

“Ganstown, U. S. A.” — A German-Jewish Dream

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Jews residing in German-speaking countries during the eighteenth century had no organized representative body for the management of their common interests. This was so partly because no effective central government existed, and partly because the Jews themselves lacked broad education and information. A kind of *Herdentrieb* — a herd instinct — led them to cast roots, economically and spiritually, in their German surroundings. The small intellectual Jewish élite, represented by Moses Mendelssohn and his pupils, fostered this process indirectly, through the intermediary of noble-minded Gentile publicists like Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, Jakob Mauvillon and the Comte de Mirabeau, all of whom favored integration of the Jews into the European body politic, rather than their continued dissociation from it.¹

These same Jews were by no means ignorant of the existence of the American Colonies. Jewish residents of districts bordering upon the Rhine River could not have remained unaware of the systematic propaganda for emigration which William Penn and others carried on among persecuted sectarians such as the Mennonites. The Jewish intelligentsia, watching revolutionary stirrings in America, had the aid of its enlightened Gentile advocates in interpreting the American situation as a plea for speedy reform — *at home*.²

A biographical analysis of the few drifters of German-Jewish extraction who had reached the American shore in the course of the eighteenth century reveals that they had left their homes, in search

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¹ See Hanns G. Reissner, “Moses Mendelssohns Einfluss auf das grosse Weltgeschehen seiner Zeit,” *Gedenkbuch für Moses Mendelssohn* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 79-85.

² See Moses Mendelssohn's footnote about the Continental Congress, at the end of his *Jerusalem, oder, über religiöse Macht und Judentum* (1783), and the so-called “Memorial sent by German Jews to the President of the Continental Congress,” as interpreted by Hans Lamm in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society [PAJHS]*, XXXV(I (1947), 171 ff.

of better pastures, for Amsterdam or London; upon arrival there, they had been persuaded by local dispensers of charity, employers, or relatives to embark upon the transatlantic voyage.³

The political upheaval which took place in the wake of the French Revolution effectively barred Jews in Continental Europe from cultivating connections with their coreligionists overseas. Moreover, the spread of secular education and the active participation of a new generation in the Napoleonic wars strengthened their confidence in the prospects of civic equality at home.

Such was not to be the case as yet. A “Holy Alliance” of the victorious rulers emerged from the defeat of Napoleon. The new conception of a “Christian-Germanic” state and society excluded practising Jews, by definition, from significant engagement in public matters. The indebtedness resulting from the cost of financing the wars as well as from poor harvests provoked both an impoverished peasantry and the city mobs into anti-Jewish demonstrations.

A NEW LEAF

With a view to “helping where an emergency existed and deliberating about means whereby the deep-rooted malignancy could best be eradicated,” a group of young post-Mendelssohnian intellectuals met in Berlin for the first time on November 7, 1819.⁴ They constituted themselves a *Culturverein* — an association “for the improvement of the condition of the Jews *in* the German Federal State” (our italics).⁵ The new group later took the name “Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden.” Eduard Gans, who had convened the meeting, stressed as the Association’s primary objectives the creation of agricultural and other training institutions, and the abolition of rabbinical control.⁶ Moses Moser, who served as

³ See David de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone, Early Jewish Settlers 1682–1831* (New York, 1955), pp. 22 ff.

⁴ See Hanns G. Reissner, “Rebellious Dilemma,” *Yearbook II of the Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany* (London, 1957), pp. 179 ff.

⁵ This as well as the following data are from the official papers of the *Verein* — Part B of the Zunz Archiv — now in the possession of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem; photostats deposited with the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

⁶ The latter aspect, i. e., religious reform and the creation of a secular “Science of

secretary pro-tem, emphasized that the Association should discharge, as far as possible, those duties towards the Jews in whose performance the state was found wanting (“... *den Staat . . . nach Kräften zu ersetzen*”). Eduard Gans, however, pleaded, on February 19, 1820, that specific activities be deferred until the Prussian authorities would have sanctioned the Association's program. The meeting of March 11, 1820, charged Gans with the drafting of an application to this effect. An entirely new leaf was turned when, on April 30, 1820, member Gerson Adersbach offered a motion that contact be established “with Mordochai Noa [Mordecai Manuel Noah] in America, an educated, well reputed and patriotic man.”

Gerson Adersbach, who had joined the Association the previous week, typified in many respects the general mental and social background of the Association's recruits.⁷ He had been born in 1795 at Fraustadt, Prussian Poland, the son of the secretary of the local Jewish community and court translator.⁸ Educated at a *heder* (elementary Jewish religious school), at the local high school, at a *gymnasium* (college-preparatory school), and then at the Prussian State University in Halle an der Saale, Adersbach had graduated as an M.D. on January 11, 1819. During his University years, he had formed an attachment to old Dr. David Fraenkel, director of the Jewish primary schools in the neighboring state of Anhalt-Dessau. Fraenkel was the editor of *Sulamith*, the first Jewish periodical in

Judaism,” was stressed in all later analyses of the aims and achievements of the Association which, on July 5, 1821, became known officially as *Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden*. In contemporary parlance, *Cultur* meant the occupational and social aspect of a community. With this alone the present study is concerned.

⁷ The only previous literary mention of Adersbach which I have been able to find consists of four lines in Leopold Zunz, *Die Monatstage des Kalenderjahres* (Berlin, 1872), p. 48. Details of Adersbach's pre-American career, as given in the present article, were compiled from: (a) the *Curriculum Vitae* attached to his inaugural medical-psychological dissertation, *De Animi Alienatione e Venenis* (Halle, 1819), a copy of which is in the possession of the Armed Forces Medical Library, Washington, D. C.; (b) *Sulamith* (Dessau), Jahrgänge V-VI (1816-1820), copies of which are in the possession of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, and the Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati; (c) Moses Moser's letter to Immanuel Wohlwill of July 1, 1823 (unpublished, from the original correspondence file in the possession of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York).

⁸ Gustav Gottheil, late minister of Temple Emanu-El, New York, was somehow related to the Adersbach family; but the lines are not clearly drawn in Richard Gottheil, *The Life of Gustav Gottheil* (Williamsport, Pa., 1936), pp. 1-2, 13.

the German language, which he had founded in 1806. The aim of *Sulamith* was to raise the Jewish community to the level of contemporary European civilization. *Sulamith* had printed some of Adersbach's morality poems — of debatable literary value, but to us of documentary significance. Adersbach's Jewish New Year address, *To My People* (1816), had culminated in the admonition: "Be faithful to the country where you enjoy freedom of life and whose rulers honor the rights of man." Another of his poems, *To the Israelitic Soldiers who were Killed at Waterloo*, published in the spring of 1817, had voiced an ominous premonition that their supreme sacrifice could have been in vain. In the spring of 1820, on the eve of his entry into the *Culturverein*, Adersbach had dedicated a poem to Rahel Varnhagen (*née* Levin) "as a Purim gift," imploring her, who moved in court circles like the biblical Queen Esther, to help divert the "poisoned arrow" from its target, his — and her — people.

Fraenkel, a Berlin relative of the Gans family, presumably had introduced Adersbach to Eduard Gans and his circle.⁹ Adersbach's knowledge of Mordecai M. Noah and Noah's Jewish colonization project in the United States was derived, directly or indirectly, from a report which had appeared in the *Koblenzer Anzeiger* of July 2, 1819.¹⁰ In view, however, of the overoptimistic, wishful thinking of the majority of the Association's members, that the paternal cooperation of the Prussian government would be forthcoming eventually, Adersbach's motion to get in touch with Noah shared the fate of the other proposals, which were deferred until such time as the authorities would have recognized the Association.

IN A SETTLED LAND

In the meantime — as a result, in all likelihood, of Adersbach's continued efforts — Noah's colonization plan received additional

⁹ *Sulamith*, Jahrg. V, Bd. 2, Heft 2, p. 144, mentioned Eduard Gans, "a talented young man," as the recipient of the 1818 University of Göttingen stipend for a student of philosophy.

¹⁰ See Bernard D. Weinryb, "Noah's Ararat Jewish State in Its Historical Setting," *PAJHS*, XLIII (1953-1954), 170 ff.

publicity in the Jewish and general press in Germany.¹¹ During the summer of 1820, Adersbach left Berlin to try his luck in the medical profession in Italy. Noah's cause was taken up by Eliezer Simon Kirschbaum, a native of Sieniewa, Galicia. The twenty-four-year-old Kirschbaum, a student of medicine at Berlin University, was introduced into the Association by a Hungarian-born physician, Samuel Benisaia Schoenberg, on November 24, 1821. In the meeting of December 29, 1821, Kirschbaum moved that the Association communicate with Noah without delay, lest the American abandon his project for lack of response from Europe. After protracted discussion of the merits of the plan, Kirschbaum's motion was unanimously adopted. A week later, on January 5, 1822, President Gans moved that Noah be elected an extraordinary member of the Association. The following day, a letter, signed by President Eduard Gans, Vice President Leopold Zunz, and Secretary Moses Moser, was sent to advise Noah of his appointment as an extraordinary member and as "honorary correspondent for North America." A fortnight later, on January 20, 1822, Kirschbaum delivered before the "Scholarly Institute" of the Association a lecture in Hebrew under the title הלכות ימות המשיח (Laws Pertaining to the Messianic Era).¹² He employed talmudic phraseology to extol Noah's plan. In an erroneous interpretation of a work which had appeared in London during the winter of 1819-1820 — *Memoir addressed to Persons of the Jewish Religion in Europe*, by William Davis Robinson, a Gentile from Philadelphia — Kirschbaum pointed out that, according to the Federal Constitution, a minimum of 35,000 persons were permitted to establish a *state* of their own.¹³ Deeming this an attainable goal and

¹¹ See *Sulamith*, Jahrg. VI, Bd. 1, Heft 4, pp. 283-84; *Der Freymüthige in Deutschland* (which also published some of Leopold Zunz's contributions), May 8, 1820; *Jedidja* (Berlin), Jahrg. III (1820-21), Bd. 5, Heft 2, p. 281, and Bd. 6, pp. 139-41.

¹² Kirschbaum was bilingual; see his earlier *Sammlung einiger deutschen und hebräischen Dichtungen* (Berlin, 1820). His lecture הלכות ימות המשיח also appeared in print in Berlin, 1822, but did not become available to this writer. A detailed summary is given by Bernard D. Weinryb in a contribution to *Knesseth* (Tel Aviv, 1936), in Hebrew, under the title "Zionism among the German Jews during the period of Enlightenment."

¹³ Robinson had said (p. 39) that, preparatory to Presidential elections, "each state of the Union appoints . . . a number of electors . . . in the proportion of one member to every 35,000 inhabitants." In point of fact, and in accordance with the terms of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 (which was still in effect in 1822, but probably unknown

imagining Noah to be the originator of the plan, Kirschbaum summed up: “. . . and we will find a *state* for Israel in a settled land” (our italics).

Noah received the letter from Berlin (and published it, belatedly, in *The Albany Daily Advertiser* of October 4, 1825, as “evidence of the fact that . . . the Jews . . . abroad have been alive to the project”); but he did not acknowledge it, presumably because he had no concrete progress to report. The members of the Berlin *Culturverein* continued, however, to look forward to the eventual germination of the plan. Their emotional needs came to a climax after the issuance of a Royal Cabinet Order, dated August 18, 1822, which disqualified professing Jews from academic teaching positions. The letters of the poet Heinrich Heine, who had been inducted into the Association on August 4, 1822, a fortnight before the promulgation of the Cabinet Order, reveal, in retrospect, the hold that the emigration project had gained — temporarily — on him as well as on the entire fraternity. Heine coined, or at least he was the only one to record, the name “Ganstown,” linking the president’s name to the proposed collective center in America.¹⁴ Still three years later, he “dreamed” of a confrontation between Gans and Noah, charging Gans rather than Noah with the blame for the failure of the project.¹⁵

On September 15, 1825, Noah had issued from Buffalo, N. Y., his *Proclamation to the Jews*, summoning them to “Ararat.” German newspapers, too, featured it in considerable detail.¹⁶ Separately, Noah sent letters of appointment, as his Commissioners for Emigra-

to Kirschbaum), the normal prerequisite for the admission of a territory as a state was a minimum of 60,000 free inhabitants (information supplied by the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, to the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, U. S. Senate, on August 13, 1956, in answer to this writer’s inquiry).

¹⁴ See the letter to Moses Moser, dated Lüneburg, May, 1823, in Friedrich Hirth, ed., *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel* (Munich and Berlin, 1914), I, 221.

¹⁵ The letter is addressed to Moses Moser and dated “Hamburg den 23ten des Monath Gans 1826”; see Hirth, ed., *Heines Briefwechsel*, I, 410–11. For an interpretation of the complex emotional relationship between Heine and Gans, see Hanns G. Reissner, “Heinrich Heine an Eduard Gans: ‘Quand Même . . .’” in *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, X, 1 (1958), 44 ff.

¹⁶ See, in particular, *Die Staats- & Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, No. 174 (Nov. 1, 1825).

tion, to selected European Jewish notables, including three members of the Association — Eduard Gans and Leopold Zunz, both of Berlin, and Dr. William Leo-Wolf, a resident of Hamburg. But in the meantime, on April 20, 1825, Gans had declared the Association as being “de facto dissolved.”

Despite this collective disaster, some of the disintegrated Association's members continued to pursue, individually, the dream of a more dignified life, free from political fetters, across the sea in America. Adersbach, having survived an attack of encephalitis in Italy, returned to Berlin, but soon proceeded to the United States. He spent three rather lonely years from March 1, 1826, as a surgeon in Louisiana, partly under contract to the United States Army, partly in private practice in New Orleans.¹⁷ In an effort to regain his health, he left the city for the North on August 22, 1829, but succumbed to an attack of yellow fever eight days later at the age of thirty-six. As he directed in his will, the executors of his estate advised two former Association members in Berlin, and requested them to break the news to the family in Fraustadt. The message to the old father was to emphasize “that his son died without quitting the religion into which he had been born.”

THE LEO-WOLFS IN AMERICA

Dr. William Leo-Wolf, who in 1825 had been one of Noah's “appointees,” left Hamburg late in July, 1829, for Philadelphia. Like the younger Adersbach, Leo-Wolf hailed from an East Elbian family traditionally active in Jewish communal affairs. He was born in Altstrelitz, Mecklenburg, on or about November 25, 1780.¹⁸ Having

¹⁷ For documentation on Adersbach's American career, I consulted: (a) his personal file in the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; (b) *Registre du Comité Médical de la Nouvelle Orléans, 1816-1854*, p. 52; (c) his Will, dated Fort Jackson, La., April 10, 1827, filed in Vol. 4, p. 249, Civil District Court, New Orleans, La.

¹⁸ Biographical data, partly contradictory, on Dr. William Leo-Wolf were compiled from: (a) Johann Georg Meusel, *Das gelehrte Teutschland, oder Lexikon der jetzt lebenden Teutschen Schriftsteller* (Lemgo, 1812), XVI, 269; (b) Detlev Lorenz Luebker and Hans Schroeder, *Lexikon der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen-Eutinschen Schriftsteller von 1796-1828* (Altona, 1830), 2nd part, p. 705; (c) Adolf C. P. Callisen, *Medizinisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon der jetzt lebenden Aerzte, Wundaerzte, Geburtshelfer, Apotheker und*

studied medicine in Berlin and in Erlangen, Bavaria, Leo-Wolf acquired his degree on July 15, 1799. He then practiced medicine in Altona until 1815, and thereafter in nearby Hamburg. He was married in 1800, but his wife died in 1812. Seven of his children reached maturity.¹⁹ While in Altona, Leo-Wolf also held the position of “physician in charge of the hospital and the poor” for the local Jewish community. In Hamburg, in 1815, he cooperated in the establishment and, later on, in the activities of a medical association.²⁰ He was one of the four members of the executive board of the Reform “Neuer Tempelverein Hamburg” from its inception on December 11, 1817, until 1825.²¹ Together with six other members of the Hamburg *Tempel*, Leo-Wolf joined Eduard Gans’s Berlin “Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden” on November 24, 1821. His desire to emigrate to America had to be deferred until the education of his children was completed or at least materially secured.

Leo-Wolf’s eldest son, Joseph, finished his medical studies in Berlin in 1826. The following summer, a daughter, Sophie, married Gotthilf Moehring, a native of Danzig and a medical graduate of Berlin University. Shortly thereafter, Joseph Leo-Wolf and the Moehring couple left together for the United States. Joseph settled in New York, the Moehrings in Philadelphia. Another of Leo-Wolf’s sons, Ludwig (Anglicized to Lewis) Leo-Wolf, left for New York in 1828 and became a manufacturer of agricultural machinery. In the summer of 1829, the father, William Leo-Wolf himself, left for America in the company of his son Moritz (Anglicized to Morris), a medical graduate of Heidelberg, class of 1828, and of his nephew Ludwig (Anglicized to Lewis) Feuchtwanger,

Naturforscher aller gebildeten Voelker (Copenhagen, 1832), XI, 249, and (1842), XXX, 7; (d) Hans Schroeder, *Lexikon der Hamburgischen Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart* (Hamburg, 1866), IV, No. 2240.

¹⁹ Data kindly supplied by Jacob Jacobson, Worcester, England, from the Record of Births of the Jewish Community, Altona, and from William Leo-Wolf’s Will, deposited with the Hamburg Court.

²⁰ See Isaak Michael, *Geschichte des aertzlichen Vereins und seiner Mitglieder* (Hamburg, 1896), p. 309, *et passim*.

²¹ See David Leimdörfer, ed., *Festschrift zum 100 jährigen Bestehen des Israelitischen Tempels in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1918).

a native of Fürth and the recipient of a Ph.D. degree in pharmaceutics from Jena University, class of 1829. The youngest son, Georg(e) Leo-Wolf, did not complete his medical studies in Heidelberg until 1832; he left immediately thereafter for New York. William Leo-Wolf had two more daughters, who also emigrated with their husbands, but not to the United States.

In America, a strange change took place in the mental outlook of the Leo-Wolf clan. They had left Germany in the knowledge that, as Jews, they could expect neither political nor professional freedom at home. In the United States, however, they were received — and they acted — as representative products of a German university education. During his first winter in this country, Joseph Leo-Wolf wrote a sketch on “Medical Education in Germany” which *The American Medical Recorder* published with a flattering editorial introduction.²² The first issue of *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences* (which succeeded the *Recorder* in 1828) carried an announcement that Joseph Leo-Wolf and his brother-in-law, Moehring, “two talented German physicians . . . who are in correspondence with the most distinguished medical men in Germany,” would furnish “notices of every thing new and interesting in medicine that may be published in that country.” In October, 1830, Joseph Leo-Wolf participated in a “meeting of literary and scientific gentlemen,” convened by a “committee on behalf of the University of the City of New York.”²³ Joseph contributed a paper, “On the organization of a University,” in which he strongly recommended the German system of one single final examination.²⁴ New York University opened its doors in the fall of 1832; but a medical department, though an integral part of the original plan, was not established until ten years later.²⁵ By that time, Joseph Leo-Wolf was

²² (Philadelphia, April, 1828), XIII, No. 2, 481-90.

²³ See *Journal of the proceedings of a convention of literary and scientific gentlemen . . .* (New York, 1831). Joseph Leo-Wolf's paper is reprinted therein on pp. 247-56.

²⁴ Critical analyses of Joseph Leo-Wolf's recommendations were published, in particular, in the *American Quarterly Review*, XVIII (June, 1831); *American Annals of Education*, 3rd series, Vol. 1, Part 2 (1831); *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur*, No. 37 (1831).

²⁵ See Theodore Francis Jones, *New York University 1832-1932* (New York, 1933), p. 283.

gone. He had left New York with his wife and child aboard the *S.S. President* on March 11, 1841, for a trip to Europe.²⁶ The steamer sank en route; all aboard lost their lives.

Immediately after his arrival in Philadelphia, Gotthilf Moehring became a member of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft von Pennsylvania," a social and relief agency by and for people of German birth or descent, without distinction of creed. From 1831 to 1867 he acted as an honorary medical attendant to the Gesellschaft's protégés.²⁷ Joining the Philadelphia County Medical Society, he was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia in June, 1842.²⁸

Morris Leo-Wolf also settled in Philadelphia. He contributed professional articles to Philadelphia's *National Gazette and Literary Register*, excerpts from which were reprinted in medical journals in Germany. Like Moehring, he joined the "Deutsche Gesellschaft" and rendered medical assistance to its protégés until 1841, when he removed to New York, possibly taking over his late brother Joseph's medical practice.²⁹

THERE IS NO LACK OF GEIST

Lewis Feuchtwanger was perhaps the most colorful, but also the most problematic, member of the clan. Until his death in New York in 1876, he was active, at various times, as a pharmacist, as an importer and manufacturer of chemical and metallurgical products, and as a writer and collector on the side. He developed a metal alloy which he called "American Silver Composition." In 1834, 1835, and

²⁶ See the list of passengers in the *London Times*, May 13, 1841, and in *Hamburgische Oeffentliche Nachrichten*, June 8, 1841.

²⁷ See Oswald Seidensticker and Max Heinrici, *Geschichte der deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvania, 1764-1917* (Philadelphia, 1917), I, 177-78; II, 618.

²⁸ Letter from Walton B. McDaniel, 2d, Curator, Historical Collections, College of Physicians of Philadelphia, April 16, 1957, to this writer.

²⁹ Edwin Wolf, 2nd, and Maxwell Whiteman incorporated in their book, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1957), some — partly misunderstood — details on the various Leo-Wolfs, from previous correspondence with this writer, but have acknowledged his corrections in their letter to him of April 10, 1957.

1836, the American Institute awarded him silver medals for different articles cast from this alloy. At the height of the "Hard Times" economic crisis in 1837, he struck small currency tokens from the same alloy for his own store as well as for firms in New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati; they have since become collectors' items. On September 13, 1837, he petitioned Congress to adopt the "Feuchtwanger Composition" as a substitute for the copper currency of this country; however, this proposal was rejected, after due consideration, by the Director of the Mint.³⁰ Repeatedly Feuchtwanger started, exhibited, and sold mineralogical collections. His last was posthumously presented to the Ethical Culture Society, and now forms part of the collection at the Fieldston School in The Bronx.³¹

The head of the clan, William Leo-Wolf, practiced medicine in Philadelphia in 1829 and 1830, and in New York from 1831 to 1836. On the side, he wrote "Medical-Practical Notes from New York" for *G. & J. Heckers Literarische Annalen in Germany*. In 1835, his book, *Remarks on the Abracadabra of the Nineteenth Century*, appeared in New York. Its topic was Dr. Samuel Hahnemann, the controversial founder of homeopathic medicine in Germany.³²

Secure material circumstances notwithstanding, the old physician was unable, or unwilling, to adjust to the social climate of the United States. "*Es fehlt nicht an Geist, sondern an Gemüt*" — there is no lack of intellectual achievement, only of inner satisfaction — was his final verdict in a lengthy letter home.³³ He left New York on May 16, 1836, remarried at Hamburg the following spring, and lived peacefully until his death on April 26, 1850.

Though conceding personal defeat in his letter home, William Leo-Wolf had granted that America is "a paradise for agriculturists, craftsmen and all who, *despite their best efforts*, either *find no work*

³⁰ See Edgar H. Adams, "Dr. Lewis Feuchtwanger," *The Numismatist*, XXVI, No. 6 (June, 1913), 297-302.

³¹ Telephone interview with Augustus Klock, emeritus head of the Science Department, Fieldston School, The Bronx, October, 1956.

³² An abridged edition of the book, prepared by William Leo-Wolf's friend and future brother-in-law, Daniel Rudolf Warburg, appeared in German in Hamburg, 1836.

³³ See "Ein Schreiben aus New York vom 5. März 1832," *Neue Monatsschrift für Deutschland, historisch-politischen Inhalts* (Berlin, 1832), XXXIX, No. 2, 213-42.

at home or must starve with their families. . . . If I remain conscious at the moment of my death, the thought will console me that I leave my children in a country which does not force them to lie to themselves and to others . . . when they want to make proper and unrestricted use of the physical and spiritual gifts with which Almighty God has endowed them" (our italics).

The most faithful disciple whom William Leo-Wolf left behind in Germany was Immanuel Wohlwill, Ph.D., another veteran of the defunct *Culturverein*. Wohlwill, who became a member of the faculty of the "Hamburgische Israelitische Freischule," had bid Leo-Wolf adieu, on the eve of the latter's departure, with a poem whose last lines read:

*Grüsse mit fröhlichem Mut jenes beseeligte Land,
Wo man dem Himmel den Blitz, den Tyrannen das Szepter entrissen.
Jugendlich flamme Dein Herz, Hoffnung beflügle die Fahrt!*³⁴

On October 31, 1830, in a booklet entitled *Bemerkungen über den Standpunkt der Hamburgischen Israelitischen Freischule*, Wohlwill proposed (on p. 42) that the Freischule's curriculum be seriously oriented towards making the pupils fit for eventual emigration. In a letter to Moses Moser, on April 30, 1833, he acknowledged that William Leo-Wolf's presence in New York gave him "a pleasant opportunity, often and successfully, to recommend emigrants to North America."³⁵

The case histories offered in these pages seem to lead to the following conclusion: the individual struggle for adjustment overseas was different from the collective daydreams which had provided the original impulse to emigrate. The toll taken by the elements and the strain of advanced age was heavy. On the other hand, the impact of the new arrivals upon the adopted country was not entirely negligible. Since links with the old country remained strong, the experiences of those who made their way to America were eagerly interpreted by friends and correspondents in Germany, with a view to preparing future emigrants mentally and practically.

³⁴ The verses — which may be roughly translated: "Greet with happy disposition that blessed land, / Where the lightning has been torn away from heaven and the sceptre from the tyrant. / Let your heart flame with youth, and may hope give wings to the journey!" — were printed in *Die Staats- & Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, No. 122 (Aug. 1, 1829).

³⁵ Unpublished original letter in the possession of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.