

The German Jewish Mass Emigration: 1820-1880

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I. THE EUROPEAN SIDE

The German-Jewish emigration of the mid-1800's, roughly coinciding with the period of America's "old immigration" of West European peoples, embodied the highest aspirations of an entire Jewish generation. Nevertheless, it remained an incomplete historical process. Germany's rapid industrialization following her victory over France in 1870-1871 interrupted the process and reduced it to a mere trickle. In this way, two characteristic Jewish migrations crossed: the trans-Atlantic migration to America and the beginnings of an internal migration from small German communities to the cities and metropolises of the new *Kaiserreich*. The same factor which inhibited the trans-Atlantic emigration also induced the internal migration—the tremendous new opportunities available in Germany after her victory and unification in 1871. It was this factor, too, which stimulated the immigration into Germany of East European Jews; their coming was a consequence of German prosperity. As an aftereffect of these new developments, a considerable growth of the Jewish population in Germany resulted. To understand all this, however, is only to comprehend the aftermath of a historical process; it is not to understand the process itself. The importance of the process lies, of course, in the solutions which a generation sought and found intuitively from its own perspective for its own lifetime—and also in the consequences the process had for the growth of American Jewry.

The numerous monographs on Jewish communities in Germany do not treat the emigration process systematically at all, but tend rather to reflect it as a chain of remote reminiscences without

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permanent meaning.¹ This becomes understandable if we consider that all these monographs were written after 1870 and that they were designed to show the progress of post-Emancipation German Jewry and its economic rise in what was at the time believed to be a widely responsive German homeland. Historiography of any other type would have appeared double-faced to the authors of the monographs. They could not be fully pledged to the struggle for actual equality in post-Emancipation Germany and at the same time see some permanent good in the emigration process of a past which they believed so different from the "golden age" in which they themselves lived and wrote.²

¹ As a typical cliché of how emigration was dealt with in these monographs, we may take the following: "[Because of] the sad economic situation at the end of the Forties and the reaction of the Fifties . . . many young people of both sexes emigrated then . . . to the New World. Soon nearly every family had relatives in America and the emigrants kept close contact with the old homeland and transplanted its religious and national traditions to the New World. In this way, many of them became brave pioneers of Germandom in America" (Berthold Rosenthal, *Heimatgeschichte der badischen Juden* [Buehl, Baden, 1927], p. 360).

² Information on the facts of the emigration process is often given merely descriptively in newspapers and fugitive literature; see Rudolf Glanz, "Source Materials on the History of Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1800-1880," in *Vivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, VI (1951), 73-156. For the most part, such information is hidden in a mass of data scattered through or concealed in other sources, for example, lists of emigrants compiled at various occasions and for different reasons. Exclusively Jewish emigrants' lists of this type are, however, nearly nonexistent, though Aron Arnold Taenzer, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Jebehausen und Goepingen* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 89-90, supplies a list of thirty-two Jebehausen (Wuerttemberg) families which sent emigrants to America; on p. 90, he gives the names and years of emigration of thirty-three persons. According to Taenzer, p. 88, there emigrated from Jebehausen in the years 1830 to 1870 all in all 329 individuals, 317 of them to America. Such lists are valuable in the case of whole families emigrating together (on the same ship, for instance), but tell us nothing about the families of emigrants who came as individuals.

An entirely different list has been compiled in scholarly fashion by Adolf Kober, whose "Jewish Emigration from Wuerttemberg to the United States of America (1848-1855)," in *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XLI (1951-1952), 225-73, shows that altogether 640 Jews, registered by, all told, 380 administrative listings (*Auswanderungsakten*), emigrated from Wuerttemberg during the seven-year period covered in his study.

Emigration data in genealogical works, especially family trees, are exceedingly scarce, be they of German or American provenance. The fourteen volumes of the German periodical *Juedische Familienforschung*, with their many hundreds of genealogical tables and family trees, contain not a single date of emigration. Even Taenzer's *Die*

THE MODE OF EMIGRATION

While *post-factum* statistics record the results of emigration, only insight into the course of the whole process can reveal the true explanation of its importance. The circumstances which determine the mode of emigration, whether by family or individuals only, are the essence of the whole human problem. The size of the

Geschichte der Juden in Hohenems und dem uebrigen Vorarlberg (Meran, 1905), which supplies hundreds of family trees, gives only sixteen names of emigrants to America — without their dates of immigration (see pp. 689-90, 728, 730, 739, 741, 751, 759, 763, 769). This is the more remarkable because he states (p. 263) that, mainly due to this emigration, the number of Jews in Hohenems had diminished in the mid-1860's by nearly a half. Malcolm H. Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent: A Compendium of Genealogy* (Cincinnati, 1960), offers genealogical data on some 25,000 persons, mostly before 1840, but infrequently gives immigration dates: see pp. 11, 15, 46, 62, and 98.

Happily, considering their nearly complete absence in this kind of source, Taenzer's *Jebenhausen und Goepfingen*, pp. 288-89, supplies the family trees of 297 emigrants to America. Of these 297 names, 272 belong to the thirty-two big family-units (pp. 89-90) and twenty-five to additional family trees outside of these big units.

The contribution to emigration data made by individual communal and congregational histories in America is likewise negligible. Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917* (Richmond, 1917), bases years of arrival on petitions in which "intention of becoming a citizen" is declared in a few cases. Guido Kisch, *In Search of Freedom* (London, 1949), pp. 23, 55-56, 96, 105-6, 125, 138-39, 142-45, gives at least the year of arrival of a greater number of emigrants from Bohemia, but in no case elucidates the situation of the whole family for any emigrant.

Innumerable emigration data are scattered through many hundreds of biographical sketches of German Jews in America, contained in general, regional, or local biographical works. I have gone through many of them and dare to state that nearly none give a complete picture of the situation of the family of the emigrant who is the biographical subject. Of course, book-length biographies or autobiographies of individuals try to be complete in giving the whole family background.

All in all, only Kober's Wuerttemberg study and Taenzer's Jebenhausen-Goepfingen study are sufficient for our purpose of extracting a greater number of emigration data and enabling us to sift and order them from the viewpoint of scholarly research into the conditions of emigration in terms of the family and its surroundings. These sources both refer to Wuerttemberg. Taenzer's, on Jebenhausen, is purely local, while Kober's includes the whole kingdom. Kober notes, in the cases of 206 individuals, the assets they took with them as emigrants and their ages. Taenzer, however, says nothing about assets and never directly states ages, which can be computed only in cases where the year of birth together with the year of emigration is given. As to the scope of Kober's study: it includes altogether 640 persons from places in Wuerttemberg, seventy-one of them from Jebenhausen. Taenzer's Jebenhausen study includes 317 emigrants — though, of course, he covers a much lengthier period.

family, the ages and sexes of its children at the moment the first member of the family sets out for America, the order in which male and female children follow according to their birth dates — these are the most important human factors of the emigration movement. These factors must be considered if the pull of the first family-member to emigrate on those following is to be explained reasonably. This “pulling-after” of brothers, sisters, and other relatives is indeed the most significant feature of the German Jewish immigration to America.

To be sure, when the assets of a family are ample enough, its course of emigration is preferably to go as a family unit.³ For instance, the core of the emigrating family units in Jebenhausen, Wuerttemberg, was two sizable family-groups, the Arnolds and the Einsteins. Their fortunes were well known in the community. They comprised all together ninety-one (fifty-two plus thirty-nine) emigrants; sixty-six of them set out as entire families, and only twenty-five traveled as individuals. By contrast, most other families could enable their members to go only as individuals, at intervals determined by age, sex, means, or special circumstances (marriage, business partnership, or at least employment by a relative) in America.

Jewish emigration by whole families was generally handicapped in comparison with the emigration of non-Jewish German families. The cause may be found to a great extent in the occupations of the Jews — liquidating its holdings could rarely bring enough cash to move a whole family. On the other hand, diligent saving could at least provide for the starting out of the first family member. Non-Jewish German emigrants, however, were mostly peasants who, by selling their farmsteads, could realize enough to take a whole family. Planning by prospective Jewish emigrants had, therefore, to proceed above all on prudential lines. We find this confirmed by a comparison with the emigration of the Old Lutherans around the middle of the nineteenth century. A far greater percentage of them — some 75 percent — than of the Jews could afford to go

³ Kober, while giving us no notion of the family circumstances of the individual emigrant, shows us, nevertheless, where families emigrating as one unit are concerned, that these families had ampler assets.

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in whole families. The same percentage held true for those of rural employment among the Old Lutherans.⁴

FAMILY RELATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL EMIGRANTS

When we concentrate on individual Jewish emigrants — and it is on them that the dynamics of the emigration process depend — we discern the following types of family relationship:

1. *Brothers and Sisters.* Among the 207 individuals known to have emigrated from Jebehausen before 1870, twenty-nine family groups containing brothers and sisters were to be found. These family groups included altogether 107 persons.

2. *Brothers.* A further twenty-eight family groups included only brothers — eighty-one persons in all. The largest of these groups were made up of five brothers (there were four such cases).

3. *Sisters.* In addition, there were twelve family groups of sisters only, including thirty-eight persons. It is remarkable that, in one case, six sisters without brothers and, in another, four without brothers emigrated individually. Here we have a statistical indication that the New World's scheming mother was supplanted by the scheming sister. There were so many more sisters immigrating!⁵

THE SOLE EMIGRANT IN A FAMILY

Although brothers and sisters formed the backbone of individual emigration and their "after-pull" created the dynamics of the whole emigration process, the single emigrant in a family may, nevertheless, have been indicative of the situation of a Jewish family in Germany and may even have fulfilled an economic function by his emigrating. In cases where the only emigrant was a female, marriage is to be assumed as the purpose of emigration, and no other family problem is likely to have been solved by her emigration. This becomes clear if, for instance, only sisters who had married in

⁴ See Wilhelm Iwan, *Die Altlutherische Auswanderung um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Ludwigsburg, 1943), II, 98, and Tables IV and V.

⁵ We count eight family groups with only one brother and one sister.

Germany remained behind.⁶ A daughter as the first-born in the family may have solved her marriage problem by emigration and may not have been followed by any of her brothers and sisters. This seldom happened, however.⁷ It was extremely rare for the first-born son of a larger family not to draw brothers and sisters after him to America.⁸ Against cases without an "after-pull," cases in which the assumption of planning may therefore be excluded, stands the great mass of brother and sister emigrations planned to insure the order of emigration most advantageous for the whole family.

INDIVIDUAL EMIGRATION OF SINGLE FEMALES

The special case of the unmarried female emigrating as an individual has a special meaning from several viewpoints and therefore deserves special treatment. Our two sources — the Wuerttemberg studies by Adolf Kober and Aron Taenzer — rather complement one another in this respect and permit a fuller analysis of the problem. Kober gives forty-nine individually emigrating unmarried females. The number of such females, we find, increased from five in 1848 to thirteen in 1854, and then fell to nine in 1855. This would suggest that Jewish girls were in some demand as brides in America and that they saw a better chance to marry there. The assets they took with them were no doubt in the nature of a dowry.⁹

⁶ Taenzer, *Jebenhausen und Goepfingen*, p. 347: of the four children of Wolf Löwenstein, only Jeannette, the fourth-born (in 1845), emigrated.

⁷ See Taenzer, p. 301: of Samuel Lob Dörzbacher's four children, the eldest, Golies (born in 1813), emigrated, while two younger sisters married in Germany. On p. 289, Taenzer lists the five children of Loeb Adelsheimer: the eldest, Fanni (born in 1830), emigrated in 1854; the fourth, Roesle (born in 1839), married in 1878 in Germany; the second, third, and fifth were brothers who did not emigrate. See also p. 376: of Moritz Rothschild's five children, only the eldest, Rine, emigrated. The only sister, Roesle, the fourth-born, married in Germany.

⁸ Taenzer's *Jebenhausen* study uncovers, indeed, only two such instances. See p. 372: of Bernhard Rosenthal's five children, the eldest, Wilhelm, emigrated in 1871 and later lived in London. See also p. 379: of Judas Wolf Sontheimer's fifteen children, the eldest, Seligman (born in 1811), emigrated; the other fourteen died in early childhood.

⁹ In the case of Jettle Rosenheim (Kober, p. 256), marriage was explicitly given as

Unlike Kober, Taenzer gives the ages of emigrating single females only in a limited number of cases; we can also reckon their ages from their birth and emigration dates. Aside from two widows, one forty-two years old and the other sixty-six, only six of sixteen girls, all told, were over twenty years of age — which conforms with the early marriage-age of that generation. Similarly, the likelihood of marrying in America is also suggested by these data.¹⁰

Due to the marriage restrictions which the secular authorities imposed upon young Jewish males in the German territories of emigration, young Jewish females participated in the emigration fever from the beginning with the highest expectations. They had before them the examples of many engaged couples as well as the news of marriage ceremonies taking place on shipboard or immediately after arrival in America. There were numerous reports in the Jewish press of young girls traveling with groups of emigrants. Under such circumstances, help to emigrating Jewish girls was regarded by the Jewish communities of Germany as a direct help to the bride in the old Jewish tradition.¹¹

New economic possibilities were also reflected in marriages. A man might, in effect, marry into a new business by taking as his wife the sister of the owner. This was a frequent event, and it widened the existing family units as well as the associations from the old native regions in which all marital partners hailed from the same native districts. Numerous combinations for possible marriages overseas formed the substance of family letters back and forth, thus giving the feminine sphere in the New World new content.

her reason for emigrating. Her assets amounted to 1,400 fl. Generally, indeed, the assets of single females were much higher than those of single males, who might set out with as little as 100 fl., though on the average they took with them several hundreds of florins per person. Whole families might set out with no more than 1,000 fl., but generally went with several thousand.

¹⁰ See Taenzer, *Jebenhausen und Goepfingen*, pp. 299, 301, 306, 338, 343, 364, 368-71. For instance, of the four Rosenheim sisters, Therese (born in 1829) emigrated in 1859 at the age of thirty; Lotte (born in 1830) emigrated in 1859 at the age of twenty-nine; Henriette (born in 1833) emigrated in 1859 at the age of twenty-six; and Caroline (born in 1841) emigrated in 1859 at the age of seventeen (p. 368).

¹¹ *Der Orient* (Ellwangen, Wuerttemberg), May 11, 1846; *Juedisches Volksblatt*, VI (1859), 8.

In comparison with other emigrating peoples, the drawing power of the marriage instinct evinced by the young Jewish female was something of a peculiarity. A Gentile journalist made this observation at a time when German Jews were not yet numerous in America:

In consequence of the obstacles which the Bavarian government have thrown into the way of marriages among the Jews, by requiring the possession of a sum of money by the contracting parties, and a large fee for license, not less than nine couples of that persuasion, the men all mechanics, have arrived here [in America] to be married under our laws, and to reside here in future. The confidence and constancy manifested by the young women, in venturing across the ocean to a new world with their lovers, where Hymen's torch burns bright and free, is worthy the best days of olden time, when seven years was deemed light servitude for a good wife. One of the females is a capital engraver of visiting cards . . .¹²

FOLLOWING BROTHERS AND SISTERS

Only a small percentage of Jewish emigrants had the means and the opportunity to go as a family. Taenzer mentioned only twenty Jebenhausen families — eighteen men, two widows, sixteen wives, and seventy-six children, altogether 112 persons — emigrating as a unit. It is remarkable that seven of these 112 emigrants belonged to the big family unit of the Arnolds and four to the Einsteins. These two units included the majority of the family-emigrations and also of the individuals involved (fifty-nine).¹³ If we consider the thirty-two big family units whose total Taenzer gives as 317 emigrants, we find that 182 of them went as individual emigrants. In addition, further family trees outside the thirty-two units indicate twenty-five emigrants going alone, so that we have altogether 207 individual emigrants, all known to us by name. They formed the backbone, not only of the Jebenhausen community, but also of its

¹² *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (1836-1837), 37.

¹³ See Taenzer, *Jebenhausen und Goepfingen*, pp. 292-94, 307-8, 343. The proportion given in Kober is much greater. Of the 640 individual emigrants he lists, half went as families (sixty-three families all told). But the dominant importance of the individual (non-family) emigration appears in the fact that the remaining 317 administrative emigration records cover altogether 320 individual emigrants.

emigration, which in the course of forty years emptied the community of its people.¹⁴

Any consideration of the pull to further emigration of brothers and sisters may fittingly start with an exposition of the typical Jebenhausen Jewish family which contributed all these emigrants. Jewish souls there in 1828 numbered 440. In the years 1815 to 1839, sixty-four Jewish marriages had been concluded there. Their offspring amounted to 435 children, and they formed the backbone of the emigration from 1830 to 1870 (317 from the big family units plus twenty-five from other families — altogether 342). Although on the average only seven children fell to a family's share, there were actually numerous families where the blessing of children struck much more tellingly — two with sixteen children, one with fifteen, one with fourteen, one with thirteen, six with eleven, and eight with ten children. Such facts certainly emphasize the need to emigrate.

Taenzer supplies the names of the children of a family in the order of their birth. In most cases, their years of birth are known, and sometimes the month and day as well. In the few cases where no birth years are available, the order of birth is given by numbering the family-offspring. All this is necessary in order rightly to characterize respective categories — if there are such things as categories — or degrees in the influence of certain brothers and sisters in accordance with the order of their birthright.

The ideal case is where the son, as the first-born child, pulls all his brothers and sisters after him, as we see it in the case of the six children of Benedikt Abraham Rosenheim: the eldest, Ulrich (born in 1839), emigrated in 1856; the second, Bernhard (born in 1842), emigrated in 1852; the third, Moses Benedikt (born in 1845), emigrated in 1860; the fourth, David (born in 1847), emigrated in 1863; the fifth, Simon (born in 1849), emigrated in 1864; the sixth, Berta (born in 1851), emigrated in 1868.¹⁵ Equally important was

¹⁴ Towards the end of the Atlantic migration, the other historical process, migration from the rural communities to the cities, was already evident in Jebenhausen. New industries in neighboring Goepfingen absorbed the rest of the Jebenhausen community.

¹⁵ Taenzer, *Jebenhausen und Goepfingen*, p. 371. The three children of Simon Herz Rothschild are another case in point: see Taenzer, p. 376.

the case where a first-born son pulled his unmarried sister (or sisters) after him, and only married ones remained behind in Germany.¹⁶ There were many such cases in which the whole structure of the family was permanently formed in this manner, while second-born and even later-born sons are known to have drawn a considerable number of their brothers and sisters after them.¹⁷

But the role of the daughter as the first-born child in bringing brothers and sisters to America is even more conspicuous. Here marriage, as we know from memoirs and biographical sketches, served to help two families to emigrate. This is even more remarkable where there were only girls in the family. For instance, the six daughters of Samuel Solomon Massenbacher emigrated as single individuals according to the order of their birth: first, Hefele (born in 1822); then, Behle (born in 1824); followed by Esther (born in 1826), Elise (born in 1828), Marie (born in 1831), and Jeannette (born in 1834).¹⁸ The four children of Abraham Eaist Rosenheim emigrated, drawn by the first-born, a girl, in the following combination: first, Jentle (born in 1822) emigrated in 1844, then Madel (born in 1825) in 1844, Moses (born in 1830) in 1850, and finally Jettle (born in 1832), in 1851.¹⁹

In another combination, the three children of Abraham Bernheimer emigrated: Gudel (born in 1819), then Jakob (born in 1821), and finally Jeannette (born in 1824).²⁰

In other cases where not all the children — but, nevertheless, a considerable number — followed the lead of a first-born girl, at least the marriage problem of the sisters was solved by the act of emigration,²¹ or else they remained in Germany as married women.²²

¹⁶ See Taenzer, pp. 291, 294, 343, 380 (the Arnold, Lindauer, and Schiele families).

¹⁷ See Taenzer, pp. 368, 370, 375, 398 (the Rosenheim, Rothschild, and Lauchheimer families).

¹⁸ Taenzer, p. 350.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 298. There was also a sister and brother team (p. 317).

²¹ See Taenzer, pp. 300, 309, 356 (the Dettelbacher, Erlanger, and Ottenheimer families).

²² Taenzer, p. 344 (the Jakob Hirsch Lindauer family).

Remarkable, too, is the case whereby the only son in the family became free to emigrate through the marriages of all his sisters in Germany. This happened with the seven children of Benzion Rosenheim, six of them girls. The eldest five and the seventh married in Germany; Albert, the sixth-born, emigrated in 1866 at the age of twenty-one.²³

LATER EMIGRATION OF PARENTS TO THEIR CHILDREN

The later emigration of parents to join their children in America seldom took place. Usually, emigrated children cared for their parents in the old homeland by generous contributions to their upkeep, thereby making them carefree in their old age. This help was proudly stressed by the Jewish press.²⁴ That it was generally accepted that parents would remain in the old communities is seen from the pedagogical controversy about the usefulness of "*Juedisch-Schreiben*" (German written in the Hebrew alphabet) in the curriculum of the Jewish schools in Germany. Its proponents asserted that *Juedisch-Schreiben* offered parents the only possibility of maintaining a correspondence with their emigrated children.²⁵ Later parental emigration was usually a case of a widower or a widow who left following the loss of the spouse. Such cases in Jebenhausen did not differ from those reported occasionally in Jewish newspapers and biographical sketches of the lives of Jewish immigrants in America.²⁶

²³ Taenzer, p. 369.

²⁴ *Die Wahrheit* (Prague), II (1872), 47: "Simon Kraemer."

²⁵ *Israelitische Annalen* (1841), p. 155: "In our rural communities . . . there are still very many people who can neither read nor write German and can use only the Jewish-German (*juedisch deutsche Schrift*) for the purpose of their correspondence with their children living abroad."

²⁶ Taenzer, *Jebenhausen und Goeppingen*, p. 306: Baruch Einstein's widow emigrated in 1864 to join her three children in America. For other cases of widows, see Taenzer, pp. 317 (Lina Fleischer) and 318 (Rachele Frank). The case of a widower, Joseph Lauchheimer, who emigrated in 1865 to join his five children in America, is also recorded (p. 338).

II. THE AMERICAN EVIDENCE

Is there testimony on the American side to bear out what we learn about the structure of the emigrating Jewish family? Such testimony can be found only indirectly by assembling data given on different occasions and by drawing conclusions to support what can be observed from the European side. Although biographical sketches of immigrants do not usually treat the whole family, they often contain supporting details; most of them say something about the main feature of Jewish immigration being an immigration of brothers.

BROTHERS IN ECONOMIC LIFE

Much more is to be unearthed from the direct sources of American economic history, especially from business history. German Jewish business firms in America often bore names which included the addition "and Bros." or "Brother(s)." Legal principles lay down no such requirement. Firm names need only express an essentially true fact either in respect to their ownership *or* their activities. If a business concern is recorded as a brothers' firm, at least two brothers must have participated in the founding of the firm. Since there was no legal compulsion to indicate the brotherly relationship of the owners in the name of the firm, the will of brothers to publicize this relationship through the instrumentality of the firm's name is very significant.

German Jewish immigrants favored firm names indicative of fraternal relationships. They regarded this kind of name as a guarantee of the double responsibility of the firm's owners. Wherever the business directories give complete lists of the merchants of different branches, we find a much higher proportion of brothers' firms among the German Jewish names in the branches where German Jews concentrated, than among other names in the same branch and other name-groups in other branches of business. This, however, does not mean that there were not many businesses carried on by German Jewish brothers without any indication in the firm's name. Often the particle "*and Co.*" covered a brother younger than

the first brother, whose role as founder of the firm was to be stressed by giving his name only.²⁷ Often, too, the particle "and Sons" in the firm's name covered brother partners. Granting all this, the brothers' firm was regarded as typically German Jewish and as such became part of American lore: "Half the Jewish firms in America are brothers, business continues in a family and descends from generation to generation."²⁸

It enables us to gain a notion of the scope of German Jewish brothers' firms when we consider wholesale clothiers, a branch in which German Jews were everywhere most strongly represented even before the Civil War. New York in 1859 counted altogether 106 such firms, of which fourteen were brothers' firms, nearly all of them with typical German Jewish names.²⁹ In Cincinnati around the same time, seventy-nine wholesale clothing firms included fifteen brothers' firms, nearly all of them with German Jewish names.³⁰ The whole of Pennsylvania, in 1861, had altogether thirty-seven wholesale clothing firms, six of them brothers' firms, all with German Jewish names.³¹ Two out of eleven in Chicago during the late 1850's and four out of twenty-four in San Francisco during the early 1860's were brothers' firms.³²

²⁷ For instance, Ransohoff and Co., of Salt Lake City, described in 1858 by a contemporary as "the leading Jewish firm, who built the best stone store in the city," was a common undertaking of the brothers Nicholas Siegfried and Elias Ransohoff: see Leon Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah* (New York, 1952), pp. 126-27.

²⁸ *Deseret News*, XXI (1872), 396.

²⁹ *New York State Business Directory* (New York, 1859), p. 71: Bernheimer Bros.; Cohen Bro. and Co.; I. Elias and Brother; J. Epstein and Brother; Figel and Brother; R. Goldschmidt and Brother; D. H. Goodman and Brothers; Martin and Brother; Neubrick and Bro.; A. Rich and Brother; Scholle and Brothers; Schoolherr and Brother; J. Stamper and Brother; A. Strause and Brother.

³⁰ George W. Hawes, *Ohio Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1859 and 1860*, p. 624.

³¹ *Boyd's Pennsylvania State Business Directory* (1861), p. 319: Lauferty and Bro.; Reisenstein Bros.; Stern and Bro.; A. Frowenfeld and Bro.; E. Frowenfeld and Bro.; Morganstern and Bro.

³² G. W. Hawes, *Illinois State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1858 and 1859*, p. 43: Crane Bro. and Co.; Foreman Brothers. *Gazlay's San Francisco Business Directory for 1863*, p. 156: Hecht Bros.; L. King and Bro.; S. Mayer and Bro.; Scholle Bros.

To obtain a comparison with the existing Gentile brothers' firms, we chose lists containing Gentile firms, preferably German-owned, and used lists of predominantly German brewers. The choice of the brewing trade follows a historic pattern; the brewing trade did not accept Jewish apprentices in those regions of Germany from which the Jewish "mass" emigration came — a circumstance which explains why Jews were for a long time weakly represented among the brewers in America.³³ Here is what we found: in New York, of seventy-three brewers, only two were brothers' firms; in Cincinnati, only four out of 101; in the whole of Pennsylvania, only three out of 217; in San Francisco, only one of twenty-three were brothers' firms. In Chicago, there were no brothers' firms among the four brewers.³⁴

A check of many lists of most of the different branches in city and state commercial directories revealed nowhere a proportion of brothers' firms even approximating that of the German Jewish brothers' firms in wholesale clothing. At smaller places, especially in the South, brothers' firms might exist only in one commercial branch, in which the German Jews were predominant. For instance, in all of Montgomery, Alabama, there were only five brothers' firms, all in dry goods and nearly all German Jewish.³⁵

BROTHERS IN JEWISH COMMUNITY LIFE

In Jewish organizations and institutions, the activity of brothers was conspicuous. For instance, a correspondent wrote about the Order of B'nai B'rith, predominantly German Jewish until the end of the century, in the following humorous vein:

³³ *Der Treue Zionswächter*, II (1846), 119: "Aus Unterfranken."

³⁴ *New York State Bus. Dir.* (1859), p. 52; Hawes, *Ohio Gazetteer*, p. 615; *Boyd's Penn. State Bus. Dir.*, p. 201; *Gazlay's S. F. Bus. Dir.*, p. 128; Hawes, *Illinois State Gaz.*, p. 43.

³⁵ *The Southern Business Directory* (Charleston, 1854), pp. 8 (Montgomery, Ala., dry goods: J. Abraham and Bro.; M. Heller and Bro.; P. Kraus and Bro.; H. Lehman and Bro.; E. Fowler and Bro.), 57 (Nashville, Tenn.: Franklin and Bro., the only brothers' firm in clothing; only two brothers' firms there), 111 (Memphis, Tenn.: Black Brothers, the only brothers' firm among groceries; only two brothers' firms there).

Brother Joseph Bien . . . brother of Julius Bien — there is such a large brotherhood — *unbeschrien*, that I get sadly mixed when I mix brothers of one blood, and brothers who are merely related by [lodge] benefits — the latter should be properly known as brethren; though the [B'nai B'rith] ritual does not call our attention to it.³⁶

Just as conspicuous is the appearance of brothers' firms in the only Jewish agency effective over the whole of America — the Jewish newspaper. They appear as subscribers, collectors of subscriptions, and correspondents. A list of subscribers to American Jewish newspapers up to the Civil War, based on receipts of paid subscriptions, shows, especially in the Western states and territories, a strong representation of brothers' firms. The Southern states, too, did not fall far below the standard set by the West. *The Israelite* in its first year, 1854-1855, already had brothers' firms as subscribers in twenty-two localities.³⁷

CONCLUSIONS

This study, limited to one place in Germany and comprising only a small segment of the German Jewish mass emigration to America, may claim, nevertheless, to reconstruct the typical Jewish emigrant family and its behavior in the historical process of emigration during the period in question. In the regions of mass emigration, South and Southwestern Germany, the conditions Jews faced were nearly all the same. Legal restrictions against settlement by Jews, special taxes, and further discriminations continued well into the years after 1848; in Bavaria, they remained as late as 1870.³⁸ Such

³⁶ *American Israelite* (Cincinnati), Dec. 24, 1886, p. 8: "Maftir."

³⁷ See *Israelite* (Cincinnati), I (1854-1855), 39, 48, 56, 64, 72, 88, 104, 136, 152, 207, 272, 296, 312, 400, 416. The localities were: Adrian, Mich.; Atalanta, Ill.; Baltimore, Md.; Detroit, Mich.; Hartford, Ky.; Hologondale, Ga.; Ironton, Ohio; Jacksonville, Ill.; Jefferson City, Mo.; Lima, Ind.; La Salle, Ill.; Louisville, Ky.; Lexington, Mo.; Morristown, Ohio; Napoleon, Ark.; Ottawa, Ill.; Paint Lick, Ky.; Peru, Ind.; Parkersburg, Va.; Rochester, N. Y.; San Francisco, Calif.; and Taylorsville, Va. Altogether, there were twenty-seven brothers' firm subscribers at twenty-two localities in the first year; in the first three years, such subscribers were to be found in sixty-six localities.

³⁸ The Bavarian *Matrikel*, which gave settlement rights to only one son as the heir of

conditions produced everywhere the same pressure to emigrate as a means of escaping legal disabilities, social anti-Semitism, and economic frustration. German Jewish emigration was thus in essential respects different from Gentile emigration from Germany.

German Jewish emigration represented the rationally planned transplantation of a generation of youth with the subsequent founding of a family on new soil. The non-Jewish German emigrations did not manifest the quality of rationality which the German Jewish emigration did in respect to preparations, the order of departure by family members who later drew brothers and sisters after them, and the matchmaking of emigrant couples. Furthermore, there was the decisive difference that no peasant elements were to be found among emigrating German Jews. They were entirely an urban element starting out to an urbanizing America, and this was a main reason for their rapid economic adjustment to the new country. It was the union of dire necessity with the ideal of freedom which, as so often in history, promoted the success of this historical process.

his father, lasted nearly fifty years after the *Judenedikt* of 1813. A female could acquire the right to settle only by marriage, on which a high tax was imposed — the Bavarian government was willing to encourage only unions between rich girls from abroad and sons with settlement rights. This fact explains the high interest girls had in emigration.

MATERIAL ON NEGRO-JEWISH RELATIONS
SOUGHT BY THE ARCHIVES

The American Jewish Archives is eager to augment its collection of material — manuscripts, photographs, newspaper and magazine clippings, tapes — pertaining to relations between Negroes and Jews in the Western Hemisphere. It is hoped to secure as wide a geographic representation as possible.

Readers are requested to send such items for deposit or copying to the American Jewish Archives, Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.