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# From Württemberg to America: A Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Village on Its Way to the New World

*Stefan Rohrbacher*

Before the mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe toward the end of the nineteenth century, the vast majority of America's Jewry was of German descent.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of the German-Jewish immigrants in the period prior to 1880 apparently came from small towns and villages in southern Germany. Apart from reports on individual careers, however, we have comparatively little source material concerning the influx of German Jews into America.<sup>2</sup> There is also relatively little material regarding the background of these immigrants. We have a general idea of their living conditions and of the economic, social, and political factors which may be seen as having led them to emigrate. But only in rare instances do we have sufficient information to give us a more coherent and detailed picture of the development of German-Jewish mass emigration to America.<sup>3</sup> The well-documented case of Jebehausen, a village in Württemberg, therefore certainly deserves some attention.

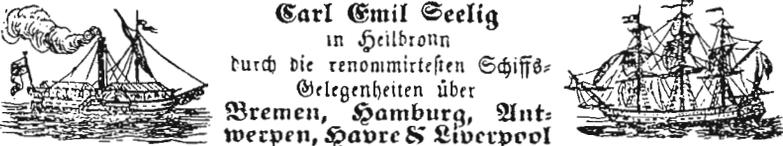
Between 1830 and 1870 no less than 317 Jews from Jebehausen went to America.<sup>4</sup> Their emigration was not only recorded by the state authorities,<sup>5</sup> but was also, and more regularly, noted in the family register of the Jewish community,<sup>6</sup> and sometimes it was even publicized in the local and regional newspapers.<sup>7</sup> Thus almost all of Jebehausen's Jewish emigrants are known by name, and in most cases we are able to give their professions and their assets as well. We learn of entire families sailing to the New World, and of young children and elderly widows leaving on their own, of young women going overseas to contract prearranged marriages, of artisans fleeing competition and poverty. Thus in the exceptional case of Jebehausen we are able to take a close look at the process of German-Jewish emigration; indeed, comparable data are not available for any other place in Germany.<sup>8</sup>

**Passagier-Beförderung  
nach Amerika**

von  
**Carl Emil Seelig**  
in Heilbronn

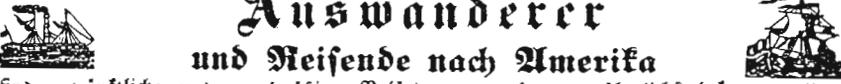
durch die renomirtesten Schiff-  
Gelegenheiten über  
**Bremen, Hamburg, Ant-  
werpen, Havre & Liverpool**  
mittelft Dampf- und Segelschiffen.

Nähere Auskunft ertheilt der vom K. Ministerium des Innern bestätigte Agent  
**Buchhändler Ferdinand Bölter**  
in Göppingen.



**Auswanderer  
und Reisende nach Amerika**

finden pünktliche und regelmäßige Beförderung auf den rühmlichst bekannten Post-  
Dampfschiffen, sowie auf dreimastigen Segelschiffen erster Classe und können Ver-  
träge zu den lausenden billigsten Ueberfahrts-Preisen jederzeit abgeschlossen werden  
bei dem obrigkeitlich concessionirten Agenten  
**W. Köhle in Göppingen.**

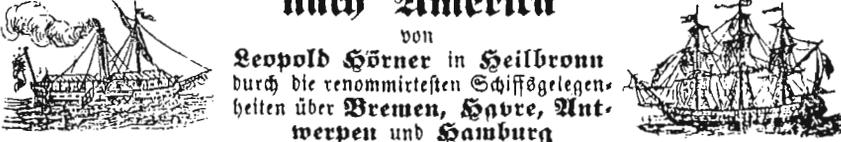


**Passagier-Beförderung  
nach Amerika**

von  
**Leopold Hörner** in Heilbronn

durch die renomirtesten Schiffgelegen-  
heiten über **Bremen, Havre, Ant-  
werpen und Hamburg**  
**mittelft Dampf- und Segelschiffen.**

Nähere Auskunft ertheilt der oberamtlich bestätigte Bezirks-Agent  
**Johs. Erhardt** in Göppingen,  
gegenüber den Aposteln.



*Emigration agents in Göppingen advertise their services. "Emigrants and travelers to America find punctual and regular transport on the much-lauded mail-steamboats as well as on three-masted sailing-ships."*

*Göppinger Wochenblatt, 1867*

(Courtesy of Stefan Rohrbacher)

*The Jewish Community of Jebehausen*

The village of Jebehausen, situated in the picturesque landscape of the Swabian Jura, about two miles south of the Württemberg town of Göppingen, had belonged to the family of the *Freiherren* (barons) of Liebenstein ever since 1467. But the revenues which could be extracted from the poor villagers were hardly worth mentioning, and in 1770 a mineral spring, which until then had been the barons' main source of income, was destroyed by a landslide. In order to make up for this loss it was decided to let Jews settle in the village. In July 1777 a contract was negotiated and signed by the barons and nine Jews, and the Jewish community was thus founded.<sup>9</sup> The new inhabitants were allotted plots outside the village along the uphill road to Göppingen, and within a few years a separate Jewish settlement, the *Oberdorf* (upper village), had come into being.

The Jews of Jebehausen were granted far-reaching liberties and had to pay comparatively moderate dues. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the first decades of its existence the Jewish settlement grew rapidly. As early as 1798, 178 Jews lived in Jebehausen, and by 1830 the number had increased to 485, or 44.9 percent of the population.<sup>10</sup> Most of the newcomers originated in villages in Bavaria and in the northern border regions of Baden and Württemberg. Since they came in such numbers, Jebehausen must have seemed to them a most agreeable place. Yet life in Jebehausen was far from easy. In 1793 the *Oberamtmann* (district bailiff) of Göppingen reported to the duke of Württemberg that only one Jewish family in Jebehausen was well off and in a position to visit the Frankfurt and Leipzig fairs, whilst all the others were living in wretched poverty and had to wander as far as Switzerland, Saxony, and the Palatinate to eke out a meager existence from peddling or dealing in cattle.<sup>11</sup> Even after the incorporation of Jebehausen into the Kingdom of Württemberg in 1806 their lot improved only gradually.

*Reasons for Emigration*

At a time when pauperism, religious dissent, and political oppression caused a mass exodus of mostly poor people from Württemberg,<sup>12</sup> Jews, and above all young Jews, had some additional reasons to con-

sider emigration. They were still legally subordinate to their Christian countrymen, and in the course of the heated debates about the emancipation bill of 1828 they learned that the non-Jewish public generally opposed their legal and social advancement. The authorities demanded that they learn "productive" professions, and fined them if they engaged in any kind of *Schacherhandel* (petty trade); but their chances of being apprenticed to a Christian master craftsman or of receiving solid mercantile training were limited, and once they finished their apprenticeship they had to return to their home village, where there were already too many young Jews engaged in the same trades and hardly able to make a living.

The bitter experiences of young David Kohn, the son of a poor peddler, certainly were shared by many in this period. "He was sent to the village school for a short time and his remaining education was gained by self training. Apprenticed in a dry goods store some distance from home, he worked on a pittance several years for his board, being half starved most of the time."<sup>13</sup> He left Jebenhausen in 1854, at the age of twenty-one, and followed his two elder brothers to Chicago.<sup>14</sup>

Less drastic, yet equally significant, were the reasons given by young Louis Einstein for his emigration in a last letter to his parents in 1835. Einstein, a soap-boiler, had received thorough vocational training; yet he could never hope to make a decent living in his home village, to say nothing of raising a family. Since Jebenhausen was a rather isolated place some distance from the usual trade routes, he would have had to distribute his products by peddling or sell them in the village itself. But Jebenhausen's major grocer, Moses Ascher Frank, set the prices for soap and candles so low that they fell short of the actual production costs. Young Einstein assured his parents that if his father had obtained permission to establish a grocery, he would never have considered leaving. He claimed that avaricious Frank, who was also a schoolteacher, had reproached parents who did not buy at his shop, and in some cases had even punished their children.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Scope of Emigration*

By Einstein's time emigration to America already had a tradition in Jebenhausen. Several sources indicate that it started in 1803 or 1804.<sup>16</sup> However, the first emigrant whose name has been handed down to us,

Mayer Arnold, the eldest son of a cattle dealer, left for America as early as 1798.<sup>17</sup> Since he was then only a lad of thirteen, we may assume either that he was a runaway or that he had set out from Jebenhausen in the company of others, or perhaps that he was to be taken care of by compatriots who already had arrived in the New World. Another early emigrant was Jekef Gutmann, son of a very poor cattle dealer, who around the turn of the century went to America as a redemptioner.<sup>18</sup>

In 1839 Rabbi Abraham Waelder gave the following description of the local emigration movement:

In 1804 several young people, sons of impecunious parents, emigrated to the United States of America. Every subsequent year they induced others, through recommendations, to follow there, establishing themselves there and regularly running businesses in public stores. By June of this year about 46 unmarried young men and women had in this manner emigrated to America, individually and one by one. Just *one* family went there last year and is included in this number. But in June of this year, 48 persons, among them six families with wives and children, have emigrated there *at one time*.<sup>19</sup>

Liebman Levi, then schoolteacher in Jebenhausen, wrote this touching report on the exodus which took place on June 16, 1839:

Today was a day of the most heartfelt sadness, of the bitterest pain for the local Israelite congregation. Six fathers of families with wives and children, altogether 44 individuals of the Mosaic faith, left home to find a new fatherland in far-off America. Not an eye remained without tears, not a soul unmoved, as the bitter hour of parting struck.<sup>20</sup>

Up to this point emigration had only affected poor families. Of the group which left in June 1839, however,

some were rather well-to-do, others belonged to the middle class, and no one could be called notoriously poor in the proper sense. They said that they were emigrating mainly because of their children. Since all trades are so very overcrowded everywhere and, moreover, they would have had to sacrifice their own property to let their children learn a trade, they feared that sooner or later they would be ruined, and that their children, who are studious of handicrafts, would not be able to feed themselves and their families from any trade in the countryside, owing to the numerous and heavy burdens and payments. Besides, they were given every aid and support by those who had already emigrated to America, since almost every family here has close or distant relatives among the emigrants. By now 94 individuals, or about one fifth of the 500 members of the local Israelite congregation, are in America. Already six fathers of families are determined to emigrate with their wives and children next spring.<sup>21</sup>

Table 1: Family status and occupation of Jewish emigrants from Jebehausen

Years	No. of Emigrants	FAMILY STATUS			Artisan	OCCUPATION			Other
		Single	Married, Widowed	Children		Peddler, Tradesman, etc.	Cattle Dealer		
1825-29	9	9	—	—	1	4	3	—	
1830-34	8	8	—	—	1	3	—	1	
1835-39	53	13	15	25	6	9	3	—	
1840-44	19	11	4	4	2	2	2	2	
1845-49	91	37	15	39	20	6	7	—	
1850-54	73	47	14	12	13	11	5	3	
1855-59	19	12	2	5	4	3	—	—	
1860-64	16	14	2	—	1	5	—	1	
1865-70	26	18	4	4	—	6	5	—	
1825-70	314	169	56	89	48	49	25	7	

Sources: Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart E 143, files 486-491; E 146, files 1787-1790; Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg F 170, files 281-288; *Familienbuch* (see note 6).

Table 2. Decline of the Jewish community of Jebehausen

Year	No. of Jews in Jebehausen	Percentage of total population	No. of Jews from Jebehausen in America	No. of Jews in Göppingen
1830	485	44.9	32	—
1838	537	45.5	47	—
1846	496	42.7	126	—
1854	534	44.4	238	40
1862	392	35.9	291	90
1871	127	12.5	329	194
1880	74	6.2	—	242
1890	42	3.5	—	271
1900	9	0.7	—	324

Sources: Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg E 212, file 362; Aron Tänzer, *Geschichte der Juden in Jebehausen und Göppingen* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 97, 399; Alexander Dreher, *Göppingens Gewerbe im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göppingen, 1971), p. 119.

*The Decline of the Jebenhausen Community*

In the following decades the exodus of Jews of all ages, occupations, and social strata, single people as well as whole families, led to a drastic decline in the Jewish population of Jebenhausen (see table 1). To make matters worse for this community, after 1849 many of its members moved to nearby Göppingen, where they formed the bulk of the Jewish congregation founded in 1867 (see table 2).

The temporary rise in the number of Jewish residents of Jebenhausen before its sudden decline after 1854 can be attributed to the high number of Jewish children born there during the first half of the nineteenth century,<sup>22</sup> and to the number of Jews from other parts of the country who settled there for some time to find employment in one of Jebenhausen's Jewish-owned textile factories, which had come into being since the 1830s.<sup>23</sup> At the same time many young people, and in most age-classes even a majority, had left for America (see table 3). The whole demographic structure of the community had therefore become unbalanced, but the effects of this development appeared only during the second half of the century, when the number of families raising children dropped sharply.

*Table 3. Percentage of emigrants to America*

Birth Years	by age 25	by age 35*
1810 - 14	24.4	34.1
1815 - 19	19.1	36.2
1820 - 24	40.4	55.3
1825 - 29	55.6	61.9
1830 - 34	59.7	65.3
1835 - 39	57.4	59.0

\*Includes figures in preceding column.

Sources: Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart E 143, files 486 - 491, E 146, files 1787 - 1790; Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg F 170, files 279 - 283; *Familienbuch* (see note 6).

Many families saw a more or less complete exodus of the younger generation. Of the fourteen children of the cattle dealer Aron Arnold,

all but two sailed to America. Solomon Ottenheimer left for the New World in 1827; by 1835 all but one of his five brothers and sisters had followed him. In 1834 Moses Einstein set out for the United States, paving the way for seven of his ten brothers and sisters.<sup>24</sup> The six daughters of the peddler Samuel Solomon Massenbacher, the five children of the innkeeper Abraham Moses Rosenheim, and the six children of the cattle dealer Benedict Rosenheim all went overseas, and so did seven of the nine children of the cattle dealer Juda Lindauer.<sup>25</sup>

Sometimes young emigrants induced their parents to follow them. Isaac Bernheimer, a cotton manufacturer of rather modest background, had gone to Cincinnati in 1835 just to establish a business connection but "liked the country so much that he resolved to stay."<sup>26</sup> America proved a most profitable ground for this enterprising mind, and when he sent for his aged parents in 1848, he was able to offer them a life of considerable luxury.

Like many others, young Moses Jacob Lindauer made several attempts at emigration, but after much hesitation he finally resolved to stay. His memoirs reflect the strain and sorrow the exodus meant for his family. Their relatives in Philadelphia and Baltimore repeatedly urged them to risk the voyage and start a new life.

In 1854 my sister once again was to go, together with her husband, her brother-in-law, and our brother, but she could not do it. She stood in the kitchen and cried, while her brother-in-law reproached her because of the plans they had made. . . . Another brother-in-law, a butcher in New York, urged her husband to join him there. After some time he gave in, and in spite of all objections left my sister with her children. After two or three years he returned home with a nice little sum, but my sister never overcame her grief. . . . My brother David, who already had made some money in America, wanted to pay for my passage, but I did not want to part. Later on, however, I decided [to emigrate], as Erlanger & Blumgart, a firm from Jebenhausen, had promised to accept me into partnership in America. . . . Yet in the end I concluded that I had to stay, especially since at that time my brother-in-law had left for New York.<sup>27</sup>

### *The Voyage to America*

Jebenhausen's Jewish emigrants usually shunned the ill-famed sea-ports of Holland, from where the open sea could only be reached after a dangerous voyage through the English Channel. Like most other emigrants from southwestern Germany they turned to Le Havre in-

stead. In 1835 Louis Einstein gave the following description of the journey he had just made to the French seaport with David Arnold and Isaac Bernheimer; he included a passage concerning the emigrants' strict observance of the Sabbath, presumably aimed to comfort his parents.

I inform you that the same day as we left my dear brother Baruch and Arnold, we went to Karlsruhe, from there the other day to Strasbourg, where we had to stop for one day because of the diligence. From there the trip to Paris cost us 52 francs a person, but had we come a fortnight earlier, we would have been able to ride for half this price. The reason for this is that a new diligence has been established, namely, the one we took. Those who had attended to transport before, Laffitte, Caillard & Co., wanted to ruin this one, but have not succeeded so far. Over Saturday we stayed in Chalons, where we had arrived on Friday evening at four o'clock. From there we traveled to Paris on Sunday, where we stayed until Tuesday. I already have seen several big cities, but Paris is indescribable. We have seen the greatest curiosities there, but in order to see everything one would need more time. Then we went to Rouen, and from Rouen we traveled here by steamboat, which was the most beautiful trip of the whole journey. We arrived in Havre on Wednesday evening, and yesterday we arranged for our voyage on a mailboat named *Franc*. The captain of it is called Funk, he is an American. For 87 francs a person we get a partition by the side of the cabin.<sup>28</sup>

### *Economic Status of the Emigrants*

Einstein's report seems to indicate that the journey to Le Havre had turned out to be somewhat more expensive than the young travelers had expected. Of the 225 florins which he had taken along in addition to the money for travel expenses, Einstein probably saved only part for America. Many of his contemporaries, however, had even less to take along, and some virtually nothing (see table 4).

Sometimes emigration was a direct response to failure. Such was the case with Hirsch Ottenheimer, who left for the United States in 1848 with his wife and five children after he went bankrupt. In 1849 the authorities inquired about Benedict Lindauer, a thirty-five-year-old cloth maker who had run off, leaving his debts behind. Another emigrant who left with nothing but a ticket was seventy-three-year-old Solomon Seligman Lindauer, a peddler who in 1856 went overseas together with his daughter to join a son in the New World; and in spite of his alleged greed Moses Ascher Frank, the previously mentioned schoolteacher and grocer, had only 275 florins to take along when he

*Table 4. Assets of Jewish emigrants from Jebenhausen*

Money for travel expenses, per capita				
Year	less than 100 florins	101-500 florins	501-1,000 florins	over 1,000 florins
1825-34	7	6	—	—
1835-44	19	43	1	—
1845-54	53	63	19	3
1855-70	4	33	7	4
1825-70	83	145	27	7

Sources: Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart E 143, files 486-491; E 146, files 1787-1790; Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg F 170, files 281-288.

left with his wife in 1841. On the average, families took along almost four times that amount.

It proves rather difficult to compare the economic situation of Jebenhausen's Jewish emigrants with that of their Christian fellow-travelers. Unfortunately, data showing the average assets of emigrants from Württemberg are available only from 1854 onwards. After 1854, however, emigration from Jebenhausen was quite low. Any attempt, therefore, to deduce much information from the limited number of cases we have in which the amount of assets was recorded may appear problematic. But if we take into account only those years in which a minimum of five individuals with recorded assets emigrated from Jebenhausen, we arrive at the picture shown in table 5. However cautiously we must approach its statistical foundation, the table appears to indicate that on the average Jebenhausen's Jewish emigrants were better off than their Christian companions. This is all the more likely as the figures in the first column refer to all emigrants from Württemberg regardless of their destination; and specified data for the year 1856 suggest that the figures for emigrants to the United States lay well below that average. While the per capita assets of all emigrants from Württemberg in 1856 amounted to 320 florins, the figure for emigrants to Bavaria was 1,030 florins, and for emigrants to Ba-

den was 916 florins, whereas emigrants to America had only 215 florins per capita.<sup>29</sup>

Table 5. *Per capita assets of emigrants, in florins*

Year	All emigrants from Württemberg	Jewish emigrants from Jebenhausen
1854	181	248
1859	434	422
1866	383	475
1870	516	875

Sources: Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart E 143; files 489–491; Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg F 170, files 284, 286–287; Wolfgang von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland* (Stuttgart, 1984), p. 235.

Who left, and who stayed behind? As Rabbi Waelder reported in 1839, until that year only the children of poor families had gone overseas, but now even the well-to-do took to emigration.<sup>30</sup> It is apparent, however, that even after 1839 emigrants usually did not belong to the more affluent class amongst Jebenhausen's Jews. Their assets hardly ever exceeded 2,000 florins, whereas Jewish taxpayers in the village had an average property of 1,492 florins as early as 1826, and the figure must have been much higher in later years.<sup>31</sup>

Economic prospects looked dim to most young people in the village, but some trades were particularly unpromising. Peddling was frowned upon by the authorities, and young people who took up this occupation were subject to severe restrictions on their civil liberties.<sup>32</sup> Thus most of Jebenhausen's nineteen Jewish peddlers in 1845 were elderly men, and this may explain why, in spite of all the hardships they faced, comparatively few of them emigrated. By "encouraging" young people to turn to "productive" professions instead, the *Judengesetz* (Jews' Law) of 1828 had brought forth a multitude of Jewish bakers, dyers, plumbers, soap-boilers, shoemakers, tailors, weavers, and cloth makers, but as they were still restricted to the village they could hardly attain an equal footing with their Christian competitors. To those who had failed to obtain solid vocational training, the

butcher's trade often seems to have been a last resort. As there were several Jewish master butchers in the village, a butcher's apprentice did not have to leave Jebenhausen or stay with a Christian master in order to learn his trade, and he probably did not have to pay a premium either. However, his skills were not worth much in a village where so many butchers tried so hard to make a living.

In 1845 and again in 1852, all Jewish male inhabitants above the age of fourteen were registered according to their occupations. It is most revealing to follow their traces over a couple of years. Table 6 shows the extent to which emigration was an answer to the lack of professional prospects. In 1845–1852 butchers, weavers, and other artisans showed much greater inclination to leave than those who earned their living as merchants or cattle dealers. By 1852 the situation of the weavers had improved considerably, as some of them had established themselves as textile manufacturers in Jebenhausen or Göppingen, and others were employed in the factories. Of the five weavers who remained in the village, only one emigrated subsequently. At the same time the number of Jewish bakers, tailors, dyers, furriers, and shoemakers in the village also dropped sharply, for many had left for America, and young people now were very reluctant to

*Table 6: Emigration rates, by occupation*

Occupation	In Jebenhausen, 1845		In America by 1852		In Jebenhausen, 1852		In America by 1859	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Peddler	19	3	15.8		14	2	14.3	
Butcher	16	7	43.7		11	5	45.5	
Other artisan	41	16	39.0		14	2	14.3	
Merchant	13	3	23.1		18	4	22.2	
Manufacturer	5	—	—		11	—	—	
Cattle dealer	40	6	15.0		29	1	3.4	
Total	134	35	26.1		97	14	14.4	

Sources: Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg F 170 I, files 279–283; E 212, file 362.

turn to these unprofitable crafts. Competition therefore pressed less heavily upon the few who remained, and only one of them left for America after 1852.

While the emigration rate receded markedly among weavers and other artisans, it remained high among butchers. Professional prospects for them were as unpromising as ever, and they could hardly hope to fare much better in nearby Göppingen, where old-established Christian butchers were determined to ward off unwelcome competition from newcomers.

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century most Jewish manufacturers moved from Jebenhausen to Göppingen, where they could employ steam power and make use of the railway, and so did the more affluent among the merchants. However, a considerable proportion of young merchants and apprentices sailed to America to seek their fortune there, some of them well-prepared and well-furnished with the pecuniary means for their future undertakings.

It was the cattle dealers who were least prepared to leave the village. Two reasons may be given: they were mostly elderly men, since few young people took up this strenuous trade; and their business was well-established and firmly rooted in the countryside. It was not until the 1870s that a substantial number of cattle dealers moved to Göppingen, Esslingen, Ulm, or Stuttgart. Characteristically enough, the last Jewish family to remain in the village after the turn of the century was that of a cattle dealer, Max Lauchheimer.<sup>33</sup>

#### *How They Fared in America*

Once the Jews from Jebenhausen had safely arrived in the New World, where did they go, and how did they fare? We can give nothing but tentative answers to these questions. It is apparent that the newly arrived immigrant often sought the company of fellow-countrymen who could help him accommodate to his new surroundings and perhaps aid him in making a fresh start.<sup>34</sup> Indeed the biographies of the few immigrants whose tracks we are able to follow often imply that a loose network of former inhabitants of Jebenhausen existed in America. By 1860 Jews from Jebenhausen were living in comparatively large numbers in Chicago and New York, but for many years they also maintained contacts with their brethren in such faraway places as St. Louis

and even Donaldsonville, Louisiana. Marriages are known to have occurred between members of the Arnold and Bernheimer, Kohn and Levi, Rosenheim and Ottenheimer, Einstein and Rosenheim, Einstein and Rosenfeld, Rohrbacher and Strauss, and Erlanger and Dettelbacher families, and business connections were maintained between several others.<sup>35</sup>

Mayer Arnold, who had come to the United States in 1798 at the tender age of thirteen, spent his early years in America in Kutztown, Pennsylvania, where he was apprenticed in a dry goods store. He soon established a store of his own, but it must have taken a while for him to feel economically secure, since he did not marry until 1822. Around 1835 he moved to Philadelphia, where he later joined his brother-in-law, Abraham S. Wolf, once his clerk, in the dry goods and clothing business.<sup>36</sup> "He amassed wealth, and freely gave of his means to Congregational, charitable, and educational works."<sup>37</sup> He soon became one of the most distinguished members of Philadelphia's Congregation Mikveh Israel, of which he was an officer, but he was also prominent in the German-Jewish congregation, Rodeph Shalom.<sup>38</sup> Arnold took an active interest in the work of the Hebrew Education Society and the first Jewish Publication Society.<sup>39</sup> He died in 1868, a highly revered patriarch and millionaire.<sup>40</sup>

Of Mayer Arnold's fifteen children, Simon W. Arnold, "well known for his intellectual capacities, executive ability, and earnest labors,"<sup>41</sup> was a successful businessman and a committed Democrat. He served as the first president of Philadelphia's United Hebrew Charities, and like his brothers Hezekiah, Edwin, and Ezra, was an active member of Congregation Mikveh Israel.<sup>42</sup> The Reverend Isaac Leeser was closely attached to the family, and after his death in 1868 Hezekiah Arnold was one of the executors of his estate; the other was a distant relative of his, young Mayer Sulzberger, whose mother likewise came from Jebenhausen.<sup>43</sup>

In 1832 Mayer Arnold's nephew, Abraham B. Arnold, then a boy of twelve, was sent across the ocean to live with his uncle. He later became a physician of some renown and for many years worked at the Jewish Hospital in Baltimore.<sup>44</sup> In 1872 he was appointed to a professorship at Washington University.<sup>45</sup> Abraham B. Arnold was a non-conformist who advocated abolition of the rite of circumcision,<sup>46</sup> certainly much to the discomfort of some of his relatives who clung to

strictly traditional ways.<sup>47</sup> Isaac Mayer Wise later recalled that in 1854, when the publication of his *History of the Israelitish Nation* caused a general outcry among America's Jewry, Arnold was his sole defender.<sup>48</sup> In 1860 "he arrayed himself with the Republican Party on the election of Lincoln and was made a member of the State Executive Committee of Maryland."<sup>49</sup> He was a close friend of Rabbi David Einhorn with whom he stood united in the struggle for the abolition of slavery.<sup>50</sup>

For a time the Arnold family was economically associated with the Kohn, Rothschild, and Rosenheim families in Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia, who had also come from Jebehausen, and who had engaged in the wholesale clothing business as well.<sup>51</sup> Abraham H. and David Rosenheim owned the very respectable firm of Rosenheim, Brooks & Co., millinery and straw goods, with stores in Philadelphia and New York. Abraham H. Rosenheim, who had come to America in 1838, was a delegate to the first Republican convention in 1856, which nominated Frémont for President. He died at Lake Placid in 1918, almost a centenarian.<sup>52</sup>

In 1846 one of Mayer Arnold's daughters, Isabella, was married to Isaac Bernheimer, the previously mentioned cotton manufacturer from Jebehausen. Together with his *Landsmann* and fellow émigré, Louis Einstein, Bernheimer had embarked on the career of a Cincinnati peddler during the late 1830s.<sup>53</sup> By the time of his marriage he was a prosperous clothing and dry goods merchant. He moved to Philadelphia and eventually joined his brothers Simon, Herman, and Emanuel, who in the meantime had established a clothing business in New York.<sup>54</sup> In the 1840s and 1850s Herman Bernheimer was a prominent member of New York's Congregation Anshe Chesed and of the German Hebrew Benevolent Society.<sup>55</sup> None of the brothers suffered from want. In 1861 their clothing firm ranked high among New York's wealthiest companies, with a capital of \$250,000.<sup>56</sup> A few years later it was taken over by Isaac Bernheimer's brothers-in-law, Edwin and Eli Arnold, under the firm of Leon, Arnold & Co. Emanuel Bernheimer was also a brewer, and when he died his son, Simon E. Bernheimer, succeeded him in this capacity, making the brewery of Bernheimer & Schmid one of the largest in New York City.<sup>57</sup>

Young Louis Einstein had not intended to leave his fatherland permanently, but planned to return home as soon as he had learned how

to manufacture a specific kind of soap required by a firm in Göppingen and so far not manufactured anywhere in Württemberg—at least this is what he told his parents.<sup>58</sup> He stayed, however, and for almost forty years engaged most successfully in the banking business and the manufacture of woolen goods. In 1847 Louis Einstein moved from Cincinnati to New York, where business prospects seemed even brighter.<sup>59</sup> “Few men display more enterprise and sound judgment than did he, and The Raritan Woolen Mills became an important property under his management.”<sup>60</sup> For a long time Einstein was associated with Isaac Bernheimer, his companion from the days when they had set out for America. Their business partnership lasted from the late 1830s, when they peddled the countryside in the West, temporarily accompanied by Bernheimer’s brother Simon, until late in the 1850s, when they ran a large wholesale clothing business, Bernheimer, Einstein & Co. They remained lifelong friends and close neighbors.<sup>61</sup>

Of his eleven children, David L. Einstein, a shrewd and capable man, followed his father’s vocation all his life and made more than a fortune.<sup>62</sup> His son was Lewis D. Einstein, the well-known U.S. diplomat and author.<sup>63</sup> Another son of Louis Einstein, Edwin, had an interest in several woolen and iron mills, and was also largely connected with banking interests. In 1878 Edwin Einstein was elected to Congress, and in 1892 he stood for the mayoralty of New York, receiving the greatest number of votes ever polled for a Republican candidate until that time.<sup>64</sup> Theodore Roosevelt was a close friend of the family.<sup>65</sup>

Louis Einstein’s brother-in-law, Liebman Levi, the schoolteacher who had given so moving a report on the exodus from Jebenhausen in 1839, eventually settled in the United States, too. After some years in New Haven, Connecticut, Levi moved to Chicago in 1856 to serve as a reader and teacher in Congregation Anshe Maarabh.<sup>66</sup> In 1861 his daughter, Theresa, was married to David Kohn, the poor peddler’s son of whose sufferings we have already learned. Kohn had come to Chicago in 1854 to start on a remarkable career. “Obtaining a position as a clerk, he learned the customs and language of America and then started a small retail store. By industry and attention to business, he so increased his little savings, that, with his brothers, he was able to start in the clothing manufacturing business at his own risk, under the name of Kohn Bro’s.”<sup>67</sup> He soon became very wealthy, and by 1890 he was “a large real estate holder, an owner of shares and bonds of the important street railroads, electric companies, etc.”<sup>68</sup>

In 1865 Louis Einstein's nephew and namesake, eighteen-year-old Louis W. Einstein, arrived in Memphis, Tennessee, where he engaged in the dry goods business. One year later he went to California at the request of a relative in San Francisco, and then established a wholesale liquor house in Portland, Oregon. In 1871 he moved to Visalia, California, and a few years later to Fresno, where he developed his pioneer store into "a business of enormous proportions."<sup>69</sup> In 1887 Einstein founded the Bank of Central California.<sup>70</sup>

Moses (Morris) Einstein, a butcher by profession, had come to the United States in 1846 together with a younger brother.<sup>71</sup> After two years of peddling, during which he learned the English language and saved some money, he opened a store in Wellsburg, Virginia. One year later he moved to Tiffin, Ohio, and opened a store there. In 1851 he married his cousin, Jettle Rosenheim, who had just arrived from Jebenhausen. Shortly after their marriage, the store was destroyed by a fire, and Morris Einstein decided to follow the gold-miners' trail to California. There he played an active part in Sacramento's Jewish community, serving both the congregation and the Hebrew Benevolent Society as a secretary.<sup>72</sup> After four years, he returned to Illinois and in 1856 opened a store in Joliet. In 1863 he moved to Chicago and began a wholesale and piece goods trade, which developed into a very successful business.<sup>73</sup> His partners were Martin Clayburgh, a non-Jew, and Julius Kohn, a *Landsmann* from Jebenhausen. When Kohn left the firm in 1865, David Lindauer, also from Jebenhausen, was admitted as a partner.<sup>74</sup> "Mr Einstein was frequently urged to run for office, but steadfastly declined, preferring to give his entire time to business. . . . He conducted his business with prudence and honor and was identified with many philanthropic movements in Chicago. He was one of the founders of the Michael Reese Hospital, the Sinai Congregation and Standard Club."<sup>75</sup> One of his daughters was married to Morris S. Rosenfield, a grandson of Feissel Rosenfeld, who had emigrated from Jebenhausen in 1849. A daughter of the latter, Auguste Rosenfeld, was the wife of Einstein's later partner in business, B. Kuppenheimer.<sup>76</sup>

Back in 1859 in Joliet, Baruch (Benjamin) Lindauer had crossed Einstein's path. Lindauer, a weaver by profession, had just arrived from Jebenhausen,<sup>77</sup> and at that time was engaged in peddling goods between Chicago and Joliet, where Einstein may have employed his services. He later entered the employ of Martin Clayburgh, subse-

quently Einstein's partner in business. In 1861 Lindauer established himself as a dealer in general merchandise in Mount Carmel, Illinois.<sup>78</sup> In 1866 he returned to Chicago, and in 1867 the wholesale clothing firm of Rohrbach, Lindauer & Co. was founded by Ulrich Rohrbacher, Lindauer, and Liebman Levi, all from Jebenhausen. In the old country Lindauer had attended the Academy of Weaving in Reutlingen and then had been the manager of the textile factory owned by his uncles, J. & S. Einstein, in Jebenhausen. His professional skill and experience now greatly benefited the company, which also embarked on the manufacture of woolen goods. In 1869 Rohrbacher left the firm, and Mayer E. Lindauer took his place. After the great fire of 1871, which caused the firm a total loss of \$152,000,<sup>79</sup> business was resumed at the residence of Mayer E. Lindauer, "where a cutting table was improvised from the door of a coal shed, supported on trestles, in order that employment might be at once furnished to their workpeople."<sup>80</sup> In 1874 Seligman Lindauer, another brother, became a partner. By 1886 Lindauer Bros. & Co. ranked "as one of the largest establishments in the West";<sup>81</sup> in their manufacturing department alone, they employed about 400 people.<sup>82</sup>

There is little reason to believe that such success stories were more typical for Jebenhausen's Jewish emigrants than for any other group of newcomers to the United States. This was simply the kind of biography that was likely to be recorded, whereas we know little or nothing about the fates of all the other immigrants.<sup>83</sup> However, we may assume that many trod similar paths, although they may never have climbed the ultimate heights of success. The career of the peddler who established himself as a modest small-town storekeeper and eventually made it to the big city certainly reflects a more general pattern in the history of German-Jewish immigration. Moreover, these biographies reveal the importance of the ties which were upheld between *Landsleute* from the small village in Germany.

By 1870 emigration to America was no longer a major factor in the Jewish communities of southern Germany.<sup>84</sup> Many rural communities had by then shrunk or even dissolved, and when young Jews left their home villages they now mostly turned to the bigger cities instead of going overseas. Between 1862 and 1866 alone, almost 200 members of the once-thriving Jewish community of Jebenhausen moved to Stuttgart, Ulm, and, above all, to nearby Göppingen. In 1899 a service

was held for the last time in the beautiful village synagogue, and a few years later it was torn down.

*Appendix: Jewish Emigrants from Jebehausen  
to the United States of America (1825 - 1870)*

This appendix contains basic information on 314 Jewish emigrants from Jebehausen. Thus entry no. 18 refers to twenty-two-year-old David Arnold, a merchant who emigrated in 1835. Arnold had assets of 100 florins; the authorities did not consent to his emigration. The last column indicates that he settled in Terre Haute, Indiana, and subsequently moved to New York City.

R = *Reisegeld* (money for travel expenses)

M = *Mitgift* (dowry)

Name, [age], occupation	Assets in florins at time of emigration	Emigration permit	Remarks/U.S. place of residence
<b>1825</b>			
1. Anselm Arnold [32], cattle dealer	R + 100	no	
2. Mindel Arnold [23]		no	
<b>1826</b>			
3. Abraham Arnold [26], grocer	R only	no	
4. Mayer Lindauer [30], peddler	250	no	South Bend, Ind.
<b>1827</b>			
5. Faist Arnold [22], peddler		no	
6. Simon Arnold [24], cattle dealer	R + 50	no	
7. Wolf Gerson Levi [19], plumber	125	no	Altoona, Pa.
8. Solomon Ottenheimer [28], cattle dealer	150	no	Eventually returned to Europe
<b>1828</b>			
9. Solomon Loeb Levi [21], apprentice	?	no	
<b>1830</b>			
10. Sara Arnold [21]	R + 225	no	
11. Leopold Ottenheimer [24], schoolteacher	R + 400	no	
<b>1831</b>			
12. Heinrich Ottenheimer [21], peddler	R only	no	
<b>1832</b>			
13. Abraham B. Arnold [12]		no	Philadelphia; Carlisle, Pa.; Baltimore; Washington, D.C.; San Francisco.
<b>1833</b>			
14. Seligman Sontheimer [22], peddler	R only	no	Jackson, Mich.

## 1834

15. Moses Einstein [21], butcher ? no  
 16. Juettle Ottenheimer [25] M 450 no  
 17. Simon Rosenheim [20], apprentice ? no

## 1835

18. David H. Arnold [22], merchant 100 no Terre Haute, Ind.; New York City  
 19. Isaac Bernheimer [22], cloth maker R + 125 no Cincinnati; Philadelphia; New York City  
 20. Louis Einstein [23], soap boiler R + 225 no Cincinnati; New York City  
 21. Moses Ottenheimer [21], dyer R + 75 no Pine Bluff, Arkansas

## 1836

22. Seligman Dettelbacher [24], ribbon weaver ? no  
 23. Sprinz Einstein [21] ? no

## 1837

24. Keile Raff [24] M 300 no  
 25. Haium Loeb Rosenheim [21], butcher ? no

## 1838

26. Isaac Bernheimer [25], merchant, with his wife: Gella née Koschland [25], and 1 child: Sophie [1] R + 375 Lancaster, Pa.  
 29. Abraham H. Rosenheim [18], cloth maker ? no Philadelphia; New York City  
 30. Joseph Rosenheim [19], apprentice ? no

## 1839

31. Isaac L. Arnold [41], cattle dealer, with his wife: Schoenle née Arnold [32], and 3 children: Lina [6], Mina [4], and Abraham [3]. R + 1,000 yes Baltimore  
 36. Marx A. Arnold [44], peddler, with his wife: Eva née Einstein [38], and 6 children: Sara [12], Louise [10], David Hirsch [8], Marie [6], Joseph [4], and Pauline [1] R + 625 yes Pittsburgh  
 44. Sandel J. Arnold [47], cattle dealer, with his wife: Brendel née Kahn [35], and 6 children: Lisette [16], Samuel [15], Miriam [13], Hirsch [11], Abraham [9], and Bertha [7] R + 1,000 yes  
 52. Simon Bernheimer [20], peddler R only no Cincinnati; Philadelphia; New York City  
 53. Gella Doerzbacher [26] ? yes  
 54. Abraham D. Einstein [42], merchant, with his wife: Ella née Arnold [41], and 3 children: Mayer [11], Lisette [3], and Rebecca [1] 1,100 yes  
 59. Laemle Einstein [21], grocer 200 no Leavenworth, Kan.  
 60. Samuel Solomon Massenbacher [60], peddler, with his daughter: Esther [13] ? yes They both returned to Jebenhausen before 1845.  
 62. Samuel Rosenheim [52], cattle dealer, with his wife: Sara née Bernheimer [48], and 4 children: Isadore [18], Morris [13], Aron [11], and Golda [8] 2,500 yes Cincinnati  
 68. Loeb Strauss [20], merchant, with his wife: Fanny née Rosenthal [19], and 1 child: Roesle [1] R + 300 yes Peoria, Ill.

**1840**

71. Guedel Bernheimer [21]	M 300	no	
72. Herman Bernheimer [25], merchant	R + 50	no	Philadelphia; New York City
73. Jacob Bernheimer [19], weaver	R only	no	Chicago
74. Voegele Dettelbacher [22]	R + 125	no	
75. Baruch I. Einstein [30], butcher	R + 400	no	
76. Isaac Ascher Frank [52], grocer, with his wife: Eva née Heilbronner, and 4 children: Ascher [23], Elias [18], Samuel [11], and Herman [3]	1,250	yes	Philadelphia

**1841**

82. Moses Ascher Frank [57], schoolteacher, with his wife: Breinle née Bernheimer [58]	R + 275	no	
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**1842**

84. Joseph Einstein [22], farmer	R + 175	no	
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**1843**

85. Mayer Lindauer [23], cattle dealer	200	no	Chicago
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**1844**

86. Marx Fellheimer [20], cattle dealer	R only	no	Macon, Ga.
87. Beile Massenbacher [20]	R + 75	no	
88. Jentle Rosenheim [22]	M 1,000	yes	
89. Madele Rosenheim [19]	R + 50	yes	

**1845**

90. Abraham I. Arnold [25], cattle dealer	375	no	Frankfort, Ky.
91. Aron Einstein [19], apprentice	?	no	

**1846**

92. Lazarus Arnold [34], merchant	R + 400	no	New York City
93. Seligman Dettelbacher [27], weaver	?	no	
94. Elkan Einstein [15]	R + 125	no	
95. Moses Einstein [20], butcher		no	Wellsburg, Va.; Tiffin, Ohio; Sacramento, Calif.; Joliet, Ill.; Chicago
96. Isaac Fellheimer [16], butcher	R only	no	Pomeroy, Ohio
97. Juettle Fellheimer [21]	M 750	no	
98. Elise Massenbacher [18]	R + 272	no	
99. Eveline Massenbacher [24]		no	
100. Isaac Ottenheimer [20], cattle dealer	200	no	Hot Springs, Ark.
101. Bernhard Raff [35], weaver	200	no	
102. Solomon Rothschild [32], shoemaker	R + 100	no	

**1847**

103. Jonas Dreifuss [25], weaver	75	no	
104. Abraham L. Einstein [41], butcher	600	no	
105. Ascher Frank [30], confectioner	R + 75	no	
106. Abraham Levi [30], cloth maker	?	no	
107. Moses J. Lindauer [24], plumber	?	no	
108. Baruch Loebstein [24], cattle dealer	R + 225	no	
109. Seligman Loebstein [17], butcher		no	
110. Esther Massenbacher [21]	R only	no	See no. 61.
111. Samuel Rothschild [16], butcher	R only	no	Returned home before 1850

**1848**

112. Isaac Bauland [22], butcher	R + 100	no	
113. Mayer Bernheimer [64], cattle dealer, with his wife: Juettle née Beer [49], and 3 children: Emanuel [31], Abraham [20], and Leopold [9]	?	yes	New York City

118. Bluemle Dettelbacher [31]	M 750	yes	
119. Ascher Loeb Fellheimer [14]	R only	no	
120. David Lindauer [20], butcher	200	no	Chicago
121. Hirsch Ottenheimer [41], peddler with his wife: Clara née Seligman [42], and 5 children: Mathilde, Frommet, Solomon, Seligman, and Jette	R only	yes	
128. Uri Wolf Ottenheimer [25], plumber	R + 40	no	
129. Elias Raff [17], weaver	R + 200	no	
130. Jacob Hirsch Raff [31], weaver		no	
131. Frommet Rothschild [21]	?	yes	New York City
132. Madel Rothschild [19]	?	yes	New York City
133. Marx Rothschild [24]	?	yes	New York City
134. Wolf Rothschild [19], optician	R + 125	no	Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
<b>1849</b>			
135. Isaac A. Arnold [58], peddler, with his wife: Hannele née Blumenthal [50], and 5 children: Alexander [28], Marx [26], Juettle [24], Lisette [20], and Jacob [18]	600	no	
142. Joseph A. Arnold [53], merchant, with his wife: Deichele née Kaufman [46], and 7 children: Besle [18], Maria [16], Juda [15], Abraham [12], Solomon [11], Lisette [9], and Aron [6]	2,000	yes	
151. Fratige Dettelbacher [19]	R + 25	no	Donaldsonville, La.
152. Haium Einstein [43], cattle dealer, with his wife: Jüttle née Lindauer [37], and 6 children: Caroline [16], Doelzle [13], Rosalie [11], Hannele [9], Mandus [4], and Babette [1]	6,000	yes	
160. Abraham Fellheimer [52], merchant, with his wife: Rickele née Ulrich [51], and 2 children: Solomon [17] and Jette [10]	2,000	yes	Macon, Ga.
164. Henry Kohn [22], linen weaver	?	no	Chicago
165. Benedict Lindauer [35], cloth maker	?	no	
166. Juettle Lindauer née Arnold [42], widow with 4 children: Sophie [17], Abraham [13], Pauline [10], and Sara [8]	R + 2,000	yes	Baltimore
171. Joseph Lindauer [16]	R only	no	Baltimore; Philadelphia
172. Manasse Lindauer [20], cattle dealer	R + 75	no	Philadelphia
173. Sophie Lindauer [19]	R only	no	Philadelphia
174. Feissel Rosenfeld [61], cattle dealer, with his wife: Lisette née Arnold [49] and 4 children: Joel [20], Abraham [19], Auguste [15], and Jettle [12]	R + 1,600	yes	
180. Esther Rosenthal [20]	?	no	
<b>1850</b>			
181. Laemle Einstein [32], soap-boiler	R + 800	no	Danville, Va.
182. Genendel Erlanger [24]	R + 40	no	
183. Nathan Erlanger [24], butcher		no	
184. Joseph Kohn [21], weaver	?	no	Chicago
185. Moses Rosenheim [20], merchant	1,200	yes	Zanesville, Ohio
186. Samuel Rotschild [19], butcher	R + 125	yes	See no. 111; Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
<b>1851</b>			
187. Jeanette Bernheimer [27]	R + 200	yes	
188. Abraham L. Einstein [45], cattle dealer	?	no	
189. Eveline Einstein née Rothschild [35]	300	yes	Followed her husband, no. 188

190. Schoenle Frank [22]	R only	no	
191. David Hirsch Lindauer [20], cattle dealer		300	yes Champaign, Ill.
192. Jettie Rosenheim [19]	M 1,400	200	yes Married to no. 95.
193. David Rosenheim [20], farmer		200	yes
194. Moses Rosenheim [24], merchant, with his bride: Madele née Ottenheimer [20]		1,000	yes Philadelphia; St. Louis, Mo.

**1852**

196. Haium Bauland [44], cattle dealer	R + 700	no	Chicago
197. Sara Bauland née Regensteiner [31], with 1 child: Jette [2]	?	no	Followed her husband, no. 196.
199. Sophie Dettelbacher [20]		50	no
200. Mathias Gutmann [22], manufacturer		2,200	no New York City
201. Heinrich Lauchheimer [19], apprentice		400	yes
202. Liebman Levi [39], schoolteacher, with his wife: Rebecca née Einstein [32], and 4 children: Julia [13], Therese [11], Hanna [8], and Hermine [5]		1,000	yes New Haven, Conn.; Chicago
208. Max Lindauer [23]	R only	no	Cincinnati; Chicago
209. Jeanette Massenbacher [18]	R + 75	no	Macon, Ga.
210. Miriam Massenbacher [21]	?	no	Donaldsonville, La.
211. Leopold Rohrbacher [18], cattle dealer		150	yes Peoria, Ill.; married no. 70.
212. Bernard Rosenheim [10]		?	no
213. Ulrich Rosenheim [20], merchant		1,000	yes Returned to Jebenhausen in 1856

**1853**

214. Bernard Arnold [18], apprentice		200	yes
215. Rickele Erlanger [25]		R + 25	no
216. Jettie Ottenheimer [23]		M 1,000	yes
217. Madel Ottenheimer [22]		M 1,000	no
218. Morris Rosenheim [20], butcher		150	yes Chicago
219. Ulrich Rosenheim [15]		200	yes
220. Simon Rothschild [26], cattle dealer		?	no New York City

**1854**

221. Fanni Adelsheimer [24]	R + 100	no	
222. Maurice Bauland [33], butcher, with his bride: Therese née Rosenheim [23]		2,000	yes Chicago
224. Bluemle Dettelbacher [16]		R only	no
225. Baruch L. Einstein [45], butcher, with his wife: Gitel née Rothschild [36]		R + 900	no
227. Schoenle Erlanger [20]		25	no
228. Joseph Fleischer [19], apprentice	R + 150	yes	
229. Bernard Gutmann [15]		?	no New York City; returned in 1859
230. Ezechiel Hess [39], butcher, with his wife: Mayle née Einstein [33], and 4 children: Joseph [9], David [8], Solomon [7], and Hannele [4]		600	no
236. Abraham J. Kohn [58], peddler, with his wife: Deichele née Steinfurter [55], and 3 children: Jochebed [23], David [21], and Julius [17]		425	no Chicago
241. Hirsch Lauchheimer [18], butcher		200	yes
242. Joseph Lauchheimer [16], baker		300	yes
243. Lina Lauchheimer [16]	R only	no	
244. David Hirsch Lindauer [18] merchant		200	yes Cincinnati

245. Joseph Lindauer [16] butcher	200	yes	
246. Mayer Lindauer [17], apprentice	200	yes	Baltimore; Chicago
247. Josua Loebstein [16], baker	250	yes	
248. Rickele Loebstein [29]	M 1,000	no	
249. Julius Ottenheimer [20], apprentice	500	yes	
250. Ulrich Rohrbacher [16], butcher	200	yes	Peoria, Ill.; Chicago
251. Helene Rosenheim [20]	?	no	
252. Pauline Rosenheim [17]	?	no	
253. Solomon Levi Schiele [20], grocer	200	yes	
<b>1855</b>			
254. Adolph Löb Arnold [16], apprentice	200	yes	
255. Hirsch Dettelbacher [22], watchmaker	?	no	Sonora, Calif.
256. Abraham Lauchheimer [15]	150	yes	
<b>1856</b>			
257. Moses Frank [16]	150	yes	
258. Nathanael Lauchheimer [10]	110	yes	
259. Solomon Seligman Lindauer [73], peddler, with his daughter: Fanni [29]	R only	no	
261. Ulrich Rosenheim [17], apprentice	150	yes	Chicago
<b>1857</b>			
262. Adolph Rosenheim [13]	300	yes	Chicago
<b>1858</b>			
263. Bernard Rosenheim [16], weaver	150	yes	
<b>1859</b>			
264. Abraham Lauchheimer [29], furrier	1,000	yes	
265. Baruch Lindauer [20], weaver	?	no	Chicago; Mount Carmel, Ill.; Chicago
266. Juettle Ottenheimer [25]	M 1,000	no	
267. Clara Rosenheim née Ullmann [54], widow, with 4 children: Therese [30], Lotte [29], Henriette [26], and Caroline [18]	R + 975	no	
272. Jettle Schiele [22]	400	yes	New York City
<b>1860</b>			
273. Fanni Einstein [20]	?	no	Philadelphia
274. Guetle Einstein [22]	?	no	
275. Moses B. Rosenheim [15], weaver	300	yes	
<b>1861</b>			
276. Joseph Erlanger [19], apprentice	R + 25	no	New York City
<b>1862</b>			
277. Moritz Arnold [16], apprentice	250	yes	
278. Dorothea Ottenheimer [23]	200	yes	
279. Jacob Ottenheimer [19], farmer	200	yes	
280. Hannchen Rosenheim [22]	?	no	Chicago
281. Leopold Rosenheim [16], apprentice	400	yes	
<b>1863</b>			
282. Rahel Frank née Einstein [63], widow	?	no	
283. Herman Lauchheimer [20], merchant	300	yes	
284. Albert Rosenheim [13]	300	yes	New York City
285. David Rosenheim [15]	250	yes	
<b>1864</b>			
286. Hindle Einstein [66], widow	800	yes	Chicago
287. Caroline Rohrbacher [34]	350	yes	
288. Simon Rosenheim [15], apprentice	400	yes	

## 1865

289. Louis W. Einstein [18], apprentice	1,000	yes	Memphis, Tenn.; San Francisco; Portland, Ore.; Visalia, Calif.; Fresno, Calif.
290. Seligman Gutmann [25], merchant	?	no	
291. Joseph Lauchheimer [62], cattle dealer, with 2 children: Zippora [23], and Jettie [16]	?	no	
294. Seligman Lindauer [20], cattle dealer	600	yes	Chicago
295. Julius Ottenheimer [19], apprentice	600	yes	
296. Benedict Rohrbacher [15]	50	yes	

## 1866

297. Rosalie Doerzbacher [18]	175	no	Dover, Del.
298. Pauline Lindauer [19]	M 850	no	
299. Jeanette Loewenstein [21]	500	yes	
300. Abraham Rohrbacher [18], horse-dealer	500	yes	Stillwater, Minn.
301. Albert Rosenheim [21], merchant	?	no	
302. Leopold Rosenheim [20], merchant	350	no	

## 1867

303. Guetel Erlanger [22]	?	no	
304. Falk Jeselsohn [21], merchant	?	no	
305. Julius Rohrbacher [21], cattle dealer	500	yes	

## 1868

306. Berta Rosenheim [17]	500	yes	
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## 1869

307. Sara Rohrbacher [17]	R + 125	no	
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## 1870

308. Gedalia M. Arnold [51], cattle dealer, with his wife: Jeanette née Ottenheimer [39]	2,800	no	
310. Kustiel Arnold [68], cattle dealer, with 2 children: Rosalie [22], and Adolph [14]	450	no	
313. Pauline Einstein [23]	2,000	yes	Terre Haute, Ind.
314. Juettie Gutmann [20]	?	no	

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## Notes

1. Avraham Barkai, "German-Jewish Migrations in the Nineteenth Century, 1830-1910," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. 30 (1985), pp. 301-318, with several estimates given on pp. 306 f. The author would like to thank Mrs. Norma Spungen of the Chicago Jewish Archives, Dr. Karl-Heinz Ruess of the Göppingen municipal archives, and Dr. Avraham Barkai for their kind help and valuable advice.

2. Rudolf Glanz, "Source Materials on the History of Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1800-1880," *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science* 6 (1951): 73-156.

3. Rudolf Glanz, "The German Jewish Mass Emigration: 1820-1880," *American Jewish Archives* 22 (1970): 49-66, with a characterization of the scarce material on pp. 50 f.

4. Aron Tänzer, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Jebenhausen und Göppingen* (Berlin, 1927), p. 89. A lavishly illustrated reprint of this scholarly work was published in Weissenhorn, 1988.

5. Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart E 143, files 486-491, 494, 515; E 146, files 1687, 1744, 1785-1790, 1792-1808; Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg F 170 I, files 279-283. Kober's list of Jewish emigrants from Württemberg in the years 1848-1855 is based on part of this material; Adolf Kober, "Jewish Emigration from Württemberg to the United States of America (1848-1855)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 41 (1952): 225-273. The lists of applicants for emigration from *Württemberg Emigration Index*, ed. Trudy Schenk, Ruth Froelke, and Inge Bork, vols. 1 et seq. (Salt Lake City, 1986 seq.). The lists for the district of Göppingen will be included in a forthcoming volume of this series. However, these sources only contain information about *applications* for emigration. More often than not emigration was not permitted until sometime later, or the emigrant had already left secretly before the date of his formal application; and very many emigrants never registered with the authorities at all. Thus only about half of the Jews from Jebenhausen known to have gone overseas during the years 1848-1855 appear in the official records.

6. *Familienbuch* of the Jewish community of Jebenhausen. now kept by the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, Stuttgart.

7. *Wochenblatt für die Oberamts-Stadt Göppingen* and *Schwäbischer Merkur*.

8. Statistics on Jewish emigration from the Bavarian Palatinate and the district of Kissingen, Lower Franconia, have been published by Jacob Toury, "Jewish Manual Labour and Emigration: Records from Some Bavarian Districts," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. 16 (1971), pp. 45-62. The most detailed of these records, that of the village of Westheim, contains the names of 83 Jews who left for America between 1834 and 1854.

9. Tänzer, *Geschichte der Juden in Jebenhausen*, pp. 5-15.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

11. Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart A 213, file 5741.

12. See Wolfgang von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland* (Stuttgart, 1984), with bibliography on pp. 322-339.

13. Henry Hull, ed., *America's Successful Men of Affairs*, vol. 2 (New York 1896), p. 481.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Louis Einstein, Havre de Grace, to Immanuel Einstein, Jebenhausen, May 22, 1835; Stadtarchiv Göppingen.

16. Tänzer, *Geschichte der Juden in Jebenhausen*, p. 36; Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg E 212, file 362.

17. Henry Samuel Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia: Their History from the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time* (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 245; Malcolm H. Stern, *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies, 1654-1977* (Cincinnati, 1978), p. 13.

18. His contract for passage is still in the possession of his descendant, Mr. Norman Rosen, of New York City.

19. Statement by Rabbi Waelder, Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg E 212, file 362.

20. *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. July 20, 1839, p. 347; also quoted by Glanz, "Source Materials," p. 112, who wrongly locates the event in Bavarian Ichenhausen.

21. Statement by Rabbi Waelder (see above, n.19).

22. Between 1830 and 1850 alone, 378 children were born in the community; see Tänzer, *Geschichte der Juden in Jebenhausen*, p. 98.

23. Jacob Toury, *Jüdische Textilunternehmer in Baden-Württemberg 1683-1938* (Tübingen, 1984), pp. 57-64.

24. His sister Sophie, married to Abraham Sulzberger in Heidelberg in Baden, came to America in 1849 with her husband and children, among them six-year-old Mayer Sulzberger; see Cyrus Adler, *I Have Considered the Days*. (Philadelphia, 1941) pp. 3 – 21; Louis Marshall and Solomon Solis Cohen, “Mayer Sulzberger,” *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 26 (1924), pp. 382 – 403; Horace Stern, *The Spiritual Values of Life: Occasional Addresses on Jewish Themes* (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 106 – 113.

25. Among them in 1849 his daughter Sophie. She later was married to Abraham Sulzberger's brother Leopold, a widower whose first wife, Zierle Einstein, had also come from Jebenhausen. While Zierle was the grandmother of Cyrus Adler, one of Sophie Lindauer's children was Cyrus L. Sulzberger, and one of her grandchildren, Arthur Hays Sulzberger; Adler, loc.cit; Abraham A. Neuman, “Cyrus Adler,” *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 42 (1940), pp. 23 – 144; Stern, *Spiritual Values of Life*, pp. 88 – 105; Morris D. Waldman, “Cyrus L. Sulzberger,” *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 25 (1933), pp. 145 – 156; Irving Rosenthal, “Arthur Hays Sulzberger,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 1, cols. 508 – 509; Sulzberger pedigree: Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, pp. 290 – 291.

26. *America's Successful Men of Affairs*, vol. 1, (New York, 1895), p. 84.

27. Moses Jacob Lindauer, “Die Geschichte der Familien Lindauer und Weil” (ca. 1900; MS, Stadtarchiv Göppingen), pp. 14 – 15.

28. Louis Einstein to Immanuel Einstein, May 22, 1835.

29. “Die Aus- und Einwanderungen in Württemberg in dem Jahre 1856,” *Württembergische Jahrbücher für vaterländische Geschichte, Geographie, Statistik und Topographie* 1856, vol. 2. (Stuttgart, 1857), pp. 151 – 199.

30. Statement by Rabbi Waelder (see above, n. 19).

31. Tänzer, *Geschichte der Juden in Jebenhausen*, p. 117.

32. F. F. Mayer, *Sammlung der württembergischen Gesetze in Betreff der Israeliten* (Tübingen, 1847), pp. 35 – 39.

33. The fate of this family under Nazi rule has been described in a youth book by Inge Auerbacher, *I Am a Star: Child of the Holocaust* (New York, 1986), pp. 23 – 29.

34. Thus Maurice Bauland, a butcher who had emigrated from Jebenhausen in 1854, set up a dry goods store in Chicago. In 1860 he employed a clerk (Adolph Rosenheim), a salesman (Ulrich Rosenheim), and an agent (Jacob Bernheimer), all from his home village. Bauland's Chicago home address was identical with the business address of Morris Rosenheim, a cattle dealer who had come from Jebenhausen in 1853; see *Halpin & Bailey's Chicago City Directory for the Year 1861*, pp. 35, 42, 298.

35. For similar findings on the ties between *Landsleute* (fellow-countrymen) from small places in Bavaria and Württemberg, see Myron Berman, *Richmond's Jewry, 1769 – 1976: Shabbat in Shockoe* (Richmond, 1979), pp. 133 – 135. Jewish emigrants from the village of Reichelsheim, Baden, flocked to Attica, Indiana. “At one time [in the 1860s] there lived there at least fifty members of the Joseph, Hirsch, and Loeb families, who had intermarried”; Abraham Alfred Kaufmann, “*Ansbei Rhemus: A Chronicle of Jewish Life by the Rhine*” (Santa Rosa, 1953) (MS in the archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York), p. 8 of the section on the Joseph family.

36. Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia*, pp. 245 – 246, 309.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

38. Cf. Jeanette W. Rosenbaum, “Hebrew German Society Rodeph Shalom in the City and County of Philadelphia, 1800 – 1950,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 41 (1951): 88, 90, 93.

39. Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia*, pp. 51, 59 – 60, 245, 254.

40. A few years before his death he was listed as the richest man in Philadelphia, with an annual income of \$616,817; *Income Tax of the Residents of Philadelphia and Bucks County for the Year*

*Ending April 30, 1865* (Philadelphia, 1865), p. 5. However, this somewhat improbable figure is explained as a typographical error by Edwin Wolf, "The German-Jewish Influence in Philadelphia's Jewish Charities," in *Jewish Life in Philadelphia 1830-1940*, ed. Murray Friedman (Philadelphia, 1983), p. 129.

41. Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 246.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 158, 246, 309.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

44. Solomon R. Kagan, *Jewish Contributions to Medicine in America, 1656-1934* (Boston, 1934), p. 39.

45. Howard A. Kelly and Walter L. Burrage, *Dictionary of American Medical Biography* (New York, 1928), pp. 36-37.

46. Hyman B. Grinstein, *The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York 1654-1860* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 581.

47. In 1856 his uncle, Marx Arnold, was elected president of Pittsburgh's newly founded Orthodox congregation, Rodeph Shalom; Jacob S. Feldmann, "The Pioneers of a Community: Regional Diversity Among the Jews of Pittsburgh, 1845-1861," *American Jewish Archives* 32 (1980): 121.

48. Isaac Mayer Wise, "The World of My Books," *American Jewish Archives* 6 (1954): 123.

49. Isaac Markens, "Lincoln and the Jews," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 17 (1909): 110.

50. Isaac M. Fein, "Baltimore Jews During the Civil War," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 51 (1961): 89; also Abraham B. Arnold, *Essays* (San Francisco, 1904), with a biographical sketch by Jacob Voorsanger.

51. Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 281. The wholesale clothing firm of Kohn, Arnold & Rothschild in Philadelphia, however, lasted only from 1867 to 1869. One of the partners, Arnold Kohn, originally from Buchau, Württemberg, was a cousin of the Kohn brothers from Jebenhausen, with whose clothing factory in Chicago the firm cooperated. Among his later partners in business was Albert Rosenheim from Jebenhausen, whose brothers had been associated with Kohn, Arnold & Rothschild before.

52. *New York Times*, August 14, 1918.

53. Maxwell Whiteman, "Notions, Dry Goods, and Clothing: An Introduction to the Study of the Cincinnati Peddler," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 53 (1963): 306-321.

54. *America's Successful Men*, vol. 1, p. 84.

55. Grinstein, *Jewish Community of New York*, pp. 183, 514-516, 552.

56. Rudolph Glanz, "German Jews in New York City in the 19th Century," *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science* 11 (1956/57): 17.

57. *America's Successful Men*, vol. 1, pp. 84-85; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 5 (New York, 1907), p. 375. After 1900 the firm was run under the name of Bernheimer & Schwartz Pilsener Brewing Co.; Otto Spengler, ed., *Das deutsche Element der Stadt New York* (New York, 1913), p. 68.

58. Louis Einstein to Immanuel Einstein, May 22, 1835.

59. *America's Successful Men*, vol. 1, p. 214.

60. *Ibid.*

61. David H. Arnold, who had emigrated together with Bernheimer and Einstein in 1835, also became a successful businessman. After some years of peddling in the West he settled in Terre Haute, Indiana, where he owned a store, and moved to New York in 1860, where he established himself as an importer of English goods; *New York Times*, March 19, 1885. Arnold was a trustee of the American Trust Corporation.

62. *Ibid.*; Isaac N. Seligman, "David L. Einstein," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 19 (1910): 193–196.

63. Lewis Einstein, *A Diplomat Looks Back*, ed. Lawrence E. Gelfand (New Haven, 1968), with a bibliography of his writings on pp. 251–256.

64. *America's Successful Men*, vol. 1, p. 214; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1949* (Washington, 1950), p. 1123.

65. Einstein, *A Diplomat Looks Back*, p. xv, and Lewis Einstein, *Roosevelt: His Mind in Action* (Boston, 1930).

66. Bernard Felsenthal and Herman Eliasof, *A History of Kehillath Anshe Maarabh (Congregation of the Men of the West)* (Chicago, 1897), p. 34.

67. *America's Successful Men*, vol. 2, p. 481.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Fresno, Tulare, and Kern, California* (Fresno, 1892), p. 418.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 17 (New York, 1927), p. 143, where 1842 is given as the year of his arrival in America.

72. "Anti-Jewish Sentiment in California 1855," *American Jewish Archives* 12 (1960): 30.

73. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 17, p. 143.

74. Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, vol. 3 (Chicago, 1886), p. 722.

75. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 17, p. 143.

76. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, p. 722.

77. His formal application for emigration, however, was submitted to the authorities of the Kingdom of Württemberg no earlier than 1866; Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg F 170 I, file 283.

78. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, p. 724.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*

83. Curiously enough, emigrants from Jebenhausen were also among the handful of Jews who settled in Peru during the second half of the nineteenth century. Young Bernard Ottenheimer owned a bookstore in the Peruvian capital, Lima, as early as 1860. Three brothers and a cousin followed him later: Solomon (Frederico) Ottenheimer left for Peru in 1861, Moritz and Eduard in 1863 and 1866 respectively, and their cousin, Adolph Gutmann, in 1871; Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg F 170 I, files 283, 288C. Bernard Ottenheimer returned to Europe in 1867 and eventually settled in Paris, and so did his brother Eduard in 1881. The commercial firm of Ottenheim Hermanos, however, still existed in Lima in 1886; Günter Böhm, *Judios en el Peru durante el siglo XIX* (Santiago, 1985), pp. 46–47, 132–133, 155–156. Two other members of the Ottenheimer family in Lima at that time were Leopold and J. Ottenheim Jr.

84. In the case of Jebenhausen, fewer than ten emigrants were registered after 1870. An equally low number of Jews emigrated from Göppingen during the years 1870–1900.