



*Portrait of Julie Rosewald. Popular Entertainment
(Opera Cards #620).*

(Courtesy Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library,
Harvard University)

“Cantor Soprano” Julie Rosewald: The Musical Career of a Jewish American “New Woman”

Judith S. Pinnolis

Between 1884 and 1893, despite the Jewish tradition of *kol isha*¹ prohibiting women from singing the lead in synagogue services, a woman soprano soloist served as cantor at Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco. Affectionately called “Cantor Soprano” by her congregation, Julie Eichberg Rosewald (1847–1906) sang the solo parts in all services and directed the music of the synagogue. Rosewald’s role was unique in America until 1955, when Betty Robbins began officiating as cantor at Temple Avodah in Oceanside, New York.²

This paper will lay out a description of the musical career of Rosewald and offer the evidence of her extraordinary role at Temple Emanu-El. Although she was not “invested” as a cantor, she led the services for her congregation, chose the music, served as choir director, and collaborated with the organist. In these capacities, she served the functions of a cantor.³

This role was but one aspect of an illustrious career spanning the worlds of opera and concert stage, to composer, author, teacher, and full professor of music. Rosewald’s life and career, and particularly her singing career culminating as America’s first woman cantor, contribute to our understanding of cultural activities of Jewish women in America. In light of changing nineteenth-century American attitudes concerning the limited sphere of women in music, her accomplishments are all the more outstanding.

In late-nineteenth-century America, new ideologies were beginning to take shape among American women that generally redefined their attitudes toward their roles in society. The ideal of “real womanhood” that had predominated earlier in the century and the nature of women’s proper sphere of work were part of these changes.⁴ Women became active outside the home in various social and reform movements, including the abolition, settlement house, temperance, and labor movements. Women writers emphasized the role of women as moral guardians of society and nurturers of American democracy.⁵ Women gained access to higher education, which helped young women “find their way to an independent identity and to help them prepare for achievement.”⁶ By participating in these various reforms, women began to question the philosophies that relegated them solely to the domestic sphere. Educated women “insisted on greater freedom in the way they dressed, in their choice of friends, and in their selection of lifetime work.”⁷ Women had gained new insights into their capabilities from their successes.

The concept of the “New Woman,” seen today as a sort of proto-feminist movement, was already widespread among American women by the 1880s. This New Woman was very different from the traditional ideals of womanhood, which defined women’s roles at home and in society. “The New Woman’s primary distinguishing characteristics included both an independent spirit and commitment to a lifetime career,”⁸ two traits that will be recognized in the biography of Julie Rosewald. The New Woman believed that each individual had the right to fulfill her potential through work, which in turn would improve the moral fiber of society.

Even before the Civil War, American Jewish women were heavily influenced by the general societal ideals of religious roles for women. Women were encouraged to be active in synagogue life, as many Protestant women were in their churches. The 1850s through 1870s witnessed an extraordinary expansion of reforms in Jewish worship that included movements for mixed choirs and mixed seating in family pews.⁹

Some women were creatively or artistically active in their Jewish and secular world. For example, Penina Moïse (1797–1880), whose poetry appeared in general publications such *The Charleston Courier*, *The Boston Daily Times*, *Heriot’s Magazine*, and *The Godey’s Lady’s Book*, also published in Jewish journals such as *The Occident*.¹⁰ In 1842, Moïse published sixty of her religious poems in *Hymns Written for the Use of Hebrew Congregations*. The revised 1856 edition contained more than 190 of Moïse’s hymns. Many of these works were later adopted as part of the 1897 *Union Hymnal* published by the Reform movement.¹¹ Her contributions to Jewish life were a precursor to more active involvement by women in synagogues.

The spirit of the late nineteenth century opened new opportunities for women in the Western states. In San Francisco, Emma Wolf (1865–1932) was writing short stories that appeared in local and national magazines. Her 1892 novel, *Other Things Being Equal*, which concentrated on the struggles of a Jewish woman, was widely read. Another Jewish woman in California, Rachel Frank (1861–1948), was crossing boundaries of traditional Jewish roles for women. Starting in the 1890s, Frank gave sermons in synagogues and published speeches throughout California and in other Western states. The so-called “Maiden in the Temple” caused a sensation, and interested readers of the Jewish press followed her activities. Her admission to Hebrew Union College (HUC) in Cincinnati in 1893 was widely reported.¹² Speculation abounded whether a woman might really become a rabbi, as the Reform movement avowed acceptance of more rights for women within the synagogue. Since 1875, when Julia Ettlinger had studied at HUC in the college’s first class, some women had committed to serious Jewish study: “From the 1890s forward, in almost every decade, there were one or more women studying for the rabbinate.”¹³

It is not surprising that some of the most progressive attitudes came from California, as California was a place “that more than any other appeared from the outset to project—as seen from a Jewish perspective—a sense of America at its most promising, open, and refreshing.”¹⁴ By the 1870s, San Francisco’s openness allowed “Jews of all origins and persuasions . . . to enjoy the freedom to pursue varied opportunities and lead vibrant lives, to assimilate the best of modern America and the modern world, and to satisfy their special needs as Jews.” San Francisco’s Jews were proud of their large and impressive Reform Temple Emanu-El. “Like no other building in the nation, the region’s cathedral synagogue dramatically came to symbolize the freedom, equality, openness and fraternity of America and of the West for Jews and others.”¹⁵ With this vital atmosphere in mind, it is not hard to believe that in the 1880s, nearly a decade earlier than Wolf’s novel or Frank’s rabbinical studies, progressive and open-minded individuals at Temple Emanu-El could invite a woman vocalist to their temple and permit her to accept a role as a cantor.

How did it occur that Julie Rosewald was chosen as soloist in the temple and became “Cantor Soprano”? After all, San Francisco’s Jewish population by 1870 was the second largest in the United States. The Jews were 8 percent of the overall city population.¹⁶ San Francisco was a booming town with a sophisticated and elaborate opera culture.¹⁷ There were ten opera houses and twenty-seven opera companies with dozens of top-notch singers; between 1880 and 1890 there were more than 1,100 performances reported,¹⁸ and in the next decade there were more than 2,200.¹⁹ Consequently, the city was home to many Jewish people and many fine singers, male and female.

Temple Emanu-El’s request was not proffered to just any singer, for Rosewald was an international singing star with an enormous repertoire that included music used in Reform synagogues. She had a distinguished musical and Jewish background, including the study of Hebrew, through her family of cantors. She sang with her husband, Jacob H. Rosewald, in the Baltimore community, participated in Jewish musical events and charity work, and embarked on a brilliantly successful opera career. The offer for her to serve the synagogue in the capacity of cantor, seen in this light, seems almost a completely natural outcome of her talents, special abilities, and life story, rather than the bold or revolutionary decision it may seem today.

Rosewald’s qualifications alone would not have been enough to enable her to act as a cantor, however, if they had not come to light at a unique time and place. Changes in how American women viewed themselves, combined with societal openness made possible by the New Woman movement and California’s Western spirit, opened the door for “Cantor Soprano.” American women were stretching the boundaries in many areas of society, and Rosewald was able to take advantage of these changes and enter a leadership role in her Jewish world. Indeed, her career may be an exemplar of a Jewish woman who

integrates herself into American values and lifestyle in the nineteenth century while maintaining a strong Jewish identity. Given this societal context, perhaps other Jewish women were similarly enabled, but the record has been glossed over. Therefore, additional examination of the historical record may prove fruitful in identifying other cases of Jewish women's accomplishments in the arts and elsewhere during this period.

Rosewald's step onto the pulpit was the culmination of a combination of important factors in her education, training, accomplishments, and Jewish family background. Understanding these factors is important in explaining who she was and provides the context in which her contemporaries viewed her. This context occurred during the era of post-emancipation in Germany and the rise of the New Woman in America. Her background and social milieu help explain circumstances driving her story and triumphal accomplishments. First, this paper examines the musical and family background that brought a young German-Jewish artist to the United States; then her musical training and early singing career; and finally her role as an international opera star, culminating with her extraordinary California career as cantor and pedagogue. In addition, we will briefly look at individuals supporting Rosewald and the Reform Jewish community's desire for high-level musical performance during worship as timely factors in her success story.

Rosewald's Background; German-Jewish Women Singers

Growing up in Germany, Rosewald was familiar with the expected roles of German Jewish women. Despite the emergence of Reform Judaism early in the nineteenth century, Jewish women musicians in Europe found themselves relegated to the sidelines within Jewish worship. Attitudes derived from Jewish tradition that the voice of a woman leading men in worship distracted from prayer, lingered in many temples. Neither were women allowed to lead services or serve as *shaliach tzibbur*, the "messenger of the people" or cantor. While some Reform synagogues began to include soprano, alto, tenor, and bass (SATB) choirs in place of all-men and -boys choirs, there were no leadership roles for women musicians. Cantors in European synagogues were all men. For the most part, Jewish women musicians found venues for their creative talents outside the synagogue and Jewish community, in art music and West European culture. There they flourished as musicians, especially vocalists.

Women of the emancipated generation in Germany were often not free to perform in public, however. Fanny Mendelssohn (1805–1847) belonged to that group of middle- and upper-class Jewish women and those newly converted to Christianity who stayed in their salons and homes. Despite the significant recognition Mendelssohn received through her own musical salon and the social status she gained from her family's conversion to Christianity, she was never able to perform in "public,"²⁰ as it was considered unseemly. Her brother Felix

Mendelssohn's seeming opposition to Fanny's performing in public or publishing music likely stemmed from concerns about public criticism of her work or her social status. She was hesitant herself; so despite encouragement from her husband, Wilhelm Hensel, only in the last year of her life did she publish some of her music. After she died suddenly from a stroke in 1847, Felix published more of it posthumously.²¹

In the Victorian age, many people differentiated between a female vocalist and a female instrumentalist in evoking sexual undertones in performance. The public was split between those who felt the female voice evoked "the presence of God" and those who felt the female voice was a "siren song" of dangerous temptation.²² Nevertheless, female vocalists in Europe were some of the most highly paid women of the era. They often received expensive gifts. Their portraits might be placed in storefronts alongside those of politicians. They were extremely popular, and "diva reception" was a lure akin to today's rock idols.

Many emancipated German-Jewish families followed the path set by non-Jews and had their talented daughters musically educated as a socially acceptable "woman's accomplishment."²³ "German bourgeois women were expected to play the piano and to entertain their husbands and children... . The Jewish bourgeoisie was quick to emulate its counterpart."²⁴ Occasionally, serious talent was developed in some families, and members would play for each other at home. In terms of public performance, however, Jewish women were in a different position than their counterparts. Because they could not achieve complete social status without converting to Christianity, it is possible that they did not face as great a stigma or loss of social standing as their non-Jewish counterparts by appearing on the musical stage.

Additionally, many middle- and upper-class families made even finer distinctions between their daughters' giving concerts of vocal art music and performing on the operatic stage, where there was a line that could be crossed to becoming an "actress," which at that time had tremendous negative connotations. The opera was associated with intense passions. While German families did not have the same deep belief as the English that "constant admiration was an influence likely to degrade the character of the female performing artist,"²⁵ there was still some question of the woman singer being welcomed into respectable society as a diva.

Nevertheless, many of these talented German-Jewish women made their way to the opera and concert stages, including five Heinefetter sisters, three of whom—Sabina Heinefetter (1809–1872),²⁶ Maria, known under the name Stöckl-Heinefetter (1816–1857), and Kathinka (1820–1858)—were renowned in European opera. Others included Jenny Meyer (1834–1894);²⁷ Pauline Lucca (1840–1908); Marie Heilbron (1849–1886)²⁸; Charlotte Sophia von Wertheimer (1795–1877); and Karoline Stern (1800–1850?), to whom Heinrich Heine dedicated a poem.²⁹ Of special note were Marie Sulzer (1828–1892), Henriette

Sulzer (1832–1907), and Sophie Sulzer (1840–1885), daughters of the famous Vienna Obercantor Salomon Sulzer (1804–1890).³⁰ Some musicians, along with many other Jewish young people of mid-nineteenth-century Germany, immigrated to America.

The Eichberg Family of Stuttgart

Obercantor Moritz Eichberg and Eleanor Seligsberg Eichberg of Stuttgart were the heads of a musically talented family, including three daughters—Pauline, Julia, and Bertha³¹—who went on to performance careers.³² Moritz was born 18 December 1806 in Bad Mergentheim, Germany,³³ and his wife, Eleanor, was born 14 June 1811 in Bamberg, Germany. The couple was married 23 May 1837. Moritz was the youngest of eight children of Samuel Jonas Eichberg (born 23 August 1757 and died 29 July 1831 in Bechhofen, Germany) and Pauline Beile Low (born 1765 in Affaltrach, Germany). Samuel Jonas was the cantor and kosher butcher in Mergentheim. Moritz followed his footsteps to the cantorate and studied Talmud in Fürth, and then he returned home and joined his father in his duties. In 1832, he sat for the required examinations of Württemberg, Germany, as a school teacher and precentor,³⁴ (cantor) and passed with a grade of “well qualified.” Moritz was invited to Stuttgart to apply for the newly created position of Vorsänger and led the first service there, which included choral music on the Shabbat of Hanukkah in 1833.³⁵

The Stuttgart Jewish community, while quite old, had been newly reorganized in 1832, and it became the local rabbinical center. Eichberg was found to be naturally gifted and musically sophisticated, a man of good humor and quick wit. He had fully mastered the southern German *chazzanut* (Jewish liturgical music) and had a beautiful tenor voice.³⁶ He was officially hired as cantor in Stuttgart in 1834.³⁷

In April 1837 the community purchased a lot, and by October of that year a synagogue stood at 16 Langen Strasse. The building had a women’s gallery and two courtyard staircases, with the Holy Ark, lectern, and *bimah* (raised platform) on the east side of the prayer room. “Vorsänger Eichberg,” along with members of the royal court band, were deployed for the musical presentations at the inaugural ceremonies.³⁸ For nearly thirty years the community grew steadily, so that by 1862 a modern, Moorish style building was erected, containing an organ and reflecting the influences of both Reform and high rates of assimilation to German cultural tastes.³⁹

The Eichberg family lived opposite the Conservatory of Music in Stuttgart.⁴⁰ The cantor and his wife were both considered highly musical.⁴¹ Their five children were Pauline, born 22 April 1839; Emilie, born 25 November 1840; Bertha, born 5 April 1844; Julia (or Julie), born 7 March 1847,⁴² and Antonie, born 26 October 1850.⁴³ Four of the five children—all but Emilie—were recognized as musically talented.

Julie Eichberg's Early Education

Julie's parents recognized her musical talent when she was quite young and "early intended her for the lyric stage,"⁴⁴ a socially acceptable path for young singers. She was sent at age ten to gain a general music education at the Stuttgart Conservatorium. Around age twelve she won a high honor by being accepted to studies at the Royal Theatre School in Stuttgart. At that time, the king annually selected only two students with "promising voices" from the conservatory to attend the theater school.⁴⁵ Along with her powerful soprano voice, Julie made an appealing figure. She was 5 feet 1 inch in height, with hazel eyes, dark brown hair, a small oval face with a high forehead, and an aquiline nose.⁴⁶ She remained at the school for four years.

Unfortunately, the death from typhus of her sister Bertha, an accomplished harpist, just shy of her twentieth birthday on 10 February 1864, caused the Eichberg parents to reevaluate their plans for Julie, and instead they wished her to quit her musical ventures. However, those years at the conservatory and Royal Theatre School had set Julie's ambitions toward opera and the stage rather than the concert hall or a home parlor.

America

According to one reporter's interview with Julie Eichberg Rosewald years later, her mother decided to send Julie to America to "break her connection to the German stage."⁴⁷ Julie had nearly completed her conservatory studies by the time she left Germany. After traveling through Liverpool, she arrived in New York at age eighteen in May 1865. She was to live with her married sister, Mrs. Pauline Eichberg Weiller, a former concert pianist but by 1865, a piano teacher with two small children in Baltimore.⁴⁸

Julie and her sister enjoyed a number of years together where they participated in the musical events of Baltimore. For example, they both performed as soloists in the Peabody Institute's American concert series during the 1867–1868 season and were named as "the chief attractions for the general public." Pauline Weiller⁴⁹ and Julie were among the solo performers specifically named by the board of trustees report of 1868 concerning this landmark event. On 24 October 1867 Pauline, Julie, and Jacob Rosewald appeared together at a benefit concert for The Home of the Friendless at the Concordia Opera House in Baltimore.⁵⁰

Julie had met Jacob Rosewald, a violinist, conductor and composer, around 1865. She married him on 7 October 1866, in Baltimore, with Cantor J. Leucht from Baltimore Hebrew Congregation as officiant.⁵¹ The Rosewalds took up residence in a boarding house in Ward 10 of the city.⁵² Later, in 1880, when Julie and Jacob were touring, they used the home of her sister Antonie and David Oppenheimer, a wholesale jeweler, as their address of record, at 431 West Fayette Street.⁵³

Jacob Rosewald, a native of Baltimore, earned a living as a musician, at various times conducting, composing, playing violin and occasionally organ or keyboard, and teaching music. As violinist at the Peabody Conservatory, he was an important musician in the community. He was also well known as choral conductor of the *Liederkrantz*, a type of *Männerchöre*, a men's singing society, which was a common feature in German-American communities.⁵⁴ Rosewald composed and published music and taught music in the public schools. He was described as a sweet man who wore glasses and sported a moustache.⁵⁵ He had black hair, light brown eyes, and stood 5 feet 6 inches.⁵⁶



Jacob H. Rosewald from The Emanu-El 1, no. 1 (22 November 1895): 8.

(Courtesy Judah L. Magnes Museum)

Jacob and Julie participated together in the musical life of Baltimore in both the general and Jewish communities. In 1871, he led the *Liederkrantz* and directed the program at the two-day Beethoven commemorations that were held at the Concordia Opera House in Baltimore. Julie sang the solos for selections from the Oratorio "Christ on Mount Olive."⁵⁷ In April 1873, both Julie and her husband participated as musicians in the consecration ceremonies for Bishop Gross.⁵⁸ On 18 May 1873, Jacob composed music for the dedication of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum on Calverton Heights. Both he and his wife participated as performers:

About half-past two o'clock, the choir, consisting of about sixty-five voices, comprising the combined choirs of the synagogues of the city, opened the services with the singing of an introductory hymn, Prof. Rosewald, the leader, presiding at the organ. A fervent prayer was then offered by Rev. Dr. Szold. A dedicatory ode composed by Roy A. Hoffman, and put to music by Prof. Rosewald, was then sung by the entire choir with striking effect. A trio in this piece was handsomely sung by Mrs. Rosewald, Miss K. Benner, and Miss Jennie Putzel.⁵⁹

The public performance of women and men in mixed choral groups demonstrates the Jewish community's coming together for important events with full participation for all. The community made distinctions between what took place in synagogue worship and in the public sphere. Mixed choirs were often used for public dedication ceremonies for Jewish institutions, including synagogue consecration ceremonies. During most of the nineteenth century, even Orthodox congregations in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere "saw

no problem in organizing choirs of men and women for their consecration celebrations,” as these ceremonies were not “subject to the usual restraints of Jewish public workshop.”⁶⁰

While Jacob’s father was a stalwart in an Orthodox synagogue in Baltimore, Jacob and Julie shifted toward the newer style of Jewish worship, possibly due to their interest in excellent western European music. By Rosh Hashanah 1873, Jacob was reported as the organist and the leader of the choir for Har Sinai Temple, a synagogue with Reform tendencies that included mixed choral singing. Julie was named among the “lady members” of the choir.⁶¹

These experiences in the 1860s and 1870s in Baltimore laid a solid foundation for Julie and Jacob Rosewald. They both performed in Jewish synagogue and community events. Jacob served as musical director of Jewish and other choirs, utilizing his familiarity with Jewish synagogue music by playing organ for many holidays and special occasions at synagogues and other Jewish venues. Julie frequently sang in congregational and Jewish community events. These experiences gave them both a solid foundation in mid-nineteenth-century Jewish synagogue music. This accumulated knowledge, in conjunction with their families’ traditional backgrounds—Jacob’s family’s Baltimore Orthodox synagogue and Julie’s familiarity with southern German *chazzanut* from the home of her father—would lay the groundwork for important developments for Julie Rosewald in future decades.

Julie Rosewald’s Early Singing Career

In the late 1860s, Julie Rosewald began to appear in concerts in Baltimore with great success. Julie “earnestly requested” to study music further in Europe. In 1870, her husband finally agreed. She started her year of studies with Amalie Marongelli in Stuttgart. She then worked with Maria von Marra (1822–1878) in Frankfurt and Pauline Viardot-Garcia (1821–1910) in Paris. Julie was invited to tour Bonn, Salzburg and elsewhere in Europe, but she “declined at the request of her husband and family.”⁶² Franz Abt (1819–1885), the German composer of hundreds of the most popular songs of the day, including “When the Swallows Homeward Fly,”⁶³ asked Julie to accompany him to interpret his songs in his concert tour to the United States in 1872.⁶⁴ She readily agreed. They came from Europe on the steamship *Rhein*.⁶⁵ Abt was greeted at New York’s harbor with a hero’s welcome by Americans, many of whom literally competed to meet him at the boat. The excitement of being on the receiving end of seas of people cheering and greeting Abt must have been highly impressive on the young Julie.⁶⁶ Abt was received by huge rallies of the German singing societies, banquets, and torchlight parades in New York, Boston, Washington, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, and other cities.⁶⁷ So great an event was Julie’s returning to America with Abt that it was mentioned as part of her achievements in her brief six-line entry in the 1927 edition of *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

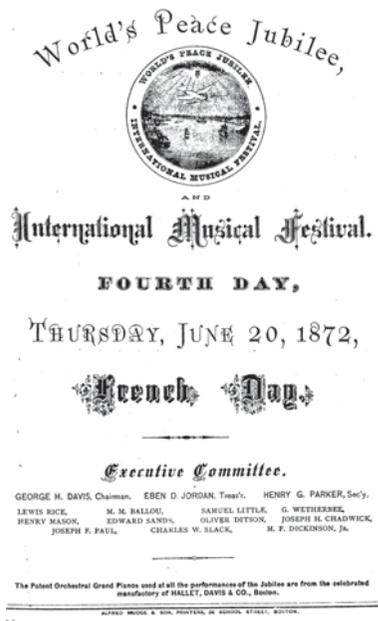
On 20 June 1872, Julie represented Baltimore in a large event called World's Peace Jubilee and International Musical Festival, held in Boston. She sang as part of a large chorus. The listing was given the flowery designation on the program "bouquet of artists." The program consisted of popular works such as the Anvil Chorus from Verdi's *Il Trovatore*; Gloria, from *Twelfth Mass* by Mozart; and the hymn, "Watchman, Tell Us of the Night," by Lowell Mason, in which the audience was invited to join along in singing.⁶⁸ These types of large-scale, public musical events, often threaded with some elements of American nationalism, were common in post-Civil-War America, but this event was considered monumental and created a national stir. Abt conducted his own music at the World Peace Jubilee. During his tour of the United States, he dedicated some of his songs to Julie Rosewald.⁶⁹

Julie returned home to Baltimore, but she continued to think about the offers in Europe that she had declined. She was not happy about all of the missed opportunities. The various offers only gave her further grounds to believe that she had the skills to do great work on the stage.

Julie's Opera Career

From then on, Julie Rosewald wanted to sing on the stage and embark on an opera career. The successes and trials of this career would become integral to her American Jewish story. The story reveals not only a ready acceptance by American audiences to a talented Jewish musician in the nineteenth century; it also shows how an American Jewess was able to integrate her American values and modern attitudes with her own identity forged by a strong Jewish family.

In the spring of 1875, unbeknownst to her husband and "on her own responsibility,"⁷⁰ Julie arranged for C.D. Hess (1838–1909), an important opera impresario, to hear her sing a concert in Baltimore. Despite her husband's and family's objections, Hess then "insisted upon her adopting the operatic stage"⁷¹ and "promised her a permanent engagement provided her debut was a successful one."⁷² Since she was a married woman with a good social standing, her husband and relatives protested strongly against her return to the stage.



"World's Peace Jubilee and International Musical Festival. Fourth Day, Thursday, 20 June 1872, French Day." Printed Program.

(Courtesy Library of Congress)

Nevertheless, Julie had her way, and she made her debut in Toronto in May 1875 as Marguerite in *Faust*⁷³ with the Kellogg Opera Company under the direction of Max Strakosch.⁷⁴ Julie's success in Toronto changed her husband's mind about a career for her in opera. He consented to have her tour.⁷⁵

Clara Louise Kellogg and Hess had already started up a music business relationship in 1873,⁷⁶ in which Kellogg managed the "artistic details," including the music. She planned productions, arranged scores, translated librettos, as well as performed the lead roles in her company.⁷⁷ Hess served as "director" and later, between 1877 and 1890, assumed a management role with the Kellogg Opera Company. He persuaded Julie to join this touring English opera company.⁷⁸ Prior to this, Julie had only sung in "French, Italian and German,"⁷⁹ but in America in the 1870s, opera in English translation was still a norm for many of these traveling troupes.⁸⁰

Hess first engaged Julie for a season in California. Her career skyrocketed as an opera star. She performed in California with Hess's company at a salary of one hundred fifty dollars a week⁸¹ starting in June 1875 and extending for three months.⁸² This high salary mirrors those of other in-demand female opera stars of the era. She gave her first San Francisco performance on 5 July 1875 at Maguire's New Theatre as Filina in Thomas's *Mignon*.⁸³ She followed that with performances on 29 July as Zerlina in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*,⁸⁴ on 30 July as Arline in Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl*,⁸⁵ on 3 August as Lucia in Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and on 18 August as Catarina in Auber's *Crown Diamonds*.⁸⁶ A reviewer stated, "Miss Rosewald sang the part of 'Lucia' effectively, and barring a



Julie Rosewald as Arline in *The Bohemian Girl*. (Courtesy Harvard Theatre Collection. Houghton Library, Harvard University)

few faulty intonations, correctly. The mad scene was a grand triumph, and ensured a hearty recall."⁸⁷ She was noted for singing the Shadow Song from *Dinorah* with "exquisite delicacy of expression."⁸⁸ On 4 August she sang the role of Marguerite in Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*.⁸⁹ In an interview, Julie claimed that within four weeks she had learned fifteen operas. In addition to her roles in California, her repertoire included Susanna in *The Marriage of Figaro* (Mozart); Lady Henriette in *Martha* (Flotow); and Edith in the newly completed *Il Talismano* (Balfe).⁹⁰ From these roles, we understand that Rosewald sang primarily as a lyric coloratura soprano.

Upon the end of her season in California, Julie was given an extravagant farewell ball on 21 August 1875.⁹¹ She returned in triumph to Baltimore. Kellogg's troupe gave several performances there in February 1876. On 23 February 1876, Hess received a petition signed by more than two hundred "pupils and personal friends" of Julie Rosewald, to have an additional performance where they could hear her sing. The next day Hess printed the petition as part of his front-page ad in *The Baltimore Sun*, which stated:

Dear Sir: We, the undersigned pupils and personal friends of Mme. J. H. Rosewald, fearing that some time will elapse before the return of the Kellogg Troupe to this city, and desirous of offering a true token of our appreciation for Mme. Rosewald, both as a lady and as an artist, would respectfully request you, if compatible with your arrangements, to give us an opportunity of hearing Mme. Rosewald a second time in opera before the close of your present season. Respectfully,...

Hess printed many petitioners' names with the ad. Hess also announced an extra matinee on Saturday. Julie would sing Susanna in Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro*, no doubt delighting large numbers of people in Baltimore.

In 1876, Kellogg's company was reorganized, and Julie became one of the chief prima donnas. "The Kellogg Company as now constituted is, no doubt, one of the best musical combinations in the world,"⁹³ gushed one report in 1876. Julie performed for the first time in Philadelphia with Kellogg's company on 21 April 1876, appearing as Prascovina and Natalie in Meyerbeer's *The Star of the North*. The next day, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* gave this review: "The first appearance of Mme. Juila [*sic*] Rosewald in opera here was one of the items of interest connected with this performance. The lady is evidently not a novice, and sang her part with ease and good taste. Her voice, too, is good, and her method a very fair one."⁹⁴ Julie appeared four times that week in the same opera.⁹⁵ An additional review on 25 April 1876 indicated that the Philadelphia audiences were enthralled, showing "their delight at various points with hearty applause."⁹⁶ In addition to appearing with the company, she also concertized around the city with her husband and other soloists outside the opera, as shown through an advertisement for "Doctor Gustave Satter's Second Grand Concert at Musical Fund Hall" for an appearance on 4 April 1876.⁹⁷

Julie sang with Kellogg for about two years, although not always in featured roles. She sang in eastern American venues such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Newark in early 1876, and later that same year in Detroit, Chicago, and further west. Her November appearances in Meyerbeer's *Star of the North* in English gained her a fan with a reviewer at the Chicago newspaper *The Inter Ocean*. Today, these very favorable reviews serve as the best descriptions of her voice and qualities as a singer:

A new prima donna, at least to the Western public, made her debut before a Chicago audience last night. We refer to Mme. Julie Rosewald, a lady who for some reason has not gained the prominence in this troupe to which her talents entitle her. Talent she has, and plenty of it. Her voice for a high soprano has an unusual compass, and it is very seldom that a voice of this character is heard with such beautiful full and clear tones in the upper register. The chest tones are round and rich, and possess strong dramatic quality. The volume is large and the timbre fine, and add to these great agility, flexibility, a fine method, and thorough cultivation, and we have in the ensemble one of the best operatic voices that has been heard in Chicago for a long time. Her delivery is good and so is her phrasing. She has slight imperfections in her style, but compared with her excellencies, these are trivial, and not being traceable to natural defects, will be remedied in time. Furthermore, she acts well. In her score the staccato notes, echoes, and florid passages were brilliantly executed.⁹⁸

The following week the reviewer was even happier with Julie's role as Filina in *Mignon*, in which she "had better opportunity to display her voice," and went on in exquisite detail explaining she had "many chances to exhibit the thorough cultivation of her voice." The reporter pointed out that "Mme. Rosewald's execution of the entire polonaise and the florid close were very fine, and she was compelled to repeat it, so hearty was the applause of the audience." The writer then took the opportunity to give the prima donna this message: "It would augment the effect of her vocalization if she could more thoroughly master the vowels and consonants of our language. Very likely this will follow as the result of service on the operatic stage." The reviewer concluded that she should ease up in the force of emission, which resulted in "an unevenness in the registers and a slight huskiness in the lower tones," adding that, "With these exceptions we have nothing to say of Mme. Rosewald's singing save high praise. It is a voice with body and range and feeling in it, and in a role where dramatic quality is a prime requisite we can imagine just how effective it would be."⁹⁹ After Julie appeared in *L'Étoile du Nord* (Star of the North) as Prascovia, the impressed reviewer conducted a long interview with her and again described her capabilities:

Her voice is one possessing unusual strength and volume. It is finely adapted to the requirements of dramatic music. Its range is over two octaves, with equal strength and roundness in all the registers, from low C to E Flat above the line, an exceptionally high soprano voice. In her singing we have all the pleasure that is derived from a strong and flexible chest soprano voice with dramatic quality, combined with excellent cultivation; especially in the upper register, where the tones are clear and full. The timbre is fine and her method thorough. A severe critic might find some fault with her enunciation of the vowels in the different pitches, on the ground that they are not firm and distinct enough. In some long tones, too, there is a slight want of clearness, probably the result of

a little too much force being used in the emission of the voice. Otherwise it is a splendid voice, and these are small discrepancies when compared with her fine talents. Besides, they are faults which can be remedied with proper care. The cultivation of her voice and its dramatic quality adapt it to both florid and dramatic styles of music. She has a petite figure, makes a pleasing stage appearance, and is a good actress. An earnest and aspiring artist, her future is destined to be a very successful one.¹⁰⁰



Julie Rosewald in unknown role, possibly Prascovia in L'Étoile du Nord, given the bridal-looking veil. Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, eds., A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred-Seventy Biographical Sketches Accompanied by Portraits of Leading American Women in All Walks of Life (Buffalo: Charles Wells Mouton, 1893), 1812.

These types of rave reviews engendered some jealousies within the company, or so the gossip columns suggested. A few days after Chicago, Julie received raves in Detroit, where the press stated: “Miss Kellogg was not feeling very happy that morning.

In fact they say that she was more than chagrined at the unequivocal success of Mme. Rosewald on the preceding evening, and the compliments which that lady received in the newspapers of that morning.”¹⁰² In general, Julie’s early experiences singing with Kellogg were an excellent start to her career, as the “Clara Louise Kellogg Opera Company is the Crème de la Crème of all our musical gems.”¹⁰³ Clara Kellogg was a major star in both high-brow and popular circles, and one effusive reviewer described her as “the brightest and sweetest of our musical songstresses. There is a charm in her name, her song and her womanly loveliness combined with exquisite beauty, elegance of style and dress that place her in the front rank of all our American prima donnas.”¹⁰⁴ Julie would learn much from Kellogg;¹⁰⁵ she toured with her all around the United States, Canada, and possibly in Mexico.¹⁰⁶ They “performed about everything popular in the line of grand and light opera.”¹⁰⁷ Julie was able to capitalize on her growing reputation and fame in traveling with the Kellogg troupe.

Julie had started off with a repertoire of fifteen operas, which was an extraordinary feat for anyone to master for a three-month engagement. Yet within two years with Kellogg, she had added repertoire from *Crispino e la Comare* (Ricci); *Dinorah* (Meyerbeer); *Ernani* (Verdi); *La Fille du Régiment* (Donizetti); *Fra Diavolo* (Auber); *Der Freischütz*, both leading roles Agathe and Annetta, (Weber); *The Lily of Killarney* (Benedict); *Maritana* (Wallace); *Postillon de Longjumeau* (Adam); *Rigoletto* (Verdi); *Rose of Castile* (Balfe); and *La Sonnambula*



Julie Rosewald's performance as Senta in *The Flying Dutchman* was a "first" in California, 1877.

(Courtesy Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University)

(Bellini).¹⁰⁸ Julie's powerful technique allowed her to participate in many roles. In the spring of 1877, she toured the West with Hess's Grand English Opera Company, appearing as Senta in Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman*.¹⁰⁹ This was "the first representative of the part seen upon the Pacific Coast."¹¹⁰

The company also performed the usual repertoire of *Mignon*, *The Bohemian Girl*, *Faust*, and *Lucia de Lammermoor*.¹¹¹ Julie continued to gain in reputation as a prodigious talent. Within a few years, she was an American opera star, and Meyer Kayserling in his book *Die jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst (Jewish Women in History, Literature and Art)*,

published in Leipzig in 1879, wrote that "Julie Eichberg, welche im Stande ist, in vier Sprachen zu singen, gehört heute zu den beliebtesten Opernsängerinnen der Neuen Welt." (Julie Eichberg, who is capable of singing in four languages, today belongs among the most beloved opera singers in the New World).¹¹²

For the 1877–1878 opera season, Julie decided on another European tour. On 2 May 1878, Jacob sailed for Europe to join her. On his last evening in Baltimore before sailing, Jacob got together with his friends from the Liederkrantz Society for an evening of singing and receiving wishes for a bon voyage.¹¹³ He left the next afternoon on the steamship *America*.¹¹⁴

Julie's European debut took place in Nuremberg, Germany, singing in *Les Huguenots*. In Berlin, she succeeded Hungarian coloratura soprano Etelka Gerster (1857–1922) at Kroll's theater. She also sang in Amsterdam, Basle, Prague, Frankfurt, Mayence, Stuttgart, Cologne, and Dresden. The American press kept track of her progress, summarizing European reviews. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* was reported to write of her as "an artist by the grace of God, though there is no lack of cultivation either, and musical critics in Germany foretell for her the most brilliant success possible in an artistic career."¹¹⁵

From her European tour, Julie's reputation gained further international stature when she was lauded by Eduard Hanslick (1825–1904), one of the most influential music critics at the time. His review appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* in 24 June 1880, and an English translation was published in the *Rocky Mountain News* in Denver, Colorado:

Last week brought us a very interesting star engagement of Madame Julie Rosewald, who appeared as *Isabella* in "Robert," and as *Gilda* in "Rigoletto." We learned to appreciate in Madame Rosewald, who in the last two years achieved a great reputation in southern Germany, a highly gifted artiste of fine musical culture, possessed of a rich and musical voice of remarkable compass. She stands, in our opinion, in the foremost ranks of our dramatic singers. The engagement of Madame Rosewald at our Royal Opera would have been the more valued because she has an unusually large repertoire. She goes to America, where our best wishes accompany her, but we hope she will soon return to Germany where such singers as she is are not numerous.¹¹⁶

AMUSEMENTS.

GRAND OPERA-HOUSE, 8TH-AV. AND 23D-ST.
POOLE & DONNELLY..... Lessees and Managers
 Reserved seats, orchestra and balcony, 50c.
TWO WEEKS ONLY OF THE RENOWNED EMMA ABBOTT

ABBOTT

GRAND ENGLISH OPERA COMPANY.
 "The largest, strongest, most successful
 English Opera Co. in America."
EMMA ABBOTT.

JULIE ROSEWALD, PAULINE MAUREL, ANNETTA ZAZELNA AND VALENTINE FABRINI, GEORGE CONLY, ALONZO STODDARD, GEORGE OLML, GEORGE APPELBY, ARTHUR TOMS, SIGMUND TOMAST, AND WILLIAM GAST.

**REVIVAL OF THE POPULAR OPERAS,
 MONDAY AND WEDNESDAY EVENING,
 Only times of Auber's sparkling comic opera of
 FRA DIAVOLO,
 FRA DIAVOLO,
 TUESDAY, Fichow's melodious opera of
 MARTHA,
 MARTHA,
 WEDNESDAY MATINEE and THURSDAY EVENING,
 OLIVETTE,
 OLIVETTE,
 FRIDAY EVENING, only time of Donizetti's grand
 opera,
 LUCIA, THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR,
 LUCIA, THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR;
 SATURDAY, at 2 P. M., GRAND ABBOTT MATINEE,
 EMMA ABBOTT'S only appearance in Wallace's
 MARTHA.
 SATURDAY EVENING, Balfe's ever popular opera,
 BOHEMIAN GIRL,
 Sale of reserved seats opens Thursday, 9 A. M., at
 the box-office of Grand Opera-house.**

"Amusements: Grand Opera House"
 (advertisement), *The New York Times*
 (28 September 1881): 7.

It was with the Dresden Royal Opera that Julie achieved many of her greatest successes. She was offered a three-year contract with the company,¹¹⁷ but her husband wanted to return to the United States, so she turned it down. She returned to Baltimore with him at the end of the season, in August 1880. In all, she had sung in fifty-three operas, appearing with the greats in Europe, such as tenor Theodor Wachtel (1823–1893). Her work in Europe and as a prima donna in Mayence, and especially her time with the Dresden Royal Opera, gave her an ever-increasing caché back home with American audiences.

On 12 October 1880 the Rosewalds participated in a gala marking the 150th anniversary of the settlement of Baltimore. Jacob conducted the orchestra and led members of the Baltimore Liederkrantz in a lengthy afternoon program.¹¹⁸

Emma Abbott Company Years

Following Julie's successes in Europe, the Emma Abbott Company engaged her as a prima donna and her husband as violinist and later as conductor. The Emma Abbott Grand English Opera Company, which Emma Abbott ran both as a prima donna and impresario, was all about popular culture, accessibility, and, according to Emma, morals. Abbott, a native of Chicago, was encouraged by Kellogg to study in Europe, but she did not like it there.¹¹⁹ In 1878 Abbott

married Eugene Wetherell, and together they embarked on forming an opera company, expanding into Grand Opera. Wetherell worked with financial partners, but Abbott made all the musical and artistic decisions.¹²⁰ Abbott's productions were in English, with small orchestras and lavish costumes, and were produced in small venues, often dedicating or opening new opera houses.¹²¹ Her repertoire consisted of the most popular, established operas. The company "appeared six or seven times a week. She insisted that singers could sing that often without impairing their voices."¹²² Abbott was considered "a singer of the people" and her opera company "strictly American."

Julie Rosewald joined this famous company in fall 1880 and began the season on 6 September 1880 singing the role of Mrs. Ford in Nicolai's *Merry Wives of Windsor*.¹²³ Julie became friends with Emma, exchanging techniques and training, although there were also the expected professional jealousies and ups and downs.¹²⁴ By fall 1881, she sang in New York and elsewhere throughout America as top of the billing in "grand English opera" next to the now-famous Emma Abbott.

Abbott traveled as far west as the Dakotas. She appeared in cities such as Denver and Salt Lake City.¹²⁵ In Philadelphia, Rosewald's reviewers warmed to her: "Miss Rosewald was somewhat out of voice at the beginning when she began the 'Tacea del notte' [in *Il Trovatore*]; but her voice developed unexpected power and purity in all of the succeeding scenes. She has certainly never sung any other so well here, and her acting was appropriate, intelligent, and, at times, forcible."¹²⁶ Jacob Rosewald worked for the Abbott troupe as violinist and, by 1883, he was billed as director of the chorus and orchestra.¹²⁷

One of the features of Abbott's company, and many other traveling opera troupes of that era in America, was the practice of interpolating songs into the operas—that is, having the characters sing local or popular songs as well as the composed arias. The Abbott Company appeared throughout the South and always accommodated requests for popular songs, such as "Home Sweet Home," as well as popular hymns and other patriotic and sentimental favorites.¹²⁸

Engagement of the Popular and Renowned

EMMA ABBOTT GRAND OPERA CO

NOW IN ITS SIXTH SEASON OF UNINTERRUPTED SUCCESS.

SING. TAGLIAPIETRA. EMMA ABBOTT. JULIE ROSEWALD. ZELDA SEGUIN. MARIE HINDLE. WALTER ALLEN

World-Renowned Baritone. Queen of Eng. Opera. Favorite Prima Donna. Primo Contralto. Mezzo-Soprano. Tenor-Baritone.

WILLIAM BRODERICK. VALENTINE FABRINI, AND WILLIAM CASTLE. J. H. ROSEWALD.

Basso Cantante. The Noted Lyric Tenor. The Popular Tenor. Musical Director.

FULL CHORUS AND GRAND ORCHESTRA.

THURSDAY—First time in English of Verdi's *FRIDAY—The Brilliant Oriental Opera and latest SATURDAY MATINEE—Bellini's Beautiful*
Grand Tragic Opera. *success.* *Opera.*

RIGOLETTO,

Emma Abbott (her latest success) as Gilda; Tagliapietra (his greatest role) as Rigolotto; Zelda Seguin, Broderick, Allen and Fig. Fabrini.

KING FOR A DAY,

With the following great cast: Abbott as Nemes, Seguin as Zeldie, Tagliapietra as King, Broderick as Kadoor, and Castle as Zephoris.

SONNAMBULA.

SATURDAY-NIGHT—Three Prime Dames in Thomas' Masterwork.

MIGNON.

Abbotts Mienou, Rosewald as Filina, Seguin as Frederick, and Castle as Wilhelm.

PRICES: Parquet and Circle \$1.50; no extra charge for reserved seats. Reserved seats in Balcony \$1.00; admission to Balcony 75c; to Gallery 50c. Matinee: Reserved seats \$1.00; admission 75c; children 50c. Seats on sale at Phillips & Crew's.

"Emma Abbott Grand Opera Company" (advertisement), *The Atlanta Constitution* (30 December 1883): 6A.

The Rosewalds appeared with Abbott's company at DeGive's Opera House in Atlanta in 1882 and again in 1884.

Julie sang with Abbott's company as "favorite prima donna" at the National Theatre in Washington in April 1884 and throughout the country during that year.

Concertizing Artist

As early as 1880, Julie—although living the hectic life of a traveling virtuoso with the troupe—was also a concert soloist. She participated in fundraising events for the Jewish community using her status as prima donna. For example, she sang at the B'nai Sholom synagogue¹²⁹ in Chicago in 1880, which was reported in the *American Hebrew*:

There was quite an assemblage present at the Michigan Ave Temple on Friday evening last; they came not to listen to the *Lacho Dodee*, but to hear the prima donna from the Royal Opera of Dresden, Madam Julie Rosewald. She is a member of the Emma Abbott Opera Troupe, and sang at the personal solicitation of Mr. Marks (the reader of the congregation), who is, I believe, a personal friend. Her choice selections were well rendered and deserved the hearty applause they received. The bird song from 'Paul and Virginia' was sung in a particularly happy strain, and was well adapted to exhibit her powers as a concert singer. The singing was interspersed with piano solo and selected recitations by the Misses Bertha Burge, Sadie Gatzert, and Blancha Peck, all of whom received their share of well-merited approval. The amount realized from the entertainment will be a welcome addition to the treasury of the Temple.¹³⁰

The in-demand soprano maintained quite the busy schedule. For example, on 3 February 1881, Rosewald sang with the veteran Signor Pasquillino Brignoli (1824–1884)¹³¹ in *Il Trovatore* at the Chestnut Street Opera House in Philadelphia. She received good reviews, including this one from the *The North American*:

Madame Rosewald has improved very much during the years that she has spent in Europe, and has gained in breadth of style and strength of voice, although at the cost of the purity and clearness of the upper notes. The tones in the middle register are, however, very fine and satisfying. Her acting in the last scenes was forcible and impressive.¹³²

By 24 February 1881, the press reported her being in Washington, DC, and two days later, on 26 February, she performed in New York in the first American performance of Handel's *Lallergo, Il penseroso ed Il Moderato*, with the Oratorio Society and Symphony Society. Dr. L. Damrosch was the conductor, and his son, Walter Damrosch, was organist. Other than being a "first," the event was apparently not successful.

ORATORIO SOCIETY. STEINWAY HALL.
DR. L. DAMROSCH, Conductor.
Friday afternoon, Feb. 25, at 2, Third Public Rehearsal.
Saturday evening, Feb. 26, at 8, THIRD CONCERT.

G. F. HANDEL'S
L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO, ED IL MODERATO.
(FIRST TIME.)

MRS. JULIE ROSEWALD.....Soprano
MISS ABBEY WHINNERY.....Soprano
MISS EMILY WINANT.....Contralto
MR. THEO. TOEDT.....Tenor
HERR GEORG HENSCHEL.....Basso
MR. WALTER DAMROSCH.....Organist

SYMPHONY SOCIETY ORCHESTRA.
Tickets at Steinway Hall and usual places.

*"Oratorio Society, Steinway Hall," (advertisement),
The New York Times (20 February 1881): 11.*

The *New York Times* reviewer stated Rosewald "acquitted herself creditably in the lovely aria 'Sweet bird, that shun'st the noise of folly'" but felt her enunciation was off—a complaint expressed often enough to give the impression Rosewald still sang

English with a German accent. She and the others clearly had an off night. The reviewer went on to claim "her voice [was] . . . not always of musical quality," and the other soloists were "disappointing." She received a very poor review of this concert from *The Independent*: "Mme. Rosewald, however, did not do at all well, singing not seldom out of time and tune, while her uncertain attach and phrasing made the nervous listener about as uncomfortable as he could well be. The audiences at both rehearsal and concert were for the most part cold and unresponsive."¹³³ One wonders whether some anti-Jewish bias was at play here as Dr. Damrosch was also unusually maligned in the same *Independent* article, while all other performers were given an outstanding accolade. Other reviews had been harshly critical to many that evening, possibly because Handel's music was clearly unfamiliar to many participants. Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that Julie would have been out of sync rhythmically, even if she had lacked sufficient rehearsal and the society had a bad evening.

For the most part, Julie received rave reviews around the country. The critical Boston audience loved her performances when the Abbott troupe opened there with *La Sonnambula* and *The Bohemian Girl* on 26 April 1882.

Mme. Julia Rosewald, an artiste who has enjoyed a long career of successes in her own land, and who, as one of the prima donnas of the Abbott troupe in America, seems to have been received with general favor, made her Boston debut this season at the Globe Theatre yesterday afternoon. The opera was 'La Sonnambula,' and it was given of course, in English. There was a good-sized audience in attendance, considering the fact that it was a Wednesday matinee, and its verdict could not but have been gratifying to the prima donna and the company generally. Mme. Rosewald found in the role of Amina excellent opportunity for the display of her finely trained and skillfully managed voice. Her style is so thoroughly finished and her method so excellent that in many respects her performance may well serve as a model. Vocally, of course, Mme.

Rosewald cannot compare with the great prima donnas who have sung of late years, the part of Amina; but her voice is clear and strong, amply sufficient for the interpretation not only of the difficult floriture assigned the role, and adding greatly to the effect of much of the concerted music. Her singing was frequently applauded.¹³⁴

Julie continued traveling extensively, including to Milwaukee (where the press called her “remarkably pretty,”¹³⁵) Denver, Chicago, Little Rock, and New York, where in 1883 she appeared in Strauss’s *The Merry War* at the Cosmopolitan Theater.

Life on the Road with a Traveling Opera Troupe

Railroads made extensive travel possible for the touring opera troupes, and they played as many towns as possible when they were on the road. Life on tour was difficult. Meals were often eaten on railroad platforms.¹³⁶ Accommodations could be crowded, and the reviews were often filled with gossip. The Rosewalds, as highly respected artists and part of an esteemed touring troupe, did not experience discrimination in the ways many Jews later did. It was reported, for example, in a February 1881 *Washington Post* society column, “City Talk and Chatter,” that the Rosewalds visited “the Willards.” That same week the column reported that judges, representatives, army officers, a senator-elect, and a count from Paris, France, stayed at the same lodgings.¹³⁷ There apparently was no ban against a Jewish couple at this exclusive venue, although some places by 1880 had started to bar Jews. No evidence was found that the Abbott company arranged separate accommodations for the Rosewalds during any of their tours.

Tensions, professional jealousies, and the pressures of stardom were another reality of life in an opera troupe, and the press happily joined in the fray. Towns advertised upcoming shows and touted their stars, usually the women singers who led the troupe. Opera-goers frequently bought tickets based on who was performing rather than what opera was being performed. One incident began when two Colorado newspapers started sparring over favored divas. *The Daily Register-Call*, from Central City, Colorado, ran a line on 12 September 1881: “Miss Rosewald is a far superior artiste to Miss Abbott. Everybody acknowledges this fact but the Denver press.”¹³⁸ Two days later, on 14 September, *The Daily Register-Call* ran an article accusing the *Denver Tribune* of playing “probably the acurvist [*sic*] and diretiest [*sic*] trick and most unjournalistic, that has been perpetrated by the *Tribune* on that worthy artiste, Miss Julie Rosewald, since the opening of the opera season in Denver.” The dirty trick was created, the story went, by Eugene Wetherell, Emma Abbott’s husband, who blamed Julie for a poor box office showing for a performance in Denver. According to the article, Wetherell spread a rumor in the *Tribune* that Rosewald had purposely “leaked” that Abbott would not sing on a particular evening. Rosewald had not done that, but Wetherell was covering for the poor turnout for his wife and

trying to blame ticket office refunds on Rosewald.¹³⁹ From this story, it seems that Wetherell wanted to insulate his wife from suggestions that Rosewald was the bigger draw or better artist. All the tensions were unnecessary; the house was filled nearly every night. Abbott's engagement inaugurating Tabor's Grand Opera House in Denver was lucrative all around. In two weeks the company mounted eight full-length operas. Rosewald sang only on 8 and 14 September in night performances and the remainder in matinees.¹⁴⁰

A few months later, Julie had a scare in Kansas City, when "she either took or thought she took by mistake cyanide of potassium"¹⁴¹ instead of a cold medication. A doctor gave her an emetic, and she was soon out of danger. However, given the kinds of jealousies that were portrayed about the two singers, the incident caused a sensation and "extravagant rumors" were spread for some time afterward. One story reported that Rosewald thought a mysterious man was following her "from city to city bent either on marrying her or murdering her, she is not certain which."¹⁴² It is hard to determine whether this was excessive fan worship—or whether it was even real—due to scurrilous reporting from some of the newspapers.

Another tour story, variations of which were reported widely, was of an oversensitive artist taking out his anger with Jacob Rosewald. According to the report, Jacob had supposedly been prone to whispering condescending remarks about a new member of the crew, a bass named John Gilbert. Jacob, the director of the production, indicated that Gilbert was singing too loudly and drowning out the soprano (Emma Abbott or, on her off nights, his wife Julie). When word got back to Gilbert, he was furious. On 5 December, 1882, Gilbert apparently challenged Jacob about the innuendos in the offices of the National Hotel¹⁴³ and

struck Rosewald in the face, knocking him down and crushing his nose. As Rosewald rose Gilbert struck him a second time.... Mrs Rosewald was so overcome that she fainted.... Miss Abbott, who was also present, did not lose the opportunity to put herself in a central position in the tableau and it is vouched for in print by several veracious Philadelphia journalists that she availed herself of the occasion to sing "Nearer My God To Thee" in four flats. One amused reporter concluded that "It is not the conductor who beats the bass but the basso who beats the conductor and puts not a head but a nose on him."¹⁴⁴

Despite these types of incidents, the Rosewalds continued for another year and a half until spring 1884 with the Abbott Company.

Opera Star

Just as any other artist, Julie Rosewald promoted herself by granting interviews with reporters in various cities. Some of this publicity created a picture of her as a true and loving wife—the "normal" role for women. In 1881, while

her husband was touring separately, she stated to one columnist, “I do not wish to be separated from my husband again. Just think, 2000 miles separates us. Oh, I wonder if I have letters tonight.” The columnist concluded that “love and wifely affection are feminine characteristics of Madame Rosewald.”¹⁴⁵ Julie’s personal charm and warmth were on display. She knew how to chat and be sociable with anyone. “I would have you forget my profession. I would talk of other things and other people” she told the reporter, endearing herself as one “whom you may well feel proud to call friend.”¹⁴⁶ Her star status, along with her down-to-earth personal charm, were a winning combination. This interview gives insight into the tightrope that a performer needed to walk in pleasing an audience of both traditional and progressive women. On the one hand, Julie convinces the reporter that she shares the ideals of her audience as someone “wifely” and “feminine” who is focused on traditional roles and, in a romantic flourish, pines for letters from her distant husband. Yet in reality, her life as an independent, married, and working woman traveling “alone” was much more in keeping with the character of the “New Woman” in America. Rosewald’s interest in maintaining her own career outweighed any desire to follow along with her husband to his musical jobs. Her public comments paid lip service so she could declare herself an “ordinary” person with whom the audience could identify.

Another aspect of life on the road was touring with large trunks of costumes. Rosewald’s elegant opera gowns—of which she had many, for her large number of roles—were also social news, as many women were interested in the dresses of a singing star:

In her toilettes Madame Rosewald displays great taste.... She was attired in a black satin street costume, with an overdress of silk grenadine, richly trimmed with Spanish lace and jet passementerie. The dress was cut square in the neck and filled in with soft creamy lace, held in place by a butterfly of garnets. In her ears were exquisite cameo earrings and on her wrists she wore jet bands with pearls. In her wardrobe are many very rich, costly and elegant costumes.... A black velvet princesse toilet has a front of solid embroidery in jet. This is a very handsome toilet and is also very becoming. It was made by the court tailor at Vienne, from whom Madame Rosewald purchases many of her costumes.... Another beautiful dress is a white satin *damaesse* bridal toilet, richly trimmed with pearl passementerie



Julie Rosewald pictured in elegant dress embroidered in morning glories, ca. 1881.

(Courtesy Harvard Theatre Collection. Houghton Library, Harvard University)

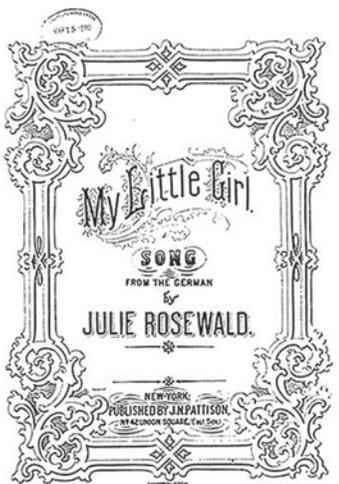
with sides of pearl embroidery. The whole dress is beautifully trimmed with lace. Still another noticeably elegant toilet is of cream colored watered silk of heaviest texture, with embroidered bands of morning glories, in exquisite needle work, and lace trimmings.¹⁴⁷

Such details added to the mystique of the diva and no doubt increased box office sales.

At the peak of her career, Julie is reputed to have sung in thirty operas in one seven-week period.¹⁴⁸ This is not surprising, given the intensive scheduling and philosophy of Abbott's company. For example, Rosewald appeared at least four times during Thanksgiving week in Baltimore in November 1882,¹⁴⁹ and Abbott herself sang twelve times in two weeks in San Francisco in January 1884.¹⁵⁰ By 1883, Julie was known to have mastered seventy-five operas, prompting one reporter to claim that "Miss Abbott values her beyond limit."¹⁵¹ Julie is reported to have had such a prodigious memory that she knew the roles for 125 different operas,¹⁵² even memorizing one leading role in a single night before a performance.

The grueling tour schedule began, however, to take a toll. By 1883, a New York critic started complaining about the quality of her voice:

Mme. Rosewald's appearance lifted the curtain from by-gone days of English opera, and carried her auditors back in memory to brilliant triumphs now almost forgotten. There was a time when Mme. Rosewald had a beautiful voice, which she used with exquisite judgment, but—*Troja fuit*. She was kindly received last night, and sang the polonaise from 'Mignon' with an occasional flash of her former excellence. In her second selection, Abt's 'Birdie at the casement,' she was less successful, but after each song she received the customary recall.¹⁵³



Songsheet frontispiece, Julie Rosewald, My Little Girl, Song from the German (New York: J.N. Pattison, 1883).

(Courtesy Library of Congress)

In 1883, Julie dabbled in publishing some popular music. One song, "My Little Girl," which was translated from the German, was published by J.N. Pattison in New York.¹⁵⁴ While it was still unusual for a woman to compose, by late nineteenth century there was some acceptance, provided the composition was of "cultivated ballads that display the 'vocal culture' of the female seminary and a genteel Victorian sensibility."¹⁵⁵ Of course, conventions did not hinder the "New Woman" anyway, and she tried many new activities.

Julie's popular song was received well, with the melody declared "exquisite" and written "from the soul of a true artist." The song "possesses the elements of one of the most taking songs of the day" wrote a Duluth, Minnesota, reviewer,¹⁵⁶ clearly showing a preference for this sort of cultivated ballad elevated as art.

Julie also dabbled in a bit of light poetry. She either wrote or sent in a poem, "Ingredients of a Woman," to be published in the *Kansas City Times*; the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* reprinted it:

Of vanity and weakness take equal measured parts,
Then, piety and meekness plus charms and wily arts,
Of whims then, and caprices, a handful try procure;
Of wit, quite sharp and stinging, a good supply make sure;
In cauldron then—of envy and temper each a slice—
'Twill make compact the mixture, and boil quite in a trice;
A pinch of curiosity then in the cauldron throw,
Mixed with love and jealousy, to give the mass a glow;
To make, however, all complete, one thing do not forget;
Without a tongue, there never was a mortal woman yet.¹⁵⁷

San Francisco

Julie toured with Emma Abbott's troupe for four years. In 1884, the Rosewalds decided to move to San Francisco, primarily due to Jacob's health. The doctors ordered him to take it easy and move to a mild climate.¹⁵⁸ As Julie told it, the Rosewalds and Abbott departed on good terms. Abbott was "ever pleased to testify to the rare ability, culture and mastery of music that distinguish Mme. Rosewald from the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboard."¹⁵⁹

The decision to move to San Francisco gave the Rosewalds an opportunity to live in a pleasant climate and recover from life on the road and the attendant public scrutiny. Julie announced plans to open a conservatory and to work primarily as a singing teacher and concert artist, rather than tour with an opera company. She and her husband traveled west with her niece, Florence Hecht. Due to her star status, the Rosewalds were of interest to the press, and their trip across the country to California was reported in many local papers as they stopped along the way. The *Kansas City Star* ran a front-page article on her intended engagements for the next several months in Kansas City and Chicago,¹⁶⁰ and *The Denver Rocky Mountain News* noted when they "passed through the city."¹⁶¹ The Rosewalds arrived in San Francisco 10 August 1884.¹⁶² On 11 August, the papers announced that Jacob Rosewald would assume direction of the Pappenheim Opera Company, with Julie as a member.¹⁶³ Other articles reported that Julie would be primarily spending her time teaching. Indeed, once she moved to San Francisco, Julie for the most part had left the opera stage, although she continued to give concerts, participate in charitable events, and travel for engagements out of town. She is not listed as a participant on the opera stage in San Francisco.¹⁶⁴

By mid-August, the Rosewalds were settled at 1018 Van Ness Avenue, where Julie set up a music studio, expecting to open it by the first of September 1884. A parlor grand Knabe piano made expressly for Jacob arrived by 16 August.¹⁶⁵ However, despite all these preparations, shortly after their announced arrival in the city, Julie's career would take an unexpected turn.

Cantor Julie Rosewald

Within a few weeks of her arrival in San Francisco, the Jewish community called on the Rosewalds for help in a musical emergency: Cantor Max Wolff (1839–1884)¹⁶⁶ had succumbed to illness. Wolff had served Temple Emanu-El, the largest synagogue in San Francisco, for ten years, from 24 May 1874 until his death on 30 August 1884.



Cantor Max Wolff taken from Jacob Voorsanger, "Divre Yeme Emanuel," The Chronicles of Emanu-El: Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Congregation Emanu-El which was founded in July, 1850 (San Francisco: Geo. Spaulding & Co., 1900), Plate 153a.

At the time, the congregation was well established, generally flourishing, and wealthy.¹⁶⁷ However, it was recovering from a period called by some members of the congregation the "seven years of famine" from the heavy burden of paying for the mortgage of the magnificent, stately building on Sutter Street. The building—the "new sacred edifice and its grounds"¹⁶⁸—had taken fifteen years to complete, nearly twenty years earlier.¹⁶⁹

In addition, the health of the beloved Rabbi Dr. Elkan Cohn (1820–1889) was failing. When Cantor Wolff died in August, less than a month before the High Holidays, it then

...threw the entire burden of the service upon the aged Rabbi.



Interior of Sutter Street Synagogue. Voorsanger, "Divre," Plate 112a.

In this emergency the Congregation was able to engage the services of Madame Julie Rosewald, wife of the musician and composer, Jacob Rosewald, and herself a singer of note and remarkable gifts; and it must be stated, to the honor and credit

of that gifted woman that her fine appreciation of the needs of the service greatly delighted the Congregation and gave her an honorable place amongst those who served Emanu-El well and faithfully.¹⁷⁰

Upon Wolff's death, Julie must have been contacted nearly immediately to sing in the worship services, because she started her work with the congregation as soloist on that Rosh Hashanah. By 26 September 1884, *The Jewish Progress* reported that, "The services of the various synagogues on Rosh Hashanah were thoroughly in accord with the solemnity of the occasion.... The singing was a feature of the service, Mrs. Rosewald at the Temple Emanu-El filling her arduous position with great credit."¹⁷¹

Remarkably, Julie's role as cantor of Emanu-El has been—somehow—largely forgotten or lost. Her name is not mentioned in the modern histories of either the congregation or of Reform cantorial music. Yet the role was well documented in its time. An article by Henrietta Szold (1860–1945)¹⁷² in volume 10 of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, originally published sometime between 1901 and 1906, includes the following in the entry about Julie Rosewald:

For ten years, while living in San Francisco, she was a member of the choir of Temple Emanu-El, singing and reciting, in place of a cantor, the parts of the service usually sung and recited by that functionary—the *only instance known in which a woman has led the services in a synagogue*. [italics and emphasis added].¹⁷³

Szold also wrote Rosewald's biographical entry in the 1904–1905 *American Jewish Year Book*, which states that Julie was "for ten years solo soprano at Temple Emanu-El, San Francisco, during that time singing and reciting the parts of the service usually sung and recited by a Cantor, in place of that functionary."¹⁷⁴

The American Jewess, a journal aimed at a female Jewish audience, published an 1896 article "The Jewess in San Francisco" further corroborating Rosewald's role:

The name of Mme. Rosewald is synonymous with music. As the mention of a flower recalls its perfume, so her name suggests a world of melody. For years she was the principal singer in the choir of the Temple Emanuel and is at present a teacher of voice culture at Mills Seminary. In every musical venture she is interested, and her influence has done much toward sustaining a high ideal in matters musical.¹⁷⁵

This article, written while Julie was still actively engaged in her career, provides an additional independent report that describes her in her long-term capacity as a "principal singer" at Temple Emanu-El.

The length of Julie's service as a cantor argues that she served as more than an "emergency substitute" for the cantor.¹⁷⁶ Her lengthy service may have been due to fiscal restraints, or possibly the reasons were more about the "delight

of the Congregation.” In any case, she was retained for more than nine years in the singing role of the cantor and, as reported, led the services and directed the organist.¹⁷⁷

Further evidence that Rosewald’s role was more than a mere substitute for the missing male cantor comes through an extended tribute article written after her passing. In *The Emanu-El*, the congregation’s weekly publication, Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger (1852–1908) answered some of the questions about the nature of her work and attitudes toward her as premier soprano of the Temple:

Her position in that respect was exceedingly unique. She came to her duties almost immediately after the death of Cantor Wolff and for a number of years, in collaboration with the late organist Schmidt, she controlled and directed the music of the services until her retirement shortly after the advent of Cantor Stark. During all these years Madam Rosewald, often lovingly called the “Cantor Soprano,” made her services a source of the greatest delight to all of her hearers. She combined the highest degree of musical ability with a pious disposition and a fair understanding of Hebrew, having been trained in the school of her late father who was Cantor at Stuttgart, Germany. It was this remarkable combination that made the services of the Temple in her time attractive in the highest degree and gave pleasure as well as edification to the numerous attendants. In this work she was also assisted by her late husband, the late J.H. Rosewald, a master of music of the highest order, and the services rendered by the Rosewalds to the Temple Emanu-El constitute a piece of history that will not easily be forgotten.¹⁷⁸

In an earlier article in *The Emanu-El*, Voorsanger referred to Julie as “the distinguished singer in Israel,”¹⁷⁹ a term (along with “sweet singer in Israel”) often associated with cantors.



Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger, Temple Emanu-El. Voorsanger, “Divre,” Plate 136b.

“Cantor,” which means “singer” in German, began to supplant use of the Hebrew *hazzan* following the lead of Salomon Sulzer, chief cantor in Vienna. The term initially was associated with Reform understandings of the cantorate. Many American Reform synagogues of this period got along without a *hazzan*, as the organist or choral director often had musical authority. Strong musical leaders “could put their stamp on a synagogue.”¹⁸⁰ Referencing Julie Rosewald as “Cantor Soprano” and recognizing her leadership in choosing music and directing the choir was yet another indicator of the acceptance she had as a leader



Facsimile of Julie Rosewald's autograph. William Smythe Babcock Mathews, ed., A Hundred Years of Music in America: an Account of Musical Effort in America during the Past Century (Chicago, G.L. Howe, 1889), 201.

who helped shape the musical direction of the temple.

To further understand how Julie came to the position as cantor, it is essential to remember that she was potentially the perfect candidate based, in part, on her knowledge of the cantor's art.¹⁸¹ As a German Obercantor's daughter who studied in her father's school, she knew the liturgy intimately. She also knew a considerable amount of Hebrew. While not entirely rare, a woman with Hebrew skills was still unusual in nineteenth century America. Rosewald benefited from her early education under her father's tutelage. Jewish education for women in 1850s and 1860s Germany had grown beyond a time when "women's religious education was minimal, consisting of a mixture of morals, religion, reading, and writing," usually in German or Yiddish.¹⁸² In many parts of Europe, rabbis in Reform settings were teaching girls in schools and women played an ever

increasing role in congregations.¹⁸³ Still, her skills exceeded that of most of her female contemporaries.

Additionally, she was part of a highly involved Jewish family with extensive experience in performing Jewish music publicly. She had frequently sung as a soloist with her husband at the organ at various Jewish occasions. It was also not uncommon in San Francisco at that time to engage women as musical soloists in churches. The Jews of Temple Emanu-El would have felt comfortable emulating their Christian neighbors in having a female musical soloist lead the congregation.¹⁸⁴

In addition to her unique qualifications Jewishly, Julie had sophisticated musical taste, a wonderful voice, a prodigious memory, and was a quick study at any music. She was also a highly respected, world-class, nationally renowned singer, a star of the operatic stage. Opera crossed the boundaries of popular and elite entertainment, and her reputation was widely known. She had just spent the previous decade experiencing a nineteenth-century version of today's Hollywood celebrity. In San Francisco, her singing continued to be in demand outside of Jewish circles, as well—she participated from time to time in the choir of the local Catholic Church (and later sang at ecumenical events, such as the Thanksgiving Day services at the Central Presbyterian Church on 26

November 1884).¹⁸⁵ Given Julie's accomplishments and the open spirit in California, one can easily imagine how the board or the overburdened Rabbi Cohn would have raised her name to ask her to fill in until a "real" (that is, male) cantor could be secured.

The timing of the Rosewalds' arrival in San Francisco had been a fortuitous coincidence for the congregation's emergency need. Yet, even after Dr. Jacob Voorsanger was elected "junior rabbi" of the congregation on 14 June 1886 to replace Abraham Illch (1858–1885)¹⁸⁶ and relieve the pressure from Cohn, Julie continued in her role for another seven years. During that time, Jacob Voorsanger became senior rabbi in 1889. Having started his own career as an Orthodox cantor, Voorsanger had transformed himself into an eminent Reform rabbi, writing widely in the American Jewish press, and culminating his career with the position at Temple Emanu-El.¹⁸⁷ As a self-educated man,¹⁸⁸ he may have been more open to people who gained expertise on their own. Not only cantors, but "many American rabbis of the nineteenth century had little rabbinic or academic training,"¹⁸⁹ so a lack of "credentials" was not a barrier to placement in synagogues at that time. Furthermore, Voorsanger was publicly a "militant Americanist, ever embattled and unsparing in his denunciation of virtually all Jewish custom and traditions that might make Jews appear oriental and unwestern."¹⁹⁰ No doubt he would have viewed a woman singer as a perfectly acceptable part of Western tradition and the exclusion of women as part of an illogical cultural past. Voorsanger's influence would, without doubt, have been instrumental in keeping Julie in the position of "Cantor Soprano." If he had opposed her in that role, it is unlikely her tenure would have lasted as it did.

Julie's roles as soloist and cantor at Temple Emanu-El were reported openly to the greater San Francisco community; her status was well known throughout the city. The local newspaper, *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, ran an announcement in 1888 confirming that Julie had selected the music for the upcoming High Holiday services. "During the approaching Jewish holidays a large number of new compositions will be heard here for the first time, having been recently imported by Mme. Julie Rosewald, the cantor soprano of Temple Emanu-El."¹⁹¹

It is important to note that the reference to Julie as "cantor soprano of Temple Emanu-El" was in conjunction with public promotion of her to the general community as the arbiter of new, quality, and tasteful music. That year, she introduced Felix Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise," (from his Lobgesang) written for Queen Victoria's Jubilee, and a new soprano solo by Saint-Saëns. She also brought to temple services for the first time "standard choruses" of Haydn, Mozart, Gounod, and Hiller, as well as compositions by the local temple organist, Louis Schmidt, an in-demand church organist who also started a symphony club and founded an early San Francisco conservatory. Additionally, Julie added "Hear ye Israel," from *Elijah*, as well as selections from Beethoven

and Mendelssohn.¹⁹² It is very likely that the “standard choruses” were those that later found their way into the 1897 edition of the *Union Hymnal*.¹⁹³ These would be, “O Worship the King (Psalm 104),” set to music by Haydn; “Not Alone for Mighty Empire,” set to music of Mozart; “O Lord of Hosts (Out of the Deep),” set to Gounod’s music; and “Praise O Jerusalem” from “A Song of Victory,” by Ferdinand Hiller (1811–1885). The Hiller song is taken from a larger work, *Israels Siegesgesang (Israel’s Victory Song) for soprano solo, chorus and orchestra: op. 151* (1871), with the English adaptation by J. Troutbeck (1832–1899).¹⁹⁴ The piece had received an enthusiastic London debut in 1880¹⁹⁵ and had been widely adopted in the Jewish community, so that by 1897 it was included in the listing of one hundred published anthems appropriate for synagogue use in the *Union Hymnal*. These anthems were primarily musically patterned after Protestant hymns or adapted from well-known classical music selections, just as the ones Julie introduced to Temple Emanu-El.

Bringing new music to the congregation was a major feature of Julie’s role as a cantor. Many nineteenth-century Jewish congregations relied on their (often Christian) organists for music and choir direction. There was little published liturgical music in the United States at that time that was specifically Jewish. For the most part, each congregation had to rely on local resources, and the repertoire was “based on contemporary European classical favorites, above all the music of the bourgeoisie, tastefully performed by the cantorial soloist while the worshippers sang hymns directly inspired by four-square, four-part Protestant standards.”¹⁹⁶

It is also likely that the musical selections Julie brought to San Francisco emulated the pattern established by Cantor Alois Kaiser (1842–1908), who worked in Baltimore’s Oheb Shalom congregation starting in 1866. During the years the Rosewalds lived and worked there, Kaiser started writing new synagogue compositions, using a prayer book by Rabbi Szold as liturgy. “Cantor Kaiser transposed operatic arias and classical composition to be used as melodies for the synagogue.”¹⁹⁷ The texts were mostly



Temple Emanu-El, before and after the fire of 18 April 1906.
 Left: Voorsanger, “Divre,” Plate 1, opposite title page.
 Right: Jesse Brown Cook Scrapbooks Documenting San Francisco History and Law Enforcement, vol. 8, compiled 1919.
 (Courtesy The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

in English. The Rosewalds undoubtedly knew Kaiser through the Szold family and musical connections, and Julie would have been familiar with his work.

At the memorial services for Rabbi Elkan Cohn on 7 April 1889, Julie sang the solo selections, including “Oh, Stay Thy Tears,” from Beethoven, and the solo parts of “Lord, What is Man?” by Bach. The service for this beloved figure was well attended by Jews and non-Jews from the San Francisco area.¹⁹⁸

It cannot be verified whether Julie’s role as “Cantor Soprano” was a paid position. Most Temple Emanu-El records were destroyed in the great earthquake and fire of 18 April 1906, with only the brick structure of the building surviving.

Both Jacob and Julie Rosewald had backgrounds that qualified them to serve in various capacities for temple worship. Jacob often was *ba'al k'ria*, a Torah reader.¹⁹⁹ It is well documented that singers in San Francisco’s synagogue choirs of that period were trained professionals, and many vocalists vied for these positions.

To the credit of the synagogues, it should be said that they pay ... the largest salaries. With a cultivated taste for the best music and with a love for the majestic chanting and reverent choral responses, the Jewish people have always contributed liberally for the choirs.... They have always sought the best singers and the fact of employment in one of the synagogues was a certificate of excellence.²⁰⁰

Professional musicians were hired to handle the difficult music that amateurs could not master. Originally, many Reform choirs in the United States were voluntary, but after the 1840s, “good music” was especially valued and incorporated into the services.

While Reform congregations throughout America in this era hired professional musicians, these mixed choirs of men and women were the subjects of continuous debate in the national Jewish press. These debates touched on the legitimacy of Reform Judaism and the appearance of Judaism to the non-Jewish world. Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise had advocated including women in choirs, but the debates continued over four decades. Wise had argued not only against the Talmudic prohibition of women singing but that such an attitude to exclude women was not part of a general Western musical world view.²⁰¹ By the 1880s, mixed choirs were part of the Reform landscape. For example, in 1885 The Temple in Atlanta had the best-trained voices they could afford. “In many other Reform congregations of that time the emphasis was on good music and technically-trained singers, which meant, for most of them, Christian music and Christian musicians.”²⁰² Organs were introduced after 1838, with the first organ in Charleston, South Carolina. By the 1880s, the use of organ accompaniment during Jewish worship was widespread in cities with Reform congregations.

The regular Sabbath music Julie used in services over the course of her tenure is somewhat conjecture, but it likely continued as adaptations of classical repertoire requiring trained musicians. Music at Temple Emanu-El strived to be sophisticated and elaborate. Julie introduced compositions from temple organist Louis Schmidt. Judging from this, one can surmise that the majority of compositions came from high-level standard classical composers and local contemporaries such as Schmidt.²⁰³

San Francisco's Temple Emanu-El did not seem to have been infected by the new "cantorial craze in America which raged throughout the 1880s and 1890s" with the influx of eastern European Jews.²⁰⁴ The temple leaders believed that a cantor should be someone who could raise the level of musical performance and provide decorum to the services, not necessarily someone to give extended improvisatory *chazzanut*. The temple board took their time to replace their professional full-time cantor until they found the right person, which indeed they did in Edward Stark, the cantor who succeeded Julie Rosewald in late October 1893.

Stark eventually became known as a leading American cantor and synagogue composer. The years between Wolff and Stark are precisely the years that Julie was called upon to step up and serve until a new official cantor could be found.

Early records of the Sabbath services under Cantor Stark also give clues as to the musical nature of the services during Julie's tenure. One such record describes the complexities and functioning of cantor, choral, and organ roles. The cantor soloist stood below on the pulpit to sing, while the choir and organist, and occasionally orchestral instruments, performed in the balcony, including during the High Holidays.²⁰⁵ The distance between the choir loft and the *bimah* was described as some thirty feet below the choir. The director, facing the congregation, was able to signal the organist and the choir by means of an electric buzzer.²⁰⁶

Cantor Stark initially worked with the same organist as Julie, Louis Schmidt. Schmidt's continuity as organist probably led to a similar continuation of musical style in the services, until Cantor Stark started composing his own works and bringing in his newer, eclectic style.²⁰⁷ Later, Julie was a fellow faculty member with Schmidt at the Mills Conservatory of Music.

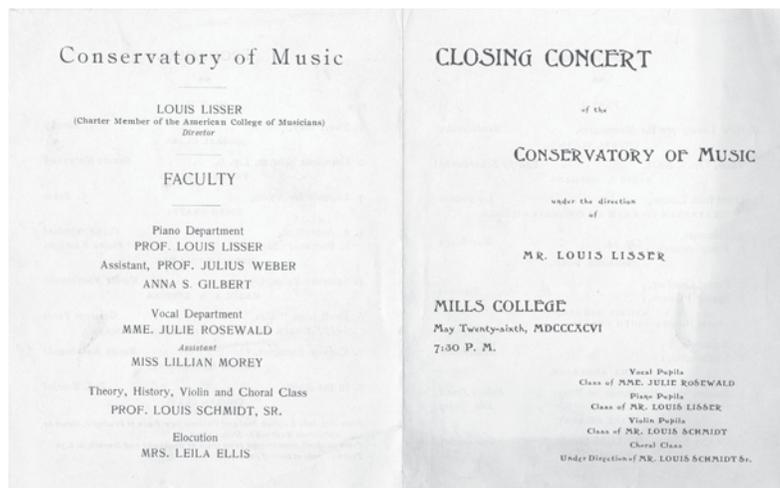


Cantor Edward Stark. *Voorsanger, "Divre,"* Plate 153b.

In addition to their musical ventures, Jacob Rosewald was involved in business, and he and Julie amassed considerable wealth. Jacob was on the board of directors for the Enterprise Mutual Building & Loan Association²⁰⁸ and is recorded as dabbling in real estate speculation and “flipping” properties for quick profits.²⁰⁹ The Rosewalds lived in an expensive neighborhood and were listed in the directory of San Francisco’s Jewish elite.²¹⁰ Their names appeared in the local newspapers at society dinner parties and socials, and they enjoyed all the status of the wealthy in the San Francisco Jewish and general community. They gave generously to local community and Jewish charities and often performed at charitable fundraisers and fashionable musical evenings. They must have owned some impressive riches—for example, an article in the local newspaper described the loss of Julie’s expensive jewelry, some of which were “investments.”²¹¹

As a member of the wealthy class, Julie could travel. On 26 May 1888, for example, she sailed on the *Umbria* to England and then went to France. She spent a few months during the summer in Paris, staying at 11 Rue Volney, just a few short blocks from the Paris opera house. She also used the time and traveled to Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe.²¹²

Julie Rosewald is noted to have enjoyed lifelong work, a commitment typical of the New Woman. Toward the end of her tenure with the temple, she was approached to start the vocal department at Mills College. She did so, fulfilling her original, albeit delayed, vision in settling in San Francisco. All of this activity presents a solid resumé of continuous employment, from the stage, to the *bimah*, to the lecturn.



Closing Concert of the Conservatory of Music, 26 May 1896.

(Courtesy The Special Collections Department, F.W. Olin Library, Mills College)

Voice Pedagogue in San Francisco

As a teacher in San Francisco, Julie was highly regarded and widely recognized: “Her success as a vocal teacher, has been that of a masterial genius, and beyond all question she is recognized as incomparably the Marchesi of the Pacific Coast.”²¹³ She became a private vocal coach and principal music teacher in the singing department at the Conservatory of Music of Mills College in 1894, after her retirement from Temple Emanu-El.

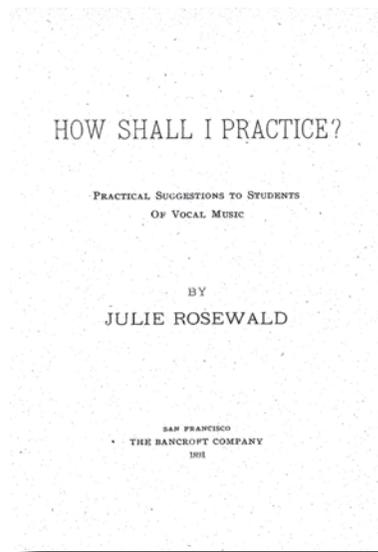
Between 1870 and 1900, women were quickly added to rolls at American colleges. In 1870, “less than one-third of all American colleges admitted women, by 1900 almost three-fourths did so.”²¹⁴ The addition of a female vocal coach would have been part of the explosion in higher education for women, especially in the arts, which was part of the general trend for the New Woman.

Julie served as professor of vocal music at Mills College from 1894 to 1897, although the *Jewish Encyclopedia* placed her as professor there through 1902, the year when she retired from “professional activities.” The discrepancy may be due to an *emerita* status.

Julie was forward-thinking in many respects. In 1891, previous to her employment at Mills College, she published an important volume, *How Shall I Practice? Practical Suggestions to Students of Vocal Music*, which outlines in detail her vocal technique and methods of pursuing good tones. This volume tries to help women singers liberate themselves physically (at least somewhat) from the confining dress of the day. As part of this method, she taught practical breathing exercises for women vocalists.

She recommended: “Breathe naturally, like a man or an infant whose ribs have never been compressed by stays.” She went on to say: “Divested of your stays, and with loose clothing, assume a recumbent position, without a pillow, so that the shoulder blades strike a flat surface.” After explaining the breathing technique, she continues: “In a few days you will be able to go through this breathing exercise when fully dressed and wearing your stays, remembering, however, that the latter should be worn at all times as loosely as possible, and fastened merely with an elastic cord.”²¹⁵

This approval of women wearing more sensible clothing became one of the characteristics of the New Woman,²¹⁶ and Julie’s advice and the attitudes



Title Page of *How Shall I Practice?*
(San Francisco: The Bancroft Co., 1891).

it conveyed were widely read. Her book received favorable reviews; according to one, “she brings efficient aid to the learner by a clear and simple method of practice based upon scientific knowledge and rational exercise of the vocal organs.”²¹⁷ Julie’s recommendations on breathing and wearing loose clothing made a favorable impression outside the music world as well. Her breathing techniques were quoted in medical journals, and her instructions about loosening stays became part of wider discussions on the negative impact of this confining clothing style for all women. Her advice also emphasized the importance of deep breathing.²¹⁸

Julie’s music teaching method was considered on a par with the best of the Italian school of vocal technique at the time. A number of her pupils went on to stage and concert careers, including Marie Bernard (1865–1945), who sang with the Mendelssohn Quintet Club of Boston and, as Marie Barna, with the Damrosch-Ellis Opera; Carrie Millzner Hamilton (1868–1946?), of the Bostonians opera company;²¹⁹ Rita Newman Fornia (1878–1922), who sang with the Metropolitan Opera and the Kaltenborn String Quartet;²²⁰ Sybil Sanderson (1865–1903), who went on to sing with the Opera Comique in Paris;²²¹ Anna Miller Wood, a mezzo contralto of Boston, who sang with the Kneisel Quartet and the Boston Symphony Orchestra and also enjoyed success on the stage and as a singing teacher;²²² Jennie Winston, a soprano who became head of the vocal department of the Marlborough and Girl’s Collegiate School and was a soloist at Immanuel Presbyterian Church;²²³ Mrs. M.E. Blanchard, who became head of the department of vocal music of Mills College and solo contralto of St. Joseph’s Roman Catholic Church and the Geary-Street Synagogue;²²⁴ and Mabelle Gilman,²²⁵ who became a comic opera singer.

Julie was so well known as a top musician that businesses wanted to use her name for prestige. In 1900, ads for a local music company, Heine Piano, appeared with her name, promoting a product that claimed to be endorsed by “all prominent musicians.”²²⁶

In April 1887, the pianist Samuel Fabian returned from a successful European tour and connected musically with the Rosewalds. His first concert was with full orchestra, and Julie sang for part of the event. Later that year, on 20 October 1887, Jacob Rosewald initiated a chronological series of four educational reviews that presented the musical pieces from each time period. Fabian performed, as did Julie and two of her pupils, Marie Bernard and Carrie Millzner. The works started with a concert of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and showed “evidence of the interest taken in the study of music on the Pacific coast.”²²⁷ “Mr. Rosewald prefaced each number with brief remarks concerning the composer and the period in which he lived and worked.”²²⁸ Julie also performed in the second concert, which took place on 4 November 1887.²²⁹ The evenings continued and were so successful that they were considered one

of the highlights of the musical season.²³⁰

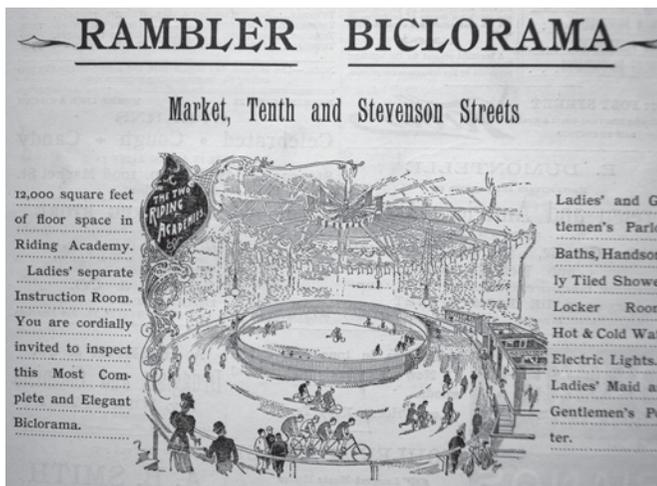
Jacob Rosewald was active in myriad pursuits in San Francisco, including conducting, lecturing, and writing. One of his happiest pastimes was writing sketches for the High Jinks, a series of outdoor entertainments of the Bohemian Club. In early October 1895, Jacob was unanimously elected as conductor of the Philharmonic Society of San Francisco.²³¹ He was never able to really serve in that post, however. On 24 October, Jacob was visiting friends at the Bohemian Club when, around 8:00 PM, he experienced pain in his side. He went home to rest, and by midnight he was experiencing extreme pain. His fatal heart attack came at around 3:00 AM Friday, 25 October 1895, and he died almost immediately.²³² As he was one of America's most famous conductors at the time, Jacob Rosewald's sudden death was reported around the country.

Julie Rosewald's Later Years

After her husband's death, Julie Rosewald took a trip east to Baltimore and presumably visited with family there. She had returned to San Francisco by 31 December 1895.²³³ For several years, Julie taught and engaged in an independent lifestyle in San Francisco. She had always exhibited an unconventional streak—continuing on the musical stage after marriage, serving as a cantor—and now, she followed other new trends. One such trend was the New Woman's participation in sports or “sweaty athleticism,”²³⁴ as society's view of exercise as detrimental was rapidly changing. An interview in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* discussed Julie's interest in bicycling, a new and fashionable sport that she engaged in for the health aspects. San Francisco had a new biclorama, located at Market, Tenth, and Stevenson streets, where citizens could ride without braving the hills or testing their brakes in the city. Women could ride separately to retain a level of modesty. Julie, however, used her bicycle everywhere:

Even with the closest inspection I have failed to find the tiniest symptoms of spinal meningitis or any other threatening horror. On the contrary, where before I was afflicted with all the small torments that most women suffer from, I am now a perfectly healthy woman, with sound nerves. Three years ago I had rheumatism, neuralgia and all the aggravations a sedentary life can give one. I went East, described all my ailments, and then waited for my course of treatment, my European trip and array of medicine bottles. But instead of what I expected the doctor said: ‘Buy a wheel, and ride every day of your life.’ So I did, and scandalized all San Francisco, while my friends stood by and said: ‘How perfectly shocking! How can you do such a thing.’ But I persisted, and now they have discovered the wisdom of my ways. Wherever I went I took my wheel. My ailments all disappeared, my weight was reduced twenty or twenty-five pounds, and I was strong and well in every particular.²³⁵

Around 1898, Rosewald decided to leave San Francisco to “travel the world,” and she remained away for about four years. During this time, she began to have



"Rambler Bicolorama," *The Emanu-El* 1, no. 17 (13 March 1896): 1.
(Courtesy Judah L. Magnes Museum)



Julie Rosewald, "as she appears today," signed and dated 1889.
(Courtesy Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University)

in America" C.D. Hess included Julie as one of America's greatest operatic stars²⁴²—high praise indeed, considering how many prima donnas were active

up-and-down episodes of ill health. She went to Baltimore in the winter of 1901 and sang some solos at a benefit concert sponsored by the Baltimore chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women at its fourth annual entertainment.²³⁶ In

April 1901, a notice announced that her friends "will be glad to learn of her complete restoration to health and of her intent to return to California during the summer."²³⁷ Rosewald did return to San Francisco in August 1901, where she took up teaching again. Her arrival in the city was announced in the papers on 1 September 1901.²³⁸ Within a few months, she had reestablished her teaching practice, and on 7 March 1902 her pupils gave a substantial public recital at the Sherman & Clay Hall.²³⁹ Despite all her attempts to stay healthy, Julie suffered from ill health and was forced to try another cure in Europe. She retired from teaching only six months after her return and planned to leave for Marienbad, Germany, in early April 1902.²⁴⁰ This is most likely the reason that she did not participate at any Bohemian Club operatic performance that year.²⁴¹ Sometime between spring 1902 and spring 1906, Julie became a partial invalid.

When she retired from teaching in 1902, Julie Rosewald was one of the most beloved opera singers of her generation. In the article, "Early Opera

in the United States at that time.

When San Francisco experienced the terrible earthquake and fire of 18 April 1906, Julie Rosewald's home at 922 Geary Street²⁴³ and income properties were in ruins. Julie was still away at the health springs in Wildebad, Germany.²⁴⁴ When she learned of the destruction, she apparently panicked or was in shock, thinking she had been ruined financially. She read accounts of the disaster and had seen a map in the San Francisco quarterly *Argonaut* of the area with burned houses. By May, she decided to leave Germany. She thought she should have to take up teaching again and planned to do so upon her return in the fall to Baltimore, where her sister Antonie still lived. As she wrote in a letter dated 4 June 1906 to the editor of the *Argonaut*:

Your chart of the burned district showed me that the houses from which I derived my only income had not escaped, and that I, like many other thousands, must take up work again in order to earn enough to live on. What I regret most deeply is that this task must be accomplished elsewhere. I shall have to labor away from San Francisco where I toiled so many years, because that city will for a long time have more pressing needs than for singing teachers.²⁴⁵

Originally, when Julie made out her then-current will, she had assets in excess of thirty thousand dollars and had intended to leave large sums of money to charities and relatives. This will specified donations to University of California for a "Rosewald Memorial Fund"; Mills College; Children's Hospital; and many other charitable organizations helping children. Upon hearing of the great destruction in San Francisco and mistakenly believing she no longer had any substantial holdings through her real estate incomes, she changed her will and sent notification to lawyers in Baltimore, where she planned to live upon returning to the United States. This second will was dated 31 May 1906 and superseded the San Francisco will.

Less than two months later, Julie suffered a sudden paralysis. She was dead within three days, on 16 July 1906, although no one close-by had thought the situation was life-threatening.²⁴⁶ She died believing that her fortune had been wiped out, as her San Francisco lawyers and financial consultants did not know of her concerns and did not contact her to inform her that her estates were reasonably intact. Her law firm, located at 1817 Jackson Street in San Francisco (the same offices as Buckingham & Hecht, her sister's family shoe manufactory), did not know of the existence of a second will and sent the first will to probate on 28 July 1906.²⁴⁷ The considerable and generous charitable gifts were widely announced in the press the next day.²⁴⁸

Unfortunately, by early August, the executors of her estate, Bert R. Hecht and Irvin J. Weil,²⁴⁹ learned of the second will and had the sad duty to inform the various charities that they would not be receiving those substantial gifts, as

“Madam Rosewald, being in Europe, and not fully acquainted with the state of her affairs, believed that her property had so greatly diminished in value that it would not suffice, even approximately to cover the bequests made in her will.”²⁵⁰ Their hands were tied, and, as they explained to the Board of Regents of the University of California: “While the University will not therefore, receive the legacy which Madam Rosewald much desired to leave it, this is one of the consequences of the calamitous events of last April, and is not due to any diminution of Madam Rosewald’s benevolent intentions, or her respect for and appreciation of the work of the University of California.”²⁵¹ The rescission of these gifts was not widely known, and that year, the *American Jewish Year Book* published a report about Julie Rosewald’s gifts based on the originally announced bequests.²⁵²

Her unexpected passing was mourned by the entire San Francisco community. As one writer stated:

Madame Rosewald leaves a host of mourning friends and disciples behind her. She was an excellent woman and an excellent musician, and her place will not be filled. To have known her was a privilege and a benefit; and her influence will long be felt among California women to whose musical training she devoted her great talent and her best years.²⁵³

Julie Rosewald requested that her remains be cremated in Germany. Apparently her ashes were brought back to San Francisco shortly thereafter, and interred by her sister Antonie next to her husband’s grave at Home of Peace, a cemetery affiliated with Temple Emanu-El in Colma, California. The name of this sweet singer of Israel was inscribed on the same monument with her husband.²⁵⁴



Grave monument of Julie and Jacob Rosewald, Home of Peace, Colma, California.

(Courtesy Joseph Eichberg)

Conclusions

Julie Rosewald’s life and career reflect that of an independent, successful Jewish woman and musician. It is sobering to realize, however, that while she was clearly well known and respected during her lifetime, her story has largely been lost both in the musical and Jewish historical record. If such a prominent Jewish woman’s life story has been glossed over within the last century, how many other Jewish women were participating in similar

progressive and creative ways that have not yet been uncovered?

Here was a woman who was able to achieve fame and stature in America without denying her religion. She performed music as part of the Jewish community and Jewish worship. As a highly appreciated performer, she was free to travel and stay at fine hotels, and she was integrated into her musical troupes, even after marriage. Julie was able to hold a position on the faculty of a college as a full professor and department head. She was a published author and respected musical pedagogue. She did all this while remaining openly Jewish and an active member of a temple, performing as a religious functionary in a large, prestigious synagogue that was influential on a national level—all before 1902. She had a musical career on the concert stage and in the choir loft of her synagogue. She partnered with her husband, a gifted conductor, violinist and educator. Jacob Rosewald's energies were focused on playing, conducting music and building institutions of good-quality music in the communities in which they lived. They both contributed widely to the local arts scenes, even while being nationally renowned in their respective fields.

Importantly, Julie Rosewald's career sets the historical record of when a woman first served as a cantor in an American synagogue to 1884. This reflects a Jewish identity fluid with contemporary American beliefs and trends, especially concerning her role as a woman dedicated to an artistic career. Julie's nine years of singing as "Cantor Soprano" was known in her day both in the Jewish and general communities. Her role was recorded in a widely read Jewish woman's journal and in the premier *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

Julie's view of herself fit snugly with the contemporaneous American movement that came to be called the "New Woman." This view suited her taste for independence and a lifelong commitment to creative work outside the confines of a domestic sphere. While she did marry, she also lived the life of a career woman and international opera star. She operated in an increasingly open society that experimented and stretched the boundaries of women's activities, and she stretched that openness into her Jewish world. She was clearly faithful to Judaism as she understood it in the context of the nineteenth-century American Reform movement. Despite traditional Jewish prohibitions against women leading synagogue singing she found her niche in the Reform movement, which not only accepted her as a member of a mixed choir, but allowed her to lead services as a soloist. While her activities as a cantor were not formally 'sanctioned' by the fledging institutions of Reform in America, neither was she condemned for her actions. Her congregation and rabbi accepted her role leading the singing as cantor in synagogue. Her "Cantor Soprano" years became a precursor for future American Jewish female cantors.

Julie's story demonstrates a certain level of success for Jews in the arts in late-nineteenth-century America. True, many Jewish elite in San Francisco and other cities at that time experienced a "parallel society" to the Christian elite.²⁵⁵

In the musical world, there were some overt prejudices against Jews, such as exclusion from the then-existing San Francisco Musical Society, which barred the Rosewalds. However, another non-Jewish organization, the Pacific Musical Society, admitted Jews, and Julie was an active member there.²⁵⁶ For Julie, these proved to be minor issues. In general, as an independent woman, she blended into and was active in both worlds. She achieved relatively high status in both musical society and general society not only by virtue of her fame, money, family connections, and German lineage, but because of her talents, which were needed and appreciated. Her success is merely one of many indicators that America would achieve greatness as a cultural center by welcoming all and providing opportunity to those with talent and ambition. In the United States, a more meritocratic system was forming—and ultimately would prevail—in which being a Jew would not be a decisive barrier to success in the arts. Julie's life story is one excellent early example of this trend.

Judith S. Pinnolis is the RIS Humanities Librarian at Brandeis University. She is creator and editor of the The Jewish Music WebCenter at <http://www.jmwc.org>. Pinnolis is Past Chair of the Chapters Council of the Association of College and Research Libraries, and Past President of the ACRL New England Chapter. She currently serves as the national Chair of the Jewish Music Roundtable of the Music Library Association.

Notes

*The author would like to thank Jonathan Sarna for reading previous versions of this article.

¹Saul Berman, "Kol 'Isha," in *Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein Memorial Volume*, ed. Leo Landman (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1980), 45. The phrase "*kol isha erwah*," meaning "a woman's voice is a sexual incitement," ascribed to Amora Samuel and discussed in the Talmud, has long been subject to interpretation. While there has been much debate as to the extent that was necessary to avoid this problem, with resultant restrictions varying over time and locale, one major cultural result was a general prohibition of a Jewish woman singing or leading prayer in synagogue, lest her voice distract men from true prayer.

²Judith S. Pinnolis, "Jewish Musicians," in *Women and Music in America Since 1900: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Kristine Burns (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 334–336.

³The designation of "cantor" in the nineteenth century denoted a "*shaliach tzibbur*," or "messenger of the people," a role learned primarily in an apprenticeship system. There were no formal schools for cantors in the United States at that time; the investment of Reform cantors came about after the establishment of formal seminaries of training in the twentieth century. The use of the term "cantor" in this paper is not meant to imply investiture but merely reflects the term used at the time and, indeed, the term that the congregation used for Julie Rosewald. The term "cantorial soloist" is a modern term, invented in the 1990s.

⁴Frances B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: The Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1989), 65–68.

⁵Glenda Riley, *Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1987), 91–92, 94, 100, 145, 156, 158.

⁶*Ibid.*, 94.

⁷Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 78.

⁸Cogan, 258.

⁹Karla Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 77.

¹⁰Lee C. Harby, "Penina Moïse: Woman and Writer," *The American Jewish Year Book 7* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1905–1906), 19–21.

¹¹Charles Reznikoff, "Penina Moïse," in *Notable American Women 1607–1950*, ed. Edward T. James (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 559.

¹²"The Maiden in the Temple: Ray Frank, 1861–1948," <http://jwa.org/exhibits/wov/frank/maiden.html> (accessed 1 June 2009).

¹³Pamela S. Nadell, "The Women Who Would Be Rabbis," in *American Jewish Women's History: A Reader*, ed. Pamela Nadell (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 177.

¹⁴Moses Rischin, "The Jewish Experience in America," in *Jews of the American West*, ed. Moses Rischin and John Livingston (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 32.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁶William Toll, "A Regional Context for Pacific Jewry, 1880–1930," in *The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America*, ed. Marc Lee Raphael (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 220.

¹⁷San Francisco's Grand Opera House, for example had been refurbished in 1884. It had "in the centre facing the main door ... a huge crystal fountain, having ten smaller jets throwing streams of eau de Cologne into glass basins hung with crystal pendants. All over the vestibule were the rarest tree orchids, violets in blossom and roses in full bloom." Harold Rosenthal quoted in June Ottenberg, *Opera Odyssey: Toward a History of Opera in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 160–161.

¹⁸Lawrence Estavan, ed., "The History of Opera in San Francisco, Monograph XVII, Part I and II," *San Francisco Theatre Research 7* (San Francisco: W.P.A. Project 8386, O.P. 465-03-3-286, November 1938), Part II: 116–117.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 121–122. Between 1890 and 1900, there were twelve theaters and sixteen opera companies that gave more than twenty-two hundred performances.

²⁰A distinction was made in nineteenth-century Germany between performing for private, invited guests in a salon or home and performance in a public auditorium, concert stage, or institutional setting.

²¹Françoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, trans. Camille Naish (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1996) and Judith S. Pinnolis, "Mendelssohn Hensel, Fanny Caecilie," in *Encyclopedia Judaica* 14, 2nd ed., ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2007), 40–41.

²²Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870–1914: "Encroaching on All Man's Privileges"* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 142. Gillett points out that the "Homerically derived, dichotomized view of the woman singer was in full bloom during the Victorian era. Famous women singers were often referred to as sirens."

²³Judith Tick, *American Women Composers before 1870, Studies in Musicology 57* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 15. Tick points out that European standards of culture, such as the British idea of music lessons as an expected part of feminine education, spread to America.

²⁴Marion A. Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 121.

²⁵Gillett, 144.

²⁶Alexander Flamant, Frédéric Louis Ritter, and Mary F. Sophia Hervey, *The Realm of Tones: Three Hundred and Two Portraits of the Most Celebrated European Musicians with Short Biographical Notices* (New York: Edward Schuberth & Co., 1882), 24.

²⁷John Weeks Moore, *A Dictionary of Musical Information* (Boston: O Ditson & Co., 1876),

87. Jenny Meyer went on to become a renowned singing teacher and director of Berlin's Stern Conservatory. "Obituary," *The Musical Times and Singing-Class Circular* 35, no. 619 (1 September 1894): 625.

²⁸"Obituary: Marie Heilbron," *The Musical Times and Singing-Class Circular* 27, no. 519 (1 May 1886): 287–288.

²⁹Nahida Remy, *The Jewish Woman*, trans. Louise Mannheimer (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1916), 204–205.

³⁰"Salomon Sulzer," in *Biographische Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich* 40, 316–317, http://www.literature.at/webinterface/library/COLLECTION_V01?objid=11104 (accessed 15 November 2008).

³¹Meyer Kayserling, *Die jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig: Brochhaus, 1879), 328.

³²"The Hirsh Family Tree," *Ancestry Library World Tree Project*, <http://awt.ancestrylibrary.com> (accessed 6 June 2006).

³³Aron Friedmann, *Lebensbilder berühmter Kantoren* (Berlin: C. Boas Nachf., 1918–1921), 48–49. Friedmann gives the date of birth as 18 December, but the family tree lists it as 17 December. Moritz Eichberg died 21 November 1892.

³⁴"Precentor," is a word borrowed from the music director of a church. It is used here as another reference to a *hazzan* or cantor.

³⁵Friedmann, 48. Moritz Eichberg was part of the same Eichberg cantorial family that trained Salomon Sulzer, the famous cantor and composer.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 49.

³⁷*The Jewish Encyclopedia* lists "D Eichberg" as the cantor. However, both Friedmann and a booklet dedicated to fifty years of service to the Stuttgart congregation clearly give the honor to Moritz Eichberg. Jewish Museum of Maryland Item #1979.027.001, "Commemorative red velvet covered booklet from the Stuttgart Congregation congratulating Moritz Eichberg on the occasion of his 50th jubilee," Stuttgart, 13 December 1884. According to Friedmann, 49, Eichberg also received at his retirement a small gold medal for art and scholarship.

³⁸Paul Sauer and Sonja Hosseinzadeh, *Jüdisches Leben im Wandel der Zeit: 170 Jahre Israelitische Religionsgemeinschaft, 50 Jahre neue Synagoge in Stuttgart* (Gerlinger: Bleicher Verlag, 2002), 39. Sauer identifies Eichberg as "Vorsänger Moses Eichberg" rather than the westernized Moritz. "Vorsänger," means "precentor."

³⁹"Stuttgart," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, www.Jewishencyclopedia.com (accessed 15 August 2007).

⁴⁰"Social Gossip: Biographical Sketches of Our Visiting Singers," *The Denver Rocky Mountain News* (11 September 1881): 6.

⁴¹"Weiller, Pauline," www.Jewishencyclopedia.com (accessed 22 July 2007).

⁴²Julie Eichberg was born in 1847, the year of Fanny Mendelssohn's death. Most early sources list her birth date as 1847, including Kayserling in *Die jüdischen Frauen* and the family tree. Julie started lying about her age in Chicago, when her year of birth was reported as 1849, and she told a *Daily Democrat* reporter that she was born in 1850. Most subsequent reportage in the United States listed her birth date as 1850. She also told her friends in San Francisco that she was born in 1850, which, in fact, was her sister's birth year.

⁴³"The Hirsh Family Tree," <http://awt.ancestrylibrary.com> (accessed 6 June 2006).

⁴⁴"Amusements: A Sketch of the Artistic Career of Mme. Julie Rosewald, the New Prima Donna," *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (25 November 1876): 6.

⁴⁵"Mme. Julie Rosewald: Interesting Personal Sketch of a Popular Vocalist and Operatic Star," *Woodland Daily Democrat* (3 March 1891): 10.

⁴⁶Physical descriptions come from later American passport application documents.

⁴⁷“Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *Woodland Daily Democrat* (3 March 1891): 10.

⁴⁸Kaysersling, *Die jüdischen Frauen*, 26, outlines the career of Pauline Eichberg.

⁴⁹The Weiller name is frequently spelled with one “l,” as in this report. Baltimore Peabody Institute, *First Annual Report of the Provost to the Trustees, June 4, 1868* (Baltimore, MD: The Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, 1868), 44. Later family apparently shortened the name to just Weil.

⁵⁰“Amusements: First Grand Concert,” *The Baltimore Sun* (22 October 1867): 3.

⁵¹Maryland Hall of Records, *Marriage Index* (1851–1885). Microfilm CR 1679. Ray-Wm A–Saddler, Thomas. Taken from Bk-1-JDL 1865-67, Folio 380. The official record clearly lists the marriage date as 8 October 1866. It was filed on October 16th. However, Julie stated on a passport application she was married 7 October 1866 and women are likely to remember their anniversary dates. “Julie Rosewald,” *Passport Applications 1795–1925*. United States of America. No. 1727. State of California, City of San Francisco. 20 April 1897. www.AncestryLibrary.com (accessed 27 November 2007). Additionally, her sister also lists the 7th as date of marriage in “Biography Card File: California Musicians,” California State Library, Sacramento, California, 1908. Since October 7 was a Sunday, and also the first Sunday after the conclusion of the High Holiday season that year, it seems the likely date of the wedding instead of a Monday. Possibly the filer gave the wrong date when filing the wedding certificate. Although in the United States only a short time, her marriage to Rosewald made her a naturalized U.S. citizen.

⁵²Julie Rosewald’s occupation is left blank on the 1870 census. By 1880, it clearly stated “opera singer.” Searches for a Rosewald entry in 1870 census were hampered by sloppy recordkeeping including a misspelling of the name as ‘Rosswald’ on the census record and Jacob’s age listed incorrectly as 32 and Julie’s as 24.

⁵³“David Oppenheimer,” Bureau of the Census, *United States Federal Census*, State of Maryland, City of Baltimore (Washington, DC, 1880), www.AncestryLibrary.com (accessed 11 February 2007).

⁵⁴Michael Broyles, “Immigrant, folk, and regional musics in the nineteenth century,” in *The Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 146.

⁵⁵“Frau Materna the Concert at the Theater Last Evening,” *The San Jose Mercury News* (5 June 1885): 3.

⁵⁶Description based on passport application. “Jacob H. Rosewald,” *Passport Applications 1795–1925*. *United States of America*. No. 32633. State of Maryland, City of Baltimore. 11 June 1873. www.AncestryLibrary.com (accessed 27 November 2007).

⁵⁷“Beethoven Commemorations,” *Dwight’s Journal of Music: A Paper of Art and Literature* 29 (1871): 373–374. Reported on 31 December 1870.

⁵⁸“Consecration of Bishop Gross,” *The Baltimore Sun* (28 April 1873):1.

⁵⁹John Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore: Being a Complete History of “Baltimore Town” and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874), 696. Rabbi Szold was the leader of Ohel Shalom. He wrote to Isaac Mayer Wise of Cincinnati: “People are still debating whether I am orthodox or reform.... I am like you ... neither of the two or both at the same time.... I am a Jew and nothing Jewish is foreign to me.” Quoted in Isaac Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community: the History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773–1920* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1971), 117. Henrietta Szold, daughter of Rabbi Szold, was around twelve in 1873 and likely attended the event, as she generally followed her father everywhere. Szold could not sing, but she deeply loved music and played piano, which she practiced intensively, sharing duets with her sister Rachel. Joan Dash, *Summoned to Jerusalem: The Life of Henrietta Szold* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 10–11.

⁶⁰Goldman, 85.

⁶¹“Local Matters: Commencement of the Hebrew New Year—Interesting Preliminary Services

in the Synagogues,” *The Baltimore Sun* (22 September 1873): 4.

⁶²“Amusements: A Sketch,” *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (25 November 1876): 6.

⁶³This song had been popular in both the South and the North during the Civil War. It was published by Joseph Bloch (1826–1903), a German Jew who settled in Mobile, Alabama.

⁶⁴Granville L. Howe, William Smythe, Babcock Mathews, *A Hundred Years of Music in America: An Account of Musical Effort in America* (Chicago: G.L. Howe, 1889), 200.

⁶⁵“Arrival of Franz Abt,” *The New York Times* (5 May 1872):10.

⁶⁶“Chicago: Reception of Franz Abt,” *The Chicago Tribune* (12 May 1872): 7.

⁶⁷“The Coming of Franz Abt,” *Church’s Musical Visitor* 2, no. 1 (April 1872): 7.

⁶⁸Printed program, “World’s Peace Jubilee and International Musical Festival. Fourth Day, Thursday, 20 June 1872, French Day” (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1872). Accessed through *America Singing: Nineteenth Century Song Sheets*, Series 1, 10. *American Memory*, <http://memory.loc.gov/> (accessed 27 September 2007).

⁶⁹“Social Gossip: Biographical Sketches of Our Visiting Singers,” *The Denver Rocky Mountain News* (11 September 1881): 6.

⁷⁰“Amusements: A Sketch,” *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (25 November 1876): 6.

⁷¹“Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *Woodland Daily Democrat* (3 March 1891): 10.

⁷²“Amusements: A Sketch,” *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (25 November 1876): 6.

⁷³It is interesting that Rosewald started as Marguerite. This is a role that Clara Louise Kellogg felt was her own special role “by right of conquest in America.” Clara Louise Kellogg, *Memoirs of an American Prima Donna* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1913), 249.

⁷⁴Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, eds., *A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred-Seventy Biographical Sketches Accompanied by Portraits of Leading American Women in All Walks of Life* (Buffalo: Charles Wells Mouton, 1893), 623. Willard and Livermore stated that she also traveled as a prima donna with the Caroline Richings Opera Company, another English opera troupe. I have found no evidence of this, although she sang with Richings at least once.

⁷⁵“Social Gossip: Biographical Sketches of Our Visiting Singers,” *The Denver Rocky Mountain News* (11 September 1881): 6.

⁷⁶Kellogg, 256.

⁷⁷Ottenberg, 119, 121.

⁷⁸C.D. Hess later wrote a history of opera in America. Kellogg, 256, blithely notes that the “enterprise did much for the advancement of music art in this country; and it, besides, gave employment to a large number of young Americans.”

⁷⁹“Amusements: A Sketch,” *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (25 November 1876): 6. An “English opera” company meant that the operas written originally in other languages were translated into English. The quality of the English libretti varied widely. The purpose of using English was to make the operas accessible to the American audiences as popular entertainment.

⁸⁰Ottenberg, 116.

⁸¹“Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *Woodland Daily Democrat* (3 March 1891): 10 and C.D. Hess, “Early Opera in America,” *The Cosmopolitan: A Monthly Illustrated Magazine* 32 (November 1901–April, 1902): 152.

⁸²“Amusements: A Sketch,” *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (25 November 1876): 6.

⁸³“Grand Opera in English” (advertisement), *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (21 June 1875): 4.

⁸⁴“Maguire’s New Theatre” (advertisement), *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (29 July 1875): 4.

⁸⁵“Multiple Arts & Entertainment Items,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (31 July

1875): 3.

⁸⁶“Amusements: Maguire’s New Theatre,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (18 August 1875): 3.

⁸⁷“Amusements: Maguire’s New Theatre,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (3 August 1875): 3.

⁸⁸“Amusements: Maguire’s New Theatre,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (20 August 1875): 3.

⁸⁹“Amusements: Maguire’s New Theatre,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (4 August 1875): 3.

⁹⁰“Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *Woodland Daily Democrat* (3 March 1891): 10. Balfe had died in 1870, but his opera had been just completed posthumously and released in England by Michael Costa.

⁹¹“Amusements: Maguire’s New Theatre,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (20 August 1875): 3.

⁹²“Academy of Music: Kellogg Grand English Opera” (advertisement), *The Baltimore Sun* (24 February 1876): 1.

⁹³“Amusements, Music, etc.,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (22 April 1876): 3.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁵John Curtis, “Opera in Philadelphia: Performance Chronology 1875–1899,” ed. Frank Hamilton. <http://www.FrankHamilton.org>. (accessed 14 July 2007). The original Curtis unpublished manuscript resides with the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Hamilton indexes it on his website. Julie’s appearance dates were 21, 22, 24, and 26 April. Other Philadelphia appearances included Zerlina in *Fra Diavolo*, Marguerite in *Faust*, Filina in *Mignon*, Lady Harriet Durham in *Martha*, La Contessa d’Almaviva in *The Marriage of Figaro*, and, of course, Arline in *The Bohemian Girl*.

⁹⁶“The Theatres: The Star of the North,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (25 April 1876): 4.

⁹⁷“Doctor Gustave Satter’s Second Grand Concert at Musical Fund Hall” (advertisement), *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (29 March 1876): 5.

⁹⁸“Amusements: The Kellogg English Opera,” *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (23 November 1876): 4.

⁹⁹“Amusements: The Kellogg Opera,” *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (28 November 1876): 4.

¹⁰⁰“Amusements: A Sketch,” *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (25 November 1876): 6.

¹⁰¹Given the bridal-looking veil, possibly as Prascovia in *L’Étoile du Nord*.

¹⁰²“How Miss Kellogg Eluded a Persistent Admirer. From the Detroit Post,” *The St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (26 November 1876): 10.

¹⁰³Leonardus, “New York Letter,” *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture* (17 February 1877): 2.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵Kellogg does not even mention Julie Rosewald once in her memoirs of the English opera tours. Kellogg, 254–275. This is perhaps due to a number of possibilities: because Julie was a beginner at the time they worked together, or because Kellogg felt superior to Julie, or because Julie later went to sing for Abbott, whom Kellogg resented and about whom Kellogg wrote very negatively in her book.

¹⁰⁶Stephen E. Busch, “C.D. Hess English Opera Company: A Chronology,” *The National Theatre*, <http://www.nationaltheatre.org/location/HessCDMgr.htm> (accessed 7 December 2006). Busch wrote that the range of the touring by the company was exaggerated and they did not go as far as Mexico. He also thought the “C” in C.D. Hess was “Charles.” The correct name is Clarence, according to George B. Bryan, compiler, *Stage Deaths: A Biographical Guide to International*

Theatrical Obituaries, 1850–1990 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 607.

¹⁰⁷Hess, “Early Opera,” 152.

¹⁰⁸“Amusements: A Sketch,” *The Chicago Inter Ocean* (25 November 1876): 6.

¹⁰⁹Another role that Kellogg claimed to develop in America. Kellogg, 263.

¹¹⁰“Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *Woodland Daily Democrat* (3 March 1891): 10.

¹¹¹“Baldwin’s Opening Night” (advertisement), *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (21 April 1877): 4.

¹¹²Kaysersling, 328.

¹¹³“The Liederkrantz,” *The Baltimore Sun* (1 May 1878): 1.

¹¹⁴“For Europe—Departure of Tourists,” *The Baltimore Sun* (2 May 1878): 4.

¹¹⁵“Dramatic, Music, Etc.” *The Philadelphia North American* (25 April 1878): col. B.

¹¹⁶“Madame Julie Rosewald,” *The Denver Rocky Mountain News* (8 September 1881): 8.

¹¹⁷“The Late Julie Rosewald,” *The San Francisco Argonaut* (11 August 1906): 11.

¹¹⁸“Proceedings at the Academy of Music, Tuesday October 12, 1880, 3pm,” in *Proceedings of the Maryland Historical Society in Connection with the Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Baltimore* 1 (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1880), 13–14.

¹¹⁹John Dizikes, *Opera in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 267.

¹²⁰Stephen E. Busch, “The Emma Abbott Grand English Opera Company,” <http://operapronto.home.comcast.net/history/files/history2.html> (accessed 14 July 2007).

¹²¹In her career, Abbott was known to have opened thirty-five new opera houses in the Midwest and West between 1878 and 1890. Ottenberg, 123.

¹²²Dizikes, 267.

¹²³“Emma Abbott’s Novelties,” *The Wheeling Register* (31 August 1880): 4.

¹²⁴A claim that Abbott studied with Rosewald is not proven, but there’s no reason to believe that Rosewald, possessing such tremendous technical knowledge, did not exchange vocal techniques or share with troupe members.

¹²⁵Katherine K. Preston, “Between the Cracks: The Performance of English-Language Opera in Late Nineteenth-Century America,” *American Music* 21, no. 3 (Autumn 2003): 352.

¹²⁶“Amusement, Music, &c. English Opera,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (18 November 1881): 3.

¹²⁷“Emma Abbott Grand Opera Company” (advertisement), *The Atlanta Constitution* (30 December 1883): 6A.

¹²⁸Ottenberg, 122.

¹²⁹Congregation B’nai Sholom, established in 1852, was the second-oldest congregation in Chicago. The original synagogue was destroyed by the great fire in 1871, with the new building located on Michigan Avenue near Fourteenth Street. Cyrus Adler and H. Eliassof, “Chicago,” <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com> (accessed 30 October 2007). Dr. Samuel Marks was the spiritual leader of the congregation; he also ran a Hebrew school in the German-Jewish community in the manner of a European *cheder*. Morris A. Gutstein, *A Priceless Heritage: The Epic Growth of Nineteenth Century Chicago Jewry* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1953), 237–238.

¹³⁰“A Concert in a Synagogue,” *The American Hebrew* quoted in “What the Jewish Papers are Saying,” in *The Prophetic News and Israel’s Wachman New Series*, ed. Rev. M. Baxter (London: S.W. Partridge & Co., 1881), 20.

¹³¹Pasquillo Brignoli had sung with Kellogg’s troupe also. He was nearly at the end of his brilliant career and was still singing to support his lavish lifestyle. While he made extravagant

sums, he nevertheless died penniless in 1884. Michael B. Dougan, "Pasquino Brignoli: Tenor of the Golden West," in *Opera and the Golden West: The Past, Present, and Future of Opera in the U.S.A.*, ed. John L. DiGaetani and Josef P. Sirefman (Teaneck, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1994), 108–109.

¹³²"Music and the Drama: Rosewald and Brignoli in 'Trovatore' at the Opera House," *The North American* (4 February 1881): B.

¹³³"Music," *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts* (17 March 1881): 9.

¹³⁴"Amusements: The Abbott Opera Season—Two Performances Yesterday, 'La Sonnambula' and 'The Bohemian Girl'—News and Notes of Interest," *The Boston Daily Globe* (27 April 1882): 2.

¹³⁵"Amusements," *The Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* (16 September 1880): 8.

¹³⁶Ottenberg, 117.

¹³⁷"City Talk and Chatter," *The Washington Post* (24 February 1881): 4.

¹³⁸"Miss Rosewald is a far superior artiste to Miss Abbott," *The Daily Register-Call* (12 September 1881): column B.

¹³⁹"Probably the acurvist [*sic*] and diretiest [*sic*] trick," *The Daily Register-Call* (14 September 1881): column B.

¹⁴⁰Harlan Jennings, "Grand Opera Comes to Denver, 1864-1881," *The Opera Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 76.

¹⁴¹"A Scared Opera Singer," *The St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (8 February 1882): 6.

¹⁴²"Staid Old Lawrence is in a foment of excitement," *The Atchison Globe* (9 February 1882): column E. The *Atchison Globe* slanderously attributed this story to Rosewald's drunken imagination or to elicit sympathy or publicity. They further tried to disparage her with the aside that "her real name is Julia Rosenfeldt, we have no doubt." Just as today some celebrities are subject to extreme acts from people who become obsessed with them, Rosewald was possibly such a victim. In a similar, but uncorroborated event based on a "This Day in History" provided by an Eichberg family member, it was reported that on 17 September 1881: "Julie Rosewald, a lovely young singer, starts getting packages in the mail from a secret admirer. The first one had fancy chocolates. The second one had beautiful roses. The third one had a man's ear. The fourth one contained the rest of the head. Ms. Rosewald is now looking for some bodyguards who could protect her from this admirer while the police look into the matter." Email correspondence with author (5 April 2010).

¹⁴³"Trouble Between Musicians," *The Baltimore Sun* (supplement) (11 December 1882): 2.

¹⁴⁴"Opera in an Uproar: Emma Abbott's New Basso Makes a Hit and the Conductor Tries a Run," *The National Police Gazette* 41, no.275 (30 December 1882): 3. Abbott was known for interjecting this very hymn and others into operas. Ottenberg, 122.

¹⁴⁵"Social Gossip: Biographical Sketches of Our Visiting Singers," *The Denver Rocky Mountain News* (11 September 1881): 6.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.* The description of the bridal costume may very well be the one depicted in the photo appearing earlier in this paper.

¹⁴⁸"Rosewald, Julie," <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/index.jsp> (accessed 4 June 2006).

¹⁴⁹"Academy of Music Thanksgiving Week" (advertisement), *The Baltimore Sun* (20 November 1882): 1.

¹⁵⁰"Baldwin Theatre: Emma Abbott Opera Company" (advertisement), *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (30 January 1884): 4.

¹⁵¹"The Opera is Over, The Abbott Season Closed Yesterday by Two Great Performances. Julie Rosewald as Leonora at Matinee and Miss Abbott as Amina in the Evening," *The Duluth*

Minnesota Lake Superior Review and Weekly Tribune (28 September 1883): 3.

¹⁵²This claim seems exaggerated. The evidence is not present that she sang publicly in that many different operas in America, although she may have known or taught the music from them. In comparison, Clara Louise Kellogg mastered only about forty operas.

¹⁵³“The Casino Concert,” *The New York Times* (14 May 1883): 5.

¹⁵⁴Julie Rosewald, *My Little Girl, Song from the German*, Songsheet Frontispiece (New York: J.N. Pattison, 1883). Available online through “Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music,” *American Memory*. DIGITAL ID sm1883.15375 urn:hdl:loc.music/sm1883.15375. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/sm1883.15375> (accessed 19 August 2007).

¹⁵⁵Judith Tick, *American Women Composers before 1870, Studies in Musicology 57* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 142.

¹⁵⁶“My Little Girl,” *The Duluth Daily Tribune* (26 September 1883): 2.

¹⁵⁷“All Sorts of Items,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (4 February 1884): 4.

¹⁵⁸“Prof. J.H. Rosewald Gone. He Died Suddenly Yesterday Morning,” *The San Francisco Chronicle* (26 October 1895): 16. Apparently symptoms of his heart disease were starting by the mid-1880s.

¹⁵⁹“Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *Woodland Daily Democrat* (3 March 1891): 10.

¹⁶⁰“Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *The Kansas City Star* (6 August 1884): 1.

¹⁶¹“Personal Mention,” *The Denver Rocky Mountain News* (8 August 1884): column E.

¹⁶²“Passengers,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (9 August 1884): 4.

¹⁶³“Notes,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (11 August 1884): 2.

¹⁶⁴Estavan, “The History of Opera,” Part I, Part II.

¹⁶⁵“A Parlor Grand Knabe,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (16 August 1884): 2.

¹⁶⁶Max Wolff attended the Vienna Conservatory and was a baritone. He was born in Carlsruhe, Germany, and served as a cantor in Mannheim, Germany, before going to San Francisco. Jacob Voorsanger, “Divre Yeme Emanuel,” in *The Chronicles of Emanu-El: Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Congregation Emanu-El which was founded in July, 1850* (San Francisco: Geo. Spaulding & Co., 1900), 121–122.

¹⁶⁷By the 1870s, at least ten members of the congregation were reported to have a combined wealth in excess of forty-five million dollars. Rudolf Glanz, *The Jews of California* (New York: The Southern California Jewish Historical Society, 1960), 43.

¹⁶⁸Voorsanger, 122.

¹⁶⁹The building was dedicated 23 March 1866. The structure cost \$175,000 and had a seating capacity for thirteen hundred. Edgar M. Kahn, “The Saga of the First Fifty Years of Congregation Emanu-El, San Francisco,” *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (April 1971):142–143.

¹⁷⁰Voorsanger, 126.

¹⁷¹*The Jewish Progress* 9, no. 7 (26 September 1884): 5.

¹⁷²Henrietta Szold, the daughter of Rabbi Benjamin Szold in Baltimore, must have known the Rosewalds while she was growing up there. Henrietta was neighbors and close friends with Harry Friedenwald, who was connected to the Rosewalds by marriage. Henrietta had likely seen the Rosewalds perform at various Jewish events when she was a teen.

¹⁷³Henrietta Szold and Cyrus Adler, “Rosewald, Julie,” <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/index.jsp> (accessed 4 June 2006). This article would have been written after 1902 but before 1906, based on the information in it. Szold’s use of the phrase “led the services in a synagogue” is no doubt reliable, as her writing was known for its accuracy and carefully chosen words. Dash, 13.

¹⁷⁴“Biographical Sketches of Jews Prominent in the Professions, etc., in the United States,”

American Jewish Year Book 6 (1904–1905): 176.

¹⁷⁵Rebecca J. Gradwohl, “The Jewess in San Francisco,” *The American Jewess* 4, no. 1 (October, 1896): 11. <http://www.hti.umich.edu/> (accessed 7 December 2005).

¹⁷⁶The use of the term “cantor” is limited in this paper, and the role is assumed to refer only to singing in the temple for services or special events, not to any pastoral responsibilities. Mark Slobin, *Chosen Voices: The Story of the American Cantorate* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 45. Slobin points out that the pastoral role usually fell to rabbis in that period.

¹⁷⁷It is uncertain why Fred Rosenbaum, in his carefully researched history *Visions of Reform: Congregation Emanu-El and the Jews of San Francisco, 1849–1999* (Berkeley, CA: Judah L. Magnes Museum, 2000), does not mention Julie Rosewald. From a close comparison between Voorsanger’s original memoirs and Rosenbaum’s chapter on that period, it is clear Rosenbaum had made a careful reading of Voorsanger. Possibly Voorsanger’s entry made no impression on Rosenbaum because the researcher did not know that Julie was a nationally renowned opera singer. Additionally, Julie is not listed in Voorsanger’s appendix of congregants in the 1900 publication. Although Rosenbaum states that women could not be members of the synagogue in their own right, women are included in Appendix D, “List of Members of the Congregation Emanu-El, December 1, 1900.” Her name, however, does not appear. By 1900 she had been away traveling. Rosenbaum, 75.

¹⁷⁸“The Passing of Julie Rosewald,” *The Emanu-El* 22, no. 12 (27 July 1906): 2.

¹⁷⁹“Jacob H. Rosewald,” *The Emanu-El* (22 November 1895): 9.

¹⁸⁰Slobin, 46.

¹⁸¹A Catholic opera singer who had been hired for High Holidays in the 1860s had not worked out and had helped trigger a defection of fifty-five families, who formed Ohabai Shalom, according to Rosenbaum. Email correspondence between Fred Rosenbaum and author, 23 June 2006. However, in his book, Rosenbaum agreed with Voorsanger, who attributed the secession of families in 1862 more to other factors: a fight over the office of sexton; the split between “conservative tendencies”; and worship rules imposed after the adoption of the Merzbacher prayer book in 1864, which, among other reforms, eliminated the second day of Rosh Hashanah. Voorsanger, 105–109.

¹⁸²Kaplan, 66.

¹⁸³Benjamin M. Baader, *Gender, Judaism, and Bourgeois Culture in Germany 1800–1870* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 191.

¹⁸⁴Indeed, many of Julie Rosewald’s voice students also later became soloists at local churches.

¹⁸⁵“Thanksgiving Services,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (26 November 1884): 1.

¹⁸⁶The congregation had attempted to find clergy. Abraham Ilch, appointed “junior rabbi” in 1885, was a brilliant mathematician and had earned a doctorate in Semitics at the University of Leipzig. Unfortunately, he died within six months after taking the position, his first rabbinical post. Jacob Voorsanger replaced him in that role. Rosenbaum, 76.

¹⁸⁷Jeffrey S. Gurock, ed. *American Jewish History* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 68 and Marc Lee Raphael, “Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger of San Francisco on Jews and Judaism: The Implications of the Pittsburgh Platform,” *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 63, no.2 (December 1973): 186.

¹⁸⁸Kenneth C. Zwerin and Norton B. Stern, “Jacob Voorsanger: From Cantor to Rabbi,” *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (April 1983): 198–200. Voorsanger claimed a rabbinical degree from Amsterdam, but Zwerin and Stern found no evidence of this.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., 195.

¹⁹⁰Rischin, 41.

¹⁹¹“New Music for Jewish Holidays,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (3 September 1888): 3.

¹⁹²Ibid.

¹⁹³Society of American Cantors, *Union Hymnal* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1897).

¹⁹⁴George P. Upton, *The Standard Cantatas: Their Stories, Their Music, and Their Composers* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1890), 358.

¹⁹⁵“Albert Hall Choral Society,” *The Musical Times* (1 April 1880): 175.

¹⁹⁶Slobin, 46.

¹⁹⁷Ibid.

¹⁹⁸“The Temple Emanu-El,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (8 April 1889): 1.

¹⁹⁹“Jacob H. Rosewald,” *The Emanu-El* 1, no. 1 (22 November 1895): 9

²⁰⁰Jeffrey S. Zucker, “Cantor Edward J. Stark at Congregation Emanu-El,” *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (April, 1985): 233–234, quoting *San Francisco Chronicle* (12 November 1899): 12.

²⁰¹Goldman, 89–91.

²⁰²Emanuel Rubin and John Baron, *Music in Jewish History and Culture* (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2006), 242.

²⁰³“New Music for Jewish Holidays,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (3 September 1888): 3.

²⁰⁴Slobin, 54. The term “*chazzan-craze*” was coined by Jonathan Sarna in his editor’s introduction to Moses Weinberger, *People Walk on Their Heads: Moses Weinberger’s Jews and Judaism in New York*, trans. and ed. Jonathan D. Sarna (New York: Homes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982), 13. Cantors were brought in from Europe to American synagogues at higher and higher salaries from the mid-1880s on, because they sold tickets to empty synagogues and that provided ideal financial help. Additionally, they provided a model to an immigrant generation; they served both as a link to the past through the traditional sounds and, through the success of individual cantors, as a symbol of the potential of America.

²⁰⁵Zucker, 236–237, 241.

²⁰⁶Ibid., 237.

²⁰⁷Ibid., 242–243. Zucker points out that Schmidt’s school did not survive, and it is not the same as the current-day San Francisco Conservatory, founded by Ada Clement in 1915.

²⁰⁸*Report on the Building and Loan Association of the State of California* (Sacramento: Superintendent State Printing, 1895), 207.

²⁰⁹“Business Real Estate Transfers,” *The Los Angeles Times* (6 October 1887): 7.

²¹⁰*San Francisco, California Directories, 1890–1891* (San Francisco: Painter and Co. Publishing, 1890). www.AncestryLibrary.com. (accessed 10 May 2007). The Rosewalds moved from their original address at 1018 Van Ness Avenue to 938 Geary Street sometime before 1889. By 1892, they had moved to a home at 922 Geary Street and were listed in the society directory. Emil Stoessel, comp. *San Francisco Jewish Elite Directory and Society List, 1892* (San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, 1892).

²¹¹“Julie Rosewald’s Jewels,” *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (4 March 1884): 2.

²¹²“Julie Rosewald,” *Passport Applications 1795–1925*, United States of America. No. 497. From Paris, France. Through the Legation of the United States, 7 June 1888. www.AncestryLibrary.com (accessed 4 December 2007).

²¹³“Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *Woodland Daily Democrat* (3 March 1891): 10. Matilde Marchesi (1821–1913) was a brilliant, world-famous singing teacher in Europe.

²¹⁴Selma Berrol, “Class of Ethnicity: The Americanized German Jewish Woman and Her Middle Class Sisters in 1895,” *Jewish Social Studies* 47, no. 1 (1985): 28.

²¹⁵Rosewald, *How Shall I Practice?* 18–20.

²¹⁶Cogan, 258.

²¹⁷Charles F. Holder and E.J. Levenash, "New Books," *The California Illustrated Magazine* 2 (June–November 1892): 724.

²¹⁸Eugene L. Crutchfield, "Some Ill Effects of the Corset," *Gaillard's Medical Journal* 67, no. 1 (July 1897): 3.

²¹⁹*The Bay of San Francisco: The Metropolis of the Pacific Coast, and Its Suburban Cities: A History, Illustrated*, II (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1892), 133. The Bostonians had started out as the Boston Ideal Opera Company, which lasted until 1904 and was "one of the country's most successful, best-known, and most musically skilled English opera troupes." Preston, 352.

²²⁰"Rita Fornia and Kaltenborn String Quartette" (Chicago: Manz Engraving Co., 1909). Accessed through Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Libraries Special Collections Department. ID: <http://sdrdata.lib.uiowa.edu/libsdrc/details.jsp?id=/ritaf/2>. (accessed 27 September 2007). An item on Rita Fornia mentions Sybil Sanderson as studying with Rosewald, but Sanderson's biographer does not name Rosewald as a teacher. If she did study with her, it would have been during the year between fall 1884 and 1885. Sanderson left San Francisco for Europe in October, 1885. It is also possible that Sanderson found Rosewald's method too exacting. In Europe, Sanderson walked out on lessons with Marchesi for requiring too lengthy a serious study period. She later worked with Massenet and performed at the Opéra Comique in Paris. Jack W. Hansen, *The Sibyl Sanderson Story: Requiem for a Diva* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Amadeus Press, 2005), 39, 52.

²²¹"Julie Rosewald" in "Biographical Sketches of Jewry Prominent in the Professions etc., in the United States," *American Jewish Year Book* 6 (1904–1905): 176.

²²²"Anna Miller Wood," *Who's Who in New England* (Chicago: A.N. Marquis & Co., 1909), 1031.

²²³"Jennie Winston," *Who's Who in Music in California* (Los Angeles: Colby & Prybil Publishers, 1920), 146.

²²⁴*Register* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1909), 17.

²²⁵Mabelle Gilman became a comic opera singer and later married the president of US Steel, William Corey, which allowed her to finance opera in New York and Paris.

²²⁶"A Remarkable Fact" (advertisement for Heine Piano), *The San Francisco Call* (4 June 1900): 10.

²²⁷"Brief Summary of Country News," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 28, no. 538 (1 December 1887): 750.

²²⁸"The Rosewald-Fabian Concert," *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (22 October 1887): 1.

²²⁹"Amusements. The Fabian Concert," *The San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* (9 April 1887): 4.

²³⁰Mary Frances Francis, "Music Statistics of San Francisco, from 1849–1898," *The Musical Courier* 37, no. 1 (4 July 1898): 21.

²³¹"Places of Amusement," *The Portland Morning Oregonian* (13 October 1895): 13.

²³²"Prof. J.H. Rosewald Gone. He Died Suddenly Yesterday," *The San Francisco Chronicle* (26 October 1895):16.

²³³"Julie Rosewald," *The Emanu-El* 1, no. 6 (27 December 1895): 16.

²³⁴Cogan, 258.

²³⁵"Cycling for Women, A San Francisco Group Have Found Health on the Wheel," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (2 February 1896): 9.

²³⁶"Reception by Jewish Women: Baltimore Council Gives its Fourth Annual Entertainment,"

The Baltimore Sun (7 February 1901): 7.

²³⁷“The Many Friends of Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *The San Francisco Call* (7 April 1901): 18.

²³⁸Blanche Partington, “New Biblical Drama with Special Music and a Bellini Opera,” *The San Francisco Call* (1 September 1901): 18.

²³⁹“Rosewald Pupils Hold Recital,” *The San Francisco Call* (8 March 1902): 9.

²⁴⁰“It is a Matter of Much Regret,” *The San Francisco Call* (3 March 1902): 7.

²⁴¹“Julie Eichberg,” *Jewish Encyclopedia*. www.Jewishencyclopedia.com (accessed 4 June 2006).

²⁴²Hess, “Early Opera,” 143. Unfortunately, after Hess, Julie’s star faded dramatically, and she is not included in most books or collections as a “great” opera singer of the era.

²⁴³*San Francisco, California Directories, 1889–90*, (San Francisco: W.H. L. Corran, 1889). www.AncestryLibrary.com (accessed 10 May 2007).

²⁴⁴Today the town is known as Bad Wildebad, or “Wildebad Baths,” named for the natural hot springs that are still a tourist attraction.

²⁴⁵“A Line from Mme. Julie Rosewald,” *The San Francisco Argonaut* (30 June 1906): 7.

²⁴⁶“The Late Julie Rosewald,” *The San Francisco Argonaut* (11 August 1906): 11.

²⁴⁷Irvin J. Weil, “Letter to the Board of Regents of the University of California, 15 August 1906,” Regents Records (CU-1), box 41, folder 11, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

²⁴⁸“Julia Rosewald Gives to Public Institutions,” *The San Francisco Call* (29 July 1906): 46. It was also announced in “Rosewald Estate Goes to Charity,” *The Emanu-El* 22, no. 13 (3 August 1906): 12.

²⁴⁹Bert R. Hecht was the son of Isaac Hecht and Blemma Rosewald Hecht, thus, J.H. Rosewald’s nephew. Irvin J. Weil was the son-in-law, married to the Hechts’s daughter. Martin A. Meyer, *Western Jewry: An Account of the Achievements of the Jews and Judaism in California* (San Francisco: Emanu-El, 1916), 106.

²⁵⁰Weil, “Letter to the Board of Regents.”

²⁵¹Ibid.

²⁵²“Bequests and Gifts,” *The American Jewish Year Book* 8 (1906–1907): 210.

²⁵³“The Late Julie Rosewald,” *The San Francisco Argonaut* (11 August 1906): 11.

²⁵⁴Joseph Eichberg, ca. 2003. Photo of Rosewald Monument, Home of Peace, Colma, California. For some unknown reason the Rosewald gravesite was not listed in the online version of the names of those buried in the cemetery. This photo was taken by Joseph Eichberg, a family member. Used with permission.

²⁵⁵Peter R. Decker, “Jewish Merchants in San Francisco: Social Mobility on the Urban Frontier,” in *The Jews of the West, The Metropolitan Years*, ed. Moses Rischin (Waltham, MA: The American Jewish Historical Society, 1979), 21–22.

²⁵⁶Meyer, 15.