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Under the stress and strain of living in a Southern city occupied by Union troops, Abraham Ephraim Frankland, an ardent Secessionist, wrote the Kronikals of the Times. The period covered is the decade from 1862, and thus the early years of Reconstruction are included. In a quaint biblical style, replete with frequent veiled references, the author of this polemical work writes in detail of cotton speculation and smuggling, of General Grant’s Order No. 11, of anti-Jewish prejudice, of corruption in the Union Army, and of social life in the Jewish community. This document, in which the frustrations of the writer are only too apparent, is a valuable source for the understanding of social and economic conditions in the key city of Memphis during the Civil War and the post-bellum period.

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NELSON GLUECK, President
Kronikals of the Times

Memphis, 1862

BY A. E. FRANKLAND

Edited by MAXWELL WHITEMAN

INTRODUCTION

Abraham Ephraim Frankland was born in Liverpool, England, in 1831. His boyhood was spent in New York City; in 1845 the Frankland family moved to Nashville, Tennessee, where Abraham Ephraim lived for four years before he moved to Memphis. The Franklands were among the first permanent Jewish settlers in Tennessee and took an active part in the civic life of Nashville and Memphis. Abraham, a shopkeeper, helped organize the first Jewish congregation in Memphis, the Children of Israel, and guided its course through the hectic years of the Civil War.

Kronikals of the Times, one of Frankland’s recently discovered manuscripts which is a part of the collection at the American Jewish Archives, is a highly personal account of a controversial subject. It is a reaction to the War, and the official anti-Jewish measure, Grant’s General Order No. 11, which resulted from the disaster, the self-aggrandizement, the cotton speculation, and the concomitant deteriorants which accompany war. Frankland’s thin disguise of the Jews of Memphis indicates that he never intended the manuscript to be published. In later years, when he wrote an account of Tennessee Jewry, he scarcely mentioned the temper of the provocative wartime days. Frankland resented the Jews from Cincinnati as he resented all Northern carpetbaggers who came to Memphis under Union occupation. His loyalty to the Confederacy remained unquestioned as his contempt for Northern abuses asserted itself. The Kronikals, as an inner document, directs new light on Grant’s hasty, uncompromising military order, expelling Jews from
the Department of the Tennessee. It indicates the nature and activity of the Jewish speculators who, had they not been on the scene, would not have affected or reduced the extent of the Northern military and civil corruption which, like a parasite, clung to the seat of military operation.

The biblical style of the *Kronikals* was imitative of the Rev. Allen M. Scott’s *Chronicles of the Great Rebellion* (Cincinnati, 1863), which first appeared in the Memphis press. Frankland’s knowledge of the Bible was not unusual for any one with an average Jewish education.

The social and religious life of Memphis Jewry and the economic disaster which followed the War are reflected in the description of the first years of Reconstruction. The overwhelming problems of readjustment to peace which confronted the South affected the Jews as well. Frankland’s account of the War years is written differently from that of the post-war period. The subject moulded the style, and there is internal evidence indicating that the *Kronikals* was not completed until after 1873.

His interest in writing continued. Lectures and addresses to Jewish fraternal societies and on Masonry have survived. A volume on Kabbalistic studies and an account of the yellow fever epidemic in Memphis in 1873 are a part of the Frankland manuscript collection. Frankland’s devotion to the sufferers of the dreadful yellow fever epidemic is recorded in a published report of the B’nai B’rith Grand Lodge No. 7, Memphis, Tenn., 1873. In it are recorded the names of many Confederate and Northern Jews, who, like many of the citizens of Memphis, were devoured by the epidemic. Frankland recorded tenderly the passing of those whom he had severely criticized during the crisis of the War.

In the 1880’s Frankland moved to Chicago, from where he contributed regularly to *The American Jews’ Annual* under the general heading of “Fragments of History.”

Frankland was obviously distraught by his lack of financial success and perhaps embittered by the successes of others. His reactions were those of an unhappy man, made penniless by the misfortunes of war, and disturbed because the South which he loved was crushed and defeated. This strongly personal attitude
relating to the events of the War makes it difficult to appraise the factual content of the document in the absence of collateral evidence.

However, this document is of importance not only because it throws light on the economic conditions of the South during the Civil War and on the corruption of the Union grafters, but also because it reflects the internal strife, the petty jealousies, and the insensate hatreds that often marred the evolving Jewish community.

The errors in spelling and grammar have been left as they appeared in the original. Comments in parentheses are also those of the author. Explanatory matter in brackets was inserted by the editor.

**Chapter I: Verse 1**

Now it came to pass in the days of Abraham [Lincoln], King of the North, and David [Jefferson Davis], King of the South, who were mighty Kings and Rulers, and who were standing in battle array, one against the other, having slain each other's thousands and tens of thousands, that the King of the North, even Abraham, spake thus to his warriors, and those that were with him in council.

2

Haste, prepare ye large arks, build them of gopher and other wood, and pitch them, within and without, with pitch; aye, even make them iron clads, the length of them two hundred cubics [cubits], the breadth forty cubics, and the depth twenty cubics.

3

And you shall build them after the fashion of "rams" and shall make turrets to them, and they shall be as a wall of strength to thee, than which so mighty none has yet been seen; and the waters of the South shall teem with them. Aye, even King David of the South shall look with amazement and be awestricken.
And when these arks are completed, ye shall embark in them, thou and thy kinsmen, and all others who will enlist and accept of my bounty, and thou shall descend the great river, even the Father of Waters, the Mississippi, and thou shalt capture and thou shalt conquer all the inhabitants of the South and of King David's dominions, inasmuch as they will not heed my voice, obey my commands, and cease to rebel.

For this people are a stiff-necked and rebellious one. They will not heed my mandates, nor proclamations, nor do they fear subjugation, confiscation, aye, verily, "emancipation" [of slaves]; in all of these several things, have I commanded them, saying:

Because of your terrible iniquities and shortsightedness, you will not forsake your evil ways, neither will ye believe that it is good to be without "hewers of wood" and "drawers of water," and, further, ye cannot be convinced that the earth will bring forth cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, and other good fruits without the aid of the descendants of Ham [slave labor].

Therefore, have I sent my arks with their warriors and terrible instruments of war, aye, even my "rams" which are "iron clad" with their turrets and extraordinary Columbiads, that ye may be awestricken, and the people shall know that I am Abraham, King of the North, I am he and none other.

And lo and behold! on the sixth day of the sixth month [1862], that the great armada [five ironclads and three unarmed Federal rams], even the entire fleet of arks, came down the great river, even as far as the goodly
City of Memphis, which stands upon its banks, and there they met the powerful and mighty arks of King David of the South, aye, even the "rams" and the "tugs."

Now did these two great warriors then and there behold each other in battle array, and immediately prepared to give each other battle. And the people arose from their couches and went forth to witness this great battle. Then commenced the mighty din, the fire flashed forth, the thunder roared from the mouths of the Columbiads and, verily, the arks of King David were demolished. They were "rammed" in and caved in, and in no time they were gone. And the people saw and believed. They bowed their heads and went each to their homes and habitations in silence and grief.

Chapter 2: V. 1

And it came to pass, while the inhabitants of this goodly city were yet in a state of bereavement, mourning the downfall of their greatness, and the lives of their many brave men that had perished by fire and flood, there came from the North another and a larger army, one that fought for far different principles and yet for their own interest. They were called merchants, but as they were of a swarthy hue, they were termed "Ravens," seeking those they might devour.

For the roar of cannon still resounded in the ears of the inhabitants and the shrieks of the dying still was heard upon the "Bluffs"; yet onward they came until the entire land was filled with them. Now did the inhabitants come out to view them, and behold, the most of them were of the descendants of Israel and had come to trade. And the people were disgusted, and returned to their homes in fear and anger, and they spake one to the other and said, Behold! the blockade has been raised, and the Israelites of Cincinnati, which is a large place on the River Ohio, have come down upon us like an "avalanche," and will crush us out so that
there will be neither name or remembrance of the merchant princes that once inhabited this vast domain.

3

Now at this time, in the land of Memphis, there lived a man whose name was Simon (Tuska) [rabbi of Congregation Children of Israel], who was upright and pious, who feared God and eschewed evil. And this man was a quiet observer of morality and denounced vice and hypocrisy. And his people respected him and went to hear him preach.

4

And when these things came to pass, this Simon also mingled with the people to learn their welfare and condition, and upon all sides did he hear sore lamentations and murmurings because of the haste of the sons of Israel to witness the downfall of those they had come among, and because, also, of their eagerness to mass gold from those that were grief-stricken on account of the misfortune to their country. And he bowed his head and was grief-stricken, and returned to his dwelling.

5

Now it came to pass that upon the Sabbath day, this Simon went to the House of God, even the temple, and did then and there teach his congregation that “Truth and Righteousness” will triumph, “and ye shall serve God, and not Mammon.” And he further spake and said that they should not haste to see the downfall of their enemies, but should wait until his grief was calmed; and, further, that they should not exult in their misfortunes, as same was against the Law of God.

6

And he explained them the law, even the Law of God, and the laws of the “Rabbis” who say: “From whence came ye, whither are ye going, and to whom must ye give an account of your transactions?” And he further said, after this fashion: “Why must ye ever entail prejudices upon yourselves by bringing to bear the envy and contempt of the nations of
the earth? Have ye not suffered sufficiently? Must ye also be driven out of this land by the Gentiles, who may become infuriated against thee?" Thus did he speak and invoked to deeds of uprightness and goodness instead of thirst for gain and selfishness. And those that loved him bowed their heads and declared he had spoken truly, and went to their homes inspired with good and noble sentiments.

7

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the preacher’s words, there were those present (men of other countries) [the Northern states], who had not the fear of God before their eyes and could not “see it” from where they stood. Neither had they understanding, and they were sorely vexed against the preacher and turned away from the House of God, and sought to enflame the mind of their kindred who came also from foreign countries [the Northern states] and embitter their hearts against the preacher, to the end that he might be captured and thrust into a dungeon. But the works of the evil never prosper and they were frustrated.

8

Yet these men of no understanding did further attempt in the wickedness of their hearts to culminate their sin by adding falsehood and promulgating same in "Holy Sinai" [among the Jews], notwithstanding it availed them nought; for the wise and good believed not, and the foolish and wicked, their testimony was nothing in Israel.⁸

9

And being thus doubly foiled, the goodly people of Memphis held aloof from them, neither did they break bread with them, but kept distant afar [from the Northern Jews].

Chapter 3: V. 1

Now this being the accepted time, the men from foreign countries that had come here to grow fat and rich upon the necessities of those that had sojourned here did engage in all sorts of mercantile pursuits. They brought
with them the produce of their countries, also the fine goods of the East [New York], among which were the fine wools of Persia, of blue, crimson, and gold colors. Also linens of fine texture and, furthermore, the more substantial products of the great West, which are "corn, wine, and oil," and spices of various climes that had a savory odor, such as coffee, tea, etc., which the inhabitants of this city had been without for a time, owing to the blockade of King Abraham.

2

And they said to the good people of Memphis: "Come! Buy from us! We came here for that purpose. We heard you were starving and we brought you something to eat. We knew you were thirsty, and we have the juice of the grape for you to drink. We further heard you were naked, and, like good Samaritans, have we brought you all qualities of goods, wool, linen, and cotton. Come and clothe yourselves. Also sandals for your feet, that ye may not go barefooted longer.

3

"And we will take from you whatever you may have in exchange for our commodities, inasmuch as we know you Southern people are very proud, and will not accept anything from us without return. We will therefore take gold, silver, and precious stones, even paper money, commonly known as Tennesse funds [bank notes], and other bank bills that may be good and solvent, even those called greenbacks; only of the kind of money known as Confederate money or white paper we will not take, for same is an abomination in our sight. And on the day [on] which we would take the same, we shall surely die, for thus sayeth the King and dictator that rules over us, and the foreign countries from which we come."

4

And the people of the goodly City of Memphis did not buy from the traders, nor were they allured by the tempting baits set for them, but held themselves aloof, and did not patronize them, but on the contrary
said unto them: "We neither sent for you, nor do we require your sympathy or your goods. All we want is, like our good King David, 'to be left alone'; and we will work our own redemption, unassisted by the rest of the world. We do not wish to associate with you." Nor did they invite them to their habitations, nor hold friendly intercourse with them. And they continued, as they were, strangers to each other.

And when these things came to pass, the people from foreign countries held consultation together, and some of them returned to their homes with their various commodities and were fairly disgusted with the people of Memphis in their being so stiff-necked and shortsighted as not to see the friendship they professed for the Southern people. And they said: "Are we not also good Southern men, and do we not also wish for King David's Kingdom of the South to have her rights and be recognized as an independent government? Only buy our wares that we have brought down here for you, and we are satisfied to return to our homes and remain there." But the people still declined, and these merchants returned to their homes with their wares, disgusted.

But there were also those among them that had no homes to return to, men that never could make a living in the North, that never had a dollar except what they made travelling [peddling] through the South. These were the very worst. They were rank abolitionists, because they did not understand the institution [of slavery] like our brethren of the Eastern States who first "sold" their slaves to us, and then went to work to "steal" them back. These men were not to [be] thrown off. "They came to stay," as King Abraham had promised them from the commencement by his famous "proclamation," that "in ninety days shall this rebellion be crushed out, and the country shall be opened to you, and ye shall be satiated with the fruits of the South." And they said to the people: "Haste ye, rebels, and tarry not; give up your habitations and your storehouses, that we good loyal citizens of King Abraham's dominions may have possession and perform our duties accordingly." And they
applied to the captain of the host [the military commander] to issue an edict in their behalf, which was done.10

7

And the "Powers that be" gave them possession [allowed the seizure] of the habitations of the people of Memphis, even also of thier storehouses did they give them possession, and with thier fixtures and appurtenances thereto, even the storehouse of our forefather, Isaac (Lehman),11 whom Samuel (Hesse)12 told he must see the government before he could take his property. Thus did they then become possessors of the inheritance of the good people of the City of Memphis, for according to an edict of the "Captain of Hosts," none were permitted to be merchants save and except those that had "eaten oats (taken the oath)."

8

And thus did the merchants of foreign countries get possession of the palaces that abound in the great City of Memphis, and they heralded forth proclamations saying, We are "successors" of the merchant princes that had long departed, and retired further into the interior of the Southern domain whither they had gone in fealty that they held to the Kingdom of David.

9

And of the ancient Princes that had thier local habitations in the good City of Memphis there remained but a few, and thier names are Abraham (Seessel),13 Lazarre (Kremer),14 always near unto him, Joseph (Strauss)15 and his brother-in-law Isaac H. (Lehman),16 Moses (Simon),17 Leopold his scribe [clerk] (Oppenheimer),18 Baruch (Walker)19 and his two brothers, Jacob and William, thier scribe Gabriel (Judah),20 Theobald (Foltz),21 Leon (Helman) [Hellman],22 the scribe of Joseph [Strauss] and Isaac [H. Lehman], Nathan (Greenwald),23 and one Ephraim [Frankland] (the writer of these chronicles), who was continually reprimanding his neighbors for fun, and yet they all dwelt together in harmony.
And thus matters continued, and after a time larger hosts congregated upon the Bluffs and large numbers of warriors [Federal troops] assembled here to maintain the "ensign" that now floated over the city. And the fruits of the earth ripned and made thier appearance, even the valuable fruit of the bush that grows only in the gardens of the South and which is called by some "King Cotton," by others, Baum Woll [Baumwolle is German for cotton]. These things pleased the eye of the foriegners, and it was eagerly sought after. And the foriegners purchased same with virgin gold to send home to thier countries, for it had been long since the inhabitants of the North had seen the snowflake [cotton]. It had got so rare at one time as to bring more than its weight in gold, having risen to one hundred and eighty-five shekel~4

Now it came to pass that in these days "there were giants upon the earth,"a5 and thier tribe was "so-called gorillas" [guerrillas]. And this tribe was charged by King David of the South to bum and destroy the "staple" lest peradventure it might fall into the hands of the enemies of King David, who sought by the instrumentality of King Cotton to obtain recognition (fatal delusion), by the great foreign powers of the East, West, and even the North, of his right to govern his domain of the South as he had been elected by the people of same to do, just as other powers govern thier domain.

And, at this time, the foreign speculators came down here like an avalanche to obtain the staple, and the land was teeming with them. From the commanding general of armies to camp followers, all had gone crazy on the cotton speculation, and none could be seen but them. And they purchased same from all that they came in contact with, from the planter, overseer, warrior, aye, even from the "descendants of Ham" who had broken the commandments, and had "stolen" same out of the garden of
his “master.” But we can scarce blame the Ethiopian for this, when they imbibed the example from thier “white friend” who came to give them liberty, and lay down his life in freeing the slave, and “pressing” [confiscating] the “master’s” cotton. Such examples of heroic humanity and unexampled honesty were scarcely equalled by “Ali Baba” and his forty thieves. But still everybody might be seen with cotton. They packed same on chariots drawn by horses and asses. They carried same on their backs, and the speculators went from house to house to buy the beds that the people slept on, aye, even those that people died on; it made no difference, so it was cotton! cotton! cotton!

4

Now it happened that the ancient princes who were left in the city, viz., Moses [Simon], Nathan [Greenwald], Baruch [Walker], and his two brothers, held a consultation together and spake to each other after this fashion, saying: “Behold, the inhabitants of foreign countries have come down upon us in a swarm, and have multiplied to so great an extent so that the entire South is filled with them. And they have left us nothing to do. Now, therefore, we have much gold, silver, and bank bills, and, further, we are well acquainted in the country in which the cotton abounds, having sojourned there part of our lifetime. Let us make joint capital, go out and buy the staple, so that we may make a support for our wives and little ones.”

5

And they consented, and they thus counselled with each other, and Nathan [Greenwald] said to Moses [Simon] and Baruch [Walker] and his two brothers: “I will go out, and do thou send Leopold [Oppenheimer] of the tribe of Moses and Gabriel [Judah] of the tribe of Baruch.” And they said: “Yes, thus shall it be as thou hast said it.” And they went forth, each of them, as they had counselled, and they were prosperous and successful, and they bought with their own money many bags of the precious fruit, and they had same conveyed in large arks to the great city of the East, even the City of New York.
And it came to pass after many days that Nathan [Greenwald] having gone to a place where he had resided for a long time, even the City of Brownsville [Tennessee], and Nathan had many friends residing there, and he purchased from his friends much cotton, and he had no earthly fears of being disturbed, when lo and behold! the giants or gorillas, so-called, fell upon the town and destroyed many bales of cotton, as was their custom. And they even fell upon Nathan and led him captive to the South, even unto the great warrior, known at that time as “King Jeff” (Thompson) [Jacob Thompson of Mississippi], and he was placed before the warrior, and the gorillas laid their charge against Nathan, and King Jeff asked: “Is this all?” And they replied: “He is a cotton speculator, this is all.” And “Jeff” discharged Nathan and gave him back all his treasure, even his gold, silver, and bank bills, and sent him on his way, rejoicing that he had been taken before so brave a captain, and one so honest as to return him his treasure entire.

Now after this Nathan returned to his home, his family, and his kindred, who were grief-stricken at his capture, thinking, because he had transgressed the edicts of King David in buying cotton, he might be punished severely. Hence his friends rejoiced exceedingly at his return, for Nathan was always much loved by all who knew him. He therefore published a proclamation to the world wherein he returned thanks to the warriors of King David’s domain for the kind hospitality extended to him while in their charge, and the honorable and straightforward manner he had been treated by them. Nathan afterwards made many more trips and was unusually successful, and was never more molested by anyone.

Chapter 5: V. 1

Now it came to pass that Joseph (Strauss) and Isaac [H. Lehman], his brother-in-law, who had long held aloof from any transactions with the foreigners, nor had they speculated in cotton, alias Baum Woll, at last conceived the idea that they must do something too, and they reasoned
one with the other as follows: We have large amounts of treasure buried in our vaults, laying idle; and we have much standing out due to us by the inhabitants of King David's domain. And, if the South be crushed, we could not collect the same, and thus we would have to pay the treasure we now have to the merchant princes of the East [to] whom we are justly indebted. We will therefore also turn Baum Woll Hendlers (cotton speculators). "Therefore," said Joseph, "do thou, Isaac, go forth and take with thee as an assistant our former scribe, even Leon (Hellman), who is an upright and honest man, who has served us faithfully for years, and we desire to see him fruitful and multiply. Take him and treasure, as much as thou wilt, and go forth into the land that I shall tell thee."

2

Thus did Isaac [Lehman] and Leon [Hellman] arise and left their homes, their families, and kindred, and they came to the place that Joseph had directed them and encamped there. And they went out day by day and purchased much cotton and were very prosperous. And they placed same in arks and sent same to the great city, even the City of New York, as many others had done before them, as there it commanded a better price and was much safer than any other place.

3

While they were yet absent, and not having time to send a record of their transactions to Joseph [Strauss], who, of course, had remained at home, some evil-minded person, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and wishing to frighten Joseph because he had become a speculator (whereas, previously, he had denounced all those that were engaged in the business), related to Joseph thusly: "Whereas, while Isaac and Leon were on their way, attending to their duties, an unruly host of horsemen (known as Confederate cavalry) had come upon them and captured them with all their treasure, and I alone escaped and fled hither to tell thee."

While he was yet speaking, another messenger appeared and said: "Behold, I have just came from the place where thy kinsman, Isaac, and Leopold [Leon Hellman?] were captured, and all the Baum Woll (cotton)
BATTLE OF MEMPHIS
June 6, 1862
MENKEN BROTHERS OF CINCINNATI
Attired in the Uniform of the Federal Army
thy kinsmen purchased was pressed [confiscated] by the warriors of Abraham, King of the North, for the purpose of making fortifications, and I alone escaped to tell thee."

4

And Joseph turned pale and waxed in anger until he became sick, and he went home, took off his garments, and went to his couch, for he felt sorely grieved at the news he had heard, and felt extremely anxious for the safety of his kinsmen, that he had sent forth, but also for the treasure they had taken with them.

5

And he could not rest at home, sick at heart as he was. He came to the bazaar [shop] of Ephraim (the writer), and he buttoned and unbuttoned his vest and cried aloud to Ephraim: "Ah! Woe is me! Woe is me! (Ach way is meer, ach way is meer). Oh, that I had followed your advice and had not gone into the cotton speculation! Then my kinsmen would have been safe and my Gelt ['money'] also."

6

And Ephraim (who was a sort of Job's comforter) consoled him and said: "Joseph, Joseph! Be not cast down. All will yet be well. Thy kinsman, Isaac Hirsh (Lehman), and Leon [Hellman], will surely return, and if thy treasure should be lost, it will serve thee perfectly right, for I warned thee, and told thee not to become a Baum Woll handler (cotton speculator). And even thou, thyself, didst condemn others for so doing, calling it an unlawful practice. Now if these reports be true, thou art severely punished, and I again tell thee, it served thou right."

7

While Ephraim was thus consoling with Joseph, a messenger arrived, bringing with him a record of the proceedings of Isaac and Leon, in which was narrated their great success; all was well with them. They had not
been made captives by the so-called Confederacy, neither had they lost thier treasure, and but a few bags of thier cotton had been taken by Abraham, King of the North, to build fortifications with, and the same would be returned to them in the fulness of time, which was eventually done.

Now Joseph rejoiced mightily at this good news, became quite well again; him [he] and Ephraim partook of “Lager [beer] and Schweitzer [cheese]” to thier hearts’ content (rather an unusual thing for Joseph), and all was well with them for many, many days.

Chapter 6: V. 1

And it came to pass in the course of human events that the merchant princes that remained in the city, and also that had returned from the Southern dominions, came togethers at the mansion of our forefather, Joseph [Strauss], and did recount to each other the many trials and tribulations they had undergone under the reign of King David of the South, of the many hairbreath escapes they had by flood and field, how they had escaped the militia and home guards, also the fortunes they had made in the disposition of their wares.

First Samuel (Hesse) spake and said that he hoped the Lord would forgive him for leaving his home [Memphis], the land of his adoption, also the place where he had amassed his wealth, upon the eve of the Day of Atonement, and had fled in fear and trembling, with his wife upon his back, into the good City of Louisville, there to partake of the artesian waters, as ’twas said his wife’s health required same. But at the same time, it was thought by many that he only left to adopt thier plan, which was to remove his treasure of gold, silver, bank bills, and other valuables to a place of safety, viz., Cincinnati, and not on account of his wife’s health. Nor was he so awestricken on account of his own safety, as Samuel’s size would have held him free from all contact with the warriors that came here.
Next came Solomon the "Wise" (Milius), who recounted the many hours of fear and trembling that had seized him, and the numerous changes of garments he had made on account of evacuations of troops from different places, how his good white sugar had been seized, and his bed tick shirts left on his hands, which Samuel [Hesse], his friend, did not at all like; and, further, how the Patriarch, Isaac (Lehman), had denounced him as a shipping agent for consigning each male member of his family to other regions, say Cincinnati, in order to keep them out of the Southern army. But Solomon should not have been blamed for this, for he was a man that loved peace and pursued it. He meant well to all and would have liked to have seen both sides win.

And also Abraham, the farsighted (Seessel), and Moses, the influential (Simon), they also recounted how they had hid, stored, secreted, and shipped thier surplus wares and merchandize, for thier coffers were already loaded down with these valuables, such as gold, silver, and bank bills, but also with "Wies Papier" ["white paper"], alias Confederate money. And they did not wish to accumulate any more; not that they had lost confidence in same, oh, no! God forbid! But they had no place to stack it, such immense cords had they. And thus did these two great princes recount.

Abraham [Seessel] and Moses [Simon] piqued each other on the accumulation of thier gold first, then stirling exchange, next Louisiana currency came into play, then the Baum Woll (cotton), then sugar and syrups which had to be removed frequently from the Argus eyes of the rulers (here Abraham rather got the advantage of Moses and his compeers as he purchased his "sweetness" in New Orleans), that governed at that time. Now all the first mentioned valuables being absorbed, and the three latter not very reliable, they had recourse to other articles such as elegant diamonds, pearls, rubies, and other precious stones, gold and silver watches, then Southern Currency, and last, as a "dernier resorte," Tennesse money.
In all of these transmogrifications, poor “White Paper” stood the test of the dissecting knife into its very hearts, vitals, and until everything had completely “played out.” Many, very many other things were discussed by Abraham [Seessel], the farsighted, which, as they did not reflect very brightly upon him, the historian would fain leave out at this time.

Thus these discussions continued until crimination and recrimination seemed the order of the day. And much was said that these princes would not like to hear repeated to them, even at this day. But the Lazarite (Kremer) and the Ephraimite (the writer) listened with perfect indifference, for not being merchant princes, we had no share in the speculation. Poor were we when it started, and poorer still at its close, so that we could look on and listen without being the least afraid of having our feelings hurt. And this we did until called on by the patriarch Joseph to take some refreshments and present some articles of silver to the preacher Simon [Tuska], which was accordingly done, and then each repaired to his own habitation.

Were the historian to recite the many and various schemes perfected during the war by the merchant princes, they would seem herculean. But the writer is satisfied that the schemes of our Southern princes were as nought compared with the stupendous and gigantic ones of the people of the North. To speak poetically, they could beat the Southern merchant all hollow in their schemes, and, what is still better, they held what they got, for their currency was always good. And altho gold went one time three for one, it made but little difference. It soon found its level, and thus we leave this matter to take up the next for consideration.

Chapter 7: V. 1

Now it came to pass that among the “Loyal Foreigners” that came here from the North to “stay,” and had become successors to our Merchant Princes by their own assumption of tittle [title], namely, Alexander the
Great (Milius’ relation, the Rheumatic Doctor), the “Rose in Bloom” (Solomon Rose), Weiler the Schwartzte [“Blackie”], Strauss & Pritz, and various others of the good loyal citizens’ tribe were captured and thrust into a loathsome dungeon (which will be remembered in history as the Irving Block [a military jail]), simply because some “spies” or detectives of King Abraham’s dominion had sworn that they, the loyal citizens of the North, had sold for money goods and wares of a contraband nature to some of the emissaries of King David’s domain, known under the cognomen and title of “Smugs” [smugglers].

And their bazaars and storehouses were closed up and placed under the charge of a guard, who could be seen daily pacing up and down to the tune of “Tramp! Tramp! the Boys Are Marching,” which some evil-minded person translated thus: Tramp! tramp! the “schowra [the schorah; the “merchandise”] is declining,” that is, the goods inside are growing less. Well, these bazaars being closed, and their proprietors in prison through the intercession of that great Gannov [“thief”] Cleveland, and they, the trooly lyal, were heart-stricken, and they pined for their freedom, which was an imaginary idea that had suddenly wafted away. And they gave up and threw up much gold, silver, and bank bills in order to get out. Then they made another discovery, that the “liberty of speech and freedom of action” was not so powerful a matter in reality in the great United States as it had been pictured in days gone by (oalev hasholot) [“may it rest in peace”], and they were still kept in confinement, and could not get a trial until their pile had sure enough gone down. And being so seriously lightened and scarce anything more left, they finally got out on bail, but on entering their respective bazaars, they found most all their fine goods gone. So they quit and returned to Cincinnati, heartsick and sorely tried, for although they were successors, they had succeeded in nothing that was good.

And it came to pass that the remainder of the “trooly lyal” merchant princes became sorely alarmed at the turn things had taken, and every
disposition they made of their goods to a customer, the Irving Block would loom up before them, and their vision was thoroughly obscured by this frightful Bastille. The days of the Inquisition in Spain were not more terrible to the people than the Northern military rule in the South. Each sunrise brought forth “fresh orders,” and each order had “fresh restrictions,” until the Irving Block became notorious, for daily it received “fresh fish.” Even that was the “cry” when the writer of this got in there, for he got his share, which shall be truthfully recounted elsewhere in order not to interrupt the regular routine of this narrative.

4

And Alexander (Milius’ relative) the Great, who was a poet and a doctor for the “Rheumatism,” perpetrated the following on being asked his opinion of Detective Cleveland:

“Splitwood. — a mees ha mashin-ah on him be-tsay-tsay-cha u-vow-ay-cha by-shoch bi-cha u-vy-kooy-may-cho- ny[may]-atto vy-ad ow-lom ah-men. Which being literally translated means: “A sudden death on Cleveland when he goeth out, cometh in, layeth down, or riseth up, for ever and ever. Amen!”35

5

Now all the foreign trooly loyal that “came here to stay” and ridiculed the Johnny Rebs so much, they also had their hands full as well as their storehouses. Their great love of the Union had eked out considerably when their trade permits were curtailed a little and the Bastile loomed up in the distance. I will make no record of some of the transactions “called mercantile” played upon the poor Gowym [“non-Jews”]. We will draw a curtain on these small transactions and let them remain where they deserve to be, in obscurity.

6

We now come to a verse in the history of some of the ancient princes, the so-called “old residents,” the Southern fire-eater and blatant Secessionist who were so loud mouthed in their extreme Southern views but
always evaded throwing a dollar up on the cause. This class indeed would as freely part with a dollar as they would with thier life. Amongst these and the foremost amongst these was Abraham the farsighted (See[s]sel), he being the first to "eat the oats," take the oath, as he saw from his farsightedness that the lost cause was lost and there could be no more money made out of that. So he took the oath in order to sell a "whoop skirt," he being death on hoops [overstocked in dry goods], especially in a Mercer-nary point of view. And there were divers other little mishaps set down to the "immortal Abe" and many moving accidents in the transit of sugar, molasses, and Baum Woll in the so-called Goadal Hamokowm [ungrammatical Hebrew for "great city"], the great City called New York, which the historian will write more about at a future time.

7

But lo and behold! what means this wholesale closing of bazars? A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, for there is an entire square closed. These and similar were the exclamations made by the people upon beholding the same. First, the very reverend priesthood was observed to be closed. The "Monks (Menkens) of Stanwood Hall and Julian's fame," the immortal monks who had been the head and front of "Pope's Romances" on land and field, whose headquarters were always in the saddle, that is, ready to run when danger appeared, notwithstanding the fuss and "feathers" they paraded in a magazine wherein thier deeds of valor were enumerated at twenty cents a line, and which they ran about the streets to show thier friends, who might have otherwise continued in ignorance of thier mighty "deeds of valor." Yet, these same Monks, who were really cosmopolitan, having a residence for convenience sake in every city in the known world, and who, had they had but one more brother whose intelligence was equalled by thiers, would have thrown the redoubtable "Stewart" away in the shade of oblivion. Well, these Monks also had thier bazar of novelties closed, and in commemoration of thier military genius and services to thier country, a gaurd was placed in front of thier doors, who tramped daily up and down ostensibly to give the stock keeper inside facilities to make room for "ten cases more prints" that were now coming in, and which were then turning the "corner." Altho the Monks of Stanwood House heard there was hard times
in Memphis, but their wealth was of such magnitude that they could not possibly feel it. Still, notwithstanding all this, they were charged with defrauding the revenue laws of the government, and their places of business closed. Who would have thought such wealthy people would act thus? asked the populace. That's the way these wealthy people become so, replied a fool. Who ever knew a man to get rich by being honest? And many other remarks were made against the Monk family. But we have nothing to do with that, so we let it pass.

Next unto the Monks was "David" (Mack) who slew "Goliath," that is, so to speak. David was strongly fortified. He said but little, but did much. When the "Unclean," Stinking, "Generallissimo," U. S. G. [rant] issued his infamous order No. 11 expelling all Jews from his department, David, who was in partnership with U. S. Grant's father, Jesse, in the cotton business (altho the press of the country everywhere have accused Jesse Grant of stealing, instead of buying, cotton), as soon as U. S. G. issued his order, our friend David received his exemption papers. Now the historian does not think he done much by getting his exemption from being a Jew. The Jews as a class without exemption are fully as good if not better than he is. But that matters but little. The Jews as a class, through their Sanhedrin I. [Isaac] M. [Mayer] Wise, had the order revoked, but 'twas a long time before David with his exemption papers got the order revoked whereby his store was closed for defrauding the revenue laws. However, after spending much treasure and endless lawsuits, the bazar was again opened, and little Mackey was again permitted to become a Jew again and play solo with them.

Next to David in the row came Abraham, the farsighted (Seessel). Notwithstanding his double-eyed visage, he was always in trouble. First one thing, then another, and singularly, too, for he claimed to be a God-fearing, religious man, one who once took a solemn oath in a public assembly that he would always keep the Sabbath. And so he did in Confederate times (in order to keep from taking in the money). But now, alas,
that the truth must be told, he had taken the oath immediately upon the arrival of the Federal army and opened his back door, open on the Sabbath. (Not to sell anything, you know. God forbid! Far from it! But just so that the air might circulate through the store.) He was also closed up in the grand array, and after his trial and release, he got a fiery, untamed steed, and in order to feed same, at little expense, and not take anything away from his half-fed family at home (for his own children said they never had enough to eat at home), he committed perjury by violating his oath and also the Sabbath, and opened his front doors also. Oh, shame, where is thy blush? And thus we dismiss him.

The next parties were Abraham and David of the "Harrisonian'' School, which, like the men, are no earthly account, as they never were anything. We cannot throw ink away upon them, by giving them what they never will have—a standing among respectable men. So we part from them without regret.43

The last in this great quintette are Jacob, the Beauty [Beatus?], Morris, the "high life,” David, the Demosthenes, and Henry, the Shakespeare, all of the nineteenth century, and though all of these may be very high in wood designs, they are nevertheless low-in-stone [Lowenstine?]. These completed the number of those that were closed up at that time, and take them all in all, a fine party of gentlemen they were, but they made common cause of a common quarrell and endeavored to get out. Just three moons came and went. All thier bazars were kept closed under gaurd. For what? Just think of it. Only for receiving more goods than thier permit called for, and all good, loyal citizens of the North at that, who despised the Rebels, but not the Rebels' wealth. Hic jacet gloria mundi. But after a time, all were opened again. It cost a pile of money, but that was nothing. Money and charachter amounted to but very little, when anything was to be accomplished with those that represented the best government ever seen on earth. Bosh! Bosh!
Now it came to pass in the fulness of time, while these things were transpiring that are laid down in the preceding chapters, that our own friends, the Mighty Benjamin (Warner), he who warned everybody of coming evil, fell into the hands of the Phillistines, and in his company was that growling Levite who “Seche”-ayed his company at his mansion and fed them the good things of life. These Samaritans having received sad tidings of the distresses of thier brethren below, determined to start a caravan for the dessert.

2

But in order to do right, as they were moral, upright men, they purchased permission to do so from one Bunce, who was Cousin germane to the great ruler [General Stephen A. Hurlbut]. And they went out and made thier purchases, and they sent them to the bazaar of Ephraim [Frankland], and they equipped thier caravan at the Ephraimite’s tent [shop], who was exceedingly cautious of all he done. And they exhibited to the Ephraimite thier papers giving them privilege, all properly signed by that great ruler who should have been hurried [Hurlbut!] (to the devil) but was not. And thus they started, as they thought, in all innocense, properly healed and fixed, and had bright dreams before them of colossal fortunes made in the twinkling of an eye, as laid down in the Arabian Nights. But alas! for human shortsightedness.

3

For they were journeying along slowly on thier way and had passed the first lines of [Maj. Gen. George E.] Pickett, little imagining any treachery or evil, knowing that thier papers were all right. They were cut off in the brilliancy of thier dreams by a halt from the Gannov Cleveland in company with the “Boys in Blue.” And they turned the Camels’ heads around in the direction from whence they came, and not the way they were going, and they brought the caravan and the goods to the bazaar of the Ephraimite. And Benjamin and the Levite, they conveyed to the hulk
of the prison ship, where they were placed in state with bracelets around their wrists and anklets around their feet, and, in order to embellish them still more, a long guard chain. Now while they enjoyed this attention, which was decidedly polished, still too much confining for our mutual friends.

4

Now had our friends, who were staunch Southern men, done anything wrong, or committed any act against the government of the United States, their punishment would have been too great because they were not "loyalists." But they had committed no crime. They had purchased the right with their wealth to carry out the goods they took from the commanding general, but the detective [Cleveland] was not purchased, and as the general would not divide with him, the detective made the arrest on his own hook. And the general, to clear his own skirts, had to condemn innocent parties to the prison ship in order to save himself. A great government, truly, that had such great generals. But thus we go.

5

Now a great hue and cry was made in behalf of the Benjamanite, who had strong friends at court. [Gen. James C.] Veatch [civil commissioner] could not shew thier hands at the time. There was the scheming and honest Kooney (Marks Kuhn) and the intrepid and clever Hactor man called Lou (the Leubrie boy). They visited the prisoners continually, brought them changes of linen and food of all kinds, and whisp[e]red in foreign tongues messages to them; and, in fact, they became pages to these illustrious princes and nobly did they perform thier tasks by day and night. And they had proclamations, petitions, and appeals written to the rulers of the land, until finally they were released from the hulk of the prison ship, thier ornaments cast off, and remanded to that hospitable mansion, the Irving Block [military prison], which in itself was a great relief to them, distressed in mind, torn from thier families, and treated worse than the greatest criminal on earth could be dealt with. But even this had a change, as we shall read in the next verse.
And it came to pass, after many days, weeks, and months' sojourn in the "Hotel de Irving," where our friends were now treated like princes (for thier money), that they finally had a trial before that great and august tribunal, that great arbit[tr]ator of justice, the Civil Commission, and they were acquitted of the charges, through their being charged all they had. And they really felt so delighted to be free once more that they could scarce contain themselves. But they suffered in the flesh. It would be an herculanean task for the writer to reduce to writing. 'Twould be too much labor, to say nothing of the expence for paper. As Bruder ['"brother"] Warner expresses, seven thousand reams of paper would not hold it. 'Tis true, the trials, sufferings, and afflictions they suffered, and the indignities they endured, no pen sketch can do justice to; but all those who may wish to hear same, call on Bruder Benjamin himself, [and they] can have the whole of same beautifully illustrated and embellished over a bottle of krug [jug of beer] without expence.

But all these trials and afflictions that they suffered had a salutatory effect upon them, like Joseph, who was cast into prison (because he would not take what wasn't his'n) by Potiphar's wife, and who afterwards found great favor with the King of Egypt; so also our Benjaminite [Warner] and Levite the same. They found great favor in the eyes of those that had inflicted punishment on them, and became great favorites with the powers that be, this being of vast importance and great service to this community in saving many a one from the vile prison houses, and some even after they had been sentenced to death. The writer has gone with the Doctor to get poor Yehudim ["Jews"] out of the Stockade in Fort Pickering, and the Doctor invariably succeeded in all he went to perform. And thus he continued to do, for he stuck to Veatch like a leach.

And, after these exploits, they worked each with the other and endeavored to do as others had done, amass a fortune. So it was said, but as
the writer of this never counted or weighed thier coin, he cannot at this time of writing vouch for the truth of the report, and therefore it must be taken with all due allowances for all it is worth.

9

As to the other characthers that figure in this chapter, a passing remark is due, and first to "Koony" [Marks Kuhn], who got up a little innocent skirmish on his own account in the shape of smuggling Columbiads [cannons] and conical and spherical shells through the lines to David, King of the South. At least so "Kooney" said, and as Kooney never "departed" from the truth, his word was law. So a lady friend of his once said to me of "Richardson" memory, "They may say what they like about Kooney, but I will go my last dollar on him to get him." And, to my knoledge, Annie kept her word; for she got him out, fed and took care of him while in prison, and was a friend in need, which is a friend in deed. He still clings to his old patron and friend, the Doctor. May thier shadowes never be less.

10

The Leubrie boy, tired of dancing attendance on others, quit the ranch and also set up a little job for himself, accumulated quite a small fortune, and then went into partnership with one whose "beattitude" of fancy (Beattus) was that he had to beg for all the goods he got. He done like the children do after the vermifuge lozenges. He bought all the goods he could for his money and then cried for more. They made a fortune in their business, and then, like another man I know, they lost it again. But the Leubrie boy still swims, is on the highway to fortune again unless all ends in "smoke" of cigars. And thus we close the history of the Benjaminite, the Levite, the Kooneyite, and the Leubrieite.

Chapter 9: V. 1

Now it came to pass in process of time that many wonderful things had transpired undreamt of in the philosophy of many. And the land teemed with so many startling reports that none were startled at anything that
took place. It seemed to all, no matter how stupendous and terrible the act committed, a foregone conclusion. Men were arrested and thrown into dungeons upon the most trivial charge, many times because the general in command wished to obtain possession of the man's wife. Having him in prison on some pretext, the wife would be sure to sue to the general for his release. Her honor was made the passport to his prison. So in trade permits, women whose husbands were outside the lines sold thier favors for permits to take out articles they wanted. The Christian Sabbath was not even respected by them [the Union Generals], they making people, families, move out of thier houses on Sunday, just because they took a notion that thier headquarters would be on a grander scale. And a thousand other arbitrary acts were committed all in the name of the best government the world ever saw.

Thus continual changes were taking place until there was “no change” left in any body, at least none in the pockets of the writer. And matters ebbed and flowed with fluctuating success to that class of merchants known as “Smugs,” who ran many risks of confiscation and Irving-Block-ation, that a continual alarm was manifested by everyone, and business entirely suspended. “Lines open at nine o'clock, closed again at ten.” Of course, those that had permits went out, were seized, thrown into Bastile, and goods confiscate[d] on some pretense or other until most all had paid thier homage to the Bastile, with but few, very few, exceptions. Among the latter was Ephraim, who kept the bazaar.

Now it came to pass that an old, hoaryheaded man who hailed from Mobile came unto the City of Memphis and stored his effects with the Ephraimite. And it appears this aged individual also belonged to the tribe of “Smugs,” and some of his partners who had something the “mayer” [matter] with them (Elias [Mayer Elias?]), whom the old man would not pay the “price of the permit,” lodged information against him to the powers that was, that he was a “Smug” and had his valuables at the store of the Ephraimite, and they should go there and seize them.
But before the "sharks" were prepared to swallow his body by getting on his track, he having received timely information, he took his wares away from the bazaar of the Ephraimites and deposited them elsewhere, outside of the reach of the "Moneyites" [those who sought graft], and likewise took himself away and he was not, for strict search had been made, and none could find him. And many others were arrested, being mistook for him, and thrust into the Hotel du Irving as many other "fresh fish" who had been caught before.

Now lo and behold! It was the Sabbath day of the Hebrews, a day always religiously observed by the Ephraimites, who, being a Jew by birth and education, not only believed in same, but practiced same in letter as well as spirit. And Ephraim at this time was King of the Jews [president of Congregation Children of Israel] at this principality, and was at the temple at worship, as was his custom. And while offering up his prayers to Deity, he was ruthlessly disturbed by two "gentlemen in blue" accompanied by a "Moneyite," who came to the doors of the temple and requested his presence there and then to be and appear before the grand commander Hurlburt [Hurlbut]. Of course, no choice was left him. He expostulated with them and all to no purpose. Have him they would, and have him they did. And therefore he gracefully accompanied them to headquarters.

And they escorted him to the headquarters of "Ye mighty and terrible General S. A. Hurlburt," but he was absent, and none to represent him save his "Captain Bloodthirsty," as he was termed ([W. H.] Thurston). And he accosted the writer in the following elegant language: "Dog of a Jew, we have found thee in church. Tell me where the other old Jew [is], who you helped to hide away from us, or I will throw you in the Block instantly."

And Ephraim looked him straight in the eyes. He saw at once who
he had to deal with. His chances were fixed, so he made a virtue from a
necessity, and he answered him calmly: "I am no dog or I would bark
like you. Neither do I know anything of any old Jew. I have hid nobody
nor myself either. I am a Jew and that is more than you are a Christian."

Now the face of this bloodthirsty man waxed pale with anger, and he
cried out to his satraps: "Take him to the Block. Let him rot there."
And as he thus spoke, the General, the mighty one, even Hurlburt, came
in and he enquired the cause of this alarm and was informed. And General
Hurlburt very calmly asked me to be seated, called me by name, told me
many acts of mine done during the days of the Confederacy while on special
business for General Pillow, Polk, and Villipeuge [Generals G. J. Pillow,
L. Polk, and J. B. Villepigue]. Also complained that I had used treasonable
and seditious language against the U. S. Government in that I had said
to a particular friend of his (Abraham Strauss of Cincinnati, I think)
"that if the war had not been carried on to give the military a chance to
steal everything in the South but the land, it could have been brought to a
close long ago." All these things being true, of course, I could not dispute
them, as he was well and authoritatively posted. He then asked me had I
taken the oath. I answered: "No, I have not!" "Why not?" said he,
"Because I have brothers and other relations in the Southern army, a
business partner, a prisoner at Johnson's Island (Lake Erie), and I
cannot take the oath conscientiously." "Reflect a little," said he. I did
reflect. I thought of home, wife, and children on one side, and the Block
on the other, and then again told the general I could not take the oath and
keep it conscientiously. "Orderly," said he, "take him to the Block and he
will have more time for reflection." So I accordingly went to the Block,
because I could not help myself.

Now there arose a great hue and cry in the land. The Ephraimitite is
captured and is thrust in the Block. The Israelites ran about "fearfully"
and other friends who done little talking but a good deal of working.
RABBI SIMON TUSKA
Congregation Children of Israel, Memphis, 1860–1871
"Who put him in?" said one. "General Thurston!" "Who will bring him hither?" "H. M. Lusher." But he pined all the Sabbath day in solitude, and as night came on, and thought of his nice clean couch at home and compared it with the filthy bunk presented to him here, he felt miserable indeed. But his friends did not forsake him, for an Ox (Julius Ochs) sent him a cot and mattress, the Warnerite, whiskey and cigars, the Levite, meals, and other friends more than enough, so that the other prisoners inside fared sumptuously. And next morning he awoke and washed, eat a good breakfast, and, about eleven o'clock, the mighty General sent for him to his headquarters. And upon going in, he found many Israelites and Christian friends. And the General remarked: "Have you reflected, sir?" "I have, General!" "Will you take the oath?" "I cannot." "Will you sign a parole?" "I will." "Can you give good bonds?" "I can, for a million if necessary." Then take this note to Capt. Williams, Provost Marshall, and give bonds for twenty thousand dollars for good behaviour and appearance when required, and you are at liberty." Of course, I went quick, and I. Happick, H. M. Lusher, B. M. Warner, and others went on my bond, and I was at liberty once more. You may rest assured I rejoiced, as none know what liberty is until deprived of same. Hence 'tis so little appreciated.

And after a time, at a meeting of "Angevona" Lodge, I came in contact and was formally introduced by Capt. Wright of [the] Twenty-fifth Indiana Volunteers, who was then in charge of the Block during my incarceration, to "Brother Stephen A. Hurlburt"; and I then recalled to his mind his conversation and that of General Thurston with me, his language, and treatment. I was then his "equal," and he regretted exceedingly my feelings were hurt. He was mistaken in the man, but 'twas war times and often innocent people had to suffer with the guilty. "Why did you not tell me you were a Mason?" said he. "Because, General, I do not make a profession out of that art." "Well," said here [he], "you are the first man I have met since in command that either did not wear a sign or make one." I met him frequently afterwards, and he was always disposed to be friendly.
For months after, I was kept reporting to Capt. Williams, then Col. [J. L.] Geddes, then Melancthon Smith, then Wager Swayne, who dismissed me because they could not even find a paper against me. But 'twas a terrible annoyance to report daily and oft times stand from 9 till 2 until an audience was granted and then sent off to "report tomorrow." But, thank God, I outlived even that.

There is one more incident I must record here as a reminiscense of the war. My old partner, A. S. Levy, was a prisoner at Johnson's Island, captured at Island No. 10, Mississippi River. After a long time an exchange was agreed upon, and I received advices he would be on the "Choutaux." I went to Fort Pickering, the headquarters of General T. Sherman, and being introduced by B. D. Nabors, a then strong Union man, I informed the General my mission to him was to receive a pass for a little child to see his father on the "Pierre Choutaux." "What's his father doing on the 'Choutaux,'" asked the General. "He is a prisoner," said I. "Ah, a prisoner. He must be a d—n Rebel, then." "No, sir." "I will give no pass. The child is better dead than have a rebel father." After this elegant remark, he pointed to the door of the tent which was open. Of course, I retired with a very poor opinion of General Sherman's kind feelings. I walked to the river with the child and presently the fleet came in sight. And at the same time, Sam P. Walker and D. M. Leatherman came to me and asked me to get them a yawl and a man to pull them out in the stream. I succeeded in doing so and put [the child] Henry Levy in the boat and jumped in myself, took an oar, and started for the "Choutaux," whose guards were lined with a thousand Tennesse Boys in grey. I placed Henry on deck and jumped aboard myself. The yawl pulled off to the other steamer. The guards asked for my pass, of course. I felt for it and told him I had forgotten it, as Mr. Walker had the pass for the party. This looked feasible to the guard, as they knew Walker's boys were with the fleet. Thus I accomplished, by stratagy, what could not be done by fair means. Afterwards the boats went to Wolf River to coal, and many
went home to see their families and friends but returned the next day to their prison to be honorably exchanged.

Chapter [10]

And it came to pass after many, many days of trials, suffering, tribulations, and troubles in which nearly all the residents suffered more or less, a change came over the spirit of their dreams. Matters took another turn. Everything seemed prosperous. The merchant princes from home and abroad began to coin money. Such immense fortunes were never made before, and those that had them before seen them no more. It seemed to the careful observer that each merchant outvied the other. They gave parties, dinners, sociables, and balls. Night was turned into day, and general extravagance seemed to rule the hour. They had their carriages, buggies, and dogcarts always in attendance. The ladies dressed in queenly magnificence and also had their private entertainments. This one was “at home tonight” and the other tomorrow night. “Keno was correct” [a game of lotto] and “Leiv” [loo: a card game] was sometimes “baited,” while a “bluff” enterprise sometimes “poked” out the night. “Woman’s rights” was proclaimed at the “North” and the “Women” of the South reiterated the cry. “Exchange” rose on “market.” The “Third Poplar Union” was also triumphant, and all were in a blaze of glory. The gentlemen, of course, had their own “game” to bag. Some “bragged” so high whilst many went it “so-so.” Every night in the week the same. No time to rest. No Sabbath. No holy day. All banished and forgotten in the fascinating history of Kings, Queens, and “Palms,” a mystery.

A “flush” some times stole over their “full” faces,
And “four jacks laid down to four aces.”
The young misses, determined not to be outdone,
Commenced their education at “twenty-one,”
And children who to bed should go
Were seen engaging “ke-no.”
Thus matters went on for a time.
Alas! That I should write it in rhyme.
So great, so strong had gaming possession,
That from the “pulpit” ’twas denounced by the profession.
Fathers felt ashamed; mothers hid their head.
But notwithstanding the game continued.
The Reverend preached against it, but all in vain.
His congregation had played before and now played again.
Books did he say should engage their mind.
But his words were like chaff driven before the wind.
Of thier duty to thier offspring did he lay down the Law.
They heard his speech and went home to have a game of draw [poker].
On thier velvet cloaks and bonnetts did he a scathing lecture give.
But the dear ones turned up thier noses and said: "Without them we cannot live."
And so he continued on thier dresses, feathers, and netts,
And chided thier extravagance, thier furniture, and thier velvet carpets.
The ladies in a rage cried out,
"What! Has our minister nought else to preach about?
Let him look at home and examine his life!
Why? No lady dresses better here than his wife.
Why should he constantly rail at us?
Are we not the society? The Besserung Deutches [the superior Germans]."
And some shed bitter tears in thier anger and mania,
Whilst others went for "beer" at "Price's Concordia."
The men admitted 'twas wrong, 'twas morally wrong.
They would try and do better and not play all night long.
This was a concession indeed for the men.
But the wives had determined they should not go again.
But all things have an end, and so did this "play."
The reason for which we will write some fine day.

Chapter [11]

And among the other amusements that were instituted at this times were the Club Houses, some of which were got up to order in princely elegance. Among the number, we mention the Memphi$^6$ because 'twas complete in all its "branches," and it had many, for it had "many lives." Here could be found the billiard, card, and bar-room, the elegant "salon" for ladies, and the grand assembly room with its stage, scenery, footlights, sett pieces. Not a tree, shrub, or flower was missing in its appointments,
and although a certain Pauline (Becky Mauss) demanded her ("buckets")
boquets from her Claude Melnotte (Lou Leubrie) before she would go on, ah! many are the cheerful remembrances connected with the lamented "Putzel"'s dramatic corps. Alas! Poor Mo! A silent tear to thy memory. Thou art gone, made thy last entrance, and taken thy exit. You have appeared on another stage. Your part was well played here below. May you be "au fait" above. We miss thy pale face from our side, but still recall your spirit, and though forgotten by nearly all, one still thinks and writes of thee.

And many a rich scene was enacted "behind the scenes." How can we forget "Stattoos" in Marble Heart (Eugene Lehan), "Goodness Krashus" (Selina Keen), Gilbert Knocks at the door (Morris Lewin)? I have only to look at my ledger to remember him and a host of others who have past from this stage and gone on somewhere else, like Don Ceasar's sword, to keep a "sharp" lookout for themselves, and then the "carnivals" at Rome surpassed by our Purim Masquerades with baby machines by steam, and the Donnybrook Fair at the Memphis Club was a great thing once, but it died and in three days rose again and lived. But it died again in consequence of an accident to "Col. Prager's Hat." Alas, poor "Hat!" To what base uses was you applied! How "stern" and angry you must have been when "saturated"! Had you had life, the "fur" would have flew from your grasp and "old hat" would still remain a premium. I never saw but one of your style, and that was at a picknick at the Orphan Asylum.

But again, the club. It filed its petition, withdrew from bankrupts, got a fresh lease of life, and lived once more. Thus had a "Governor" (Caro) managed to slay her. Then a Colonel (Prager) sat up with her, and finally a Levite washed her off and brought her too. But she was sickly and lingered along. The blatant red-mouthed members with hair on thier teeth talked much, but done little. Instead of maintaining their club, they sought other places to go and take thier company, and at last it died again. And a few members went down to its funeral to give it decent burial. And they began to preach the funeral oration. 'Tis sad to die so young, so beautiful. You have cost so much. Nay, 'twill be a shame on us. "Let us resurrect it!" said one. "Ay," said another. "'Tis easy
said! But how?” cried a third. At last one arose who, with dignity, said: “Besserung Deutschen, Achtung” (Better class of Germans, attention). The mean class are nearly all out, that is, the poor white trash. We will now take this club in hand. We will rule ourselves and resurrect this Club for the third and last time. And so they did. And at the present time of writing, she still lives (one day after the election of I. Rosenbach, President). May it continue to improve, say we, for we once loved it and belonged to it. But the seven lean cows eat up the seven fat cows, and so we were eat up! And thus we close this chapter on the Memphis Club and we say it with feelings of pride. We have enjoyed ourselves muchly there. But we had to quit. It has its remembrance and we say of it, like of an old friend:

We have lived and loved together
Through many a changing year.
We have shared each other’s joys,
And wiped each other’s tears.
Requium En Pacet

Chapter [12]

The Royal Preacher truly said there was a time for all things. And lo and behold! a most singular time had come upon the goodly people of the City of Memphis. Instead of hilarity and rejoicing, all suddenly became sadness and woe. Verily, a change had come over the spirit of their dreams. Heretofore all had been joy and prosperity. Now it was grief and adversity. Lo! All was lamentation and sorrow. Each man hung his head, and as you passed him on the street, he cried: “Woe is me! Woe is me! Oh, that I had taken care of my wealth when I had it! Then would I now not have to run the streets of Memphis to borrow money to pay my notes.” And thus the cry rose daily. For the year eighteen hundred and sixty-six, when every merchant was in a good fix, had passed, and in its place had come the year “sixty-seven,” which left many without any “leaven.” And so the lamentation was sore indeed. O, that mine head were a sea of waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep over the “good time” that was past and the “bad time” that had come.

Yet still as the faithful historian, I must cite the exigencies of the times as they came upon us. None were scarce spared, the high, the low, the
rich, the poor, all felt it, some more, some less. First came the religious panic. The "Shool" [synagogue], it could not pay. Its members did not pay. So it could not pay its officers. The preacher, he cried for his salary. The reader, he cried for his. The sexton cried for his, the secretary, he cried for his, and the choir and leader cried for theirs. So there was a great hue and cry in the land. So great a one was never heard "before," nor will it be heard "behind." And in order to quiet the cry, the Preacher Tuska, Reader Leopold, Sexton Daldoff, and the Leader Sabatzky were all promised "higher wages" and had accordingly their salaries "raised" on paper, but still not a cent did they get. The farsighted secretary, "Charley Shloss," with his glass eyes, was the smartest of all, for, cried he: "Raise not my salary on paper, for I will be satisfied to work for nothing if you will only raise me the cash you now owe me." But 'twas useless. The howling of the storm continued and no money came. The School then commenced to howl and cry. The school said the congregation gave it no attention. The Congregation remarked, the Congregation had given [the School] so much attention that it broke the Congregation. At last some "Solon" of liberal views and Reform principle, Abraham (the farsighted Seessel), moved to break up the School before it broke up the Congregation. "Why shall I pay to support a Hebrew School in order that other members' children should go there to learn 'Yiddish and Deutch'? I do not need any in mine. Let the School go."

The Ephraimite, he cried different. "Rather than see the school for the children go down, which should be the first principle of Reform to maintain, I would see the last brick in this Shool sold first." But he was in the minority, and the school was broken up, and the children were left to grow up as their fathers had been before them, "Ignoramuses," that is, as far as concerned Hebrew education, or religious instruction. This is Reform with a vengeance, but good enough for carpetbaggers who never belonged to a congregation in their life until they slipped in here. Well, you could not expect much from men like A. Seessel and the like, who would sell their God, their wives, and their children for a dollar. I say this, for the man that would violate an oath to keep the Sabbath, act the hypocrite by closing the front door and keeping the back ones open, such men, I say, "would steal the coppers off a dead Negroe's eyes and kick him because they were not quarters."

But still the crying did not stop. The school was broken up, but the
lamentation did not cease. The Sexton (Daldroff) was exchanged for another (Strauss),69 the Reader, “Leopold,” was dispensed with on account of reading the history of Brigham Young, and on the supposition of following his footsteps too closely. The Leader, he (Sabatzky) got engaged in a debate too frequent of proving that Lager beer was not intoxicating. As he did not make this apparent to the satisfaction of the Board, they “winkler-ed” another in his place. She that left “a Mark” went to the Moral City of Chicago, and the Nightingale Nora filled up a-la-chapski [imbibed like M. Chapski]. The King of the Tuskaroras [Simon Tuska] still held on like grim death to a dead Negro, notwithstanding that New York City, Rochester, Louisville, St. Louis, and Milwaukee all were crazy to engage him, and notwithstanding the hue and cry that there was not enough money to give him a modest living, he still hung on to Memphis because he loved them so much.

But Sixty-seven went by for the congregation, too, and there arose a new King who was a great man — Ken [I. S. Menken became president of the congregation], and he spoke much and made a grand fair and sold his dolls and “puppen” [“puppets”] to the fair at good prices. And the ladies begged and slaved and worked and they “norris”hed a fellow on a “clock” and kept his friends on “tick” and done many other moral things too numerous to mention, but they paid her out and the hue and cry stopped and all went on peaceably again because there was no one to quarrel with. So the bad time passed away and the good time is still coming, boys, only wait a little longer. Thus ended the religious crisis that came to Memphis.

Chapter [13]

Now the lamentations became more general. Expressions of woe were heard on every side. “How is the gold become dim? How is the most fine gold changed?” cried one. “Verily, I know not,” said the Ephraimite. “Gold had I none, but my ‘watch,’ and that is now an ‘orphan.’ Another takes care of her.” “Where are the greenbacks gone?” cries another. “I cannot tell,” says the Ephraimite. “I am no bankish [banker].” Truly, as Alf Bumelt70 says: “There was weeping and wailing and gnawing of a file.”

The writer of this was deeply interested the entire time. In every house of his friends that he entered to get a “little over” for a “few days”
there had been others before him and ’twas all gone. So he rose one morning at sunrise and went down town in quest of money. But lo and behold! he met others already coming “back” from the place he started to go to, and upon saying good “morning,” he found they could not sleep and had slept in the park so as to be out “early in the morning.” Thus things continued and got from bad to worse. Men that borrowed money for a “few days” were glad to get it for a “few hours.” One hole was closed by opening another. ’Twas robbing Peter to pay Paul. Two, three, five per cent a month was paid for money. Ten per cent was offered by other parties, but they could not get [it] even at that. Notes were paid by drawing on the holders and renewing part for fifteen and thirty days. Of course, such things as these had to come to an end, and an end it made of many a one who sacrificed all but their honor in endeavoring to maintain themselves at any cost or sacrifice. Some had no honor to lose; they easily adjusted themselves to circumstances. Every expedient was resorted to, all of no avail. The crash had to come. The bells had not finished tolling the funeral chimes of the great Fortress (D. Shloss & Co.) when a requiem was sung over him who trosted everybody (M. Kraus & Co.). Green-land’s icy mount melted away before the dazzling Brilliance of the noonday sun. Love (Ben Loeb) was wash(er)ed out (N. Greenwald & Co.). The Lyon and the Dog laid down togather to rest (Lyons Fiers & Co.). There was a great de-Klein in the trade and they were eaten up (Klein and Wolf). A Pumping machine made its marks on a few passers-by (Marks Pump & Co.), and the Beattitude of all that was lovely wasted its sweetness on the dessert air (H. Beattus & Co.). There was one that was Best-hoff than nobody, but a Mehlinger cleaned him, while the Pollack looked for the Land-owner (Pollack Lindaur). But he came not in time and they were engulfed. Nelson was always sure of his victories. So was “Elson” Brothers, but they being Democratic in every particular would not stand up any longer when they seen their friends go down. Iglauer & Pritz worked through manfully and then gave up the ghost to their creditors, whilst M. Wolf & Co., the “Stewart” of Memphis with his stove pipe hat, having made extensions, settlements, propositions, and various other methods, they, too, gave up the ghost to the remainder of their creditors. Many, many others fought hard to struggle through, but no go. Fate was against them. The last one in the category was the “Ephraimite.” He borrowed from all scources. He
pawned all he had, waiting for something to turn up or trying to turn something up. But no go. He then proposed, in order to save his name and not go into bankruptcy, to give up, lock, stock, and barrell, notes, books, and accounts, fixtures, and everything in the world he had, and which left him pennyless and which was finally accepted. And he was out of his difficulties with his shirt flying to the breeze, and nary a red [cent] in his pocket. But he went to work like a man, again doing all sorts of odd jobs to make a dollar. No man was treated worse by his friends than I was, and no man had a right to expect more. But 'tis a long lane that has no turn and the wheel of fortune will yet turn around. That is, if all the Schlemmeels [hard luck Charleys] on the bottom end do not hang on too hard.

But there are many more that might be included in this category, but I have accomplished all I desired, which was to keep a rough sketch of the commercial year eighteen hundred and sixty-seven. Not that there is any fear whatsoever I shall forget same. Far from it. The memory of same and its trials and sufferings are so indelibly impressed on my mind that a thousand years would never efface them. And here I may add that did I know, and could I be assured I would make a fortune by again submitting to the financial trials I underwent, I would prefer to remain a “hewer of wood” and drawer of water84 all my life than undergo again that which I passed through as a “Holts Hacker” (wholesaler) (wood cutter). I am not a success, so I shall strive to be something else.

*Sic Transit*

**NOTES**

1 Genesis 6:14

2 Ironclad warships equipped with revolving gun turrets, such as the famous “Monitor.”

3 The “Monitor” was 179 feet long, 41 feet wide, and 5 feet deep.

4 Joshua 9:21

5 A long-chambered gun designed to throw shells at an elevation.

6 Simon Tuska (1835–1871) was rabbi of Congregation Children of Israel from 1860 until the time of his death.

7 *Ethics of the Fathers* III:1

8 Part of this phrase is from Ruth 4:7


10 They secured permits to carry on trade in the military area of the Department of the Tennessee.

11 Isaac Lehman (or Isaac H.) For

Wax, op. cit., 17, mentions a Sol. Hesse. An S. Hesse is recorded in the Minute Book of Congregation Children of Israel (=MBCCI), Memphis, Tenn., June 3, 1858, et seq.

Wax, op. cit., 22-23, 45. The brother of Henry Seessel. Also Jacob R. Marcus, Memoirs of American Jews, I (Philadelphia, 1955), 353-67, for the memoir of Henry Seessel. MBCCI, June 3, 1858, where the Seessel brothers are recorded as members.

Joseph Strauss was possibly one of the partners of Strauss, Lehman Brothers. Wax, op. cit., 23. He was president of Congregation Children of Israel. MBCCI, April 18, 1858.

Notes 11 and 15, supra.

Wax, op. cit., 20. Simon was a partner of Abraham Seessel in the dry goods business. MBCCI, July 11, 1858, where he is recorded as a member.

Leopold Oppenheimer died of the yellow fever at the age of 31. A. E. Frankland, Yellow Fever Epidemic (Memphis, Tenn., 1873), 12.

Wax, op. cit., 45. MBCCI, April 18, 1858, where he is recorded as a member.

Gabriel Judah was an active member of Congregation Children of Israel throughout this entire period, 1862-1867.

Theobald Foltz may have been related to H. Foltz who conducted a boarding-house, Wax, op. cit., 27. He was a member of Congregation Children of Israel, MBCCI, April 18, 1858, and was elected treasurer on Sept. 25, 1863.

Leon Hellman advertised that he ginned and pressed cotton, Wax, op. cit., 24-25. MBCCI, June 10, 1862, as secretary of the congregation.

Cotton rose to $1.85 per pound at a time when 25¢ to 40¢ a pound was considered exorbitant.

The implication here is that the slaves were also involved in the cotton speculation.


Nathan Greenwald’s statement or proclamation has not been found for this study.

Solomon Milius. There were four Milius brothers in the Cincinnati clothing business. All were members of Cincinnati’s Bene Israel Congregation (Rockdale Avenue Temple) prior to 1840. Solomon may have been a son of one of these brothers. Also, Wax, op. cit., 26.

Alexander Milius. See note 29, supra.

Solomon Rose was a member of Cincinnati’s Bene Jeshurun Congregation in 1841. In 1845 he was expelled from the congregation for nonpayment of dues. Thereafter he disappears from Cincinnati records.

Weiler the Schwartze remains unidentified.

The firm of Strauss & Pritz was one of many business partnerships which were entered into and often quickly dissolved. The Pritzes were a well-known Cincinnati family. It is not known which Strauss is referred to.

A Mr. Cleveland, a detective, was, apparently, the person responsible for the arrests made.

Deuteronomy 28:6; 6:7

Jules and Jacob Menken of the firm of Menken Brothers were the sons of
Solomon Menken, who may have been the first Jew to settle in Cincinnati. The Menkens were in a variety of enterprises at the time they moved to Memphis.

37 Apparently, Stanwood Hall was the name of the Menkens' business establishment, which was later known as Menken's Palatial Emporium. See *The Jewish Spectator*, Oct. 19, 1885.

The references to Stanwood Hall, Julian, and "Pope's Romances" are not obvious. Perhaps the last is a reference to the defeat of Gen. John Pope in Jan., 1863.

38 A. T. Stewart was a famous New York department store owner. Many years later the business was acquired by John Wanamaker of Philadelphia.

39 General Order No. 162, issued on Nov. 30, 1863, closed the shops of fifteen Jewish merchants, charging them with the improper sale of military goods. Gentiles were unaffected by the order. In the official order the Menkens are not mentioned.

40 Bertram W. Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1951), 141. The firm of Mack Brothers is mentioned here, but not in this specific relationship.

41 Korn, *op. cit.*, 122–55, for a full discussion of General Order No. 11.

42 Apparently David Mack, though a Jew, succeeded in evading the proscriptions of G. O. No. 11.

Frankland, wrongly, ascribes the revocation of G. O. No. 11 to the influence of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise of Cincinnati and the "Sanhedrin," or Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The Union was not established till 1873!

43 This Abraham and David remain unidentified.

44 Benjamin Warner and the other Warners, because of their non-Jewish-sounding names, have escaped notice. They remain incompletely identified.

45 Marks Kuhn may have been Corporal M. A. Kuhn mentioned by A. E. Frankland, "Fragments of History," *American Jews' Annual* 5620 (Chicago and Cincinnati, 1889–90), 94.

46 Frankland, *op. cit.*, 94, describes Leubrie (spelled variously) as a private in the Confederate Army.

47 Wax, *op. cit.*, 27, where Henry Beatus is mentioned as a partner of Leo Moses, and MBCCI, where his name appears throughout this period.

48 Judah Frankland, city editor of the *Nashville Gazette*, fought under General Zollicoffer, Frankland, *op. cit.*, 93. Information about other brothers in the Confederate Army has not been obtained.

49 Major Abraham S. Levy, Frankland, *op. cit.*, 94.

50 H. M. Lusher has not been identified.


52 MBCCI, April 18, 1858, where I. Happick is recorded as a member and continues throughout this period.

53 Frankland had a deep interest in Masonry. In his manuscript, *Kabbalistic Researches*, Memphis, March, 1870, he devotes a section to Masonic ritual and acknowledges his appreciation to General Albert Pike, who was then in Memphis working on his well-known *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry* (Charleston, 1871).

54 See note 19, supra. Probably a brother of Baruch Walker.

55 D. M. Leatherman has not been identified.

56 Wax, *op. cit.*, 16–18, for an account of the Memphis Club.

57 The reference is to Lord Lytton, *Lady of Lyons* (1838).

58 Wax, *op. cit.*, 26, where the business activity of Moses L. Putzel is described.

59 Morris Lewin has not been identified.
MBCCI, June 3, 1858, where M. Prager is recorded as a member.

MBCCI, Jan. 4, 1863, where the brothers M., S., and H. Caro are recorded as members. The Caros are noted by Isaac M. Wise for their failure to pay their subscription to the Israelite, April 8, 1864.

MBCCI, Oct. 26, 1868, where Isidor Rosenbach appears as a member. For his business activity see Wax, op. cit., 24.

Ecclesiastes 3:1

Jeremiah 8:23

MBCCI, Aug. 4, 1863, where it is recorded that L. Leopold of Evansville, Indiana, was elected as hazzan of the congregation.

Ibid., April 9, 1865. Daldroff (Daldorf) was already sexton at the time of his re-election.

Sabatzky is not otherwise identified.

MBCCI, Sept. 25, 1863, where Charley Schloss [Shloss] is elected secretary.

Ibid., April 5, 1868. S. Strauss was elected sexton at this time.

Alf Bumelt has not been identified.

D. Shloss [Schloss] was one of many of this name in Memphis.

M. Kraus & Co. may have been the Krouse and Company listed in General Order No. 162 charged with the unauthorized sale of military clothing. See note 39, supra. Was there a Mr. Trost also in this firm?

Ibid., for Ben Loeb of Loeb and Company and later associated with N. Greenwald & Co. Is Greenland a pun on Greenwald? Was there a Mr. Washer in this firm?

Wax, op. cit., 16, mentions an L. Lyons as an incorporator of the Hebrew Benevolent Society in June, 1865.

MBCCI, April 15, 1866, where G. Klein is recorded as a member.

Ibid., Oct. 2, 1859, to April 15, 1866, for references to B. Wolf.

Ibid., April 11, 1863, where Marks Pump is recorded as a member.

Besthoff has not been identified.

Mehlinger is not otherwise identified.

These Iglauers may have been related to those of Cincinnati. Other information is not presently available. For Pritz, see note 33, supra.

See note 38.

Deuteronomy 29:10 and Joshua 9:21, 23, 27
Ten Years After

Ten years ago, in the fall of 1947, the American Jewish Archives was established in Cincinnati through the farsighted vision of the president of the Hebrew Union College, Nelson Glueck, and with the generous cooperation of the Board of Governors. Its purpose was to collect and make available the manuscript sources of American Jewry.

To be sure, a decade is not a long time, but it is always helpful to review the past. What has been accomplished during this period? Hundreds of thousands of pages of source materials have been assembled; a photoduplication laboratory has been in operation for years; the Harrison Jules Louis Frank and Leon Harrison Frank Research Fellowship in American Jewish History has been established; and with this issue, the semi-annual magazine, American Jewish Archives, completes its ninth volume. Servicing this organization is a full-time staff of eight people. This is probably the largest Jewish archives in the world, with the possible exception of a similar organization in Israel.

The Archives began with a new premise. It would not wait until people died and left it their papers. Collections, geared to death and legacies, are apt, at best, to be unrepresentative of the available and important source materials. To meet the need of history-conscious American Jewry, the Archives set out to photostat and microfilm the important basic documents which are essential to the historian. A systematic attempt has therefore been made to secure those records without which the history of the American Jewish community cannot be written. Thus it is that the Archives now houses the papers — in originals or copies — of American Jewry's great leaders: Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall, Felix M. Warburg, Julius Rosenwald. But, what is far more important, there are hundreds of volumes of congregational minutes, community histories, personal papers, biographies and memoirs, wills, and a host of other illuminating documents. No one can begin to write the history of American Jewry, or any segment of it, without studying the records and papers assembled here.

As we begin a new decade, it is our hope to make these materials available to all students and scholars, Jews and non-Jews, who are interested in the study of American Jewry. These almost unlimited and untapped resources await the competent social scientist. To make his task easier, the adjoining Hebrew Union College Library offers a reference collection of printed American Judaica that is second to none.
The study of American Jewry should enlist the attention of the scholar looking for new worlds to conquer. Here is a small but not unimportant group of Americans who have been on these shores as a community ever since the 1650's. As city dwellers, they have not been without significance in the development of the economic and cultural life of this country. Few serious attempts have yet been made to write their history. Here is the opportunity of a rich and rewarding harvest for the student. It is an alluring and inviting prospect.

We are eager to be of service to all, particularly to those who dedicate themselves to the study of the past in the spirit of scientific inquiry. We welcome correspondence, and promise on our part to work sympathetically and, we hope, helpfully, with all who are interested in the history of the American Jew.

Announcing
The American Jewish Archives Festschrift

To commemorate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the American Jewish Archives, a jubilee volume is being prepared under the direction of a national committee consisting of Oscar Handlin, Bertram W. Korn, Richard B. Morris, Edwin Wolf 2nd, and Maxwell Whiteman.

A number of competent scholars have contributed studies and essays illuminating various aspects of American Jewish life and culture.

To be published in the late winter or early spring.
The War Between the States

Reminiscences of Edward Rosewater, Army Telegrapher

INTRODUCTION

Edward Rosewater (1841–1906), telegrapher, journalist, and politician, came to the United States from Bohemia in 1854 at the age of thirteen. On the eve of the Civil War he was working as a telegraph operator in the deep South. He joined the United States Military Telegraph Corps and served with a number of outstanding Union generals, among them General John C. Frémont and General John Pope. Rosewater is credited with having telegraphed the Emancipation Proclamation in January, 1863. Before the War was over, Rosewater went to Omaha, Nebraska, in the employ of the Pacific Telegraph Company. There he established one of the first news bureaus in the Rocky Mountain area, and later became the editor and publisher of the Omaha Bee, a successful and influential Nebraska newspaper. His vigorous criticism of railroad abuses was a factor in keeping him from winning a seat in the United States Senate. Throughout the years he retained his interest in telegraphy and did much to popularize its use. He was an active member of the Telegraphers’ Association, and was frequently invited to speak at meetings on the history and development of telegraphy, particularly during the Civil War period. Extracts from such an address delivered in 1905, describing his experiences as a telegrapher during the Civil War, are reprinted here from the Rosewater Papers in the American Jewish Archives. Like all post-eventum reminiscences these, too, should be used with caution.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

Next Sunday, it will be forty years since General Lee surrendered his sword to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, and on Friday next will be the fortieth anniversary of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

To you, young men, forty years seems to be a very long period. For
myself, it appears like a span. The past rises before me like a dream, and
I see myself, first at the age of nineteen, at the crossing of the Memphis &
Charleston and Memphis & Chattanooga Railroads, in north Alabama,
as a telegraph operator. To give you a reminiscence of what I was then
and how I appeared, I will present you with what they called an amber
type [photograph], taken at Stevenson, Ala., at that time, with the telegraph
instrument and table. I was in the heart of the Southern Confederacy, in
one of the great Secession states, in the midst of the boiling cauldron that
characterized the campaign in which Abraham Lincoln was elected
President. I heard the orators assail him. I met Stephen A. Douglas at
that time, campaigning in Tennessee and Alabama, and I very distinctly
remember on election day a man was shot and killed for expressing himself,
for expressing even a sentiment favorable to Lincoln.

I passed through the ordeal, in the capital of Tennessee, that followed
the opening of the war, and was there employed in the main office of the
Southwestern Telegraph Company which became the Western Union. . . .
I was in Nashville during the battle of Donelson and after the place was
taken by the Union Armies, and immediately after the battle, I had already
left the [commercial] telegraph service.

I was called on, one day, to get the body of a young lady twenty years
old, who had dropped dead from fright when she heard that Bowling Green,
Ky., had been captured by the Union Armies. Her father, whose name
was Hardy, lived in that town. The Cumberland River bridge had been
destroyed by the retreating Confederates. I got a skiff and crossed the
river. The first troop of Ohio cavalry had made their appearance on that
side of the river and they said halt, "Nobody can cross that river again."
I said: "I did not want to cross. I wanted to have communication with
Bowling Green over your military line." I was informed that General
[Robert Byington] Mitchell, the commanding general of the advance
division of [General Don Carlos] Buell's army, had not yet arrived . . . .
I was informed that the military telegraph corps had not arrived and
nothing could be done to get the communication I wanted.

I remained over night in the home of the chief operator of the Nashville
office. The man's name was Fisher, who, I think, until recently has been
manager of that office. He was an intense Secessionist, and when he put
his children to bed, he said: "Now go to sleep or the Lincolnites will come."

The next morning a body of soldiers called and asked us to report to
General Buell’s headquarters. The headquarters was a large farmhouse in the neighborhood of the town. We were received by a man who appeared in a very common, ordinary civilian suit of clothes, and looked very much to me like a clerk or bookkeeper. The inquiry was all about the telegraph, the wires, and their condition in Nashville at that time. Mr. Fisher, who was older than I, made all of the responses and gave a great deal of misinformation in response.

In passing out, I asked the orderly or guard: “Who is this man in that brown suit?” He said: “That man is Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War.” So I went back and said: “I am a Union man, and this man who has been telling you these stories about the condition of the wires did not tell you the truth. The wires are in much better shape, and they can be restored easily.” He said: “Can you restore them, and put the wires across the Cumberland? Our telegraph corps has not yet arrived.” I said: “Yes, you put a sufficient number of troops at my disposal, with wagons, and what I need, and I will put the wires across.” He said: “Very well, you come with me and General Buell across the river.”

I crossed the river with General Buell and Thomas A. Scott. We went to the telegraph office. There was a guard on it, and Thomas A. Scott knew the countersign. There was no trouble in getting what we wanted, and in about twelve hours I had the wires across the Cumberland. I then asked for a passport, by Government steamer, up the Cumberland River, from General Buell, and after I reached Cleveland, where my parents resided, I remained about twenty days. I decided then to enter the Army Telegraph Corps and went to Wheeling, where I was sworn in, and mustered as an army telegrapher.

The opinion among most people [was] that, after all, the army telegrapher was only an adjunct to the civilian portion of the army, that he was principally found in the buildings occupied by army officers, and at stations or depots where railroads were operated, or that he had no real risk to run, and occupied no position that required military vigilance or training of any kind. As a matter of fact, it was quite the reverse. The army telegrapher, when he was in the field, was either always in the front of the army with the advance guard, planting his wires as well as he could, or, communicating as fast as he could to the various parts of the field where wire communication could be gotten, or he was in the rear of the army. When there was a retreat he was the last man to leave the field, because he wanted to keep
up communication. He was really exposed to more danger than the average soldier in the field.

Before the outbreak of the war, there never had been any telegraph communication between different parts of the army, and the military telegraph had not been thought of. Some experiments had been made in Europe with telegraphy, but it was purely technical and not complete in any war before the Rebellion in the United States. At the outbreak of the war, a few operators only were called to Washington, chiefly from the neighboring offices in Baltimore, Harrisburg, and along the Pennsylvania Railroad. Simon Cameron, who was the first Secretary of War, utilized them for communication between the forts that were established, running to Washington, on the Union side. As the war progressed, the demand for army telegraphers continued to increase, until, about the middle of the war, in 1863, there were about twelve hundred men, all in all, in the army military telegraph, covering the entire field of operation from the Ohio River to the Gulf and from Missouri almost across the continent. The military telegraphers, however, were not given any status of position in the army. When they were mustered in, or enrolled, they were required to take...[an] oath...as solemn as any oath that any soldier or any one enlisted in the navy were required to take during the war.

When I was before the Congressional Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, some years ago, I pointed out the fact, and called attention to the fact, that on the 26th of February, 1866, the Quartermaster-General, by direction of the Assistant Secretary of War, turned over 15,000 miles of land lines and 3,000 miles of cables, and all the instruments, wires, and everything pertaining to the military telegraph, to the telegraph companies, under the pretext that they had a claim against the government for interfering with their lines during the war. They had interfered a great deal more with the government through their lines than the government had interfered with them. I remember when I was in Nashville, that the Southwestern Telegraph Company's manager kept a big stove going for two days, burning the dispatches that had been transmitted disloyally to the northern states and, surreptitiously, by these Confederate managers, after Abraham Lincoln issued his proclamation forbidding these dispatches between the North and the South. New York and Boston were filled with Confederate sympathizers. They were giving aid and comfort to the enemy in every way they possibly could, and they had been advised to mail their telegrams to
Louisville, and there they were secretly forwarded and finally transmitted through the southern lines. . . .

You can get an idea or glimpse of what use the telegraph was put to in the war. I will relate a few of my own experiences. Perhaps they will enlighten you a little. When I joined the Military Telegraph Corps at Wheeling, West Virginia, I was assigned to the headquarters of General [William S.] Rosecrans, who was then occupying a large building opposite to the convent. The room used for the telegraph communication was in the top floor, and my duty was to remain in the room night and day. And so every night when the big flag was hauled down from the top of the building, I wrapped myself up in the American Flag and slept on the floor, waiting the next day for any communication that was wanted. In a very short time, about two weeks, I was ordered to report to General [Robert Cumming] Schenck, who was operating with the army in West Virginia. I passed down the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad from Wheeling to a place called New Creek where there was a large encampment of troops. There I took an ambulance through the mountains, with one soldier alone, for General Schenck's headquarters, about fifty or sixty miles in the interior. We camped the first night by Marfield. . . .

I got to Marfield in the night time. I had but one man with me driving the ambulance, and the soldiers said, "Don't go any further. The country is full of gorillas [guerrillas]." I said, "My orders are to proceed," and we proceeded. The gorillas did not interfere with us. After a time we reached Franklin, W. Va., and soon after joined General Schenck. In the morning Stonewall Jackson attacked our camp. The General [Schenck] was the greatest swearer I ever heard in my life. We got out, and the troops were put into line for the attack, and the batteries placed on the line. I said: "General, where do you want your wires?" He said: "We don't want them here at all. I am going to send my message with those over here," pointing at his batteries. I went up to the Ohio Battery to see how men looked when they were in front of death. When I got up close to the guns, when they were firing, the men were pretty well smoked and faces covered with powder, but otherwise they looked the same as you do. That simply showed that it is all humbug this talk about being scared and how they feel. I do not know how dead men feel, but I know that live ones do not show any such signs as people have talked about.

Presently General [John Charles] Frémont came to join the army of
General Schenck. A very large force, something like 25,000 men were assembled there, and we proceeded towards Winchester. I was ordered to remain with General Frémont's staff, and on that staff was Colonel [James W.] Savage, who became Judge Savage in Omaha, who was a partner of General [Charles F.] Manderson for many years.

One night we stopped at a farmhouse, and I wanted to put the wires in direct communication. It was very dark and I went out; I hadn't got my counterwire. I was walking along trying to trail the wire. I soon had a gun right up in my face, and some one said: "Halt! Who comes there?" I said: "A friend with the countersign." He said: "Advance and give the countersign." I advanced. The fellow grabbed me by the collar. I said: "I have no countersign." So he dragged me along to the campfire, not the kind we get up here, and the staff officers recognized me and said I was all right. I presume if I had made any motion to get away, I would have been bored through with a bullet or a bayonet. I finally marched down back by way of Marfield, and the army deployed from there and got away from the telegraph lines.

Among the twelve messengers who carried messages for me was an Indian who had been brought from California and who accompanied the General [Frémont] through his campaigns. We found that there were about 300 gorillas surrounding the place, and we expected every night we might have an attack. There was only one company of infantry stationed at the place, so I arranged with my messengers or cavalymen, [since] there was only one roadway through the middle of the town, and we knew that that was the route that the gorillas would have to come, and we had a wire strung across the road between the two houses and the cavalymen in the upper story, so we would have a chance to fire at them. After General Frémont's campaign was over, I had orders to report at the War Department in Washington.

My experience later on was in the field with a different army and more extensive operations. We received so many reports at Washington that General [John] Pope was a great fighter, [that] when he was made commander of the Richmond forces I was anxious to go with him. I was assigned to the staff of General Pope and made the campaign with him from Warrenton to the Rapidan and back. I did all the telegraphing from the Second Battle of Bull Run for three days and three nights. There was a relief of operators who were always with the staff, but they kept going
and coming. I was practically pinned down there and remained there during the battle. And after the battle, the last thing that was done was to open a telegraph office in a boxcar standing on the tracks. On account of my residence in Alabama, I was taking very great risk. The proclamation of Jefferson Davis ordering all persons not in sympathy with the Rebellion to leave the Confederate states placed me in the position of a disloyal Southern citizen. And although I left Alabama soon after that proclamation was issued and located in Tennessee, Tennessee seceded while I was in Nashville, and I made up my mind not to be captured, as I was known to all the operators in the Southern country.

There were a great many operators in that war that were constantly in touch with the army during all kinds of engagements. Before the Second Battle of Bull Run I was at Warrenton Junction, where General Pope had retreated to from the Rapidan, but we had changed our headquarters. About ten o'clock in the morning we were notified by the operator at Manassas that the Confederates were coming into that place, and we knew that the locomotives that had been running on the Alexandria Railroad had all been destroyed or derailed, and there was only one locomotive and a few boxcars standing at Warrenton siding. Nothing was done until 11 o'clock at night when one of the officers said that a reconnaissance was sent out and a member of the telegraph corps, which was myself, accompanied the reconnaissance. We started out with the locomotive and four flatcars and a boxcar. We made slow progress along the tracks. [Stonewall] Jackson had destroyed Manassas and burned all the bridges, and their army was in full possession in that vicinity. We could not work the wires.

As soon as daylight came, a battery of Confederate artillery began to open up on us, and the commander concluded we had better go back. We went back a few miles more and tried to open communication but could not, and when we returned to headquarters they were holding a general council of war, Generals [John] Pope, [Ambrose E.] Burnside, [Joseph] Hooker, and others. And when the commanding officer reported that he had seen a large body of cavalry and infantry and artillery of the Confederates, all in one large body, perhaps 30,000, General Pope said: "You are dismissed! It is nothing but a cavalry raid." So the opportunity was lost to permanently check the advance of Jackson.

The next morning I was following [General] Fitz-John Porter in his famous march. You have probably read in history that Fitz-John Porter did
not obey orders. I do not think he was in any condition to obey orders. I never have believed it. The whole country was covered with wagon trains. More than ten thousand wagons were going in every direction on roads that were good and not good. The wagon drivers were all crushing [each other]. Stonewall Jackson was driving them from one way, and we from the other. No one can get an idea of the terrible excitement and commotion. It was my impression at that time that if Fitz-John Porter had attempted that before daybreak, he would have been compelled to destroy our wagon trains, or his army would have been scattered, so that he could not have done anything with them.

Work in the War Department was the next duty that I performed after the Second Battle of Bull Run. I was stationed in the War Department ten months. It is strange that during the entire Civil War there was no wire in the White House. The President was obliged to go to the War Department, which was across the lots, perhaps two hundred yards away from the White House. He was obliged to go there to get his dispatches, or wait until they were delivered to him by cavalry men who were acting as messengers to the War Department. Lincoln had to be at the War Department from eight o'clock in the morning until evening, reading dispatches and giving directions. The old War Department was a three-story building that was not as large as this building, and was also occupied by the Navy Department. And in that comparatively small building, which is not one-fifteenth as large as the present War Department, the greatest war of the age was commanded and ordered, and the operation and movements started out their orders from that department. And the Secretary of War himself, William [Edwin] M. Stanton, who was probably the greatest War Secretary we ever had or ever will have, with his own hand he wrote out in a big bold hand every dispatch. There were no typewriters or stenographers. It was all done by each of the departments writing their own messages. So did the President. Sometimes the President stood behind the operator and directed him verbally what to say, but as a general thing he wrote his messages. We had manifold books for every one of the departments in the War Department. We kept letterpress copies of all the telegrams received by the Army and Navy Departments.

I do not know that I have given you just what you expected, but I have endeavored to throw some light upon a subject that has been more or less misunderstood. During the Virginia Campaign, while I was attached to
General Pope's staff as a telegrapher, I carried the countersign for the whole army in my inner pocket for a week at a time. I do not think it was good tactics to take a young man twenty one years of age, and give him the countersign for the whole army, but it shows the confidence that was reposed in the operators.

The ciphers were made to convey intelligence that could not be readily understood unless they had the key. The corps commander or any other commander of the entire army could not decipher. The cipher operator alone had the key that would unravel the puzzle, and upon him they had to depend to get the more confidential communications between the War Department.

One time I very nearly got into trouble over a cipher when I was at Warfield [Marfield?]. One day I received a cipher dispatch and had no other message, so I amused myself trying to find out what it meant. I read the cipher and concluded that there was a mistake in it, and I wired back and said: "Have the wire repeated, there is a mistake in it." Immediately the Superintendent of Telegraph came to the key himself and said: "Who gave you the cipher?" I said: "I have not got any." He said: "It is not true, the Lord Almighty could not undo this thing unless he had a key." I said: "I am not the Lord Almighty, but I know I have found a mistake in this paper." He said: "I will have to report you to headquarters. We cannot tolerate anybody that can decipher messages." They had discovered the mistake and transmitted it correctly.

The ciphers used in the early stages of the war were discharged [changed] later on. The first ciphers were comparatively simple, but later they worked out ciphers by having arbitrary words and letters mean whole sentences sometimes.

There was a mysterious bond of community between the different telegraph companies during the war. All the telegrams were censored. The head censor was Edwin Sanford, president of the Adams Express Company. It was a singular thing that the government of the United States had to have the president of the Adams Express and Telegraph Company to censor the dispatches; that nobody else was so trustworthy. It was the same as when they turned over these military lines to these telegraph companies. The order was issued by Thomas T. Eckert, Assistant Secretary of War, and in less than a year and a half, Thomas T. Eckert was president of the Western Union, a mere incident, of course,
but it was a very singular transaction. [Eckert was not president of a telegraph company till 1875 and of the Western Union Telegraph Company until 1892.]

* * *

*The following three notes are abstracts from letters written by young Rosewater in 1862 when he was a telegrapher in the War Department in Washington.*

Washington, D. C.,
September 2nd, 1862.

I hope General [George B.] McClellan will be able to straighten things up [after the defeat of the Second Battle of Bull Run]. After all these Generals are very common men. I have seen most of them. They take things very easy, much more so than old Abe. The President gets up early in the morning and walks to the telegraph office right off to hear the news and sometimes asks all kinds of questions over the wires.

* * *

War Department,
Washington City, D. C.,
September 18, 1862.

Since writing you last I have been working in the War Department Telegraph office. It is upstairs in the War Department. The operating room was formerly the library of the Secretary of War, whose office is opposite ours. The room has carpets and eight marble and four mahogany small size tables, with an instrument at each table showing twelve lines entering into the office. There are eight operators. The President, Secretary of War, and General [Henry W.] Halleck come in occasionally. The President every morning about eight o'clock comes in to read the dispatches, which are copied into books. His house being next to this, he is here often. Last Sunday he was in all day [during the Battles on South Mountain, Maryland]. With his white satin slippers, common black suit, and spectacles on, he looks queer, comes in and asks operators all kinds of questions. Sometimes he tells an anecdote or reads a story aloud and laughs (you could hear him half a mile). Well, so much for old Abe.

* * *
United States Military Telegraph,
War Department,
Washington, D. C.,
January 3, 1863.

New Years is a grand Gala Day here for officials. The President's levee is the occasion for show of epaulets, cocked hats, gilt buttons, by our army and navy officers, and grand crosses and ribbons, stars and fine equipages by the foreign ministers. Then comes the common crowd, among them your humble servant (not from curiosity for I had seen and spoken to the President before), all jammed against the White House. Fine dressed ladies with children and babies, old men, young men, young misses, and beaus all try to get a shake at Mr. Lincoln's hand, and I guess after standing in the middle of the room from 11:00 to 2:00 P. M., he must have been glad to put his hand in his pocket. He looked pleasant for the occasion, his whiskers cut short, and said: "How do you do?" to this one, "How is the baby?" to that one, etc. The weather was very pleasant, cold, and clear. Have had no snow for three or four weeks. Mrs. Lincoln being in mourning did not attend the levee.
The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the American Jewish Archives

This issue of the *American Jewish Archives* is subventioned in part by The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the American Jewish Archives, and is intended to serve as a memorial to Abraham and Emma Neumann, under the terms of the will of their son, Sidney Neumann of Philadelphia, who died at the age of eighty-four on February 5, 1956.

Sidney Neumann was a modest, self-effacing son of the House of Israel. A lifelong member of Reform Congregation Kneseth Israel of Philadelphia, he was a loyal and devoted friend to three generations of its rabbis. Inspired in childhood by the eloquence of the dynamic personality of a member of the first graduating class of the Hebrew Union College, Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, Sidney Neumann always felt a special bond of gratitude to the seminary whose graduates ministered to him and to his family. Although he never visited the College, he revered its meaning in his own life and in the life of American Jewry. A bachelor with no human ties beyond the friendship of a few devoted souls, he sought in his bequest to support those aspects of American Jewish life, both in Philadelphia and elsewhere, which best exemplified the ideals and aspirations of his teacher, Rabbi Krauskopf, and which harmonized with his own concept of that which is permanent and enduring.

In his will, therefore, Sidney Neumann bequeathed the fruits of a lifetime of hard work to the institutions which he respected and loved: the congregation to which he and his parents belonged, for the building and maintenance of a chapel; the National Agricultural College (founded as the National Farm School by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Philadelphia Home for the Jewish Aged; the Jewish Publication Society of America (co-founded by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Lucien Moss Home of Philadelphia; the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia; the Hebrew Union College and the American Jewish Archives—for scholarly publications. All these, in addition to some modest bequests to many other institutions and to a number of individuals.

It is noteworthy that these generous gifts were not meant to perpetuate his own name, other than through the recitation of Kaddish for him in the Kneseth Israel Temple and the Chapel of the Hebrew Union College;
Sidney Neumann contributed these large sums so that an enduring memorial to his parents might be assured.

We, of the American Jewish Archives, therefore, take pride in saluting the spirit of Sidney Neumann with this issue of the American Jewish Archives dedicated to the memory of his parents, Abraham and Emma Neumann. Zeker zaddik librakah: the memory of the righteous will be a blessing.

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The American Jewish Archives
Cincinnati 20, Ohio
Beth Shalome was the first Jewish congregation founded in Richmond and in the state of Virginia. Its organizers fought in the American Revolution, but few of their descendants were in Richmond during the War between the States. Virginia Jews, like most other Southern Jewish communities, wholeheartedly supported the new government. An entry in the minute book of the congregation, dated September 6, 1863, indicates that $1,800 of synagogal funds had been invested in Confederate bonds, “a result which cannot be otherwise than gratifying to the congregation.”

Six weeks after this entry was made, the congregation assembled to discuss two items of importance: aid to impoverished residents of Richmond — Gentile refugees for the most part — and the consideration of a reply to slurs made upon the Jews of Richmond. The entries from the minute book referring to both these matters are reprinted here without further comment:

Richmond, Va., October 21st, 1863

At a special meeting of the K. K. Beth Shalom [“Holy Congregation of the House of Peace”] held this evening at the synagogue, Mayo Street, Present:

Jacob A. Levy, president
Lewis Hyman, treasurer
George Jacobs, sec. pro. tem.
E. Goldsmith
Isaac Schriver
Jacob Ezekiel
Jos. Cohn
M. [oses] Moonshine
Julius Krakar

The president stated that he had called the meeting for the purpose of presenting a communication from the K. K. Beth Ahaba [“Holy Congregation House of Love”] requesting us to co-operate with them in calling a meeting of the Israelites of the city.

The following communication was read and, upon motion, duly received:

“At a meeting of the congregation, Beth Ahaba, held on Sunday, October 18th, 1863, the following resolutions were adopted:
Resolved 1st. That, under existing circumstances, it would be very appropriate that all the Israelites of this city hold a mass meeting to take in consideration the condition of the poor, and to find means for alleviating their suffering. Also, to consider such other matters as may be brought before the meeting, to vindicate our character as Jews and good citizens, which has been repeatedly and grossly assailed in public prints, etc.

2nd. That a copy of the above be sent to each of the other Jewish congregation[s] of this city, respectfully inviting them to co-operate with us in the above-mentioned purpose. [There were three synagogues in town: Beth Shalome, Beth Ahaba, and Keneseth Israel.]

3rd. That our president be respectfully requested to call personally on his brother presidents to ascertain if our views meet their approbation, and, if so, to arrange time and place of meeting at as early a day as possible.

Very respectfully,

(signed) Isaac Hutzler
Sec. K.K.B.A.’’

To
Mr. J. A. Levy, president,

etc. etc.

Messrs. Schriver, J. Ezekiel, and Jacobs were appointed to prepare something for the action of the meeting, and after retiring for some time, they reported the following, which, after some debate, were unanimously adopted.

Resolved I. That, as citizens of Richmond, we will join cheerfully in any endeavor to ameliorate the condition of the poor of the city, but think it unadvisable to take any distinct action as a religious body, unless an appeal is made to congregations of all denominations.

Resolved II. That whenever such appeal is made on behalf of the poor, this congregation will co-operate cheerfully with the other Jewish congregations of Richmond in raising contributions from the Israelites of this city for the purpose of carrying out such charitable design.

Resolved III. That while this meeting denounces the unfounded aspersions made against the Israelites of this city, and feel satisfied that the acts of our co-religionists can well bear the test of comparison with those of
any other denomination in this community for patriotism, charity, or freedom from selfishness; yet think the best and most dignified course to be adopted, will be to treat them with silent contempt, confident that the enlightened and unprejudiced do not join in this unjust crusade against our people.

Resolved IV. That a copy of the foregoing resolutions, duly attested, be forwarded to the K.K. "Beth Ahaba."

The meeting then adjourned.

George Jacobs  
sec. pro. tem.

* * *

The committee on raising contributions on behalf of the sick and wounded soldiers made the following report which was received.

Richmond, Va., January 31st, 1864.

To the President and Members of the K.K.B.S.:

The committee appointed at the last meeting to raise a subscription from the Israelites on behalf of the sick and wounded soldiers beg leave to report that, in conjunction with the Reverend M. J. Michelbacher, they raised the sum of two thousand and three dollars ($2,003) which was handed over to Messrs. Swan and Heiskell to be appropriated to the necessary object. The correspondence on the occasion was published in a city paper and has doubtless been seen by most, if not all, of the members of this congregation.

Respectfully submitted,

George Jacobs  
On behalf of the committee

Just Off the Press

The American Reaction to The Mortara Case: 1858–1859

by Bertram Wallace Korn

Monograph No. 2 of the American Jewish Archives
Secular Zionism has long been benefiting by the emotional response which its religio-historical terminology can evoke in the hearts of the pious. We have witnessed the irony inherent in a Jewish claim to Palestine, based on the Bible, and voiced by atheists to whom the Bible is no more than the national literature of ancient Israel. But the claim was calculated to impress particularly those to whom the Bible has never ceased to be the Word of God. Whether or not, therefore, one believes that Israel is the "covenant people" of God, whether or not one even believes in a God who made the promise which went into the making of the "Promised Land," it pays, in terms of sympathy and moral support enlisted from the outside, to represent the modern Zionist endeavor as but a latter-day installment of biblical Heilsgeschichte, and to demonstrate the historic continuity of Jewish settlement and achievement in the Holy Land. The very name which was chosen for the new state, "Israel," is indicative of this frame of mind. (It may be said, in passing, that the indiscriminate application of this name to the land of Palestine in all periods of Jewish history tends to be confusing. Surely, it would help to distinguish between Canaan, the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, Judea, Palestine, eretz yisrael, and the modern State of Israel. Yet it is precisely such a distinction which would run counter to Zionist propagandist aims, and to the intention of the kind of book which is reviewed here.)

Israel: Its Role in Civilization is a collection of lectures and addresses given under the auspices of the Seminary Israel Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The contents range from a discussion of the Dead Sea Scrolls and their bearing on the Masoretic Text, contributed by H. Louis Ginsberg, to an attempt by Carl J. Friedrich at fitting the existence of the State of Israel into a kind of Hegelian philosophy of history; from Morton Smith's interesting historical insights into the sectarian divisions of first-century Judaism, and Saul Lieberman's scholarly, but eminently readable, study of "Jewish Life in Eretz Yisrael as Reflected in the Palestinian Talmud," to David Ben Gurion's frankly propagandist piece on "The Spirit of the New Israel," and the thread which keeps the book together is the fact of Israel's physical existence, the pinpointing of
SIDNEY NEUMANN
1872-1956
(see p. 139)
BETH SHALOME
The First Synagogue in Richmond, Va.
(see p. 141)
the territory in which all these things have happened, are happening, and are expected to happen in the future.

William F. Albright, drawing analogies from a previous Restoration, speaks in terms of "prophecy fulfilled." Salo W. Baron is careful to point out the differences between the Second and the Third Commonwealths, in addition to their more obvious parallels. Yehuda Leo Kohn writes about "The Emerging Constitution of Israel," describing the conditions responsible for Israel's preference for a gradually emerging, rather than an a priori, constitution. And speaking of constitution, we have to single out the late Hayim Greenberg's very topical and earnest plea for the separation of Church and State. Greenberg's study is informed by a profound spirit of piety, and by a clear perception of the limitations of the state's power vis-à-vis the individual. Conscious as one is of what has happened in this sphere of late, one is painfully aware of what the loss of Hayim Greenberg means both to the Zionist movement and to the forces of liberal religion. We can only hope that his memory, so movingly kept fresh by Rose L. Halprin's "Dedicatory Preface" to this volume, will continue to be a source of blessing to those who consider themselves Greenberg's followers and co-workers.

With all the criticism which can be leveled against the current relationship between Church and State in Israel, one may yet agree with Jacob Robinson, who, on the basis of a thorough investigation of the political situation among Israel's Arab neighbors, comes to the conclusion that Israel is "A Democracy in an Autocratic World." Martin Buber, in "Character Change and Social Experiment in Israel," sets much store by the newly evolved Jewish type of the halutz. Perhaps it is because of Buber's desire to pit the "utopian socialism" of Jerusalem against the compulsory socialism of Moscow that he tends to overlook the fact that much of the "idealism" of halutzim was merely a case of making a virtue out of a necessity. Now, with its primary purpose achieved in the creation of the state, it is gradually losing the aura originally associated with it.

Milton Katims, the conductor of the Seattle Symphony Orchestra, describes the musical enthusiasm of the people in the new state, and he ventures the interesting psychological observation that some of this enthusiasm might be attributed to the pride which the Israeli Jew feels in being able to act as "host" to the classical music of those countries in which he but recently was a guest. Mordecai Narkiss, of the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem, discusses "Trends in Israeli Art," and warns that "everybody who expects a special Judaism in the art of Israel will be disappointed."
Professor Selig Adler offers us both wealth of detail and an understanding of general trends in his discussion of the "Backgrounds of American Policy toward Zion." Beginning with the biblical outlook of the Puritans, he shows how, later on, there developed an opposite trend in the universalism of Tom Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. But though the Christian theological "Zionism" ultimately gave way to more practical and mundane considerations, the persecution of Jews in Russia, at the end of the nineteenth century, "pricked the American conscience," and a climate of opinion came into being which was favorable, on the whole, to the development of American Zionism. (The reader can find the practical results of this, as applied to Jews, in Alexander Bein's study on "American Settlement in Israel.") Adler discusses the policies of Woodrow Wilson and of Harry S. Truman, and he shows how the latter's sympathy with the Zionist cause made him leave "the diplomats holding the bag," and ignore the spokesmen for the oil companies, and those members of the State Department personnel who made anti-Zionism part of their "careers." It would be interesting to see how Adler interprets the subsequent history of American policy toward Zion.

In view of the fact that the Christian love of the Bible is repeatedly brought into the discussion as a contributing factor to America's sympathy with Zionist aspirations, we understand why two separate articles dealing with this aspect are included in this volume. Howard Mumford Jones writes on "The Land of Israel in the Anglo-Saxon Tradition," and demonstrates how "throughout literary history Palestine has been regarded by Britons and Americans as a land set apart, a land where anything might happen, whether in the way of wonder or in the way of terror . . . . Wonder and heroism, romance and a certain macabre quality, are parts of the shifting image." We may add that this trend is paralleled in Jewish life and literature, in a manner which only accidentally ties in with modern Zionist doctrine. We find it exemplified from the barren Jewish women who, throughout the centuries, went to Palestine in order to bear children, to such modern novels as Burla's Aliloth Akavya and Viertel's The Last Temptation, where the Holy Land serves as the mise en scène against which the solution of personal problems is unfolded, right down to the young American Jews and Jewesses who take their personal problems to the State of Israel in the hope of finding "adjustment" there. Naturally, political Zionism is able to "cash in" on this mystique of the Holy Land, just as it understands how to harness the "Anglo-Saxon tradition" to its own purposes.

The religious implications of this Anglo-Saxon tradition are spelled
out in greater detail in the study entitled “Zion in American Christian Movements,” contributed by Robert T. Handy. He concludes by saying that the background which he has traced in this study “should not be neglected in the consideration of Christian attitudes toward Jewish settlement in the Holy Land in the twentieth century.” But one wonders if the editor has realized that what emerges from this study is not at all grist for the Zionist mills. True enough, the Puritans and other American Protestants have a great love for Zion. But just as there is a modern school in biblical exegesis which wants to “demythologize” the Bible, so we find the American Protestant movements engaged for generations in the process of “delocalizing” Zion and Jerusalem. The Zion of which they dream and pray is not the geographical Zion located by the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Zion is the Church. It is the Kingdom of God. The “Promised Land” is the kind of society which the visionaries and pioneers would like to establish in the New World. It is all a case mutatis mutandis of Blake’s building “Jerusalem in England’s green and pleasant land.”

For obvious historical reasons, Jews will never be able to “delocalize” Zion so completely. But the “portable fatherland,” which has sustained Jewish life for the last two thousand years, has gone a long way towards making Judaism self-sustaining even in the absence of a physical Zion. When Gustavus Poznanski declared, in Charleston, S. C., a century ago, that Charleston was our Jerusalem and America our Zion, he may have somewhat overshot the mark, but not more so than have those Zionists who maintain, in the face of all the evidence to the contrary, that a real Jewish life is possible only in the physical and localized Zion.

There is, therefore, an unwelcome, and completely unnecessary, note of self-abasement in Louis Finkelstein’s address, “The State of Israel as a Spiritual Force,” when he says: “We at the Seminary regard ourselves and American Jewry neither as one of the foci of a great ellipse of Judaism nor the center of a circle, with only mystic connections with a similar circle surrounding Jerusalem. We recognize that we stand on the periphery of Jewish inspiration . . . . Yet always we turn to Zion not only in prayer but also in the hope of instruction. We gladly assume the role of amanuensis to our brethren who have been given the superior privilege of serving God and studying Torah in the land in which both were uniquely revealed.”

Of course, we can understand why Finkelstein speaks the way he does. He himself claims in his address that Conservative Judaism is “the first-born child of the marriage of Zionism and Americanism.” While the men who helped finance the Jewish Theological Seminary, and brought Solomon Schechter to this country, may not have seen it in this light, Finkelstein is
right in as far as it is true that the same kind of Jewish nationalism which has gone into the making of the Israeli State has also provided much of the raison d'être of Conservative Judaism, lacking as the latter has been in a theological formulation of American Jewish existence. But this humble yielding of Jewish spiritual leadership to our brethren in the State of Israel can only, in the long run, sound the death knell of American Conservatism, on the one hand, and lead to the resurgence of Gustavus Poznanski's "delocalized" Zion, on the other.

Again, Ambassador Abba S. Eban, in "Nationalism and Internationalism in Our Day," may make fun of the Reform belief in the Mission of Israel. But Professor Allan Nevins, in "The Future of Israel," can get quite apprehensive about the concentration of Jewish talent in the State of Israel. "This fact in itself cannot but reduce the exemplary cosmopolitanism so characteristic of the people. Vienna may never again have a Freud, nor Berlin an Einstein." Even in Israel itself, the hard practical work of political and economic pioneering may play havoc with the spiritual potential. "The danger is that men who follow Mr. Ben Gurion and such cultivated associates as Moshe Sharett will have no interest whatever in Spinoza, the Greek classics, and the values they represent. This is the greatest problem that Israel faces, and many in that country agreed with me that the solution is dubious."

We are confident that a solution will ultimately be found. But in the light of present-day realities we are dubious as to Dr. Finkelstein's wisdom in abdicating in favor of the Israeli State, just as we doubt the advisability of seeing the State of Israel — in spite of all the wonderful and "miraculous" things that have happened there — in terms of Messianic fulfillment, and just as we refuse to construe the course of Jewish history in the unilateral way which, at least by implication, is the underlying motif of the volume under discussion.

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

Jakob J. Petuchowski


The literature on Jewish education has been considerably enriched by Dr. Abraham P. Gannes' study: Central Community Agencies for Jewish
This volume is the first attempt at an evaluation of the objectives and functions of central agencies and is an important contribution to our understanding of the complex pattern of American Jewish education.

Central community agencies for Jewish education have been on the American scene for almost fifty years. During this half century American Jewry became increasingly aware that Jewish education is a community responsibility, that there are Jewish educational problems which cannot be solved by any single agency, but need the coordinated, cooperative efforts of all elements in the community. The first central agency, the Bureau of Jewish Education of New York, was launched in 1910 under the professional leadership of the late Dr. Samson Benderly. Since that time central agencies have been set up in forty communities, sixteen prior to 1930 and the remainder after that date.

Dr. Gannes traces the role which central agencies for Jewish education have played in the setting up of higher educational standards, the development of curricula, and the improvement of courses of study. The publication of texts, and the preparation of audio-visual aids, as well as other educational materials, have become an important function of the large central agencies. They have had a large share in stimulating teacher-growth, improving the status of the teacher, and making provisions for teacher education.

The development and expansion of the concept of “unity in diversity” traced by Dr. Gannes was first enunciated in 1926 by the late Dr. Leo L. Honor in his Omaha survey. According to this concept, Jewish life is diversified and divergent, and these diversities are represented in the organized school groupings. The central agency must serve all elements in the community which have a positive attitude to Jewish life. Each element must be helped to maintain its educational program on the highest possible plane, and should be encouraged to maintain its distinctive interpretation of Judaism and Jewish life. The “unity in diversity” concept holds that unity is essential and that uniformity is undesirable.

The writer affirms that in the foreseeable future elementary education will be mainly synagogal in sponsorship and character. The Talmud Torah will continue to lose ground, while the synagogue will recognize its communal responsibility and admit children of non-members. The all-day school will, in all likelihood, increase in numbers and grow in influence in the area of intensive education, but it will serve only a small minority of the Jewish child population.

“The central educational agency will be charged, in the main, with the responsibility of providing general supervision, administrative and educa-
tional services. In addition, it will be functional in the areas of secondary education, adult education, parent education, educational camps and teacher education (particularly in those communities where there are no teacher training institutions).

"Thus, taking into consideration current trends in Jewish life and community organization, as well as those in Jewish education, the writer proposes a community system of Jewish education consisting of two interrelated parts: experimentation and educational services. This in turn may be subdivided into administrative, financial and educational activities."

The chapter headings of the book give a fairly clear outline of its contents. The first chapter deals with the forces which led to the establishment of the central educational agency. The changing concept and pattern of the central educational agency are dealt with in the second chapter, while the third discusses activities and achievements. Chapter Four details the structure and organization, affiliation and finances. The concluding chapter outlines the author's conception of a program for a community system of Jewish education. To those seeking to establish a central communal system and to those wishing to evaluate what they now have, this chapter should be especially useful.

Copious notes at the end of each chapter, an exhaustive bibliography, and the thirteen appendices containing historical materials are assembled from many sources, published and unpublished, and add immeasurably to the value of this volume.

Cleveland, Ohio

NATHAN BRILLIANT


This book of Will Herberg's deals with sociology.

Several of Herberg's previous publications which I have read dealt with theology. With two of them I have become very well acquainted. I have a greater regard for the earnestness of Herberg's theological intent than for his achievement. To put it plainly, I cannot take him seriously as a theologian. Too many gaps appear in his knowledge; he picks up and parrots phrases without persuading me that he understands correctly or fully that which he has picked up or that which often he reproduces.

In the present work, however, I find him on quite solid ground, and his
He sets himself the task of confronting the current wave of religiosity in the United States and of explaining its character and its context. Herberg's main thesis is that the present generation of Americans is "third generation"; and in accordance with "Hansen's Law," "what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember." By applying this thesis to a sociological survey of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism in America, Herberg sets forth some of the reasons which account for the simultaneous growth in our day both of religion and of "secularism," since both "cherish the same basic values and organize their lives on the same fundamental assumptions — values and assumptions defined by the American Way of Life."

The portion of his thesis which deals with "third generation interest" seems to me completely valid for Judaism. I have personally had little adult contact with Roman Catholics, but having lived in New Haven for about four years, I believe that I can recognize some of the aptness of Herberg's argumentation as it would relate to Catholics of Italian, Polish, and Hungarian origins, that is, Catholics of relatively recent American residence. But my experience on the faculty of an interdenominational Protestant divinity school (Vanderbilt) makes me think that Herberg fails to distinguish between recent immigrant groups who are Protestant and the bulk of American Protestantism. I have the feeling that a broader scrutiny of Protestantism would lead to the need of modifying, or of rejecting, his main thesis.

Yet it is not of great moment whether Herberg's thesis is right or, as I believe, only partly right; it does not matter even if his thesis is totally wrong. In presenting the case for this thesis he says very many illuminating things about religion in the United States with clarity and with insight, and with a fine sense of balance. Some of his observations are quite naturally those that others, too, might make; yet often there is in his discerning analysis a special character which reveals the thoughtful and searching nature of his examination. This is especially true in his depiction of the suppositions about the inherent American character of Judaism in the eyes of American Jews. Therefore, this study is a welcome and admirable contribution to the understanding of the religious situation in the United States. The future historian will find Herberg's book a useful source for present-day religious movements.

Having begun with a derogation of Herberg's theological writings, I am loath to revert to them, but one more point needs to be made. His Judaism
and Modern Man was written, in my judgment, turgidly and heavy-handedly. This book, on the other hand, is vivid, and segments are often even exceptionally well-handled. In the former book, I had the sense of reading an author who was trying desperately to convey that which still eluded his grasp; here, however, I sensed that the author had well-understood and well-distilled material completely in his control.

Did his book need a particular thesis? Does not the thesis act as a Procrustean bed? Would it not have been an even more forceful book by simply being an exposition and an explanation?

I look forward with pleasant expectation to further such studies from Herberg.

Hebrew Union College-
Jewish Institute of Religion

Samuel Sandmel

Brief Notices

ALPER, MICHAEL. Reconstructing Jewish Education. New York: The Reconstructionist Press. 1957. xii, 156 pp. $3.00

This work on Jewish education, published posthumously, deals with the principles of Reconstructionism as applied to Jewish education. Rabbi Alper was Instructor in Education at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York.


A biography of this American Zionist and poetess, who finally settled in Palestine.


This study deals with the various aspects of Jewish life in the metropolis of Portland since its founding in the 1860’s.

BELKIN, SAMUEL. Essays in Traditional Jewish Thought. New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. 191 pp. $3.50

These selected essays by the president of Yeshiva University reflect
the point of view of a distinguished protagonist of traditional Judaism. One study is devoted to Orthodoxy in America.


The material in this book is not exhausted by its title. There is an additional chapter dealing with American Jewish life as seen through the eyes of the correspondents of the European Hebrew newspaper, *Hamelitz*.


A brief history of the Jews and their institutions in the metropolitan area of Newark.


This manual contains five essays by the rabbi of Temple Israel, of Columbus, Ohio, who has devoted years of study to the subject of marriage counselling. It is intended as a gift book to newly married couples.


A study in anti-Semitism in the United States and in Europe for the period 1951 to 1955. It deals in some detail with the Fort Monmouth scandal and the Abraham Chasanow story. The authors are associated with the Anti-Defamation League of the B’nai B’rith.


This is a composite work dealing with the religious, cultural, and communal life of the American Jew. The authors of these essays are well-known scholars, competent in their fields. Although there is no chapter dealing with the American economic life, the Jewish labor movement is described in two separate studies. This is one of the better works published as a result of the renewed interest in American Jewish history during the period of the Tercentennial Celebration.


A brief history of Richmond Jewry, which, in the opinion of the author, had its beginnings in the seventeenth century.
HUEBENER, Theodore, and CARL HERMANN VOSS. *This is Israel—Palestine: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow.* New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. x, 166 pp. $3.75

A study of the Jews in Palestine since the days of the Patriarchs. The primary emphasis, however, is on Zionism and the rise of the new Jewish state, Israel. There is a section on Henrietta Szold, the American Zionist.


This issue is composed of a series of essays dealing with many aspects of American Jewish life. Most of the authors of the various chapters are distinguished scholars. Historians of the American Jewish scene will find these studies useful in their work.


A brief survey of the present-day Jewish community of Miami Beach, Fla.


These extracts from the personal letters of the distinguished American Jewish leader cover the period from 1899 to 1949. They throw a great deal of light on this religious and political liberal who played an important role on the Eastern Seaboard during the first half of the twentieth century.

ROY, RALPH LORD. *Apostles of Discord.* Boston: The Beacon Press. 1953. xii, 437 pp. $3.75

This study deals, in part, with organized bigotry and anti-Semitism in the United States.

SAMUELS, CHARLES and LOUISE. *Night Fell on Georgia.* New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc. 1956. 222 pp. 25¢
The story of Leo M. Frank, the Jew who was lynched in Georgia in 1915. This paper-bound book throws a great deal of light on the religious and racial hatreds in the South that made this crime possible.


Rabbi Abraham I. Shinedling, who is associated with the American Jewish Archives, has painstakingly assembled the material that went into the writing of the history of the Beckley Jewish community. A work of this type is useful because it reflects the variegated types of activity which occur in the smallest of Jewish communities today.


This book contains a series of biographies of Jews who have played some part in the development of America. Converts to Christianity are included. The material is arranged chronologically, ending in 1865 with the story of Edwin De Leon, the Confederate agent.

Solomon, Barbara Miller. Pioneers in Service. Boston: Court Square Press, Inc. 1956. xiii, 197 pp. $3.00

This very interesting and useful study of the Federated Jewish Charities in Boston is preceded by two chapters dealing with the history of the Jewish philanthropies in Boston since 1840.

Weitz, Martin M. Year Without Fear. New York: Bloch Publishing Company. 1955. 159 pp. $3.00

Brief extracts from articles, essays, sermons, and poems written by the well-known rabbi of Atlantic City. Some of the material, such as "Chassidim" in Colorado, is of interest for the American Jewish historian.


This work is a defense of Harry Dexter White, who died of a heart attack three days after he testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee on August 13, 1948. It touches on Whitaker Chambers, America’s attitude toward China, and other matters.
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