like Judah P. Benjamin, Benjamin Mordecai, and David Levy Yulee. Benjamin, of course, owing to his high position in Secessionist ranks, was the Jew most commonly abused; Dr. Bertram W. Korn points out that, among those Union leaders who attacked him as a Jew were Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee; General Benjamin F.

Butler; Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; Governor John Brough, of Ohio; and Senator Ben Wade, of Ohio. Even Southerners were not hesitant in denouncing him in bitter anti-Jewish terms — as the “Judas Iscariot Benjamin” of the Confederacy, for example.

Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, editor of *Cincinnati's* *Israelite*, was not one to submit meekly to attacks against the Jews. In his opinion, the best defense was offense, and he had his own *bête noire* — the Abolitionists, who were, in his view, capable of every crime, “a set of fanatics . . . blind in their zeal to do wrong.” The Bohemian-born Wise particularly resented the anti-immigrant activities of the Abolitionists in Massachusetts where, in 1859, they had been able to effect the passage of a law denying naturalization to immigrants who lacked at least seven years of residence.

ANOTHER MEAN THING

The *Boston Transcript* of the 5th instant gives publicity to the following literary filth of one of its editors:

“THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL. — It is stated that Mr. Mordecai, a wealthy Jew of Charleston, S. C., has presented to his belligerent state and city \$10,000, to aid the purposes of secession, with the offer besides of a large number of Negroes to work in the cause. Mr. Benjamin of Louisiana, a member of the same faith, is *the* disunion leader in the U. S. Senate, and Mr. Yulee of Florida, whose name has been changed from the more appropriate one of Levy, has always been one of the hottest leaders of the ultra fire-eaters. Can it be possible that this peculiar race — the old Catholics used to call them ‘accursed’ — having no country of their own, desire that other nations shall be in the same unhappy condition as they are themselves? In no country in the world have the Jews the same privileges by law which they possess in the United States, and yet this ‘stiff-necked generation,’ by its principal men, takes a lead in attempting to destroy a Constitution which has been to them an ark of refuge and safety.”

Now, sir, we for our part never have been and never can be converted into a Republican, because we experienced too often the

truth of the assertion that those who faint away on hearing of a Negro thousands of miles distant having been abused, are always ready to wrong their next neighbor. The above piece of superlative wisdom is not the first proof of this assertion; we have published plenty before this.

It is admitted that the Jews are divided in politics, never voted on one side, hence thousands of them are Republicans. But for the *Transcript* to have the meanness to cast this insolent piece of filth into the face of those thousands of Republicans and Union men who are sons of Israel, only proves the ignorance of the abolition fanatics, and the fate of this country, if those men should ever rule. We know you and your serpentine liberalism; we hate your venomous fanaticism with every fiber of our heart, and are justly entitled to pity you.

Will the scribbler of the above lines not please and tell us, whether Mr. Mordecai and Senators Benjamin and Yulee, because they hail from Israel [i. e., because they are Jews], have not the same rights to their political opinions as the myriads of Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, etc., who belong to the secession party, have to theirs? Must those gentlemen have no opinion because they are Israelites, or must they act contrary to their political conviction because they are sons of Abraham? Do you think the Israelites of the South must be your white slaves, as you in the naturalization laws treated the foreigner, placing him below the Negro — and exclaim hosannah to the outbursts of your unbridled fanaticism? No, sir, you are mistaken; the Jew is a man, an independent man, who is guided by his own conviction, despises your low fanaticism, and, therefore, supports also the opposition against the rule of fanatical men.

The “accursed” Jews who have “no country of their own, desire that other nations should be in the same unhappy condition,” etc. How mean and despicable an ignoramus that editor is! The Jew has no country in Italy, for whose liberty his sons bled and died; he has no country in France, whose battles he fought and whose counsels he leads; he has no home in Germany, in England, or in Holland, where he taught philosophy and the humanizing arts to mankind; he has no home except in Massachusetts, where the foreigner must wait a year or two longer than the Negro before he

can find a home. And if he has a home everywhere in the civilized world, why has he less a country than the other religious sects and the fragments of ancient tribes, among whom he dwells? Good God! the Jew who bled and died in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and Milan for the cause of freedom — the Jew who flocked by thousands to the banners of [Louis] Kossuth and again stands at the side of Hungary — the Jew has no country! But why do we waste ink and pen to correct an ignoramus blindfolded with fanaticism? It is, indeed, scarcely worth while to notice such illiterate quackery.

The Jew possesses privileges (or rather, rights) in these United States as he does in every civilized country — privileges which *you* did not give him — nor can *you* take them away; these are privileges which God granted to every human being. To withhold them from the Jew is a crime next to murder. Shall we thank you especially that you are no thieves, no perjurers or no murderers? Do you claim thanks for paying your debts, having a police force to protect your fellow-men, and allow everybody to breathe like yourselves? If you claim thanks, you shall have them, although they are not due *to you*, but to the founders of this republic, who started a *democratic* republic and no *absolute monarchy*.

Messrs. Mordecai, Benjamin and Yulee, says the *Transcript*, are “our principal men,” and because they do not suit that man’s political creed he casts a slur on the ten thousands of Israelites in these United States. Now as for ourselves we have the pleasure of a personal acquaintance only with Mr. Mordecai, of Charleston, and know him as a man of distinguished intelligence and integrity. We also know that he claims not to be one of “*our* principal men.” We, the Israelites, elected none of the above senators, nor could we ever elect Mr. Mordecai to any office; as in Florida there are not Hebrews enough to elect a country squire, in Louisiana were very few Israelites when Mr. Benjamin was sent to Washington, and in Charleston our brethren exercise no political influence by their numbers, for they are but a few. In religion those gentlemen are our brethren, in politics they are *your* principal men and not *ours*; they were not elevated by our votes, not called to represent our political opinions, and not invited by us to act in our behalf. They represent their constituents who are composed of all sects

and nationalities; we are not responsible for their doings, nor are they responsible for our actions. If the scribbler of the *Transcript* had remaining one grain of brains not affected by his fanaticism he would have known this; a school-boy would.

So we dismiss that man because he lives 1,000 miles from us; if he was a little nearer to us we would call upon him and tell him that we despise him.

[*The Israelite*, January 25, 1861]

POOR OLD ABE LINCOLN

Rabbi Isaac M. Wise had never approved of Lincoln or of the Republican Party; he suspected them of sympathy for the Abolitionists, and there was almost nothing that Wise liked less than an Abolitionist. His appraisal of the President-elect who passed through Cincinnati in February, 1861, enroute to Washington, D. C., was not very flattering. It was even more uncomplimentary a few weeks later when Wise read Lincoln's Inaugural Address. Lincoln's statement — "Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty" — seemed very unfortunate to Wise, whose view of Christianity was less exalted. Wise wrote of Lincoln's style that it was "careless" and "without any successful attempt at either correctness or elegance."

Four years later, however, Rabbi Wise saw the President in a much more favorable light. Lincoln's courage, his dedication to freedom and decency, and the friendliness which he had shown to the Jews had, it seems, won Wise over completely. In a eulogy delivered shortly after Lincoln's assassination, Wise spoke of the President as a man "whose greatness was in his goodness, and whose might was in his unshaken faith" — "a man of many virtues." And he wept for Lincoln: "Hark! listen to the voice of grievous lamentation, of woeful complaint, filling the very air of this vast country."

That was in 1865. In 1861, as the observations reprinted below testify, Mr. Lincoln was far from moving Rabbi Wise to tears.

NO LIFE WITHOUT HUMBUG

It is strange, at the *prima vista* [first glance] observation, that the American people, so eminently practical in every respect and living fully up to the rule "time is money," should at the same time be so fond of public spectacles, flimsy demonstrations, noisy processions and all sorts of humbug. Poor old Abe Lincoln, who had the quiet life of a country lawyer, having been elected President of this country, and going now to be inaugurated in his office, the Philistines from all corners of the land congregate around their Dagon and worship him. Here in Cincinnati the post-masters, collectors, judges, marshals, commissioners, *in spe* [hoping for political patronage], begged together about \$1,500 to hire some carriages, give a banquet in the evening, drink champagne [*sic*], and sing hymns to Dagon. They disturb the people in their usual occupations, nay even the children in their schools, start an absurd tumult, and the masses run and gaze. Why? Wherefore? To what purpose? None can answer these questions. Why did the patriots not pay for the noise from their own pockets? Why can our big men not entertain the president elect on their own expense? Why all this noise? Nobody can answer.

We can not say what Mr. Lincoln has done for this country in politics, warfares, science or art; being a foreigner we can not be expected to know every man's biography; hence we can not tell why these extraordinary demonstrations, processions, banquets, etc., should be made. Wait till he has done something, then show him the honor due to the man; but even then do not imitate the man-worship of the Philistines; bow not down to Dagon. So we should think; rational men must think. Of course, office hunters are prompted by other motives. But that the masses should thus blindly be led and confused by the seekers of office is a poor testimony of the common sense of the multitude.

It strikes us that there is no life without humbug. The multitude



Courtesy, Miss Lili Kohler, New York, N. Y.

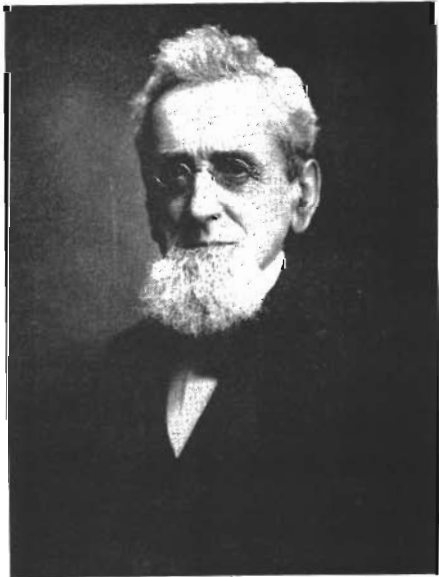
DAVID EINHORN



ISAAC LEESER

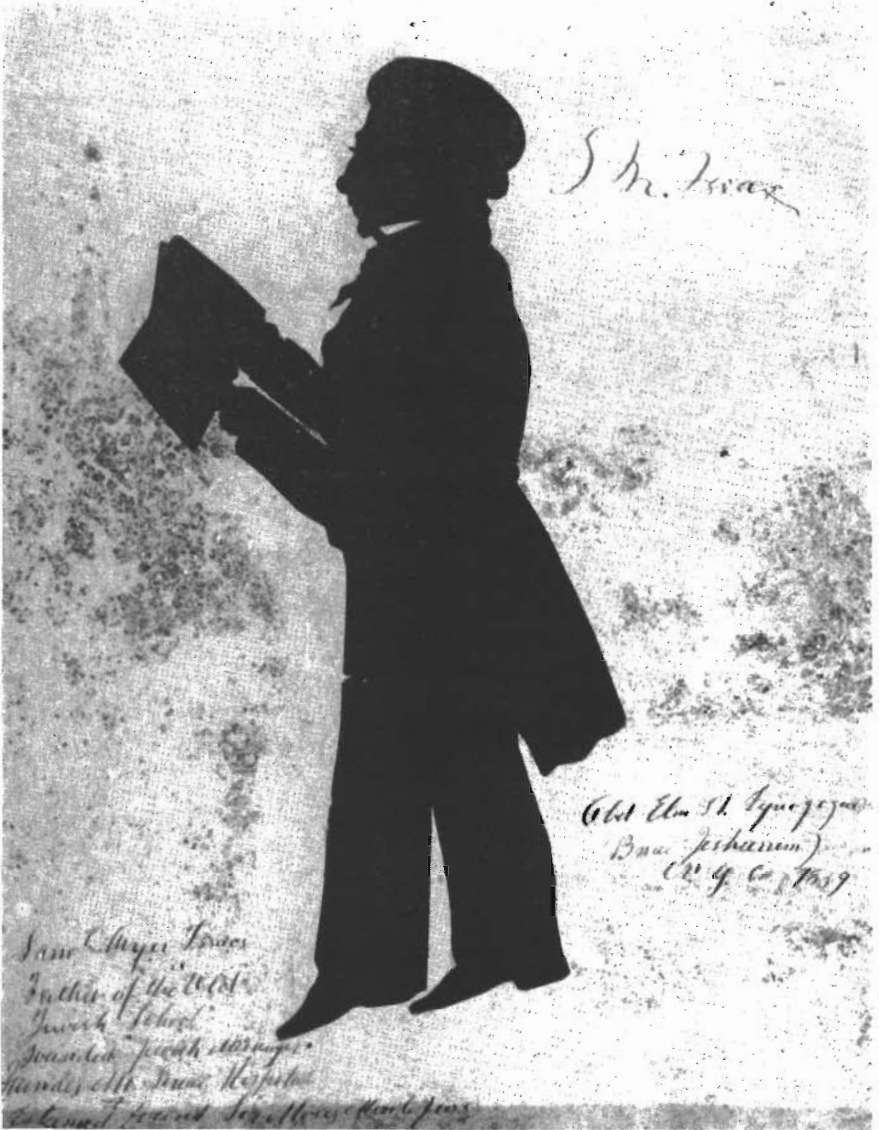


ISAAC MAYER WISE



BERNHARD FELSENTHAL

FOUR OF NORTHERN JEWRY'S RABBINICAL LEADERS



Courtesy, The Jewish Museum, New York, N. Y.

SAMUEL MYER ISAACS

“Stand by the Flag”

must have a spectacle occasionally, and will run whenever and wherever a noisy demonstration is made. There is a tendency in the American people for diversions and spectacles; but it has no great influence upon anybody. Now they run to see and hear Mr. Lincoln. If in two weeks he should say or do anything they dislike, they would drag their own idol into the dust and decry him in the same ratio as they formerly deified him. It is a poor policy to honor a man publicly without knowing by settled precedents what he will do hereafter, just as poor as to decry a man we honored heretofore. Therefore we consider all those man-worshiping demonstrations unprincipled and unbecoming honorable men — of course the office-hunting Philistines always excepted; they must bow down to Dagon. The private citizen should never forget his own dignity as a man, and a republican chief should never accept of any public demonstrations which only degrade the citizen, and do no honor to anybody, especially not to him who knows he has done nothing yet to merit any public demonstrations.

Certain men who are the real benefactors of humanity, such as George Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, or Cromwell, and others in politics; or [Roger] Bacon, Isaac Newton, [Alexander von] Humboldt, and others in science; none of them received honors in advance of the actions; neither of them was fond of public demonstrations. But this is an age of humbug and spectacle, and myriads of thoughtless Philistines are glad when they hear some noise, or see some flimsy display, and must always have some Dagon to worship; because they find not dignity enough in themselves to live without noise; not sense enough to do without humbug. The madness of reckless demagogues, having led this country to the brink of destruction, certainly will find pleasure in public demonstrations; to heat up the declining fire of sectionalism, they are excusable. But it would not do for peaceable citizens.

Some of our friends might like to know how the President looks, and we can tell them, he looks like *Der Landjunker das erste Mal in der Stadt*, which is, in good English, "like a country squire for the first time in the city." He wept on leaving Springfield and invited his friends to pray for him; that is exactly the picture of his looks. We have no doubt he is an honest man and, as much as we

can learn, also quite an intelligent man; but he will look queer, in the White House, with his primitive manner.

[*The Israelite*, February 15, 1861]

INTRODUCE ME!

A sense of humor is a sense of perspective — for readers as well as writers. Isaac Mayer Wise opposed the Union's efforts to contest secession, condemned the Abolitionists, and consequently was accused of sympathy for "the peculiar institution." But Wise was capable of using humor to show his feelings about slavery. No editor devoted to the preservation of Negro disabilities would have published the "anecdote" reprinted below.

Interestingly enough, Wendell Phillips, to whom the story is attributed, was a prominent Abolitionist leader.

POWER OF MONEY — The following anecdote was once related by Wendell Phillips: "A dark-colored man once went to Portland, Maine, and attended church. He went into a good pew, when the next neighbor to the man who owned it said:

"What do you put a Nigger into your pew for?"

"Nigger! He's no Nigger; he's a *Haytian*."

"Can't help that; I tell you he's black."

"Why, sir, he's a correspondent of mine."

"Can't help that; he's black as the ace of spades."

"But he is worth a million of dollars."

"Is he, though? — *Introduce me!*"

[*The Israelite*, December 20, 1861]

A FAREWELL TO BALTIMORE

The Reform prayer book — Olath Tamid ('Perpetual Offering') — published by Rabbi David Einhorn in Baltimore during the 1850's was well-named. Einhorn's life was one of endless offering to the causes in which he believed. Driven from pulpits in Germany and Hungary because of his liberal views, he had become rabbi of Baltimore's Har Sinai Congregation in 1855, had undertaken to edit a German-language monthly magazine — Sinai — devoted to the radical Reform position, and had also developed a hatred of slavery.

Rabbi Samuel M. Isaacs, editor of New York's Jewish Messenger, was bitterly opposed to his Baltimore colleague. Though both men were strongly pro-Union, Isaacs espoused traditional Judaism, while Einhorn was dedicated to radical Reform. Isaacs, moreover, could never forgive Einhorn for the latter's refusal to cooperate in establishing the Board of Delegates of American Israelites in 1859. The Board had been founded, largely at Isaacs' behest, to effect a union of America's widely scattered Jewish communities, but Einhorn had regarded it as too conservative in character.

Isaacs denounced Einhorn as a "political rabbi" for discussing the issues of the day from the Baltimore pulpit. But Einhorn's interest in the abolition of slavery was not merely "political"; he saw it as a moral imperative and advocated it vigorously both in Sinai and from his pulpit. Pro-Southern Baltimore — through which, in April, 1861, the 6th Massachusetts Regiment had to fight its way en route to Washington — showed scant appreciation of Einhorn's views, and the rabbi finally had to flee the city in April. He was warmly welcomed in Philadelphia, where he was elected to the pulpit of Keneseth Israel Congregation.

Einhorn never again laid eyes on Baltimore, but the city's Reform Jews later saw a great deal of him — in the form of the Union Prayer Book, which, based in large part on Olath Tamid, ultimately became normative for Liberal Judaism in America.

The selections below from Einhorn's Sinai were translated by Dr. Abraham I. Shinedling.

A Vehicle for Political Invective

BALTIMORE. — Dr. Einhorn, the celebrated spiritual guide of the Har Sinai Verein [Congregation], whose protest against the Board of Delegates [of American Israelites] is, doubtless, still fresh in the memory of our readers, has quitted Baltimore on short notice. It seems that he has been mistaking his vocation, and making the pulpit the vehicle for political invective. The citizens of Baltimore, not regarding this as part of the Dr's duty, politely informed him that 12 hours' safe residence was about all that they could guarantee him, in *that* place. Accordingly, taking the hint, the political Rabbi left, and at last accounts, was in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. We wonder whether our Baltimore co-religionists grieve over his departure. At the same time, we commend his fate to others, who feel inclined to pursue a similar course. A Minister has enough to do, if he devotes himself to the welfare of his flock; he can afford to leave politics to others. Let Dr. E's fate be a warning.

[*The Jewish Messenger*, May 3, 1861]

THE DEPARTURE FROM BALTIMORE OF THE
EDITOR OF THESE PAGES

Although it is far from me [Einhorn] to presume to attract the attention of the public to my personal affairs, I believe that it is entirely in place to give utterance to a few explanatory words with reference to the above-mentioned event, inasmuch as the interest of my efforts requires that the state of affairs be shown in its true light and that the spiteful distortions of the hostile press be refuted.

Even at the beginning of the present political movement the feeling came over me that the air in Baltimore had become too sultry for the men who had come to America in order to be able to speak and write freely, and to escape from the violence of the knout. Truths which have any connection at all with the burning question of slavery lost their former inoffensiveness, and began to frighten people or even to be considered as crimes, whether expressed in writing or in words. Any reference to slavery itself in any sense

which did not coincide with the views of the Southerners was regarded altogether as an unheard of, bold action bordering on madness.

To my profound sorrow, I saw that even a portion of my congregation was gradually being infected by this fever, and to their credit it must be emphasized that their anxiety on this account concerned not only their own persons, but for the most part also that of the preacher or of the editor and the members of the congregation. In actuality, the worst was to be feared from the deadly enmity which certain persons in the above-mentioned city displayed towards me. For at that time, indeed, when the *New York Evening Post*, immediately after the appearance of Raphael's [New York Rabbi Morris J. Raphall's] shameless address ["The Bible View of Slavery," which strongly defended the anti-Abolitionist position], published, without my previous knowledge, an excerpt from the sermon which I had presented a short time previously in the *Sinai*, which sermon, without any allusion to our political events, pointedly emphasized that all men are created in the same Divine image, without any difference in their origin, some persons had recourse to goading several Jews into making a public declaration "that they do not belong to the congregation of this abolitionist preacher," an attempt which appears all the more shameful inasmuch as the above-mentioned New York newspaper is hardly read at all in Baltimore, and thus such a declaration could have been based not on fear, but solely on the malicious design of directing public attention to my antislavery opinions for the first time and to incite a mob against me!

However, instead of allowing myself to be intimidated by such malice, I committed the additional dreadful crime of demonstrating, in the February number of this monthly [*Sinai*], that Judaism is free from the stigma attached to it by the great rabbi [Raphall] of New York, to the joy of the Jewish slaveholders or slave overseers, when he, with true Jesuitical pathos, proclaimed the God of Israel as the God of slavery, and declared as out-and-out heresy the conviction [I hold] as to the unholiness of the Southern institution. I knew full well that this would rouse the rage of my personal enemies to the highest degree, and I was not in the least surprised to hear that the expression, "Only a street arab could write in this manner!" was

employed against a member of my congregation with reference to my reply in question.

But I could not, and dared not, remain silent at such a profanation of Judaism, no matter what the consequences might be, and therefore, as often as the opportunity to do so presented itself to me, I continued to point out, in the *Sinai* and from the pulpit, the ethical sublimity which the Mosaic principle verifies in this matter also, as well as the immorality of those "dyers in black" who wish to understand the art of "painting black" even the pure light of God. I was all the more obliged to do this by reason of the fact that even in my own congregation there were a few persons who spoke with enthusiasm about "Southern rights," who condemned the "black Republicans" to the lowest depths of hell and exalted the "dyers in black" to the skies.

That my procedure, without being in the slightest degree prejudicial to the truth, was nonetheless coupled with circumspection is proved, for every unprejudiced person, both by the method and the manner in which my above-referred-to criticism of the Raphael [Raphall] address defined the pending question of the day, as well as by the circumstance that I resolutely rejected the offer of a New York friend to have my criticism published in English in the *Tribune*, whereas its acceptance by the *Herald*, which then had a Southern coloring, would certainly have been greatly desirable to me. On the contrary, I openly declared to friends and to acquaintances that I had made up my mind, in case Maryland should secede from the Union, that no other choice was left to me other than to give up my position in Baltimore, inasmuch as even in Russia and in Austria free speech could sooner be tolerated than in a secessionist slave state.

This was the situation when, on April 19th, the revolution broke out in Baltimore, and the city was suddenly given over to a reign of terror under the control of a raging mob which at once proceeded to murder at will, to burn and lay waste, to destroy displeasing houses and presses, and to get rid of citizens who were suspect because of their love for the Union or even for their "black Republican" convictions. Immediately, I resolved to take my family and my possessions from there to Philadelphia four or five days later, whereas I myself, for the time being, should return to my post and

await the further course of events, indeed, not to leave the city at all if I should succeed in finding another safe escort for my wife and children.

Then, on the following day, two distinguished members of my congregation came to my house, their looks not being able to conceal their very deep anxiety, and they urged me to leave the city as hastily as I possibly could, since I was generally identified as the editor of a "black Republican" paper whose press had actually been destroyed that very same day, and I was therefore personally threatened. In reply to my answer: that I could not possibly leave my position in such a way, I was given the assurance that my congregation implored me to go away, for the time being, but that it would call me back at the proper time. Later, a soldier repeatedly had the same urgent warning sent to me, and on the 21st of April, in the evening, several friendly young men came to my house, armed, in order to protect me and my family as well as they could, during the night, against any possible attacks, since they had heard that my name was to be found on the list of proscribed persons. Under these circumstances, I believed that I owed it not only to my deeply distressed family, but also to *my congregation*, to yield to the insistence that I leave, especially since, on the ground of all that had happened up to that time, the sure conviction necessarily had to take possession of me that in the prevailing state of affairs at least a large portion of the members of the congregation would listen to my sermons only with trembling and anxiety over their own safety and mine.

Thus, on April 22nd, in the afternoon, together with my family, I undertook the journey to Philadelphia, whence, a few days after my arrival, I announced by letter to the president of Har Sinai Congregation my intention of returning to Baltimore as soon as I should be called back. Later, I learned quite well from public reports, as also from private letters of the president and of various other friends, that law and order again prevailed in Baltimore, but I wanted an *official* reply, in order to obtain the guarantee that my congregation also was again prepared to listen fearlessly to the pure teachings [of Judaism] as they were preached by their teacher. It was only the strong urge not to leave my congregation without a

sermon for the Feast of Weeks [*Shavuot*] which was approaching in the interim that induced me to suppress this desire and to make preparations for my return.

But *rabbot machashavot belev ish vaatzat adonai hi takum* ["There are many thoughts in the heart of a man, but the counsel of the Lord shall stand" — *Proverbs* 19:21]. I suffered from an indisposition, so that even with the best of intentions the trip could not be made. Then, on the day of preparation for the Feast of Weeks, I received the following letter in reply:

Baltimore, May 12, 1861.

Rev. Dr. Einhorn, Philadelphia.

Highly honored Doctor!

At the congregational meeting held this morning, which was called for the purpose of placing before the congregation your esteemed letter of the 30th of the preceding month, (because of the irregularity of the mails, it did not arrive until the 4th,) and to inform you of the result of its deliberations, we were instructed to notify you, in the name of the congregation: that for several weeks now and at the present moment peace and order prevail here, and that the congregation, as you will no doubt believe without any assurance to this effect, is most ardently looking forward to your return to the same degree as it regrets your absence.

To be sure, no one knows, these days when the sections [of the country] stand in hostile relations the one towards the other, and ready to fight, what changes can be brought about here, too, in a single day and by some unforeseen occurrence, and, although the congregation would like to very greatly, it nonetheless does not feel justified to speak of the future with certainty. At the same time, we have been commissioned by the congregation to represent to you most respectfully, Doctor, that it would be most desirable — for the sake of your own safety as well as out of consideration for that of your congregational members — for you to avoid from the pulpit, in the future, everything touching on the exciting questions of the day, and we beg you to please regard this observation as due only to our sad circumstances. In conclusion, we beg you, honored Doctor, to accept the assurances of our full and highest esteem.

(Here follow the signatures of the secretary and president of the congregation.)

P.S. — You will please inform us when we may expect you.

After the receipt of this letter, I could not doubt for a single moment what course I had to pursue. In accordance with the view of the congregation as expressed therein, I as the preacher in its midst had to choose between encroachment upon the truth and injury to the safety of its members. I dared not delay in choosing a third: the immediate renunciation of a lifetime position. On the 16th of May my resignation, to take effect at the end of the month, was sent off to Baltimore, although I did not as yet have the slightest inkling of the telegram which, arriving a few hours later, contained the news that simultaneously a valiant congregation had called me as its rabbi unanimously and most honorably.

Under the prevailing circumstances, I even had to give up all idea of addressing so much as a parting word to my congregation. It is painful to have to leave, under such circumstances, a position which I had occupied for almost six years, and in which, in addition to a great deal of hatred, I still was the recipient of a great deal of love. But I leave it with the pleasant consciousness that I have brought to an end, in a not unworthy manner, a significant period of effectiveness in my office which brought me hatred and love only as the result of honest battles for the welfare of my congregation and the honor of Israel, and which permitted me to sow many a seed that will ripen at some future time. And even among other congregations my efforts have gained a recognition which came to the fore in a most resplendent manner in just these most recent days.

No one will demand of me that I waste even one word on the foolishness of a childish, pious little sheet [Samuel M. Isaacs' *Jewish Messenger*] which, published in New York, was sent to me a few weeks ago by a well-disposed friend, and which contains expressions of loud rejoicing over the fact that the heretic who protested against the Board of Delegates [of American Israelites] has, because of his political sermons, received from the citizens in Baltimore his dismissal or a respite of a few hours, and is now wandering about in the neighborhood of Philadelphia — probably in the woods —. A sinner may have to tremble at a *kol aleh middaf*, the sound of a rustling leaf [*Leviticus* 26:36], but never at that of a venomous little sheet or of an ignorant little Chazan [Isaacs]! Only with reference to the statement "that the Jews of Baltimore will

rejoice over the expulsion of the heretic" let me make the observation that it really does not trouble me very much that some of them are rejoicing at getting rid of that man who denounced the Orthodox consecration of incestuous marriages, scourged the immorality of the Sabbath-violating *Yekum Purkan* heroes,* repulsed with crushing force unprovoked and villainous attacks made upon himself and his congregation, and countered stupid-arrogant purse-pride with deep contempt.

As to whether I, on the contrary, ever sought personal strife with anybody, as to whether or not I totally ignored many scandalous occurrences in the opponents' camp which other papers triumphantly seized upon, and as to whether I silently, in the interests of our mutual institutions, put up with many a personal insult — as to this, I can confidently let the better portion of the Jews of Baltimore judge — both those within and those outside of my congregation!

Philadelphia, May, 1861.

THE EDITOR

[*Sinai*, VI (June, 1861), 135-42]

POLITICS IN THE PULPIT

All the religions of our country hear the present political occurrences being discussed in one manner or another from the religious point of view. In the pulpit, as well as in the synods, the burning questions of the day have become almost unavoidable subjects for discussion.

In general, the Jewish pulpit, too, is no exception. Wherever there are religious teachers who deliver *their own* lectures and who at the same time are intent upon penetrating, by means of the living word, into the affairs of life, there resounds from the holy place the voice of instruction, the judgment of the divine teaching — as the

* [Editor's Note: Einhorn is apparently referring to Jews who, in his view, substituted liturgical meticulousness for genuine observance of Jewish tradition; *Yekum Purkan* refers to two prayers traditionally recited on Sabbath after the Torah reading.]

orator conceives it to be — over that which now fills the hearts of all persons.

The fourth of January [1861; proclaimed a National Fast Day by President James Buchanan,] brought us theological discussions on secession and slavery, enough to fill an entire library. To be sure, the world has not become wiser as a result thereof; for the Southern Bible proclaims things quite different from those which the Northern Bible does, and in the former the word had to concern “the black Republicans,” and in the latter, the slaveholders and the Southern trade. It is even said that on the above-mentioned day of penance and prayer it happened, in most comical wise, that in the same place, in the one house of worship, there were taken as the text of the sermon the words of the prophet Jeremiah (1:14): “Out of the north the evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land”; while in the other house of worship the reference was to *Ezekiel* 21: “Son of man, set thy face toward the South . . . and say to the forest of the South: hear the word of the Lord . . . I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree in thee, and every dry tree; it shall not be quenched, even a flaming flame; and all faces from the south to the north shall be seared thereby!”

The fact is, however, that that community awaited the discussion of the problems of the day in the house of devotion with or without fear, and that for the most part the results corresponded to this expectation — whether it was to their satisfaction or to their ill-humor. Every person already felt instinctively that religion also had to speak at least a little word when the most significant questions of humanity and of society were being discussed, and that a house of worship in which everything else is discussed except that which holds the minds and the hearts of people in constant excitement and weighs so many millions of persons down like a nightmare is not fulfilling its purpose at all, and that instead of yielding the edification which is doubly necessary in such a difficult and fearful time, it can only fill the languishing hearts with vexation and desolation.

Nonetheless, there is sometimes heard the categorical assertion: the pulpit has nothing at all to do with politics! Indeed, the men of the pseudopeace even go so far as to claim that the house of God as the place of peace is only desecrated and violated by sermons

which are not completely indifferent to the political movement; that the place for devotion ought to bring peace and alleviation, and not new excitement and incitation! That many clergymen say "Amen!" to these phrases in order to justify their diplomatic reticence and to keep the various political parties in the congregation at peace with one another will not be of any greater surprise to those who are more experienced and who are more familiar with American morality than will the circumstance that "the holy conviction" of these pious gentlemen can, as a rule, be determined with mathematical exactness as soon as the geographical location of their place of residence is known, or that of the places in which the customers of *their* customers are to be found. However, it perhaps still remains to be discussed whether those phrases are valid, or whether they do not amount to more than vapour and mist, and we are not afraid to say right out that they have their roots exclusively in that mendacity which has, unfortunately, seized upon the whole religious life. We admit that certain political matters are totally outside of the realm of religion, but whoever makes a similar claim with reference to the questions which at the present time are keeping our entire country — indeed, the entire civilized world — in a state of tension has either never understood the nature of religion, or wishes to debase it to the humiliating position of being the mute slave of his selfishness and of his partisan passions.

We do not feel competent to discuss the views of Christianity on this subject. But Judaism has never adopted, and never will adopt, an attitude of indifference on the question as to whether human slavery is to gain further ground, or whether the glorious institutions of our country, which had their origin in its inmost essence and nature and have already brought immeasurable blessing to mankind, are, or are not, to be laid in ruins by ambitious and perjured Rebels. Is not the slavery question, above all things, a purely religious one? Can a religion which contains regulations with regard to one's treatment of an overloaded animal pass by, cold-bloodedly and unfeelingly, a human being who has been mercilessly enslaved? It can, at least, be understood how the deification of the letter [of the biblical text], in complete misunderstanding of the spirit of the Mosaic teaching, can permit slavery in its name or can

even declare it to be holy; but to impute to it total apathy towards an institution which is so fateful for millions of reasonable beings could be called madness, if the imputation did not betray so much artfulness and pastoral cleverness.

Throughout the entire year, humanity, clemency, benevolence, and mercy are lauded as the essence of Judaism. These are very cheap declamations! But whether or not a human being has the right to buy and to sell another human being, like an animal, and to tear parents and children away from each other for all time — about this, God forbid! — not a single word is to be uttered, because it might shock the nervous system of the audience. Right there, ardent, pious zeal suddenly fades away — apparently because of fear of unholy politics, but actually because of *politics*.

That a conscientious Jewish clergyman has, furthermore, to regard it as one of his most sacred duties to encourage his coreligionists, especially in this country, to self-sacrificing patriotism and to the summoning up of all their forces for the defense of our Constitution is likewise so clear a matter that objection can be raised to it only on the ground of nervousness. We do not talk so big as to call the immortal Washington the Messiah of the world; for in the kingdom of the Messiah there must be no slaves and no clergymen and no perjured scoundrels. But whoever has a heart for the welfare of mankind will joyfully admit that the great work which he and his coworkers performed forms the most sublime moment in the evolution of more recent world history, and bears within itself an international salvation which must become the most powerful lever of the kingdom of the Messiah, if it is permitted its undisturbed development.

It would be petty selfishness to think only of the innumerable blessings which the Stars and Stripes have brought to our coreligionists, while it has become the shining banner of redemption for the enslaved of all nations. The stars have suffered only one single black spot to remain on themselves, in order, as it were, not to dazzle with their brightness. But this spot has now grown into a threatening, storm-laden cloud. Light and darkness, Ormuzd and Ahriman, George Washington and Jefferson Davis, are at war the one against the other. Scorning the entire civilized world, the

rebellious South wants to overturn the principle of the innate equality of all beings created in the image of God, in favor of the opposing principle of innate servitude, and *to see slavery and the law of might recognized as a force in the formation of states, as the basis of civilization*. It wishes to tear the glorious Stars and Stripes to pieces, to trample it into the mire, and to set up in its place the bloody corpse of international freedom as an ornament.

If this diabolical undertaking should succeed, who would have more to fear than Israel, the very ancient slave of slaves? And should the religion of Israel, whose world-redeeming and happiness-bringing powers used to be boasted of so much in peaceful times, not have a word of indignation to say against such an outrage? Should it have no word of encouragement to utter on behalf of the highest possessions of mankind, and to struggle against the kingdom of lies and of malice? In all our catechisms there may be read that the Jew owes love to his country — even when it treats him in a stepfatherly manner. And when a country such as America, which has heaped upon him and upon the world material and spiritual benefits, is threatened with disruption and annihilation by the most abominable rebellion of which history knows, then the smart brokers, who otherwise are such grandiloquent spokesmen, conceal themselves under cover of a clever silence out of regard for their dear customers, and, in addition, demand for the [illicit] amour of Zimri the reward of the priestly Phinehas [*Numbers* 25:6-14], and they praise the pastoral carefulness which excludes politics from the pulpit!

The Prophets, on the platforms from which they spoke, knew how not to make such a sharp distinction between religion and politics. They had less wit, but more conscience, less fear for the delicacy of the nerves of unwilling hearers, but for this reason all the more reverence for God, all the more love for the flock that had been committed to their care, all the more enthusiasm for the mission of Israel. Jeremiah admonished the exiles of Babylon to further, with all their might, the welfare of the city to which they had been banished, and to perceive their own prosperity in the weal of their new home, even if it was to be only a temporary home [*Jeremiah* 29:5-7]. Samuel, in the name of God, delivered a political speech against the monarchical constitution [*I Samuel* 8:10-18],

even though many a "Parnes" [religious leader] and many a "Nasi" [Prince], as secret pretenders to the throne, as well as the considerable number of future court tailors, court bakers, and court jewelers, and the like, must have cast angry glances at him. Isaiah was not afraid of hurling into the very teeth of the Jewish slaveholders a sermon which still today resounds, with the force of thunder, throughout the chambers of our houses of worship on the holiest of days [*Isaiah* 58:6-7, read on the Day of Atonement].

It is really time to confiscate the Bible, with its carrying-on of politics, until everything is again "settled." Then we shall again be able to speak out freely from the heart, to fight bravely against the renewal of the [anti-Jewish] Swiss Treaty [of 1850 between the United States and Switzerland] for the honor of Israel and of Judaism, ably to read the text to the apologists for slavery on the subject of their un-Jewish doings, and solemnly to adjure our coreligionists, in our speeches and in our papers, to defend the Union with their possessions and with their blood, *if trouble should ever start up again!* Amen. Selah.

[*Sinai*, VI (July, 1861), 169-73]

ON THE SIDE OF FREEDOM

Like David Einhorn, Bernhard Felsenthal was German-born and Abolitionist in sympathy. Felsenthal, however, was unwilling to condemn Jewish Secessionists in the harsh terms employed by Einhorn, who permitted himself the observation that "any Jew who lifts his hand against the Union, is as a Jew to be considered equal to a parricide."

Felsenthal came to America in 1854, and served as a rabbi in Madison, Indiana. In 1858, he became the guiding spirit of Chicago's Jüdischer Reformverein, which subsequently developed into the Sinai Congregation. Six years later, he was elected to the pulpit of West Chicago's Reform-minded Zion Congregation, where he remained until his retirement in 1887. A scholarly and eloquent writer — and well-versed in current affairs, as the selection below indicates — Felsenthal was, in later years,

something of a maverick in the contemporary American Reform rabbiniate due to his outspoken advocacy of Zionism.

The Illinois Staatszeitung, in which Felsenthal originally published the article reprinted below from Einhorn's Sinai, had been founded by the "Forty-eighters," men who had participated in the ill-fated German revolution of 1848 and had then fled to America; it was, according to Carl Wittke, "a powerful organ of Republican party politics." The New-Yorker Staatszeitung, on the other hand, supported the Democrats in 1861. Neither paper was Jewish-owned or Jewish-sponsored, which perhaps explains, to some extent, Felsenthal's relative mildness in his article for the Illinois Staatszeitung.

Dr. Abraham I. Shinedling translated the article from the original German.

THE JEWS AND SLAVERY

(Under this heading the *Illinois Staatszeitung* of June 6th [1862] prints a very fine article, which we believe we ought not to withhold from our readers, especially since in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, too, a correspondent in New Orleans represents the Jews altogether as "fire-eaters." The Editor [David Einhorn].)

The Israelites who reside in New Orleans are, man for man, with only a few exceptions, strong for secession, and many of them are 'real fire-eaters.' . . . The reason why these people are so greatly interested in secession has always remained a riddle for me.

(By a New Orleans correspondent, as communicated in the *Illinois Staatszeitung* of June 5th.)

That the Israelites in New Orleans, as well as in the entire South, are in great measure Secessionists is certainly a fact, which at first sight appears surprising. How is it possible, one asks in astonishment, for adherents of a race which has been oppressed, persecuted, and enslaved for centuries as few others have been, to show themselves, here in America, where they have been granted complete freedom, as the defenders of the most disgraceful institution on earth — slavery — and as the enemies of endeavors looking to freedom. People who every morning and every night thank God



THE PATHEFRANCO AMERICAN CO. NEW YORK.

THE LEXINGTON OF 1861.

The rioters: Led by a "Cotton-merchant" and through the streets of Baltimore, on their march to the Arsenal, at Dr. Kennel's Capital, April 19, 1861. March for the Governor.

Courtesy, The Library of Congress

From a print by Currier & Ives

REVOLUTION IN BALTIMORE.

that their forefathers were freed from Egyptian bondage; whose brothers and relatives in quite a large number of German and non-German states of the Old World even today still have to petition and agitate for their own emancipation, display themselves here as fanatical apologists for Negro slavery! People who themselves have had the experience that on the European continent the following arguments were advanced by the feudal lords and by the clergy against the emancipation of the Jews: that they belonged to a different race; that, if they were emancipated, they would take the bread away from Christians; that they have been condemned to the status of eternal slavery as the result of a divine dispensation; that they would come in from all over and inundate that state which should declare them to be citizens with equal rights, etc. — such people are narrow-minded and low enough to advance the selfsame arguments against the emancipation of the Negroes! If any one should, the Jew above all other persons should cherish the most ardent and irreconcilable hatred against “the peculiar institution of the South,” and he should adopt as his watchword the sentence: *fiat justitia, pereat mundus!* (Let justice be done, even though the world perish!)

If the situation is looked into more closely, however, it will soon be ascertained that the alleged predilection of the Jews for Negro slavery is by no means so general as it frequently appears to be believed. Hundreds of Jews living in the Southern states left their homes which they had established there, some of them voluntarily, and others under compulsion, either upon the outbreak of the rebellion or during its course, because they did not want to swim along with the rushing current. Hundreds of Jews who still live in the South today are enduring another kind of martyrdom, one that is no less severe, the martyrdom of silence, and in their hearts they are impatiently longing for the time to come when the wretched rebellion of the aristocrats of the South will be totally crushed. Hundreds of the Jews living in the North are openly, and with their hearts and souls, devoted to the antislavery movement, and, together with the courageous William Lloyd Garrison, who is living for a lofty idea, they are making use of the word of their prophet, since they characterize “the Union as it was, and the

Constitution as it is" as "a covenant with death and an agreement with the nether-world" [*Isaiah* 28:15], and they are striving, both by word and by deed, to make the Declaration of Independence a reality in all parts of the country.

Indeed, even in the border states it is the Jews who are playing a prominent role in the efforts in favor of emancipation. We name a few of them by way of example: Mr. [Charles L.] Bernays, of St. Louis, who up to about a year ago was the editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* [Western Advertiser]; M[yer] Friede and I[sidor] Busch, of the same city, Republican members of the Missouri Legislature and the State Convention; L[ewis N.] Dembitz, of Louisville, who was a delegate to the Chicago Convention which nominated President Lincoln, etc.

Nonetheless, the fact still remains that many Jews also sympathize with slavery and with the Southern rebellion. What are the causes thereof? We shall not take into consideration the fact that many Jews who have come to this country from Europe belong to that large class of people who are incapable of thinking and are too lazy to think; who have in common with the Bourbons that they have learned nothing and have forgotten nothing. Such persons are, even involuntarily, carried away by the stream in whose midst they just then find themselves; and, as is well-known, there is a force against which even the gods fight in vain. Others are unable to raise themselves to a higher moral standpoint and way of thinking, and they believe that the material welfare of the country and of their own beloved egos will be endangered if this "damned agitation of the slave question" continues. These are the ones who are the fanatics of peacefulness, and in their eyes there is no word more disgraceful than agitator and abolitionist. It was, without doubt, noble persons of this kind who once, in the 1840's, appeared before the then provincial diet in Posen [Prussian Poland] and the ministry in Berlin with an enormous quantity of petitions against their own emancipation, at a time when agitation was being carried on there for the granting to Jews of equality with Christians.

Unfortunately, we cannot refrain from citing another reason which has played a part in there being so many Jews in the camp of the enemy. The Germans in America, be it said to their everlasting

honor, most preponderantly are open enemies of slavery. Between one portion of the German Jews and the rest of the Germans there now exists a certain antipathy, and because all the other Germans are against slavery, many Jewish Germans are, for that reason, for the South and for slavery. Although it should be joyfully acknowledged that for the past eighty years many of the noblest and the most celebrated Germans, born Christians, have had the courage openly to champion the cause of the rights of the Jews (We may mention, of the earlier period, [the dramatist, Gotthold Ephraim] Lessing and [the historian, Christian Wilhelm] von Dohm, and of the later period, [the scientist and diplomat, Alexander von] Humboldt and [the historian, Jakob Phillipp] Fallmerayer), the German people, which boasts of its humanism and idealism, has nonetheless, until this very day, not yet entirely allowed itself to be won over to the idea of being just to the Jews, and in most of the German states today the Jews still occupy a repressed and lower position both politically and socially, and they must be active in the effort to secure their rights.

Not only in 1815 to 1819 did the Christian-German-romantic spirit manifest itself in savage anti-Jewish agitations and in brutal massacres of innocent old men whose sons had sacrificed their lives by the hundreds shortly before that in the wars for the independence of the "German Fatherland" which despised them, and against the "foreign Frenchmen" who treated the Jew as a citizen possessed of equal rights; but also, almost up to the present, many spokesmen of the so-called liberal party, in the press and in the legislatures, were unable to rise above their inexplicable German hatred of the Jews. While round about, in France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Sardinia, the Jews were being emancipated, the *liberal* Heidelberg Professor [Heinrich E. G.] Paulus was writing violently against the emancipation of the Jews, *liberal* deputies to the Diet were speaking and voting against the emancipation of the Jews in Munich together with the Jesuit [Johann Joseph Ignaz von] Döllinger and with Lassaulx [Ernst von Lasaulx], in Karlsruhe with Aulic Councillor [Franz Joseph von] Buss and with Baron [Heinrich Bernhard] von Andlaw, and in Prussia with [the baptized Jew, Friedrich Julius] Stahl and [Hermann] Wagener. We do not at all want to

offend the manes of a [Karl Wenzeslaus von] Rotteck and of a [Johann Adam von] Itzstein,* for we honor them rather as men who performed great services in the cause of freedom in Germany; but in matters concerning the Jews they were under the domination of a hereditary prejudice in which they were brought up. It is unaccountable, but it is a fact. Under such circumstances, is it not at least excusable if among a few Jews, too, no such nobility of sentiment has developed of a kind which can rise above mean insults and which can render impossible the appearance of an antipathy against the Christian German?

We heard some time ago, from a Jew who had immigrated from Schleswig [on the Danish-Prussian border], that in his homeland almost all the Jews belong to the Danish party. And why should anyone wonder about this? Long ago [actually only in 1849], Denmark granted its Jewish sons complete freedom, whereas today the petty German landowners in Schleswig and Holstein and the Lutheran pastors and magistrates there still treat the Jews among them as pariahs. So let him who wishes to, be enthusiastic for a German Schleswig! See to it that the feudal tuft there is just as thoroughly cut off as it is in Denmark, and the Jews will then be as good Germans as you are. You want Alsace to become a German province again. However, not only the Jews there, but also 99,000 of the Christians there, are opposed to it. Should the former, who have already been "French" for seventy years, long to return to the beloved German conditions under which they are, at the most, "tolerated"? First see to justice and full liberty in your own country, and then you may speak of a reacquisition of Alsace.

But we have digressed from our subject, and shall revert to it for a few more words. A few Jewish voices, also, have allowed themselves to be heard publicly in favor of slavery, and they, too, have perhaps contributed to the poisoning of the views of many

* [Editor's Note: Paulus was a theologian; Döllinger, a Catholic theologian and historian; Lasaulx, an archaeologist and philosopher; Buss, a Catholic social scientist; Andlaw, a Catholic leader; Stahl, a lawyer, philosopher, and politician; Wagener, a leader of the Prussian Conservatives; Rotteck, a historian and liberal politician; and Itzstein, a liberal politician. All these men were active in nineteenth-century German public life.]

Jews. A year ago, indeed, the newspapers of Richmond, Charleston, New Orleans, and other cities were able to publish articles with the heading: "The Jews are for us," and they referred not merely to [Judah P.] Benjamin and [David Levy] Yulee, but also to several Northern pro-slavery ministers. Such persons always manage to secure a following, and it remains difficult for a blinded person who looks up to such people as to great luminaries to open his eyes, for he is generally too stupid to comprehend the reasons for the contempt which others display towards them.

In conclusion, may there also be confirmed the fact that, despite stupidity and the shopkeepers' mentality, and in spite of the efforts of a few demagogues, the great majority of American Jewry will fully understand the significance of the present mighty war, and of the still more gigantic battle of ideas, and that they will be found on the side of freedom.

B. F. [BERNHARD FELSENTHAL]

[*Sinai*, VII (July, 1862), 158-63]

THE MAKING OF AN ABOLITIONIST

The selection published below should perhaps, more properly, be included in the annals of Southern — not Northern — Jewry. Julius Henry was born in Prussian Poland in 1839, came to America in 1854, and died at Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1912. He spent most of his American years in the South. Unable to make a living in New York, he went South in 1858 and set out for California, but got no further than El Paso, Texas. He and his traveling companions were ambushed by Indians near El Paso, and Henry abandoned the trip. He made his way to Corpus Christi, where he became a successful businessman and where, in 1897, he was appointed postmaster.

Forced into the Confederate Army, Henry extricated himself as soon as he could and fled with the Federal forces to New Orleans. For a time he served the Union as a baker.

"My entire sentiment," he wrote, "was with the Union." How that happened — most immigrants, after all, were anxious to prove their

loyalty to the section in which they lived, and Henry was very exceptional in this respect — is told here in Henry's own words. His autobiography was composed about 1911. The American Jewish Archives obtained a photostat of the original document through the courtesy of Rabbi Sidney A. Wolf, of Temple Beth El, Corpus Christi, Texas.

[In Goliad, Texas, early in 1859] I bought a suit of clothing which I sadly needed and tramped my way toward Corpus Christi, while my companions scattered in different directions. Arriving four miles from Corpus Christi, I was offered work from J. D. at \$4.00 per month on the farm. This I was compelled to accept from financial necessity. At \$4.00 per month working in the broiling sun in the month of July, living on mush, and sleeping on a pile of cotton.

On the third Sunday I drew fifty cents of my salary and walked to Corpus Christi, and on my way there I became weary and sat down to rest and get a drink of water from a little Negro dressed in a corn sack. The little darkie said, "Massa, wait a minnit! I will get you fresh water from the well." He ran down the hollow and brought up fresh water and with the greatness [greatest] politeness handed it to me. This so gratified me that I gave the little fellow a picayune [about six cents] and I remained resting awhile in the shade of a brush fence. Never having formed any political opinion and still being under age — an alien who could become a citizen when of age by virtue of having come to the United States under sixteen years of age — yet there and then I was made a Republican and more so an Abolitionist from the following while sitting there.

A female about 20 years of age came out and charged me with being a black Abolitionist — travelling through the country giving money to Negroes and enticing them away from their owners. I endeavored to explain that nothing was further from my thoughts, that nothing of the kind was intended, but I could not get in a word edgeways. She finally told me if I did not leave at once she would call the men folks with the blood-hounds and run me off. This was not necessary, for I was surely glad to get away from that hyena who made me an Abolitionist [, with] which party I soon affiliated and labored to successful conclusion.

HUNGER ON THE HOME FRONT

The suffering and deprivation which the Civil War meant so frequently to those who were caught up in it was by no means limited to the armies fighting in the field. On the home front, too, hunger, want, and disease were all too familiar. The letter reprinted below, with its urgent appeal in behalf of the poverty-stricken families of Jewish soldiers, reflects the melancholy conditions that prevailed in the Federal capital.

Washington at the onset of the war harbored one of the smallest and poorest Jewish communities in the country, and as early as June, 1861, Washington Jewry found itself unable to meet the pressing welfare needs which confronted its limited resources. The situation was to worsen before it improved, for as the weary war years dragged on, the numbers of the needy — not only among the civilian population, but also among the wounded soldiers confined to hospitals in the city — constantly multiplied. The Jews of Washington had no choice but to appeal to their more fortunate brethren elsewhere.

ASSIST THE FAMILIES OF OUR SOLDIERS!

Editors of the "Jewish Messenger."

When the first alarm was sounded in this city, there were a number of our co-religionists belonging to the organized military companies, who immediately responded to the call, and were sworn in for the war. Most of them are mechanics [artisans], and were earning for themselves and families a comfortable living. They felt a patriotic pride, *as Jews*, to sustain the Government they had sworn allegiance to, and in their enthusiasm did not weigh the chances, as possibly they should have done, of how, and by what means their families were to be supported during their enlistment. The danger to our city was too imminent to be weighed in a scale with mere dollars and cents for the balance, and hence, with pride be it said, *they* at least were not influenced by any sordid motive. Unlike you in New York, we have no fund to support the families of poor soldiers, and the unhappy consequence is, the wives and the children

of these poor men are in *abject want*. The very few here, who are disposed to give, have done all that lies in their power, but the limited relief afforded has done but little to alleviate their sufferings.

The men, like true soldiers, say they willingly undergo every and any deprivation, but they feel it hard, indeed, as only our people *can* feel, to see those they love, and who have a right to look to them for their support, suffer for the *necessaries of life*. Those who have small families will be able to eke out a scanty living, as soon as the Government pay them their pittance, but a majority of them have large families, who are in want, and must *continue* to want, unless the large-souled liberality of your people come forward to relieve them. And that they *will* come forward, my past experience assures me.

They cannot well give to a better cause, and they may rest assured, every dollar will be frugally and well expended.

The Editors of the *Messenger* have kindly consented to forward donations, and acknowledge the same in their paper, and will guarantee a faithful disposition of the monies so forwarded.

Let the response to this reluctant appeal be immediate, and worthy of the proverbial liberality of the great City of New York.

SEMI-OCCASIONAL

Washington, D. C., June 23rd, 1861.

[*The Jewish Messenger*, June 28, 1861]

A FREE-WILL OFFERING TO THE SANITARY FUND

Thousands of civilian relief societies sprang up to cope with the suffering caused by the long and brutal conflict. In an effort to organize and co-ordinate the work of war relief on a national scale, the Government established the United States Sanitary Commission in June, 1861, under the presidency of Henry Whitney Bellows, a distinguished Unitarian clergyman. Supported mainly by private contributions, the Sanitary Commission was a precursor of the American Red Cross.

Many Jews took an active interest in the Sanitary Commission —

notably the banker, diplomat, and art patron August Belmont, of New York, and the merchant Nathan Grossmayer, of Washington, D. C. Joseph Lask, of the California mining town of Marysville, could not match Belmont or Grossmayer in wealth or fame, but if we are to judge by the letter found below, he was their equal in devotion to the Union and in sympathy with the goals of the Sanitary Commission.

Lask was not the only Jew in far-off Marysville. Israel Joseph Benjamin — Benjamin II, who left an account of California Jewry in his *Three Years in America* — found a congregation with a hundred members there in the early 1860's.

Marysville.

June 23rd, 1864.

To Dr. Bellows, President of the U. S. S[anitary]. Commission. —

Dear Sir:

Long before my disenfranchisement from the despotism of Europe, an incident occurred, which greatly increased my love of freedom, and admiration for the democratic institutions of America; and which determined me to renounce my allegiance to my native land, and seek the untrammelled liberty of the United States.

I saw for the first time a piece of coin with the words *United States of America*, imposed on the one side; and on the other, *Liberty, 1798*. I resolved to procure it, and keep it as a sacred memento of my first impression of the liberty it proclaimed. Believing now that it will be an appropriate gift to the noble benevolence of which you are president, I give it to you as a free-will [offer?]ing for the benefit of the Sanitary Fund. Its intrinsic value is only a dollar, but I trust, as it is a representation of the glorious days of '98, it may be worth far more than this to the Sanitary Fund.

Very respectfully,

Your ob[edien]t servant,

JOSEPH LASK

[*The Hebrew* (San Francisco), July 8, 1864]

CLOTHING FOR THE ARMY OF THE UNION

Unsympathetic though he was to the war, Isaac Mayer Wise did not allow his sentiments to interfere with The Israelite's advertising policy. When Cincinnati clothing manufacturers — most of whom were Jews, many of them members of Wise's own congregation — wished to advertise military apparel in The Israelite, Wise made no objection.

Jewish garment manufacturers were new neither to Cincinnati nor to the rest of the country. Jews manufactured clothing in the United States as early as the 1840's. Charles Cist, in his Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1851, p. 184, noted that the garment industry was "a very extensive business here, which is principally engrossed by the Israelites . . ." Cincinnati, he added, was "the great mart for ready-made clothing, for the whole South and West." The outbreak of hostilities closed the Southern market and precipitated a depression, but Government contracts soon made the industry more lucrative than it had ever been before.

According to Cincinnati, Past and Present (Cincinnati: M. Joblin and Co., 1872), p. 404, the firm of Mack, Stadler, and Glazer was originally three firms: Mack Brothers, Stadler Brothers and Co., and Glazer and Brothers. In 1861, Governor William Dennison of Ohio gave Henry Mack the first contract for army clothing. Shortly thereafter, the firm of Mack, Stadler, and Glazer was established to execute the Government contract, independently of the constituent firms' regular business, and it soon became one of the leading contractors in the country. Appointed to the Military Committee of Hamilton County, Henry Mack served through most of the war as the Committee's chairman and, in 1864, was commissioned a colonel by Governor John Brough.

CLOTHING FROM ONE ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE ARMY OF THE UNION

The Cincinnati Times of Dec. 6 says: The following is an exhibit of the amount of clothing manufactured by Messrs Mack, Stadler & Glazer, since August 1:

	Pieces.
Infantry Pants,	64,624
Cavalry Pants,	4,254
Infantry Overcoats,	31,276
Cavalry Overcoats,	4,254
Infantry Jackets,	33,351
Cavalry Jackets,	4,234
Blouses lined,	37,055
Blouses unlined,	12,500
	<hr/>
Total	191,548

Showing a result of one hundred and ninety one thousand five hundred and forty eight pieces. All articles bear the brand of the establishment.

[*The Israelite*, December 13, 1861]

“JEWS” IN STRANGE PLACES

War and rumor always march together. During the Civil War, there were all sorts of statements attributing Jewish identity or Jewish origin to highly placed individuals, both in the North and in the South. Sometimes such legends were perpetrated by non-Jews; sometimes they were perpetrated by Jews. Isaac Mayer Wise usually ridiculed these fantasies — although on occasion even he could add a brick to the structure of mythology. Eulogizing the murdered President, Wise declared:

Brethren, the lamented Abraham Lincoln believed himself to be bone from our bone and flesh from our flesh. He supposed himself to be a descendant of Hebrew parentage. He said so in my presence. And, indeed, he preserved numerous features of the Hebrew race, both in countenance and character.

For all of which there is not a shred of evidence.

The New York “Only Paper” which Wise excoriates in the selection below was probably either The Jewish Messenger or The Jewish Record.

One fool asserts in a London daily paper, Jefferson Davis, General [Pierre G. T. de] Beauregard and other prominent Southerners are Jews; while another fool, in the New York "Only Paper," makes Jews of [Union] generals Siegel [Franz Sigel] and Rosencrans [William S. Rosecrans]. It is wonderful whence these fools take all those lies.

[*The Israelite*, August 2, 1861]

CHAPLAINS FOR JEWS

In July, 1861, the Congress of the United States passed a bill requiring military chaplains to be "regularly ordained minister[s] of some Christian denomination." Ohio Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham, later a prominent Copperhead leader, denounced the bill as "without constitutional warrant," and his fellow Ohioan, Isaac Mayer Wise, stigmatized it as an "unjust violation of our constitutional rights." A storm of controversy soon arose — inevitably so in view of the thousands of Jews who were Union soldiers and to whom the law denied, as one of the selections found below says, "the privilege of the ministrations of spiritual advisers of their faith."

A number of Christian groups applauded the Congress for restricting the chaplaincy to Christians; The Presbyter, published in Cincinnati, was not alone in classing rabbis with "Mormon debauchees, Chinese priests, and Indian conjurors." Yet, other Christians — among them, the editors of the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch and the Baltimore Clipper — agreed with a letter which appeared in the Sunday Dispatch: "Our law-makers appear to have forgotten that there are Americans in existence, who, though not Christians, are their peers in all respects, and endowed with equal privileges and immunities."

The enormous amount of space devoted to the chaplaincy controversy in the contemporary Jewish press bespoke the excitement which it aroused among American Jews and the importance which they attached to it.

For them, it rapidly became a cause célèbre. Though lacking the support of many Jews, notably the leaders of the Reform movement, the major spokesman for the Jewish point of view in the affair was the Board of Delegates of American Israelites. The Board not only petitioned the Government in vigorous, though moderate, terms, but also sent Dutch-born Arnold Fischel, the lecturer at New York's Shearith Israel Synagogue, to the Federal capital as a lobbyist for amendment of the discriminatory bill.

In December, 1861, President Lincoln informed Fischel that he would "try to have a new law broad enough to cover what is desired by you in behalf of the Israelites." Lincoln was as good as his word, and in July, 1862, after months of anxious negotiation, the bill was finally amended to exclude the discriminatory clause.

Unexcelled in Loyalty

... a[n] ... unpleasant duty has devolved upon the [executive] committee [of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites], to remonstrate against a domestic violation of rights guaranteed by the Constitution to Americans professing Judaism, in common with their fellow-citizens of other religious denominations. In October last [1861] the attention of the committee was called to an official letter from the Hon. Simon Cameron, then Secretary of War, in which he denied the application of a regularly ordained minister of the Jewish faith to be commissioned as chaplain in the volunteer forces of the United States, alleging as impediments provisions in Acts of Congress, approved July 22d and August 3d, 1861. An examination of the Acts of Congress referred to satisfied the committee that great injustice had been done American citizens professing the Jewish faith by this action, totally at variance with the principles of the Constitution. While persuaded that this discrimination had been inadvertently made in the hurry of legislation, they felt it a duty incumbent upon them to protest against so inequitable a violation of the right of religious liberty. Accordingly, they caused the following memorial to be drafted and presented to the Senate by the Hon. Ira Harris [New York Republican], and to the House

of Representatives by the Hon. F[rederick]. A. Conkling [New York Republican]:

To the Honorable, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America.

The subscribers, your memorialists, respectfully show: That they are the President and Secretary of the "Board of Delegates of American Israelites," and that they are duly empowered to submit to your honorable body the facts therein set forth, and to crave at your hands that attention to the subject which its importance to American citizens professing the Jewish religion demands.

Your memorialists respectfully show that by the 9th Section of the Act of Congress, approved July 22d, 1861, is provided that "the chaplain appointed by the vote of the field officers and company commanders must be a regular ordained minister of some Christian denomination," and that, as appears by the following letter from the War Department, to which your memorialists beg to refer, the said Sections have been interpreted to exclude from the office of chaplain in the service of the United States "regular ordained ministers" of the *Jewish* faith:

War Department, October 23d, 1861.

Rev. A. Fischel, Rabbi, Jewish Synagogue [Shearith Israel], New York.

Sir: — Your communication of the 17th inst. has been received.

In reply, you are respectfully informed that by the 9th Section of the Act of Congress, approved July 22d, 1861, it is provided that the chaplain appointed "by the vote of the field officers and company commanders must be a regular ordained minister of some Christian denomination." A like provision also is made in the 7th Section of the Act of Congress, approved August 3, 1861. Were it not for the impediments thus directly created by the provisions of these two Acts, the Department would have taken your application into its favorable consideration.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON, *Secretary of War.*

Your memorialists respectfully submit that the body of citizens of the United States, whom your memorialists represent, numbering not less than two hundred thousand, are unexcelled by any other class of citizens in loyalty and devotion to the Union; that thousands of them have volunteered into the army of the United States, and are, by the provisions of the Acts hereinbefore mentioned, excluded from the advantages of spiritual advice and consolation, provided by Congress for their fellow-citizens professing Christianity.

That the said Acts are oppressive, inasmuch as they establish a prejudicial discrimination against a particular class of citizens, on account of their religious belief; and farther,

That the said Acts, inasmuch as they establish "a religious test as a qualification for an office under the United States," are manifestly in contravention of Section 3, Article VI., of the Constitution, and Article I. of Amendments thereto.

Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully pray that your honorable body will take this, their memorial, into favorable consideration, and that you will, in your wisdom, cause the Acts of Congress, approved July 22d and August 3d, 1861, respectively, to be formally amended, so that there shall be no discrimination as against professors of the Jewish faith, in the several laws affecting the appointment of chaplains in the service of the United States.

And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

HENRY I. HART, *President.*

MYER S. ISAACS, *Secretary.*

New York, December 6th, 1861, Tebeth 3d, 5622.

At the same time the committee addressed the President of the United States, urging the appointment of a Jewish chaplain to each of the grand Military Departments; the Executive, while informing them of his inability to provide in that way for the spiritual wants of Israelites in the camps and hospitals, declared his intention "to recommend to Congress to modify the laws to which the Israelites objected." That this course was not without effect is evidenced by

the prompt action of the Senate Military Committee, by whom a bill was forthwith reported, securing to Jewish soldiers the rights they had been denied.

The bill, providing for the amendment of the Acts in question, has been adopted by Congress, and is now the law of the land. The following Section particularly affects the subject to which the attention of the committee had been directed:

§ 11. *And be it farther enacted*, That so much of Section 9 of the aforesaid Act, approved July 22, 1861, and of Section 7 of the "Act providing for the better organization of the military establishment," approved August 3, 1861, as defines the qualifications of chaplains in the army and volunteers, shall hereafter be construed to read as follows: That no person shall be appointed a chaplain in the United States army who is not a regularly ordained minister of some religious denomination, and who does not present testimonials of his present good standing as such minister, with a recommendation for his appointment as an army chaplain from some authorized ecclesiastical body, or not less than five accredited ministers belonging to said religious denomination.

[*The Occident*, XX (1862), 212-15]

Board of Delegates of American Israelites.

New York, Tishri 12th, 5623.

October 6th, 1862.

Abraham Lincoln,

President of the United States.

Sir,

May we not once again call your Excellency's attention to the necessities of the Jewish volunteers? We know your time is fully occupied with the engrossing cares of state, but feel sure you will require no apology for bringing once more to your notice the case of our coreligionists who, expending their life's blood in the noble cause of country, are still, when racked by pain and suffering, debarred [from] the privilege of the ministrations of spiritual

advisers of their faith. They are sick and dying in the hospitals — hundreds of them. We beg of you to relieve them.

Congress has empowered you to designate regularly ordained ministers of various religious denominations as chaplains to the army hospitals. In the vicinity of Washington city [i. e., Washington, D. C.], we are informed that the 48 hospitals contain nearly 20,000 patients; among them are a fair proportion of Jewish soldiers. May we not earnestly solicit you to confer on the Rev. Dr. Arnold Fischel, a capable and respected minister of our faith, duly ordained, whose testimonial, as required by law, was duly forwarded to your Excellency in August last — or on some other suitable person — the appointment of chaplain to the hospitals in and around Washington, so that the pain of our suffering brethren may be assuaged and their mental agony soothed?

We do not address you in the capacity of seekers after office; but, in the name of humanity and of our country, which Israelites love as dearly as their fellow citizens, ask your speedy compliance with our request.

Fervently trusting that peace and unity may soon be restored to our land, and that you may long be spared to preside over its destinies, I beg to subscribe myself, in behalf of the Executive Committee of this Board, and awaiting your Excellency's reply,

Your obedient servant,

[seal, Board of Delegates
of American Israelites]

HENRY I. HART
President

MYER S. ISAACS
Secretary

office, 369 Broad Way,
[New York City]

[Nos. 18878-79, The Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress]

GENTLE AS A LAMB, BRAVE AS A LION

Colonel Gabriel Netter must have been an extraordinary person.

The Louisville Democrat credited him with "coolness, energy, activity, prudence, and unflagging zeal — in fact, all the qualities necessary in an officer." One of his subordinates did not think it extravagant to compare him to Sheridan and Custer, and was impressed enough with him to be able, nearly fifty years later, to supply a graphic description of him.

French-born Netter, who enlisted in the Union forces reportedly as a private and rose to the rank of a colonel — and all this before the age of twenty-six — was one of the authentic, if unsung, heroes of the Civil War. He seems to have been of the same high-spirited breed that produced Brigadier General Anthony C. McAuliffe, the World War II commander who said "Nuts!" to a German ultimatum at Bastogne. Young Netter, who was in business in Western Kentucky at the outbreak of the war, had spent some time in nearby Evansville, Indiana, where a married sister lived; the esteem with which he was regarded by his friends in Evansville as well as by the men under his command in Kentucky is evident in the letters reproduced below.

Kentucky at the time was in the throes of her own Civil War — with a pro-Union legislature, a pro-Secessionist governor, and contending Union and Confederate military forces. Netter's task was far from enviable, but — despite being "much neglected" — he appears to have made few complaints. He did not live long enough to develop many.

The letters reprinted in these pages have been taken from Isaac W. Bernheim's History of the Settlement of Jews in Paducah and the Lower Ohio Valley (Paducah, Ky.: Temple Israel, 1912).

Evansville, Ind., Aug., [18]62.

Col. Gabriel Netter,
Hartford, Ky.

Sir: —

Some of your old friends and citizens of Evansville, appreciating your services and approving your courage and zeal in the cause of our country, desire to present you a sword and sash accompanying this letter. Although but a slight testimonial, they feel assured you will prize it and will continue to persevere in the prosecution of the glorious undertaking until the last of our country's enemies shall be put down.

You will, then, accept this token of their approbation for past services and assurance of kind regards.

With best wishes for future success, I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

W[ILLIAM]. E. HOLLINGSWORTH
Col. 2d Indiana Legion

Headquarters Netter Battallion,
Hartford, Ky., Aug. 10th, 1862.

Col. W. E. Hollingsworth,
Com'd'ing 2d Ind. Legion,
Evansville, Ind.

Colonel: —

The handsome sash, beautiful sword, and so very kind letter, presented to me by yourself and others of your true, loyal and generous townsmen, came all duly to hand to-day.

With my heart only, not with words, can or will I thank you. Such an encouragement from my countrymen is a compliment to be remembered to the last.

May God grant me to show and prove myself worthy of your generosity and kindness — worthy of taking my humble share in the war for the redemption of our country.

May He grant me, if I fall, to fall with my face to the foe, my last breath expending itself in a kiss to the fine blade you presented me with, my last prayer to be listened to by the Almighty, for the speedy success of our noble and holy cause.

Believe me, sir, forever,

Your true friend,

GABRIEL NETTER

Lt. Col Comm'g.

P.S. — To my friends, please be patient. I have got a great deal to contend with. I was sent to this place without a man or a gun and have been much neglected since; but I will get ready, by the by, nevertheless.

G. N.

Owensboro, Ky., Sept. 11th, 1911.

I. W. Bernheim,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Sir: —

Replying further and more at length to your favor of the 2nd inst. making inquiries in regard to the character and life of Colonel Gabriel Netter, and especially his short but brilliant military career, I will say that I served under him but a brief time, but during that time, as short as it was, I had an exceptionally good opportunity to learn a good deal about the man, and the more I saw of him and the better I knew him, the more I admired him, and it affords me a great deal of pleasure to be permitted to offer my humble tribute to his memory.

I have heard him spoken of as "A little Dutchman [i. e., German]," by way of derision, but if I am correctly informed, he was a French Jew. In this I may be mistaken, but I do not think that I am. But whether French or German, he was an honor to his race and to the country that gave him birth.

He was rather under the medium size, probably about five feet

six inches in height, and weighed about one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty pounds, but well formed and well proportioned; light complexion and of fine personal appearance, and of very pleasing address, courteous and affable in his manner and as polite as the proverbial French dancing master. Gentle as a lamb, he was as brave as a lion.

I was told that prior to the war he was selling goods at Cromwell, Ohio County, Ky., but the first I knew of him was when he recruited a company and went into the army as a captain in the Twenty-sixth Kentucky Infantry, which was raised and mustered into the service at Owensboro, Ky., some time in the fall of 1861.

While serving with that regiment, he distinguished himself to such an extent that some time early in the summer of 1862 he was commissioned as lieutenant-colonel of the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry, and was authorized by the Governor to recruit a regiment to be called the Thirty-fourth Kentucky Mounted Infantry. He first established his camp at Hartford, but soon afterwards removed his headquarters to Owensboro, where I enlisted with him on the 15th day of August, 1862.

I had formed an opinion, from what I had heard of him, that he was a reckless dare-devil, and hesitated somewhat to enroll myself under his standard, but a recruiting officer who wished me to join his company insisted that I had misjudged the colonel, and at his suggestion I visited the camp and was introduced to Colonel Netter and conversed with him and heard him talking to others and soon became convinced that, although he was a man of undoubted courage, he was also a man of discretion and sound judgment, and would not needlessly expose his men or make a move unless he saw that there was something to be gained by it.

On that eventful morning of September 19th, 1862, a very heavy fog covered the earth, and no object was visible except at a very short distance. We were camped at the fair grounds, about three-fourths of a mile west of the town, and probably about one-fourth of a mile from the Ohio River. At a very early hour in the morning, say about 6:30, a Union man who lived near the western limits of the town, favored by the fog, came breathlessly into camp and informed us that the town was full of Rebels, that there was a whole

regiment of them had possession of the town. They had traveled all night and had certainly taken us by surprise.

Of course, we expected a fight, and while we were making the necessary preparations, a young Negro about eighteen years of age, who had formerly been in my employ, made his way into camp and hunted me up and told me he had overheard a conversation between some of the Rebel soldiers, from which he learned that they had divided their forces and that about one-half of them occupied a strip of woods west of our camp, expecting that our colonel would immediately advance to engage the enemy in town, and then they would come in, take possession of the camp and appropriate or destroy all of the government property there, which was sufficient to equip a whole regiment. I took the Negro to my captain and he took him to the colonel, who, after questioning him closely, came to the conclusion that the Negro was probably telling the truth, and that at any rate he would investigate the matter and find out for himself, and proceeded to make his plans accordingly.

He had probably about four hundred and fifty men enlisted at this time, but they were scattered all over the surrounding country recruiting, and there was not to exceed two hundred and fifty men in camp. He had one piece of artillery (a six-pound brass gun), which he left with our company of about twenty-five men, besides the gun squad, to watch the town, and he started down the Dublin lane toward the river, with about two hundred men. He only went a short distance when he halted his men and returned to give some final instructions to the captain commanding our company. By this time the fog had disappeared, and while he was still engaged in giving his orders to our captain, a Rebel officer was seen approaching from the direction of the town bearing a flag of truce. He was halted by the pickets who were stationed a short distance up the road toward town. When the attention of the colonel was called to him, he motioned for the pickets to pass him in and advanced a short distance to meet him. After a few words had passed between them unheard by us, he came back to us accompanied by the Rebel officer and, addressing us in a tone of voice as gentle as though he was speaking to a company of ladies, said:

“Boys, this officer comes with a flag of truce from Lieutenant-

Colonel Martin, who, with eight hundred *guerillas*, has possession of the town and demands of me a surrender of all of my command and of all of the government property in my possession. I want you to hear my answer."

He then turned facing the Rebel officer, and, with a graceful wave of hand, pointed towards the ground, and said:

"*Never*, till the last man of us is laid low in the dust."

He then turned to us, and in the same mild and gentle tone of voice inquired: "Boys, does my answer suit you?"

Such was the confidence that we had in our brave young commander that there was nothing else for us to do but to do just what we did, and that was to swing our caps in the air and respond with three hearty and lusty cheers. The Rebel officer seemed to be deeply impressed by the scene, for there was no acting in this. It was all very serious, sober reality. We were in the presence of possible and probable death, and it proved to be nearer than even any of us anticipated.

The Rebel officer remarked, as he prepared to retire: "Colonel, I carry back with me the most profound respect for you and your brave men." With a parting salute, he returned to deliver his message to his chief, and the colonel joined his command that had been waiting for him in the lane. He moved on to the river, then down the river road a short distance, over the fence into a corn field, where he met the enemy, and a lively skirmish ensued. In less than an hour from the time that he refused to surrender, he was brought back to camp a lifeless corpse.

Thus died at the early age of twenty-six one of the most promising young men that the war thus far had developed.

Had he lived through the war, I doubt not but that his splendid talents and military genius would have received proper recognition, and a brigadier's, if not a major general's commission, would have been his reward before the peace was finally secured. His name and fame would have been placed along side of such men as [the Commander of the Army of the Shenandoah, Philip Henry] Sheridan, [Sherman's cavalry commander, Hugh Judson] Kilpatrick, and [post-Civil War Indian fighter and fallen hero of the Little Big Horn (1876), George Armstrong] Custer.

He was of that race of people that produced a Joshua, a Gideon and a David; and [of] that nationality that claimed a LaFayette among its honored citizens, and gave to the world, in the person of Napoleon, the greatest military genius of all history. And neither Jew nor Frenchman need ever blush at the sound of the name of *Gabriel Netter*.

He had a married sister living in Evansville, Indiana, who was at once notified of his death. Her husband came up on the first boat and took charge of the remains, but only after we had been permitted to pass by the bier, with arms reversed, and take one last and farewell look at the features of our beloved commander. He was laid to rest in the cemetery at Evansville.

Just twenty years after that time, the Federal soldiers of this place received an invitation to visit Evansville and participate in the services incident to Memorial or Decoration Day on May 30th, 1882. Comrade John A. Brown, who had served in the same company with myself, and who, like myself, was a devoted admirer of Colonel Netter, got into communication with the family of the colonel's sister, then a widow, and informed them that a few of the colonel's old soldiers would be down at that time and were desirous of finding his grave, in order that we might honor his memory in a special manner.

When we arrived at Evansville, and were escorted to Evans Hall, where headquarters had been established, we found two of his nieces there waiting to greet us, and who exhibited to us his sword and sash that he had worn while with us in person. They also had with them a photograph picture of him, which afforded us a sad pleasure.

After the general memorial services were concluded, the survivors of the old Netter Battalion were conducted to his grave on a private lot in the cemetery, and after a short address by Colonel John H. McHenry, formerly colonel of the Seventeenth Kentucky Infantry, who knew him well and appreciated his worth, we proceeded to place our floral offerings on the mound that marked the place where slept our honored dead. With sad hearts, awakened by the memory of the loss of one whom we loved so well, we silently

and reverently took our departure from the hallowed spot and left him alone in his glory.

After his death, his recruits were transferred to and mustered in as part of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, but we still held to the name and were proud to designate ourselves as the "Netter Battalion."

With kindest regards, I remain,

Very truly yours,

C. B. MITCHELL
One of the "Netter Battalion."

A MERE YOUTH AT FREDERICKSBURG

From time to time The Israelite did abandon its policy of "abstaining entirely from all and every commentary on the odd occurrences of the day." One of the occasions on which this happened was provided by the heroic exploits of a twenty-year-old Austrian immigrant with the Union Army in Virginia.

Joseph B. Gruenhut, or Greenhut, the second man in Chicago to respond to Lincoln's call for volunteers in 1861, had enlisted as a private in the 12th Illinois Regiment. Wounded at Fort Donelson, Tennessee, in February, 1862, he had had to leave his regiment, but seven months later was appointed captain of the 82nd Illinois Infantry's Company K. A few months after the incident reported in The Israelite — and reprinted below — Gruenhut won even greater distinction at Gettysburg; he fought also at Missionary Ridge, Lookout Mountain, and Knoxville. When he retired from the Army in February, 1864, he was Assistant Adjutant General of Hecker's Brigade. In later years, Gruenhut became a successful businessman. Twenty-five years after the war, Governor Joseph W. Fifer of Illinois appointed him one of three commissioners to erect at Gettysburg a monument to the Illinois soldiers who had taken part in the battle; Gruenhut delivered the dedicatory address at the monument's unveiling in September, 1891. He died at New York in 1918.

Edward S. Salomon, who is also mentioned in the extract from The Israelite, rose from a 2nd lieutenantancy to a brigadier generalship. He, too, distinguished himself at Gettysburg. In 1870, President Ulysses S. Grant appointed him to the governorship of the Washington Territory.

BRAVERY.—We have not seen noticed the bravery of Capt. Gruenhut, Comp. K. of [Col. Frederick] Hecker's regiment in the late battles near Fredericksburg, Va. The lieutenant colonel of that regiment, Mr. Solomon [*sic*] of Chicago, was sick at the time, the major [Ferdinand H. Rolshausen] was wounded and the colonel also received a shot through the arm, rendering him unable to command, so the regiment in the midst of danger stood without a commander. At this critical moment Captain Gruenhut, a mere youth, not over 20 years old, rushed forward, grasped the regimental colors and led the regiment safely through a dangerous position. Capt. Gruenhut is the son of an old friend of ours [Benedict Gruenhut] whose remains rest in the earth in his own country, Bohemia. His mother [Mina Gruenhut] is a resident of Chicago; Lieut. Col. Solomon is his brother-in-law.

[*The Israelite*, May 22, 1863]

GENERAL ROSECRANS APPREHENDS A "SPY"

War is a brutal enterprise — but even so grim a business has its humorous moments. One of these moments is reported in the selection below — although at the time it could not have been very amusing to the itinerant merchant who experienced it.

The report of the incident appeared first in Isaac M. Wise's Israelite and then made its way across the sea to London, where The Jewish Chronicle reprinted it.

A JEW AND HIS PHYLACTERIES.—An Israelite of Cincinnati was arrested at Corinth, Miss., and accused of being a spy. There

were found in his possession the phylacteries, which the officer opened, and finding Hebrew manuscripts [the texts of *Exodus* 13:1-16; *Deuteronomy* 6:4-9 and 11:13-21] in them which he could not read, he took them to be notes for the use of the enemy. The matter was reported to General [William S.] Rosecrans, who called his priest to examine the matter. The priest, lucky enough for the poor Jew, knew enough of Hebrew and Jewish ceremonials to give a correct explanation. The Israelite was honourably acquitted, and now follows his business pursuits without any molestation on the part of the military authorities. — *Israelite*.

[*The Jewish Chronicle*, December 4, 1863]

MARCUS SPIEGEL GOES TO WAR

Many of the immigrant Jews who fought with the Union armies rose to high rank and achieved high distinction. Among them were men like Hungarian-born Brigadier General Frederick Knefler, German-born Brevet Brigadier General Edward S. Salomon, and Prussian-born Provost Marshal Leopold Blumenberg. Another was Colonel Marcus M. Spiegel, whose address, "An Appeal to Loyalty," was published in American Jewish Archives, VII, 232-33. Spiegel was intensely devoted to the Union cause and, as he wrote to his wife, anxious "for the suppression of this unholy and wicked rebellion. I am not in favor of settling this until the miserable cusses that would ruin our beloved country are thoroughly convinced of their error and completely whipped." He did not live to see that day.

Seventy years after Colonel Spiegel's death at Snagg Point, Louisiana, his daughter Lizzie Theresa (Mrs. Martin) Barbe, of Chicago, long a member of Temple Sinai's Board of Trustees and a founder of the National Council of Jewish Women, wrote her memoirs, published in part below. Mrs. Barbe's daughter, Ella Rachel (Mrs. Ernst) Stein, of Chicago, graciously allowed the American Jewish Archives to photostat most of the Lizzie T. Barbe memoir.

March 7, 1934

In writing "My Memoirs" I must naturally go back to my parents so those who read this will know a bit about their forbears.

Marcus M. Spiegel, my father, was born in 18[29] in Abendheim, a small town near Worms, Germany. He was the eldest son of five children, namely, Mrs. Michael Greenebaum (Aunt Sarah), Mrs. Eli Reis (Aunt Mina), Mrs. Henry Liebenstein (Aunt Theresa) (from whom I received my middle name), and Uncle Joseph Spiegel. Grandfather Moses Spiegel was a teacher of the Jewish children in Abendheim and a great student and learned man. When, in his later years, Uncle Joe Spiegel bought his home in Winnetka, he called it *Abendheim* — "the home of the evening of his life."

Grandmother Spiegel's name was Regina. Grandmother Spiegel was one of ten sisters and two brothers named Hertz, in America translated Hart. The Greenebaums, . . . Felsenthal[s], Josephs and Harts of Chicago are all descendents — also Spiegels and Schaffners. [Also] Hahn.

When my father reached 18 years of age he decided to leave Germany and come to America. He had finished school and had traveled quite a bit and felt very grown up. My grandfather decided that instead of having him go alone and in all probability sending for first one sister and then another, the entire family should go together. After the necessary preparation they finally sailed from Hamburg in 18—, and were three months on the sailing vessel which brought them to New York. They all suffered many discomforts during the voyage as they had to do their own cooking, furnish their own supplies and their own bedding. But being young and hopeful the time passed quickly and they had many happy hours. They all sang well and passed almost every evening singing their familiar hymns and songs.

On reaching New York the family met friends and soon felt at home amongst them. Uncle Michael [Greenebaum] came to New York to meet them as he and Aunt Sarah were engaged to be married. They were first cousins. He had been in Chicago long enough to establish himself as a plumber and was doing well. After the wedding they left for Chicago. In a few months the rest of the family followed.

It was customary in those days for the friends who were already launched in business to outfit the new comers with a stock of goods, calico, muslin, needles, thread, linens, etc., and as soon as they understood a little English to give them a territory over which they would travel with a pack on their back visiting the farms and small towns once or three times each year and supply the needs of the wives of the farmers. This was done for my father, who later on did the same for many of his "lands leute" [countrymen] who came over after he did who lived at our home during their leisure hours. Ohio was the territory assigned to him and it was during his trips that he met my mother at the home of her parents. She was 16 years old when they first met.

Caroline Frances Hamlin, my mother, was born in 1832. She was the youngest child in a family of ten children. The Hamlin family came to America in 1720. Her parents, Stephen Hamlin and Elizabeth Fels Hamlin, were born in Sussex County, Virginia, of Quaker parents. All the Quakers in that section decided that it was wicked to keep slaves and so they all freed their slaves. My grandparents took a Government grant of 250 acres of farm land in Ohio near Alliance in 1807, built a large home and all moved up from Virginia. As the older children married, my grandfather gave those that wished to own it enough land of his for farms of their own. Two brothers and one sister took grants in Michigan near South Haven and carried on farming there.

The house built by my grandfather was built on the Southern style and the true "Southern hospitality" was always observed. It was open house for everybody and a stopping place for travelers.

My grandfather Stephen Hamlin had light red hair, a beautiful shade, and many of his descendants inherited it, my sister Clara, my son Alfred, and daughter Myrtle amongst them. It had a yellow tinge and was light about the face and underneath the back it was golden.

When my mother was about 16 years of age, my father began to tour the district in which their home was located. He was a very handsome young man with a winning smile and the faculty of making friends. My mother was an unusually beautiful girl. The first time he met her he told her that when she grew up she was

going to be his wife. Of course she laughed at that and said she would never marry a "Dutchman" [German]. He came every few months and always stopped at the house, and by the time she was twenty decided that he was right. When the Spiegel family heard from father that he was going to marry outside of the Jewish faith, there was great consternation. At this time Henry Greenebaum, a brother of Uncle Michael, a very attractive young man, was sent down to Ohio from Chicago to see if he could not break off the match. He came, saw and was conquered. On his return to Chicago, he told the family that he would be happy to break off[f] the engagement, but if it were broken he would try and win the girl himself. His report was so satisfactory that the family were satisfied. After being married by a Justice of the Peace in Alliance, Ohio, my parents came to Chicago ostensibly for the purpose of confirming my mother in the Jewish faith, through studies and a religious ceremony, and also to teach her Jewish cooking and the German language. She went through many trying days. Everything was new and different. Everyone spoke German. The housekeeping was German as well as the cooking. I imagine she had many homesick days. My father had a position as clerk in Francis Clark's Dry Goods Emporium — the Marshall Field of that day. At the end of the year it was decided that he should open a general country store in the small town of East Liberty, twenty miles out of Akron, Ohio. My brother Hamlin was born there in 1854 and I followed two years later in 1856 — October 30. In East Liberty my father was called upon frequently to fit out "lands leute," men who came from his German home[land], with goods so they could peddle through the country. The men understood little or nothing of business and often lost money by not keeping accounts properly of those who did not pay cash. They charged goods for the farmer with the "red farm," of which there were many, or another with a white fence, etc.

We lived in East Liberty until I was a little over three years of age and then moved to Akron, where shortly afterward my brother Moses was born. We did not remain long in Akron as we were established in Millersburg, Ohio, in 1860. My father went into the warehouse business, handling wheat, oats, corn, etc. The warehouse

was located next to the railroad tracks, and it was a source of great joy to us as children to play in the pits and to watch the loading and unloading [of] the grain.

One of the memories of that time is of one of our playmates whose father owned an adjoining [*sic*] warehouse, who put his head out of a window overlooking the tracks and a train passing crushed it so that he died. This made a deep and lasting impression on the minds of all the children.

As a whole our lives, at least that of the children, were happy ones in Millersburgh [*sic*]. We went to school, tobagganed [*sic*] down the hills in winter and went picnicing in the nearby woods in summer. The shadow and terror of the Civil War did not stir us much, as all we saw was mobilization, marching, hearing fife and drum and general excitement which attends formation of troops in a small town where excitement and patriotism ran high in the community at this time — 1860-61. My father was a very popular man and very earnest in his feeling of loyalty to this country. He with other citizens felt, after war was declared, that they should serve their country by forming a company of those who would enlist and be under orders to follow the flag. A company was organized and my father was elected Captain of the 67th Ohio Volunteers — 1861. After mobilization they were sent to some town in central Ohio for training purposes. One of the exciting events in my life at this time was a weekend visit to this training camp. To us as children it was a thrilling lark but must have been a sad one to our mother. Father was later transferred to the 120th and appointed Colonel. My father was sent into service and during the three and one half years in which he was active rose in rank from Captain to Colonel and at the time of his death the papers were being made out in Washington for his promotion to Brigadier General. He was badly wounded in the siege of Vicksburg and was brought home in a freight car. On the arrival at Millersberg [*sic*], the train was met by all the citizens of the town and his cot was carried up the hill to our home by his friends. He was home for a number of months and when leaving was able to walk only with the use of a crutch and a cane. There was a great ovation given him by the towns people of Millersburg.

He had been ordered to report in Chicago on being able to return to service. On arriving in Chicago he was received by many friends and presented with a horse, a sword, and solid gold eagles for his epaulets. After spending a short time in Chicago he was ordered South one year later and sent to New Orleans, from which city he was sent up the Red River [, Louisiana,] to reinforce General [Nathaniel P.] Banks, who had gone up the river in order to get a cargo of cotton, and had been caught so he could not return.

At this time our family spent the winter in Chicago.* In 1863 our family, my mother and four children, were invited to spend the winter in Chicago as my father would not be at home. He had been sent South and did not know when he would be relieved. We arrived at the home of Uncle Michael and Aunt Sarah Greenebaum, located on the Hay Market between Des Plaines and Halsted streets. The family — five children — lived over the hardware and plumbing shop. Although the apartment must have been very crowded, no one seemed to mind it and we had a very happy time. Our host and hostess were so genial and “geinhelich” [*gemütlich?*] and the children agreed well; my mother helped in the busy household and the days passed quickly and happ[i]ly. The Hay Market was a very interesting place. In the early morning it was crowded with farmers with their produce and purchasers — grocers, etc., who went from wagon to wagon to lay in their day’s supply. It was very exciting to us as children. We quickly fitted into the routine of the family. One thing I remember very well as it was a nigh[t]ly occurrence. It was considered a medical necessity to give all children a tablespoon of cod liver oil every evening. The cod liver oil of those days was heavy, strong and difficult to take. Of the nine children seven were lined up every night before retiring and no protest was allowed as Uncle Michael gave us one after the other the oil. The same spoon was used for all and no thought given to germs. Such a thing was not known. After all had been served, my younger brother Mose always cried to lick the spoon. There was then as now “no accounting for taste.” In connection with that I

* [Editor’s Note: The remainder of this paragraph has been inserted here by the editor, but originally belonged to a later portion of the memoir.]



Whitestone Photo, New York, N. Y.

MARCUS M. SPIEGEL
Suppress "this unholy . . . rebellion"



Courtesy, The Jewish Museum, New York, N. Y.

Painting by George D. M. Peixotto

SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE

“My brethren are still waiting for their Abraham Lincoln”

reme[m]ber that every spring my mother mixed a jar full of cream of tartar, sulphur and molasses and we had to take daily doses. At any rate we were a very healthy group of youngsters.

When at on the Red River before taking the boat, *City Belle*, he [my father] stopped three soldiers who were raiding a shop and was later presented with a pair of Bohemian glass (green) vases, which were sent home. I have one. The other was broken at Hattie Nerney's home at [the] time of the earthquake.

My father with several regiments of soldiers took boats and proceeded up the Red River. My father was in the boat *City Belle*. On rounding a curve [near Snagg Point, about thirty miles below Alexandria, La.,] they were fired upon by Rebels in ambush and a number of soldiers were wounded and the boat began to sink. In order to get the wounded off, my father started up the companion way to raise a flag of truce. On appearing above the stairs, he was shot (May 4, 1864), and after living 24 hours, died. He was buried on Capt. Wilson's Plantation (so called) with three other colonels who also were killed in the engagement. The Red River in those days shifted in bed every spring so it was never possible to find the graves. My mother was not quite 30 years of age.

HEAR, O ISRAEL

Whether to regard the three selections reproduced below as fact or as fiction is not clear. It has not been possible to establish the identities of Colonel Grün — Green? — or Lieutenant Isaac Cohen. We are not even certain that Cohen — if he existed at all — was a Union soldier; he may have been in the Confederate Army.

In any case, even if these anecdotes are to be considered part of the folklore of the American Jew, they do reflect the deep religious feelings shared by many of the Jewish soldiers who fought in the Civil War — and, indeed, in all the wars of America and of Europe.

It is noteworthy that two of the three anecdotes appeared in European journals. The Jewish Chronicle of London was — and still is — British Jewry's most important newspaper. Ha-Karmel was a Hebrew-

language monthly, published between 1860 and 1880 in Vilna, the "capital" of Lithuanian Jewry. Jews all over the world watched with interest the activities of their American coreligionists.

The idea — mentioned in *The Jewish Messenger* — of organizing Jewish military companies and regiments actually materialized in Syracuse, New York, and in Chicago, Illinois. The *Jewish Messenger* excerpt is part of a larger series, entitled "Sketches from the Seat of War," by "a Jewish soldier." The series offers a great deal of information about the experiences and attitudes of Jewish combatants.

The Eternal He Is God

AN ISRAELITISH COLONEL ON THE BATTLEFIELD. —

Liberty of conscience, liberty of worship, are words often borne on our lips, but from the practice of which we are nevertheless far removed. In the American army there are Catholics, Protestants, and Hebrews, and a hundred other sects, each of which worships God with full liberty in its peculiar manner. This multifarious worship not rarely presents on the battlefield a most singular scene. The Methodist carries with him his Bible into the trench and reads the Psalms in the midst of the cannonade; the Israelitish artilleryman charges his Armstrong [rifle] with the phylacteries on his arm; the Roman Catholic with the image of a saint on his hat.

The papers related that the cavalry colonel, Grün, a German immigrant, had to sustain a brisk combat on the Day of Atonement [*Yom Kippur*], displaying with his regiment extraordinary bravery. The perspiration ran down his forehead and his strength was exhausted. A fellow soldier presented him a bottle. "Thank you," drily replied the scrupulous officer, "this day is the Day of Atonement, and as an Israelite I am not permitted either to eat or drink." Being slightly wounded, he was taken to the hospital and there saw a coreligionist, who, being ill, ate something. "You would do much better to observe the sacred Day of Atonement," said he to the Israelitish soldier. "How will you faithfully serve your country if

you do not serve your God?" Having found ten coreligionists in the hospital, the colonel resolved at once to offer up prayers with *minyán* [the requisite quorum of at least ten adult male Jews]. Amidst the thunder of the cannon, these wounded soldiers began to recite the prayer of נְעִילָה [*Neilah*, the last of the five *Yom Kippur* services], the colonel officiating.

He had just commenced to intone the closing words, "The Eternal He is God!" when the news of the final defeat of the enemy came. The colonel enthusiastically opened wide the window, and as the sun sank in the west he loudly called out seven times, "The Eternal He is God!" The returning soldiers caught up the cry and re-echoed it; strains of music carried it to still greater distances; it was a universal hymn to the only God. The deeds of Colonel Grün were exalted to the skies; his example of unshakeable confidence in God was praised by all the ministers of religion. Since the time of the Maccabees there was not celebrated a Day of Atonement in so splendid a manner.

[*The Jewish Chronicle* (London), June 30, 1865]

An Encounter at Bull Run

AMERICA. NEW YORK. — In the battle at Bull Run in the Confederate States of America, an officer, Lieutenant Isaac Cohen, of the Eighth Regiment, saw a man badly wounded. The latter asked him, in God's name, to give him a little water. Cohen hastened to bring water and gave it to him to drink. It was then that the lieutenant recognized the wounded man, who was almost dead, as a coreligionist. The man rallied sufficiently to cry out: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One,"* and then expired and died.

[*Ha-Karmel*, II (1862), 163]

* [Editor's Note: This is the *Shema*, the Jewish confession of faith from *Deuteronomy* 6:4.]

Brotherly Love

A few months since, some Jewish soldiers suggested the idea of organising all the Jewish soldiers in the army into distinct regiments, with Hebrew banners, etc., so that both our food and religious services may be more consonant with our habits and ideas, and we may have the pleasure of associating with our own brethren.

I was further informed that such was actually the custom among the Dutch Jews when they entered on active duty, and many curious stories were told of the orders being given in Hebrew, of prayers before the battle, and of *Tephillies* [*sic* — phylacteries] in the knapsacks.

One of these soldiers, related my informant, was very religious, and whenever he fired off his gun, he cried out *Shma Israel* ["Hear, O Israel . . ."]. This was at the battle of Waterloo. On being asked why he said it so often, he replied that "it may be some Yehudee [Jew] gets killed by him, and he could never pardon himself, if any one of his brethren should, through him, go out of the world without *Shemos* [i. e., without proper "death-bed" rites]."

[*The Jewish Messenger* (New York), February 7, 1862]

AN ORDER AND ITS AFTERMATH

On December 17, 1862, while he was in Oxford, Mississippi, Major General Ulysses S. Grant, Commander of the Department of the Tennessee, addressed a letter to a Federal official in Washington and declared bitterly that "all traders . . . are a curse to the Army." From the rest of his letter, from an order which he authorized his adjutant to send out that same day from Holly Springs, Mississippi — and also from orders which he had given at La Grange, Tennessee, a month earlier — it is clear that, while Grant spoke of "all traders," he meant Jews in particular.

The order wired from Holly Springs on December 17th, over the signature of Assistant Adjutant General John A. Rawlins, "by order

of Major General Grant" — General Orders No. 11 — was, according to Bertram W. Korn, "the logical capstone to a policy of discrimination against Jews which he [Grant] had deliberately formulated and pursued. It was no accident." Grant saw fit on that day to expel all Jews — "as a class" — from large areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, and thereby unleashed a storm whose political echoes would return to haunt him years later in his campaign for the Presidency.

Unjustifiable as it was, Grant's action was prompted by what must have been on his part a genuine concern that trading across the lines — trading mostly in cotton — jeopardized the Union's war effort. Smuggling and extralegal trading had been involved in every war since the 1500's and were certainly prevalent during the Civil War — wherever the Union armies penetrated Confederate territory. Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan charged in Congress that a two-year period had seen nearly \$30,000,000 worth of supplies funnelled to the needy Confederacy through Memphis in exchange for cotton and other Southern staples. There were Jews who took part in the traffic (see A. E. Frankland, "Kronicals of the Times," American Jewish Archives, IX, 83-125) — but Christians, too, were well represented. In 1864, Lincoln complained to Congressman William Kellogg of Illinois — who had requested a trading permit — that army officers, "in numerous instances, are believed to connive and share the profits, and thus the army itself is diverted from fighting the rebels to speculating in cotton."

General Orders No. 11 soon excited a great deal of controversy — not only among the Jews, but also among a good many of their fellow citizens. The Jewish reaction to the order was one of outrage, as is evident in the petition of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, reproduced here. But perhaps even more characteristic was the blunt assertion of an anonymous Jew in Cincinnati's Daily Commercial of January 2, 1863, that "this order of General Grant finds its parallel in the Spanish edicts of 1492." The letter-writer urged Grant to "open his eyes to the foul wrong he is inflicting."

Cesar J. Kaskel, who had been expelled by Grant's order from his home in Paducah, Kentucky, led a protest delegation to the White House at the beginning of January, 1863, and Lincoln lost little time in revoking the decree.

Some of the Jews involved in the traffic which was so bothersome to

Grant appear in the last of the documents published below — the brothers Mack whom we meet elsewhere in this issue. Ironically, however, the man with whom the Macks embarked on a venture of dubious legality was none other than the general's own father — Jesse Root Grant.

BOARD OF DELEGATES OF AMERICAN ISRAELITES

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites held at the City of New York Thursday evening, January 8th, 1863, Henry I. Hart, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The President laid before the Committee a copy of General Order[s] No. 11, issued by General U. S. Grant, commanding Department of the Tennessee, December 17, 1862, and also communications received by him from Washington with reference to the revocation of the same.

Whereupon the following Preamble and Resolutions were proposed, seconded and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The attention of this Committee has been called by the Chairman to the following General Order[s] No. 11:

Headquarters Thirteenth Army Corps,
Department of the Tennessee,
Oxford [*sic*], Mississippi, December 17, 1862.

The Jews, as a class, violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department, also department orders, are hereby expelled from the department within twenty four hours from the receipt of this order by post commanders.

They will see that all this class of people are furnished with passes and required to leave; and any one returning after such notification will be arrested and held in confinement until an opportunity occurs of sending them out as prisoners, unless furnished with permits from these headquarters.

No passes will be given these people to visit headquarters for the purpose of making personal application for trade permits.

By order of Major General Grant,

JOHN A. RAWLINS, *A[ssistant]. A[djutant]. G[eneral].*

Be it therefore Resolved, That we have heard with surprise and indignation intelligence that in this present century and in this land of freedom and equality an officer of the United States should have promulgated an order worthy of despotic Europe in the dark ages of the world's history.

Resolved, That in behalf of the Israelites of the United States, we enter our firm and determined protest against this illegal, unjust, and tyrannical mandate depriving American citizens of the Jewish faith of their precious rights, driving them, because of their religious profession, from their business and homes by the military authority and in pursuance of an inequitable proscription.

Resolved, That the Israelites of the United States expect no more and will be content with no less than equal privileges with their fellow citizens, in the enjoyment of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," as guaranteed by the Constitution of this Republic.

Resolved, That it is peculiarly painful to the Israelites of the United States, who have freely tendered their blood and treasure in defence of the Union they love, to observe this uncalled for and inequitable discrimination against them. Claiming to be second to no class of citizens in support of the Constitutional Government, they regard with sadness and indignation this contumely upon the Jewish name, this insult to them as a community, on the ostensible ground that individuals supposed to be Jews have violated "regulations of trade established by the Treasury Department and Department orders."

Resolved, That it is in the highest degree obnoxious to them, as it must be to all fair minded American citizens, for the general body to be made accountable for acts of particular persons supposed to belong to their denomination, but, as has been frequently demonstrated, in many cases really professing other creeds. That if an individual be guilty of an infraction of discipline or offence against military law or treasury regulations, punishment should be visited upon him alone, and the religious community to which he is presumed to be attached should not be subjected to insult, obloquy or disregard of its constitutional rights as a penalty for individual offences.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee and of the Israelites of the United States be and they are hereby tendered to Major General H[enry]. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief, U. S. A., for the promptitude with which he revoked General Grant's unjust and outrageous order, as soon as it was brought to his attention.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, duly attested, be transmitted to the *President of the United States*, the *Secretary of War* [Edwin M. Stanton], *Major General Halleck* and *Major General Grant*, and that the same be communicated to the press for publication.

[From the Minutes]

MYER S. ISAACS, *Secretary*

[seal, Board of Delegates
of American Israelites]

[Nos. 21089-90, Library of Congress]

The Order Is Too Sweeping

We published yesterday a most extraordinary military order from General Grant, banishing from his Department "the Jews, as a class," for, as is alleged, "violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department; also Departmental orders." We hesitated to give publicity through our columns to this order, not being able to bring ourselves to believe in its authenticity. The offense must have been a very grave one to have justified General Grant in issuing a mandate whose effect is to set apart a whole class of citizens for opprobrium and insult. Indeed, no offense can be committed by individuals which will justify the singling out of a whole class, thousands of whom are honored and esteemed citizens, for condemnation and disgrace. If individuals violate orders, let them be dealt with as befits the offense, but to involve a whole class in opprobrium because a few belonging to it have done wrong, it is what humanity, candor, and fairness revolt at.

We cannot believe that General Grant has been imposed upon by parties with whose arrangements for speculating in cotton certain

Israelites, engaged in the same business, interfered. It is well known that in more than one instance, military officers took to themselves a monopoly of the cotton trade in certain portions of the South where they had the command, and made fortunes for themselves and relatives. In other instances, military officers would grant permits to certain persons only to buy cotton; and these officers would receive a percentage on the cotton purchased as a price for the permit. These are well-known common occurrences. It may be that the Israelites at Memphis and other points have been purchasing cotton without any regard for the nice little percentage which [it] is expected cotton traders should pay for the protection of Federal bayonets and the use of Government transportation. But, if that is the case, the order is too sweeping and unjust, as it embraces the innocent as well as the guilty. The more we reflect on the order, the more we dislike it. Its injustice is gross and flagrant.

Among the condemned class, there are good and bad, as in all classes. There are black sheep in every flock. But as a class, our observation enables us to say that a more law-abiding class of citizens we do not know. We can bear this testimony of them: they interfere with nobody's religion. They are not mischief-makers, or intermeddlers in the affairs of other people. They do not go about the country lecturing on either women's rights or Negro rights, stirring up strife, contention, ill will and hatred. Politically, we are sorry to say, they are mostly of the party that has Lincoln for its leader, having voted for him for President. While they may have shown their lack of judgment and the vicious character of their politics, yet we believe them, as a class, to be as honest in their opinion and conduct, as citizens, as any other. General Grant has done them, as a class, great wrong, and should immediately, with the frankness and fearlessness of a true soldier, withdraw or modify his order, and apologize for the insult he has put upon the Israelites as a class.

[*The Enquirer* (Cincinnati), January 3, 1863]

THE GRANT FAMILY'S COTTON SPECULATIONS.
OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE GRANT-MACK
COTTON CASE IN 1862.

From The Cincinnati Enquirer.

A correspondent of *The Enquirer* at Ravenna, Ohio, says frequent inquiry is made for a copy of the celebrated petition of Jesse R. Grant, in which he appealed to the Superior Court of Cincinnati for relief against the Brothers Mack, in this city, to enforce against them the performance of a cotton contract in which they were partners in 1862. To oblige our friends in Northern Ohio, we give it below. It is very interesting reading, and shows how, early in the war, the Grant family began to look after "the main chance." The Macks were to furnish the pecuniary capital for the enterprise, while the Grants — the old man [Jesse] and his son [Ulysses S.], the General — were to furnish the requisite business permits, and so forth, in the enemy's lines, which then had to be obtained from the military authority. Here is the precious document:

No. 17,587. — *Superior Court of Cincinnati* — Jesse R. Grant vs. Harmon Mack and others. Petition filed January 2, 1864. Charles R. Cist, Clerk, by E. Hoffman, Deputy. Stamp furnished by H. Snow, attorney for plaintiff. Received copy of case. W[illiam]. B. Caldwell and M. H. Tilden. — (1050.)

The Superior Court of Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio — Petition: Jesse R. Grant vs. Harmon Mack, Henry Mack, and Simon Mack, partners as Mack & Brothers. The plaintiff [Grant] states that on or about the sixth day of December, A. D. 1863 [1862?], he entered into an agreement with the defendants [the Mack Brothers] for the purpose of partnership purchases of cotton in the military department commanded by Gen. U. S. Grant, the conditions of said agreement being as follows: Defendants were to furnish all the money that might be required in the said business, and the necessary number of men to purchase and ship the cotton, they being allowed interest at the rate of 7 per cent per annum for the money so employed during the time it was necessarily used. Plaintiff with his part was to go with the men furnished as aforesaid by the defendants to the headquarters of Gen. Grant, and procure a permit for them to

purchase cotton, secure transportation and such other facilities as might be consistent with the usages and interests of the army. The defendants were to have the cotton thus purchased shipped to New-York and sold, and [as] for the profits of the sales after deducting from the gross proceeds the necessary expenses of buying, freight, and selling, except the wages of the men furnished as aforesaid by [the] defendants, [they] were to be divided between the parties in the proportion of three-fourths to the defendants and one-fourth to the plaintiff — the plaintiff in no event being liable for any portion of loss that might be incurred.

Plaintiff says that the said agreement was at once and faithfully carried out upon his part, as it also was by the defendants so far as the purchase of the cotton, its transportation to New-York, and sale there were concerned; but the defendants have broken said agreement in this, that they have utterly failed and refused to render to plaintiff any account of such transactions, or to pay over to him any portion of his share of the profits arising from the same, although said account and payment have been repeatedly demanded by the plaintiff. Plaintiff said that under said contract a large amount of cotton was purchased — as many as 300 bales or more at an average cost of from 40 to 50 cents per pound, and which was sold in New-York at such rate as to realize a profit of \$400,000 or over. The exact number of bales purchased, the exact amount of expenses and proceeds of the sale he is unable to state, the account of the same being in possession of the defendants, who refuse to furnish a statement of it, but the amount furnished and net profits realized are not less than as above stated, while the same may and probably will greatly exceed the amounts before stated. Plaintiff asks that an account may be taken between himself and the defendants, and that they may be ordered to pay over to him such amounts as may be found to be due to him from them under the agreement herein set forth, and that all such orders may be made in his behalf as he may equitably be entitled to in the premises.

H. SNOW,
Attorney for Plaintiff.

The State of Ohio, Hamilton County, ss.: Jesse R. Grant, the plaintiff, makes oath that he believes the statements of the foregoing petition to be true.

J. R. GRANT.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 31st day of December, 1863.

(Stamp and Seal.) Wm. R. JONES,
Notary Public, Hamilton County, Ohio.

The upshot of this business was that Judge [Bellamy] Storer nonsuited the Grants, upon the principle that the contract was corrupting and opposed to public policy. He indeed stigmatized it as "the price of blood." Thus did Gen. Grant allow his relatives to speculate in matters where their investment was only to be his official power, and where, by the exercise of his public office, he was to aggrandize himself and family.

[*New-York Daily Tribune*, September 19, 1872]

ISAAC LEESER ON PREJUDICE

American Jewry had no more gifted leader during the mid-1800's than a native Westphalian — Isaac Leeser, minister during the war years of Philadelphia's Beth-El-Emeth Congregation. Henry S. Morais said of Leeser in his Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1880) that no other name was "probably . . . so familiar to American Israelites . . . and none will ever say that the fame acquired was not justly earned."

Leeser was a man of "firsts"; he helped found the first Jewish Sunday school in America, published the first English translation of the Hebrew Bible for American Jews, established the first American Jewish publication society, was a founder of the first national congregational union, brought into being the first American rabbinical seminary, and edited the first effective American Jewish periodical. Though not opposed to change qua change, he was orthodox rather than liberal in his religious views.

Leeser knew the South well. He had lived there and was widely traveled there. Secession never aroused in him the horror that it did in some of his colleagues, and he could never regard the Civil War with anything but dismay. On this issue, he was much closer to Isaac Mayer Wise, his principal Reform antagonist, than to Samuel M. Isaacs, whose religious views were not unlike his own.

Again like Wise, Leeser was never less than outspoken in his defense of the Jewish position in a war-torn and frustrated America where Jews

often found themselves the targets of unfair criticism. When prominent military leaders — “satraps,” Leeser called them — like Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, and Benjamin F. Butler and the newspapers which admired them attacked the Jews, or when attempts were made to exalt Christianity at the expense of Judaism, Leeser defended his faith and his coreligionists in the strongest terms. The excerpt, reprinted below, from Leeser’s Occident article, “Religious Prejudices,” is characteristic of the way in which he dealt with the flood of anti-Jewish sentiments released by the war.

During the continuance of the unfortunate war which desolates the South of the Union and brings mourning and distress to almost every household at the North, a spirit of intolerance has gradually been developed which seeks to wreak its spite on our defenceless heads. Efforts have already been made to Christianize the Constitution of the country, and that man is bold indeed who will maintain that success cannot attend the labors of the agitators. Events march rapidly forward, and the One above alone knows when they will be stayed. Newspapers in the meanwhile have aided some military satraps to spread a spirit of personal dislike against us. We have not spoken often of the subject in our work, for fear of making matters worse.

No doubt some worthless creatures who were born Jews have done unworthy things during the war; they may have smuggled on both sides, been spies for every one who would pay them, and thus disgraced by their shameful conduct the noble name of Israel. But we venture to assert that in all the dealings which the government has had with Jews, they have acted on the whole as honorably as the same class of other persuasions. In the ranks many of our brethren have enlisted, and many have met their death, and their mouldering bones lie buried wherever a battlefield has drunk the blood of the fratricidal strife. Even since we commenced writing this article, a lonely widow, with her little orphan boy in her arms, has applied to us for aid, her soldier husband having died in Virginia after serving nearly the full term of his enlistment. Every where in the hospitals the maimed and sick of our faith are found; officers and

privates are among the slain, prisoners, and missing, and we have drained the same cup of sorrow as all others.

Is it therefore fair that political journals should hold us up as a class to public odium? That Israelites do not all profess to be adherents of the administration is no crime in them; in this they exercise their privilege as citizens to judge of the acts and measures of their rulers, to sustain them if they deem proper, and reprove them if they think it best to do so. It will be a woeful day for the liberties of the country when a citizen is to be challenged and denounced for exercising the privileges of a freeman, to vote unbiassedly, freely, for whom he judges the fittest to handle the various offices made for the benefit of the people, not the rulers merely. It is therefore we would energetically protest against the spirit of the two extracts from political papers, which have met our eyes, and to request our readers to use their private efforts with public organs to cease such unwarranted language should it ever be repeated. We deem it beneath the dignity of Israelites to say more on the subject than the above simple remarks, as every one is able to refute such slanders himself. It matters not what party or what section gives vent to such malicious phrases. Punish the Jews who violate the laws; but do not condemn their religion, which has no connection with crime or unlawful acts of any kind.

The first extract is from a Harrisburg paper, the *Telegraph*; the second from the *Newburgh* (N. York) *Journal*. As regards Mr. Barnhart, he is no Rabbi. He acted as Hazan [prayer leader] formerly, and has now no connection with the Kahal [congregation] at Harrisburg, to our knowledge. We do not sanction his carrying a flag; but that is a matter of taste for which he is not responsible to us.

Lazarus Barnhart, a rabbi of good standing, who bore a banner with the inscriptions that "*Thou Shalt not Commit Murder,*" and "*The True Christian does not Seek the Blood of his Fellow Man.*" Will Rabbi Barnhart please inform his Christian fellow-copperheads who murdered the Saviour, and who shed the blood of the early Christians?

Show me the descendants of that accursed race who crucified the Saviour, and who are always opposed to the best interests of the Government in every land in which they roam; who never enter our armies but for the

purpose of depleting the pockets of soldiers, and who hang around the camps to take every advantage of their necessities: and I will show you the men who, ninety-nine out of a hundred, who will vote for the modern Democracy [the Democratic Party] this fall, and would support [the Copperhead leader, Clement L.] Vallandigham, or the infamous butcher [the Missouri "bushwhacker" William C.] Quantrell [Quantrill], in preference to Gen. [Benjamin F.] Butler or Abraham Lincoln.

We should like to say more on the subject of our taking active part in party politics; but we must forbear at present.

[*The Occident*, XXII (November, 1864), 368-69.]

GOTTEN UP IN CUSTOM STYLE

It was Ecclesiasticus who asked: "Hidden wisdom and concealed treasure, what profit is there in either?" The Cincinnati clothier, Benjamin Simon, Jr. — who may never have heard of Ecclesiasticus — knew the answer. Anyone who imagines that the ingenuities of American advertising were developed in recent years on Manhattan's Madison Avenue will discover, in the selection below, that they were foreshadowed a century ago on Cincinnati's Pearl Street.

CRUCIFIXION!

Or nailing a person to a cross for the purpose of putting him to death, was at the time of

JESUS

The punishment of Roman criminals, but now in this advanced age of more advanced civilization, the governments both of

EUROPE AND AMERICA,

However oppressive otherwise, desist from this

CRUELTY,

And while private offenders are dealt with according to a more humane law, the people in rebellion against the authority of the United States have to encounter upon the

BLOODY FIELD OF BATTLE

the soldiers of the Union, who are supplied with

MILITARY CLOTHING

from the MERCHANTS, whom the undersigned begs leave to inform that he has made large preparations for the

SPRING TRADE,

having purchased and manufactured an extensive Stock of Goods into

MILITARY

— and —

CITIZENS' CLOTHING,

gotten up in

CUSTOM STYLE,

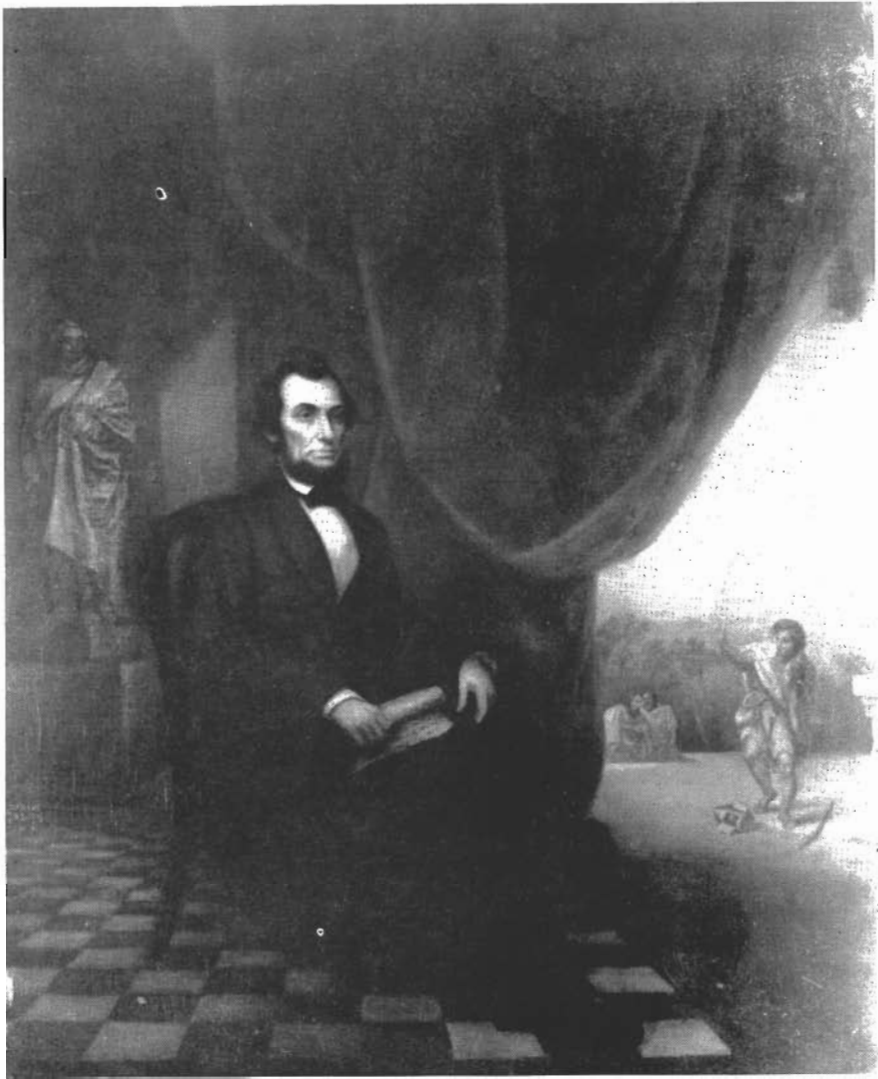
both in Cutting, Making and Trimming and which he proposes to sell at the same rates as

CLOTHING

made up in the ordinary style, his aim being to sustain a

WHOLESALE

CUSTOM CLOTHING HOUSE,

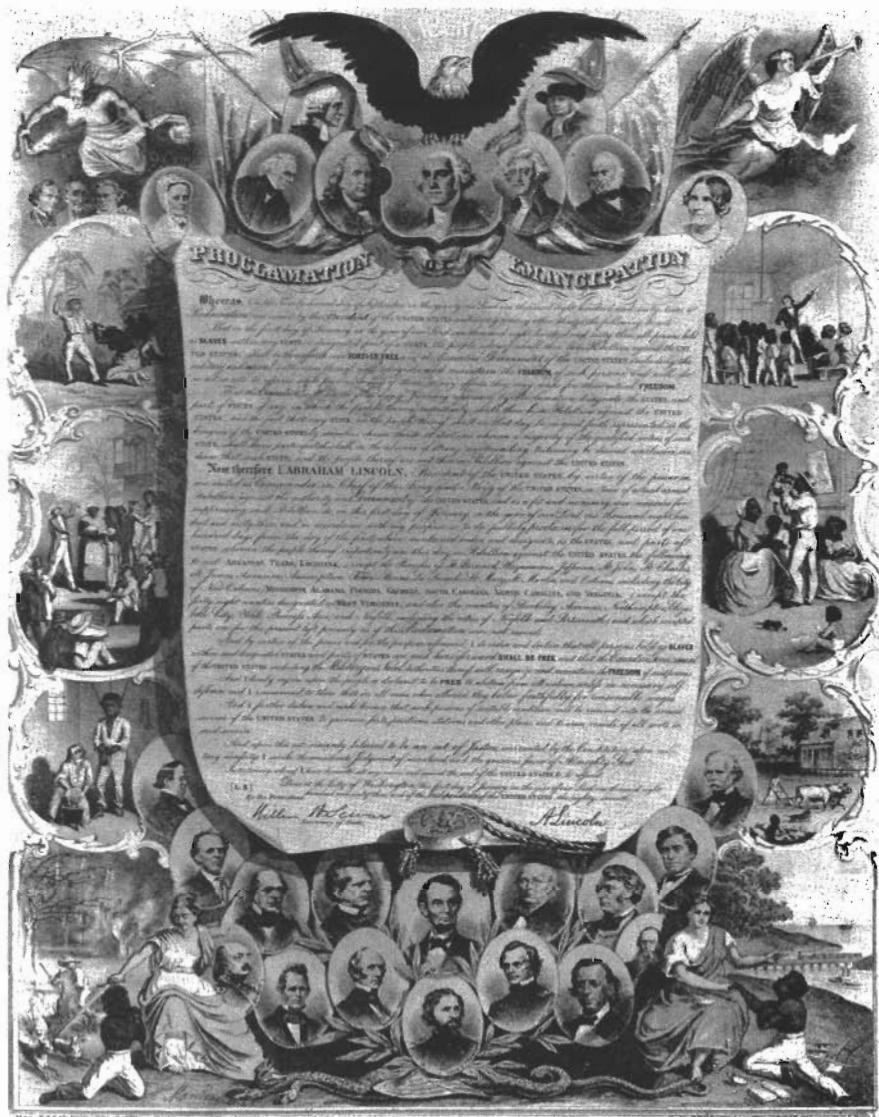


*Courtesy, Justin G. Turner, Los Angeles, Calif.
Reproduced from the original at Brandeis University*

Oil painting by Solomon N. Carvalho

LINCOLN

By a South Carolina Jewish Artist



Courtesy, The New-York Historical Society

Lithograph by Max Rosenthal

A JEWISH LITHOGRAPHER INTERPRETS THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

the want of which has long been felt in this Market, and having made the utmost efforts to attain this object he trusts he will have a full share of public patronage.

BENJAMIN SIMON, JR.

No. 11 Pearl-street,

Between Main and Walnut.

Cincinnati, O.

P.S. — My arrangements are such that I can fill orders, at the shortest possible notice, for UNIFORMING MILITIA COMPANIES, as well as for Citizens' Clothing.

[*The Israelite*, April 1, 1864]

A STRIKE IN ST. LOUIS

Adding to the store of misery caused by the war was a spiralling inflation. Wages rarely kept up with the rising cost of food and clothing, and the workingman found himself in increasingly severe difficulty. The result was a profusion of strikes. "The year 1864," according to Carl Sandburg, "saw more strikes than all previous years in American history." These efforts of the working classes to better their situation were often condemned as prejudicial to the war effort. When the iron molders went on strike in St. Louis in the spring of 1864, General William S. Rosecrans, Commander of the Department of the Missouri, took steps to suppress the strike. On April 29th, he issued General Orders No. 65, which forbade unionization, picketing, and collective

bargaining — on the ground that the strike constituted an “attack upon private rights and the military power of the nation by organizations led by bad men.” Any violation of Rosecrans’ order was to “be punished as a military offence.”

A few days later German-born and -educated Charles Louis Bernays, a convert to Christianity who had taken part with Karl Marx and Heinrich Heine in the abortive European revolutions of 1848, addressed a letter of protest to the President. Bernays was apparently known to Lincoln, who had appointed him to consulships in Zurich, Switzerland, and Helsinki, Finland. As editor of St. Louis’ Anzeiger des Westens, Bernays had taken forthright stands against slavery and against Switzerland’s illiberal policies — which latter did not endear him to the Swiss authorities. His devotion to the cause of the Union led him to enlist in the Army in March, 1863; he left the Army in 1865 with the rank of brevet lieutenant colonel.

Though Bernays abjured his Jewish heritage, no history of the Jewish contribution to the American labor movement can ignore him.

The original of Bernays’ letter to Lincoln is in the Library of Congress’ Robert Todd Lincoln Collection.

St. Louis, Mo.
May 2d, 1864

To His Excellency
Abraham Lincoln
President of the United States
of America.

Sir: —

The enclosed order of Maj. Gen[era]l Rosecrans, I have no doubt, will attract your fullest attention, and even before you come to a closer examination of it, you will ask yourself if in fact circumstances of so extraordinary a character existed in St. Louis that could have estrayed one of your military commanders wide away from all the principles of our Government. What has happened in St. Louis, you will ask yourself, that could have induced Gen[era]l

Rosecrans to intervene with his military power in the social relations of our working men and the manufacturers, to make himself the arbiter in the world-spread struggle between labor and capital and decide in favor of capital against labor. What has happened in St. Louis? Nothing else, but what we see every five or six years making its appearance in all the English, French, and American workshops, what we witness at this very moment in New York, in Philadelphia, in Troy, in Albany, in Cincinnati, and in Pittsburg[h] — to wit: a strike of the tailors, shoemakers, iron-moulders, wagoners, and so forth. In none of these cities the civil authority intervened. Alone here in St. Louis, where martial law exists, your military commander puts himself between the employers and employees and decides and rules in favor of the first.

The character of the strike in St. Louis was absolutely the same as in the other above named cities. The iron-moulders' association, for instance, persuaded [*sic*] the employees in the different shops to join their society and they made a strike for higher wages and for the adoption of their charter and rules by the manufacturers. There was not the least indication that they struck for disloyal purposes or to prevent work to be done which was ordered by the Government in the different shops.

If the interests of the Government were injured by the strike, it was done incidentally but undoubtedly not with purpose, and if I may be allowed to estimate the injury sustained by the Government here in St. Louis at five per cent of the amount of work ordered, it certainly could be calculated in Pittsburg[h] and Philadelphia at 100 per cent. Nevertheless, in Philadelphia and Pittsburg[h] the Government showed not the least intention to interfere, while the military commander here at once decided the question in favor of the manufacturers.

Now, Mr. President, I am far from blaming the manufacturers and from justifying the working men in their respective positions, but I believe that this is a case which has to work out itself according to the natural laws of public economy and not by the sword of a military commander even if he believes that his decision is subservient to the greatest cause for which human beings ever struggled, I mean for the holy cause of our Union.

We struggle for the Union because the Union has proved to be the shield of American liberty and because our national Government is the best form under which this liberty can be preserved, but if, for the sake of the mere form the essence shall be abandoned, I believe that rather the Union shall be lost than freedom. We have destroyed slavery because slavery is not compatible with the Union. We have cheerfully agreed to the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus because this measure was necessary to reach treason, which is the highest crime against Union and liberty. We acknowledge the paramount right of the President to take extraordinary measures to put down this rebellion, but the nation will never agree to unnecessary attacks upon the fundamental laws of our political and social life.

We are not half through with the destruction of slavery and we already begin to attack free labor. Out of this war millions and millions have been made and lawfully made by our manufacturers, and whilst our armies have all been taken from the working classes and whilst in fini [in the last analysis] the greater part of taxation is to be paid by them, we overlook their services and suffering, and a military commander forbids them to associate as they use[d] to do for more than half a century in order to improve their condition and to regulate their relations between themselves and their employers.

When, in your great wisdom, your Excellency wrote to Mr. Oliver D. Filley that you did not intend to "run churches," you undoubtedly never thought that one of your military commanders might undertake to decide with the sword the greatest social question of the century.

And what is "running churches" compared with "running" workshops or, rather, changing the entire character of the industrial life of the American nation?

And what disastrous conclusions ought to be drawn from an official act which shows free labor and its natural consequences just as dangerous to our cause as slavery has been, and that in a country in which slave and free labor have created all the capital, both systems have to be destroyed totally or partially in order to maintain the capital alone?

Now, Mr. President, I believe there is a great temptation for

everybody who is in command of a Department to issue general orders and have his hand in a great many things, but I am confident that your Excellency will kindly show them the limit which they are not allowed to overstep even under the pretense of their orders being necessary to save the Union.

I am your Excellency's most obedient servant,

CHARLES L. BERNAYS

THERE IS NO "JEWISH VOTE"

Just before the 1864 national elections, newspapers buzzed with reports that a New York Jewish delegation had visited the White House to pledge the Jewish vote to President Lincoln. On November 3rd, Dr. Isachar Zacharie, the British-born chiropodist who was among Lincoln's most enthusiastic supporters, assured the President that "the Israelites" of New York City had promised "with but few exceptions" to give him their votes. Thirteen months earlier, Lincoln had received a letter from Abraham S. Cohen, "the editor and proprietor" of New York's Jewish Record, who had told the President that a number of his subscribers had asked him to "state that they could use considerable influence by money and votes to secure your success." Cohen had even visited Washington in an unsuccessful effort to interview Lincoln and ascertain his views on the matter. On October 26, 1864 — the same day that the letter reproduced below was written — Samuel A. Lewis, of New York, sent Lincoln assurances that "nothing shall be wanting on the part of your [Jewish] friends here towards carrying the Union [Republican] Cause" in the imminent election.

These views were in marked contrast to those of The Jewish Messenger, which flatly declared, on October 28, 1864, that "nobody is authorized to speak for our coreligionists on political questions; there is no such thing as a 'Jewish vote.'" Two days before, Myer S. Isaacs, one of The Jewish Messenger's editors and the son of its founder, had

embodied this declaration in a memorable letter to President Lincoln. On November 1st, John Hay, Lincoln's trusted friend, private secretary, and aide-de-camp, addressed to Isaacs a denial that the Jewish vote had been pledged.

It does seem, however, to be undeniable that — as Isaacs himself recognized — New York Jewry was very solidly behind Lincoln.

Isaacs became, in later years, one of New York's most distinguished Jewish personalities. The original of his letter to Lincoln is in the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection in the Library of Congress.

“Jewish Messenger” Office,
119 West Houston Street,
New York, October 26th, 1864.

Private

Your Excellency:

As a firm and earnest Union man, I deem it my duty to add a word to those that have doubtless been communicated to you from other sources, with reference to a recent “visitation” on the part of persons claiming to represent the Israelites of New York or the United States and pledging the “Jewish vote” to your support, and, I am informed, succeeding in a deception that resulted to their pecuniary profit.

Having peculiar facilities for obtaining information as to the Israelites of the United States, from my eight years' connection with the Jewish paper of this city and my position as secretary of their central organization, the “Board of Delegates” — in which capacity I have had the honor heretofore of communicating with yourself and the Departments — I feel authorized to caution you, sir, against any such representations as those understood to have been made.

There are a large number of faithful Unionists among our prominent coreligionists — but there are also supporters of the opposition, and indeed, the Israelites are not, as a body, distinctively [either] Union or Democratic [Secessionist] in their politics. In the conduct of our journal, for example, while, from the first firing upon our

national flag, there has been a steady support of the Government in its efforts to maintain the integrity of the Union and crush the unhallowed rebellion, there has also been a studied persistence in the expression of what is our implicit belief, that the Jews, as a body, have no *politics*; and while we [*The Jewish Messenger*] have earnestly counseled and implored attachment to the Union at whatever cost, we have refrained from interfering with the private political views of individual readers. This is predicated on our direct knowledge of the character and opinions of our coreligionists.

Therefore, sir, I am pained and mortified to find that you had been imposed upon by irresponsible men, animated, I am sure, by mercenary motives; and I wish to inform you, with all promptitude, that such acts are discountenanced and condemned most cordially by the community of American Israelites. As an illustration that an influential class of Jewish citizens are warm adherents of the Administration, you have the fact that a Hebrew will cast for you the vote of a New York city congressional district. A single Union meeting this week presented these facts: the Chairman of the Executive Committee and Committee of Arrangements, the gentleman who presented the resolutions, two principal speakers and many prominent persons upon the platform were Jews — I refer to the German Union mass meeting on Monday night.

It is because I sympathize heart and soul with the action of [the] Government in using every means to restore the Union and overthrow the machinations of those who seek its disruption, that I the more regret this attempt to deceive you. There is no "Jewish vote" — if there were, it could not be bought. As a body of intelligent men, we are advocates of the cherished principles of liberty and justice, and must inevitably support and advocate those who are the exponents of such a platform — "liberty and Union, now and forever."

Pardon the liberty I take in thus trespassing on your attention, but I pray that you will attribute it to the sole motive I have, that of undeceiving you and assuring you that there is no necessity for "pledging" the Jewish vote which does not exist — but at the same time that the majority of Israelite citizens must concur in attachment

for the Union and a determination to leave no means untried to maintain its honor and integrity. With the expression of high esteem, I am, sir,

Yours Most Respectfully,

MYER S. ISAACS

To the President

TRACTS AND TRACKS

Among the features of the nineteenth-century scene which an ardent Jew like Isaac Mayer Wise deplored, none were more distasteful than the attempts of Christian missionaries to convert the Jews. Wise had a good deal to say — and to publish — on this subject. Frequently he spoke of the missionaries with angry contempt, but there were times when he employed humor against them.

An eminent mathematician, a professor of the University College, being challenged to find a rhyme to "Timbuctoo," promptly replied with the following verse:

If I were a cassowary,
 On the sands of Timbuctoo,
 I would eat a missionary,
 Skin, and bones, and hymn book too!

[*The Israelite*, October 10, 1862]

Beside the six thousand army chaplains, a host of tract distributors are employed to make proselytes. The [*Penny*] *Press*, of this city, is responsible for the following anecdote:

"In passing through one of the wards in the hospital in Baltimore," says a letter-writer, "my attention was called to a poor soldier from one of the New York regiments, who was experiencing great suffering from a wound in the shoulder and one in the head. The tract woman came along, put down a tract, told him she had come

to do his soul good. The poor fellow rose up, looked at her a moment, saying, 'Tracts, madam? I can't eat tracts, I can't drink tracts, but you can make tracks as soon as you please.' The tract woman may have meant well enough, but one-half of the female distributors do not understand how to administer true human charity."

Could not these charitable women do much more service as nurses in the hospitals? If I had been the sick soldier, I would have politely requested the woman to dress his wound, give him a glass of ice-water, when he feels thirsty, or a morsel of food, when he feels hungry, and leave the poor fellow to care for his own soul. It is strange, how pervert an idea some have of religion and humanity. [*The Israelite*, May 30, 1862]

THE ADVENTURES OF A PRISONER

Abram Lewis, of Brooklyn, N. Y., saw action at Reams' Station, Virginia, in late August, 1864, and then was taken prisoner by the Confederacy. Lewis fared better than many another prisoner of war, whether Northern or Southern, for he saw his home again — though not until he had wandered over the Appalachians, and through the Mid-West and Canada. In his travels, he encountered a colorful array of characters called forth by the war — Confederate cavalry raiders, Kentucky bushwhackers, and Union bounty brokers.

Seventeen years after the war, Lewis composed a brief account of his experiences. His story reflects the chaos that attended the distintegration of the Confederacy. The original memoir, which he seems to have begun in 1882, but left unfinished until 1884, is in the possession of Rabbi Abraham J. Klausner, of Temple Emanu-El, Yonkers, N. Y.

New York, September 23rd, 1882

I enlisted in August, 1864, in the recruiting office in Grand Street, W[illia]msburg, [Brooklyn, N. Y.,] and was sent from there

to Hart's Island [in Long Island Sound], and from there we were put on board of a transport and sent to City Point [on the James River in Virginia].

I was assigned to the Sixty First New York Volunteers. The major's name was [George Washington] Scott, afterwards Colonel of the Regiment.

I was in the battle of Reams' Station, [south of Petersburg,] Virginia, in [August,] 1864. After the battle was over I was taken prisoner the next morning with five or six others and taken to [the Confederacy's prison for captured enlisted men on] Belle Island [in the James River at Richmond]. From there I was taken to Libby Prison [in Richmond]. After being there about six or seven weeks, I was taken from there with about 150 others. It was daylight, in the morning. We were put on board of a train and were sent to a place called Abingdon, Virginia. We all stayed around there about a week, and from there we were taken across the mountains to Pound Gap, [Virginia,] and from there to a place called Gladeville [, Tennessee,] and were all stood up in single file and were asked if any one of us wished to join them, and they would give us plenty of chance to make money, as they intended to make a raid. One or two of the gang did go with them. They were some of [the recently deceased John Hant] Morgan's guerrillas. After that they sent us all away, telling us if we kept on the road before us it would take us to the Big Sandy River [in eastern Kentucky]. I did not have any money myself, so I went with five other men and the rest of them scattered in all directions.

We — that is, the party I was with — put up at a house, and one of the party called Scotty, an Irishman, had a one hundred dollar greenback and was showing it to everybody in the house. We stayed there in the house all that night. The next morning we hired a team of oxen to take us about 25 miles to [a] man by the name of Martin. We had not [gone] more than a half of a mile from the house when we were between two large hills, when on each side of us down came four or five men with guns and pistols and made us all get off the wagon and ran us into the woods and took everything we had except the one hundred dollar bill which Scotty had up his sleeve and then let us go. We went back to the wagon and found

it in the place and we went on our journey. When it got dark in the evening, we met a lot of calvary [*sic*] men and they asked where we were agoing, and we told them to Martin's, and they took the old fellow who was driving the oxen and sent us to a house on the road to get our supper, which we did. I think the party that was driving the oxen was in with the party that rob[bed] us, for when the calvary men stopped us he tried to get away.

We all struck a place called Louisa, Kentucky, on the Big Sandy River, and about fifty or sixty more of the gang strurck the same place. We all told different stories as to how we got there. I myself said I was a Rebel reffugee until one of the party by the name of Cruikshank [?] gave the whole business away to the Provost Marschall and we were all put in jail and made [to] load flat boats with boxes of hard tack. After being there about two weeks, we were all put on board of a flat boat and sent down the river to Ironton [, southeastern Ohio,] or Cattlettsburg [Catlettsburg, northeastern Kentucky], and slept in the jail all night. The next morning we were put on board of a steamer and taken to Cincinnatto [*sic*], from there to Lexington [, Kentucky,] in jail for about two weeks, when I was called with another young man and we were told to go. I worked my way home without a cent in my pocket.

Signed,

ABRAM LEWIS

March 23rd, 1[8]83

December 12th, 1884. Continued.

I got on the train at Cinninatti, from there to Cleveland, Ohio, did not have anything to eat, went 33 miles this side of Cleveland. Got put off the train. Stayed at a farm house all night. Got up in the morning, went back to Cleveland, got aboard the boat that took me to Detroit, Michigan. There I met a bounty broker that wanted me to enlist in the army again. I told him I had a brother in Buffallo [*sic*] which I wanted to see first, and he wanted to take me with him to Buffallo. And he did take me as far as a place called Sarnia,

[Ontario,]* where he met a friend of his in the same business, bounty brok[er?], and they both got in a fight about me to see which one of them I belonged to. At last I got tired of them and told them I did not belong to any of them and went a boa[r]d of the boat, which was just going to start for the Canada side. I got over there and got aboard the train to Hamilton [, Ontario]. Had 5 cents, bought a loaf of bread, which I shared with a bum. From there to a place called Drumbo [Dunville, Ontario?], worked in a flour mill making cigars for the boss of the mill. Got seven dollars for my work. From there to Buffalo, from there to New York without a cent in my pocket.

Signed,

ABRAM LEWIS

MR. HEYNEMAN AND HIS PILGRIMAGE

In ancient Israel, Jews were expected to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the site of the Temple shrine, three times a year, and even in our own day Jerusalem continues to be an object of "pilgrimage" for many Jews. For at least one American Jew at the end of the Civil War — Munich-born Henry Heyneman, or Heineman, of Boston — a pilgrimage to Washington, D. C., recommended itself as a means for expressing his sense of patriotic triumph at the defeat of the Confederacy. The Boston Post of April 24, 1865, gave an account of the pilgrimage.

A correspondent of Cincinnati's Israelite subsequently informed his editor of Heyneman's resolve, news of which traveled even further than the pilgrim — across the Atlantic, in fact, to London, where "the walk to Washington" was reported in The Jewish Chronicle of June 30, 1865.

THE WALK TO WASHINGTON. — A correspondent writes to the "Israelite": — "Mr. Henry Heyneman, who at the commence-

* [Editor's Note: In view of what Lewis says a few lines later, he must have meant Port Huron, Michigan, not Sarnia, Ontario. The two towns are separated by the St. Clair River.]

ment of the rebellion formed a resolution that when Richmond was taken he would walk to Washington, started from the State House yesterday morning on his journey. He had on a light knapsack, and carried an American flag in his hand. The distance to Washington is about 550 miles. Mr. H. Heyneman is an Israelite, a native of Mu[e]nchen, Bavaria. He made this vow, as I understand, about two months before the surrender of Lee's army, and is now carrying out *this singular but patriotic resolution.*"

SIR MOSES ON ABRAHAM LINCOLN

It was not only in America that Abraham Lincoln had been loved — or condemned — and it was not only in America that he was mourned. In London, Tom Taylor, the editor of Punch — which had unfailingly viewed Lincoln with a "self-complacent British sneer" — was moved to repentance by the President's tragic end and wrote that

*The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!*

For Taylor's compatriot, the octogenarian Sir Moses Montefiore, who had devoted a lifetime and a fortune to the relief of his coreligionists, there was no need to repent. Who better than Sir Moses could grasp the meaning of Abraham Lincoln? By any measure the greatest Jew of the nineteenth century, this Anglo-Italian — who journeyed seven times to the Orient in behalf of his oppressed people and in 1867 would brave a Jew-baiting mob in Roumania — had always understood the struggle of the murdered President.

The Archives Israélites de France, from which London's Jewish Chronicle copied the Montefiore statement reprinted below, was an influential journal published in Paris.

AMERICAN AND JEWISH SLAVERY. — The "Archives Israélites," in speaking of the painful impression which the intelligence of the assassination of President Lincoln has produced in England, writes:

“The most characteristic words on this subject, as a curious approximation between Israel and the cause of slavery, have been uttered in a circle of friends by Sir Moses Montefiore. The Baronet expressed himself thus: ‘Abraham Lincoln has broken the chains of the slaves and has succumbed. I wish that God would grant me the strength and energy of this man to break the chains of my people, and I should have willingly endured death like this Abraham — this righteous man. Henceforth the Negroes are free, and will remain so, God willing. O, that I could say the same of Israel! In the territories of the Czar, in Morocco, and in a thousand other countries, my brethren are still waiting for their Abraham Lincoln!’ ”

[*The Jewish Chronicle*, June 30, 1865]

In observance of the Civil War Centennial

THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

announces the publication of a series of colored posters portraying the participation of the Jew in the Civil War.

These posters are available for display in religious schools, congregational libraries, congregational exhibits, and organizations interested in American Jewish history.